

The Word

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THE WORD,

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF REFORM.

It favors the abolition of speculative income, of woman's slavery and war government; regards all claims to property, not founded on a labor title, as morally void, and asserts the free use of land to be the inalienable privilege of every human being—only having the right to own or sell only his service impressed on it. Not by restrictive methods, but through freedom and reciprocity. The Word seeks the extinction of interest, dividends, and profit, except as they represent work done; the abolition of railway, telegraphic, banking, trades-union and other corporations charging more than actual cost for values furnished, and the repudiation of all so-called debts, the principal whereof has been paid, in the form of interest.

E. H. HEYWOOD, EDITOR

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THE WORD

PRINCETON, MASS.

THE OPPOSITION.

USURY LEGITIMATE.

Some of our labor reform friends were quite advanced in their expressions of radical sentiments, at their meeting on Sunday. One gentleman was down upon usury, and said that to give or to pay interest on money is a sin. We know that to pay interest, especially if it be high, is painful enough to be a deadly sin,—but to receive it is a very agreeable thing. But how is usury to be prevented? If there are, all legislation against it has resulted in failure. Why is it more sinful to make a profit out of money than it is to make a profit out of meat? If meat is scarce, and much needed, the price of it rises; and why should not money be higher in price when it is scarce, and needed, than when it is abundant, and not in much demand? Gold and silver, from which alone money can be made, are as much articles of commerce as are grain and sugar, and their production is a much more difficult matter than is the production of sugar and grain, and less remunerative. Another gentleman evoked Arcadia, and gave us a glimpse of the golden age, by exhibiting a fine scheme for the graduation of taxation, whereby property is to be made to pay all taxes. If this scheme could be made to work, we should rejoice, for it would favor our industry; but it is not possible for it to succeed. The more you tax property, the more rapid will be the increase of property's prices. Suppose a man to have a round million of dollars invested in houses, such houses as persons of moderate means can afford to rent, and that his clear income therefrom is \$500,000; and suppose that you increase his tax in the sum of 10,000 a year—would he pay that amount out of his own pocket? Certainly not. He would increase the rate of his rents, and make his tenants pay him twice ten thousand dollars, annually. Property taxes are paid, not by the owners of property, but by the users of property, when property is of the useful order. There is something whimsical in the manner in which our reformers would treat capitalists. First, capitalists are not to be allowed to take interest on their capital, and then they are to be heavily taxed because they own capital! Just as if a man were to pay large taxes on a great landed estate, and yet were forbidden to cultivate that estate! There is much that is wrong in the social state, but, thus far, neither reformers nor workmen have advanced one practical scheme for the removal of that wrong, and the substitution of what would be right. There may be a good time coming, but it comes by the snail train. As Mr. Emerson would say, labor-reformers have not yet arrived at cock-crowing and the morning-star.—*Boston Traveller.*

"TEN HOUR DICTATION"

Under the above caption, E. H. Heywood, Editor of The Word, makes an attack on the Short Time Movement, and those who advocate the limitation by law of the number of hours which shall constitute a day's labor. He speaks of a Ten Hour or Eight Hour Law as a restriction of the liberties of the factory operative. With all due respect for the known ability of Heywood, we must say that this is one of the most shallow arguments ever offered against placing a law on our statute books, limiting the hours of labor. We have laws limiting the number of cubic inches to the quart; the number of pounds to the ton; in fact everything, which the capitalist claims as property, has a well defined standard measure. The workman has nothing but his labor, and neither law nor custom has settled the fact as to how many hours he shall give for a day. One employer will exact ten, another eleven or twelve.

It seems to us that Mr. Heywood's statements are hard to reconcile with each other. He talks of leaving the factory operatives free to make their own contracts, and in another portion of the same article he tells us that the Rhode Island strike failed, "because the money power was too powerful to be overcome by such means." This does not show that the operative is free to make his own contracts; it shows that toilers, singly or collectively, are the slaves of capital. It is dictation on the one side, and submission on the other. Heywood goes on to say—

"Our Massachusetts Eight and Ten Hour men, in attempting to carry their measure by legislative dictation, are simply making fools of themselves."
••••• But it is a matter of history that the Ten Hour Law was gained in England by the very means we are employing here, agitation. After a trial of twenty-five years in England, employer and employed are satisfied that a Ten Hour Law has been beneficial to both, and neither would return to the old system. In debate in the English Parliament, Col. Thompson said that Manufacturing Capitalists and operatives were satisfied with the law. In the House of Lords, Stanley said, "The measure had realized the hopes of its promoters and had worked well for both employers and operatives." Ashley said, "Since the enactment of the Ten Hour Law, so great had been the improvement in the moral and social condition of the working people as almost to border on the marvellous."
••••• Such a law will undoubtedly prove as great a blessing to the toilers of America, as it has been to those of England.

In regard to Heywood, the fact stands out glaringly that he is an opponent of the Short Time Movement. The man who stood by Garrison, Phillips and Pillsbury, battling for the freedom of the negro, has but little sympathy with the poor little factory slave who is bound to the tread wheel of labor, the long weary day, month after month, year after year, with scarcely any intermission. He would not interfere between the wolf and the victim, because such interference would be a restriction on the victim's liberties. He would leave the weak to defend himself and make his own bargain with the strong. Mr. Heywood has done well towards keeping the factory child working on the long hour system. By his persistent introduction into the Labor Movement of a thousand wild and impracticable theories; he has succeeded, to a wonderful extent, in diverting the attention of workmen from the real points at issue. He has succeeded in dividing and distracting their compasses.
••••• *Richard Hincliffe, Editor of Lawrence Journal.*

"A PIOUS FRAUD."

••••• I should so like to answer in your columns a diatribe against our clergy and such philanthropists as Peter Cooper, Jennie Collins, George Penkby and Mr. Dorsey, the "Prisoners' Friend," which I find in the August Word. Heywood, personally, I must denounce the system of labor and social reform which he devotedly represents, as the hugest "pious fraud" ever palmed upon the people in the name of Justice, Equity, or Liberty. A going back to savagism which even an avowed "infidel ought to be ashamed of," much more a man who, like Mr. Heywood, looks for the future that is not unambitious. Perfect clarity is exact justice. Let Mr. Heywood study that text till he catches a glimpse of its infinite glory, then we shall hear no more sneers from him about the "vicious atonement." The persons Mr. Heywood so severely blames are trying, one and all, to do something to help the weak ones of earth into ways in which they can help themselves, not, as Mr. Heywood is, to break down all the barriers which tend to keep the carnivorous classes in check.
••••• I have found not a few of the pauper class who much preferred to receive alms than to relieve their own wants. Mr. Heywood's assertion that there are none such, only shows his utter ignorance of the entire question. So to his question as to where charities get their money. In one sense, and in some cases, they receive back as gifts, but in the main it is not true.
••••• Mr. Heywood talks about the steals of church members, class laws, and profits; what is he doing to put a stop to the one great plunder, compared with which all other steals are "white as wool" in the sight of an intelligent sense of justice? That crime of crimes out of which grows all poverty and evil, is not "interest," nor "demand and supply villanies," nor "class legislation," nor the "marriage servitude," nor is it "pious frauds" or charities in any shape. It is that domination of physical weakness by muscular strength which robs the individual of justice, and in some cases, robs the land of home rights; as woman, because she is woman, the mother, wife and daughter of the race; to the undisputed control, ownership, and lineal inheritance, by every woman, of land and home, each one in her own right.
••••• Poverty like slavery is an unnaturalism," but Mr. Heywood's sense and in some cases, robs the land of home rights; as woman, because she is woman, the mother, wife and daughter of the race; to the undisputed control, ownership, and lineal inheritance, by every woman, of land and home, each one in her own right.
••••• Poverty like slavery is an unnaturalism," but Mr. Heywood's intelligence is not mocked with impunity," and until Mr. Heywood comes squarely out against

this primal steal, and on the side of genuine Labor Reform, Equity, and Justice, and works might and main, to secure to every woman a separate, independent home of her own, we shall regretfully be compelled "to class him practically on the wrong side of the great battle between the rich and poor."
••••• *Awora H. C. Phelps in Lawrence Journal.*

WOMAN'S THE PROPERTY OF MAN. Her Emancipation is Damnation.

A man was recently hanged in Massachusetts for taking vengeance on one who had practically disputed his property in a girl.
••••• Ownership in woman, only blindly apprehended as it was by our brutal gallow-bird, is the one thing that saves us from the wildest doctrines and practices of the free-lovers, and is one of the strongest conservative forces of society.
••••• There is an instinct in the heart of every woman which tells her that she is his to whom she gives herself, and his alone,—an instinct which bids her cling to him while she lives or he lives—which identifies her life with his—which makes of him and her, twin, one flesh.
••••• His ownership in her covers his most sacred possession, and devolves upon him the gravest duties. If it were otherwise, why is it that a woman who gives herself away unworthily feels, when she finds herself deceived, that she is lost?—that she has parted with herself to one who does not recognize the nature of the gift, and that she ought to be owned, and, by being owned, honored, is disowned and dishonored? There is no true, pure woman living who, when she gives herself away, does not rejoice in the ownership which makes her forever the property of one man. She is not his slave, to be tasked and abused, because she is the gift of love and not the purchase of money; but she is his, in a sense in which she cannot be another man's without dishonor to him and damnation to herself. Our gallow-bird was, in his brutal way, right. If he had been living in savage society, without laws, and with the necessity of guarding his own treasures, his set would have been looked upon as one of heroism by all the beauties and braves of his tribe. The weak point in his case was, that his ownership in her was not placed to call "his girl" which he lived. He was not legally married, and had acquired no rights under the law to be defended.
•••••

There is nothing more menacing in the aspect of social affairs in this country than the effort among a certain class of reformers to break up the identity of interest and feeling among men and women. Men are alluded to with sneer and blame, as being opposed to the interests of women, as using the power in their hands—a power usurped—to maintain their own predominance at the expense of woman's rights and woman's well-being. Marriage, under this kind of teaching, becomes a compact of convenience, into which men and women may enter, each party taking along the partnership the same quantity in a single state, with separate business interests and separate pursuits. In other words, marriage is regarded simply as the legal companionship of two beings of opposite sexes, who have their own independent pursuits, with which the bond is not permitted to interfere. It contemplates no identification of life and destiny. The man holds no ownership in woman which gives him a right to a family of children, and a wife devoted to the sacred duties of motherhood. The man who expects such a sacrifice at the hands of his wife is regarded as a tyrant or a brute. Women are to vote, and trade, and practice law, and preach, and go to Congress, and do everything that a man does, irrespective of the marriage bonds. Women are to be just as free to do anything outside of their homes as men are.
••••• This is the aim and logical end of all the modern doctrines concerning woman's rights. The identification of woman with man, as the basis of the institution of the family, is scoffed at. Any ownership in woman, that comes of the gift of herself to him, and the assumption of responsibility on his part, is contemned. It is assumed that interests which are, and must forever remain, identical, are opposed to each other. Men and women are pitted against each other in a struggle for power.

Well, let it be understood, then, that men are opposed to these latter-day doctrines, and that they wish to remain so. They are determined that the identity of interest between men and women shall never be destroyed; that the sacred ownership in woman, bestowed in all true marriage, shall never be surrendered; that the family shall be maintained, and that the untold millions of true women in the world who sympathize with them shall be protected from the false philosophies and destructive policies of their few misguided sisters, who seek to turn the world upside down. Political conventions may throw their sop to clamoring reformers, but they mean nothing by it. They never have redeemed a pledge to these reformers, and we presume they have never intended to do so. They expect the matter to blow over, and, if it does not, to mistake the signs of times, it is rapidly blowing over, with more or less thunder and with very little rain.—*J. G. Holland in September Scribner.*

—The essential defect in the above statement consists in its one-sided character. If Dr. Holland declared that women own men in the same sense and to the same extent that men own women, we should not complain. If he will make his conception of the rights and duties of husband and wife a mutual one we care not how stringent it may be. But, so far as this from being true, that the idea of "ownership in women" is, as a rule, felt most strongly by men who are themselves practical free-lovers and who claim and exercise a latitude which they stigmatize in the opposite sex.—*H. B. Blackwell in The Woman's Journal.*

—There are thousands of families who have no satisfactory service from year's end to year's end. The servants come and go, and lie and waste, and spoil and quarrel and steal. They have no loyalty, no faithfulness, no carefulness, no skill to do the duties which they undertake, and which they loudly and confidently profess to understand. Their ignorance is only matched by their insolence. They have no disposition to learn, no ambition to become excellent, no desire to please, and no wish to remain for any considerable length of time in one place.—*J. G. Holland in Scribner's Monthly.*

USURY.

In *The Index* of January 4, Mr. Abbot stated that the common sense of mankind rejects the notion that taking interest on money loaned is a crime. I wish to take issue with him upon that opinion, and will endeavor to show that the apathy and apparent acquiescence in interest-taking is not caused by the assent of common sense, but by a false idea of business morality. The moral principle on which interest-taking is justified may be proved to be false by the following analysis of its practical results: A, being in want, craves the favor of a loan of B's surplus money, which would be of no pecuniary profit to him to keep, and which B grants on condition that it shall be paid back with as much more as the pecuniary advantage is expected to be to A, even if it takes an amount equal to that loaned. A accepts the condition. Then the transaction is claimed to be all right, and no violation of any moral principle, the civilized world assenting to the claim.

Now, to those who have unenslaved, keen moral perceptions, this principle is seen to be false, and as cruel as death; for it enables the rich to take advantage of the necessities of his brother, and reduce him to poverty and pecuniary slavery. It is this false moral principle that has enabled the capitalists of Europe, by applying it to rents and profits, to reduce nine-tenths of the inhabitants to abject poverty. The taking of twenty per cent. interest, thirty per cent. rents and a hundred per cent. profits in trade, finds its justification in this same wicked principle which in the practical business life of the whole civilized world, is in direct and complete antagonism with natural equity. First justice, then pity and mercy. This universal refusal to confer benefits that add to the wealth of the receiver, but which cost nothing to bestow, shows the moral blindness of the people, and is an outrage upon the highest and most beautiful sentiments of noble souls. There is no pleasure so great, no happiness so secure, as the consciousness of conferring happiness upon humanity. There is no other action which common men look upon with so much admiration, as is attested by the universal homage paid to those who have devoted themselves to the good of mankind. They not only admire this self-devotedness, but feel it to be the highest duty to alleviate distress and confer happiness whenever possible; and it is also felt to be unmanly and even criminal in any one to neglect to do it. Interest, the hard-earned results of labor surrendered for favors that cost nothing pecuniarily to bestow, creating at once a pecuniary distinction between the borrower and lender, and a miniature aristocracy which, when carried to its logical results, reduces the borrower to poverty, while the lender rolls in luxury without labor.—*Eugene Hutchinson in The Index.*

THE WORD,

PRINCETON, OCTOBER, 1873.

“EXCESSIVE” SWINDLING.

In reply to an article upon “Usury” which we reprint elsewhere Mr. F. E. Abbott Editor of The Index says:

To exact excessive interest from the borrower is certainly cruel and harsh in the lender. But is it wrong to charge a fair rate for the use of money lent? If so, why is it not iniquitous in livery stable keepers to charge for the use of their horses and vehicles? We are so hard hearted as to see no crime in a transaction which benefits both parties, and to see no reason why the borrower should monopolize the benefits. It is a great mistake to think it costs the lender nothing. He foregoes the use of the money lent, and runs the risk of never being repaid. If the use of the money is worth so much to the borrower that he must have it even at high interest it is plain that the use of money has a real, direct value, for which he ought in common justice to pay. Men charge for their merchandise, their services, their time; why not for their money?

Has Mr. Abbott ever seriously asked himself on what principle one is justified in putting a price upon anything he holds (either for loan or sale) as property? When questioned closely “stable keepers” will be found not to charge for “the use of horses and vehicles” but for service rendered and damage and risk incurred. They may estimate the cost high enough to include a profit but will not undertake to justify profit as profit. Business men everywhere tacitly admit that profit is theft. If we have a friend very ill there may be a stable keeper cruel enough to charge us a higher price on account of our pressing need, for a horse to go for medical aid; but if he did, he would not justify the extra charge on our need, but on a possible increase of risk or damage in fast driving. There are only two possible grounds for price; 1st. Labor performed (including damage and risk.) 2nd. The distress of your victim, what your customer “will bear.” If he knows himself Mr. Abbott will not attempt to justify the latter as a basis of price.

He says that he is “so hard hearted” as to see no crime in a transaction that benefits both parties. We doubt it. A wealthy man is sick and must die unless he takes a certain pill; his physician knowing it refuses to give him the pill except on payment of a million dollars; the cash is paid and the patient lives; the transaction “benefits both parties,” for Croesus escapes death and the doctor “makes” a million. Is it right? Of course not. Why? Because the price exceeds the cost of the pill, and logically all price beyond cost is a swindle.

The paper and printing cost of thousand-dollar national bank bills is next to nothing; to keep them from being re-quired safes and bank vaults which cost heavily; if one will take them and guarantee their return to you when wanted equity would seem to indicate that you should pay him for defending them from thieves rather than that he should pay interest. But the borrower will monopolize the benefits? Not if the same rule of right applies to him as to the lender, for equity requires his prices also to be regulated by the cost involved. But the lender “foregoes the use of his money?” If he keeps and invests it he is entitled to realize only the amount invested and pay for his actual labor in the transaction; while the borrower relieves him of the cost of keeping it and should be paid therefore. The government prints or real estate pledged to redeem bank bills is as actually property when doing that service as when lying idle. Credit is gratuitous in nature and will be in business when piracy ceases to rule finance. The value of money is certainly as “real” as the value of any other species of property differing only in degree; but when Mr. Abbott gives the labor question as intelligent and attentive consideration as he has matters religious he will discover that the highest price “common justice” can recognize in any commodity is the cost of production. His impressive appeal in behalf of religious liberty justly carries weight because he attacks tyranny, not merely “excessive” tyranny. Christianity is a hindrance to progress not because it is excessively but essentially despotic. The

work begun by Roger Williams and continued by Kneeland, Channing, and Parker, Mr. Abbott is effectually following out; but we trust he will soon see that Free Money is not less essential to human progress than Free Religion.

THE HOURS OF LABOR.

Elsewhere we reprint the criticism of the Lawrence Journal upon our views of despotic methods to adjust the hours of labor, and think it no more than fair that Mr. Hinchcliffe should give his readers a chance to see our arguments in order that they may weigh the issues impartially. The “Ten Hour Bill,” which he with others is circulating as a campaign document, denies women the right to make their own contracts, and parents the right to contract for their children—thus implying that women are natural underlings and imbeciles and that parents are the natural enemies of their own offspring! If his method is not tyrannical, why does he not include men in the bill? Simply because, as he well knows, it would kill the thing, as Mr. Fitzgerald confessed in the Worcester Democratic Convention. The Ten-Hour-Law scheme is not worthy the consideration of sensible people until its advocates withdraw their standing effort to destroy the liberty of women even more effectually than it is done by the barbarous man-made codes of government generally.

But if he includes men, his scheme (though more consistently tyrannical) is equally illogical and absurd. It assumes to deal with corporations otherwise than as with individuals, in face of the fact that a corporation is but the collective voice of concurring individuals. Mr. Hinchcliffe is not weak enough to try to arbitrarily determine the hours of labor for one man but undertakes to force his scheme on a thousand! If the State declares Ten Hours to be a legal day’s work as it has determined the size of a quart, or the number of pounds in a ton, what then? Does Mr. H. concede the right of a State Constable to come into his office and forcibly prevent him and his co-workers from working eleven hours a day, if need be, to get out the Lawrence Journal according to agreement? If the State says three feet shall constitute a pace, a yard, must one stop just three feet and no more in hastening to pay his subscription to the Lawrence Journal? Eight hours are “a legal day’s work” in Connecticut; we helped to place that law upon the statute book some years ago, but we told the people then, what has been apparent all along, that the law would be of service only as an incidental means of agitation, a monitory note of the coming battle.

Mr. Hinchcliffe cites the English Ten Hour Law. The bulk of our factory-operative population are composed of English, Welsh, Irish, and French Canadians—all subjects of British rule. If the English solution is so satisfactory, why do these hosts of English subjects fly from ten-hour happiness at home. Why did Mr. Hinchcliffe, himself an Englishman, run from the legalized bliss which he is endeavoring to force on us? Because the ten-hour scheme has not touched the great question of equity between labor and capital. As well attempt to overturn the Alps with a straw as to fight the money power with a measure which is at once hostile to liberty and destitute even of an idea of honesty. Capitalists keep the laboring classes down, enforce long hours and scant pay not by corporate power, or through the natural intelligence of men to overwork themselves or their women and children; but through the ill-gotten gains in their hands, accumulated through land ownership, interest, rents, dividends, and other forms of profits. Mr. Hinchcliffe may sneer at what he terms “wild and impracticable theories” if he chooses, but we shall not be turned aside from the only possible path to a general and permanent reduction of the hours of labor by any amount of denunciation or denunciation from men who at the outset, fling overboard liberty and equity in a contest like this.

—Ellis Gray Loring, the abolitionist, used to say that the Boston Advertiser was an admirable newspaper, always reliable where no principle is involved. It says that in the recent Butler row

“Governor Washburn stood in the place of order, good laws and good morals, and for everything that is fit to be preserved in the traditions and character of the Commonwealth.”

So Governor Aiken with his thousand slaves once stood for “law,” “order” and “morals” in South Carolina, which proved nevertheless to be a “Commonwealth” of men and women stealers that the interests of the commonwealth required to be put down. Right will come uppermost here also, for the Massachusetts property oligarchy is doomed to follow the slave oligarchy to retribution and oblivion. Today, as in the past, the Advertiser defends the right of the strong to plunder the weak, only asking a more “refined” and “cultured” way of doing the thing than that employed by slaveholders. The same spirit which made laborers chattels in Carolina makes them paupers and criminals by class legislation in Massachusetts.

—Gen. Butler’s stock in trade as a labor reformer is very limited, if he supposes the demands of equity are conceded or even respected by the ten-hour twaddle of the democratic and republican platforms. If the “mothers and daughters of Massachusetts are next to the angels in heaven” he will not be able to “elevate” them further by the ballot while he denies them the right to make their own labor contracts. His ten-hour advocacy may be a clever political joke, but it is a grave insult to an intelligent sense of right.

—The Boston Investigator, advertised in another column, more than forty years ago in its infancy “experienced religion,” so effectually that it has never been troubled with that disease since. With Descartes it believes in destroying all ones old opinions when coming to the examination of new subjects. This true scientific method makes not perverts but converts to a knowledge of the truth, as it is in JESUS, in other better men, in women and nature universally.

—H. H. Bigelow, of Worcester a very dangerous heretic who has already smashed up much theological crockery has issued three telling pictorial illustrations of the fight between the “Train”-ed Bull “Liberalism” (Geo. F. Train) and the Young Men’s Christian Ass-ociation, Judge “Knower” Davis, Anthony Comstock, and other pious “cre-turs.” Send for them.

—The August Atlantic speaks of “those old families who have traditional right to control the politics of Massachusetts.”

So it seems our rulers are now bowed and spurred to ride the masses not by “grace of God” but of Respectability. The “First Families” of Massachusetts are becoming wonderfully like the old “F. V.’s” of the South.

—The Baldwin Place (Boston) Home for Little Wanderers refuses to take “babes not born in wedlock.” So it seems that this, extremely religious “Home” shuts out even the “natural” children of Christian ministers. J. S. T. says Jesus could not have got into such a “Home” for he was a very “irregular” baby.

—The Chicago Journal thinks the Republican party “a unit” upon the question of repealing the salary grab law. If it is a unit against it how could it have passed a Congress overwhelmingly republican and been signed by a republican President with alacrity?

—THE ANTI-MONOPOLIST, published by George Bros. & Co., 1342 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, is a monthly paper devoted mainly to discussion of the money question. Terms, \$1.00 per annum. The Editor copies articles from THE WORD but does not give credit.

—The Index has moved to Boston and taken up its abode at No. 1 Tremont Place, very near the new Orthodox Congregational Publishing House. All quiet along that Potomac yet.

—Grand Deputy J. C. Abbot of the Farmers’ Trades Union says that of 561-2 cents per bushel which corn brings in New York, 481-2 cents go for transportation.

—THE LABOR REFORMER is the title of a new weekly paper issued from 90 Lloyd St., Buffalo, N. Y. Terms, \$1.00 yearly. Glad to see it.

—Mr. Ingall’s very able article is concluded on 4th page.

—The “protected” manufacturing East makes money, while the unprotected agricultural West loses money. The Eastern manufacturer has a tariff framed for his especial benefit, while the Western farmer has no governmental interference on his behalf. The consequence of this created inequality is, that the wealth of the country is concentrated in the hands of the Eastern-manufacturers, who are also the railroad owners of the country. The man who holds the purse rules in business matters the world over, and in this country the tariff puts the purse in the hand of the manufacturer and railroad builder. In this country, in 1870, \$2,118,208,769 were invested in manufactures. The total production of the manufactures, less cost of material, was \$1,743,898,200, and the net profit was \$968,313,857, or over forty-five per cent. on the investment. On the other hand, there were \$11,124,958,747 invested in agriculture. The gross production was \$2,447,538,658, or less than two per cent. on the investment; and as taxes average about two per cent., there is absolutely no profit at all in agriculture. The difference between forty-five per cent. and nothing is the difference between the profit of manufacturing and farming.—Col. A. M. York (Kansas).

—We should extend our fraternal congratulations to the farmers of the West, and tender to them our best wishes for success in their efforts to procure cheaper transportation from the prairies of the West to the tide-waters of the East. No man, I think, can fail to see that the great demand of New England workmen, to-day, is for cheap bread, and that at present the great prerequisite to cheap bread is cheap transportation. The great battle now fighting for cheap transportation in the West is essentially our own battle, and we should not fail here and now to bid the champions of cheap transportation and the enemies of all railroad monopolies a hearty God speed. Parties should touch directly upon the living questions of the day—upon the restoration of our currency, the reformation of our banks, the unfettering of our commerce, the punishment of public thieves, the suppression of Credit Mobilier scandals, the extinction of all forms of social spoliation, the education of the people and the elevation of labor.—E. M. Chamberlain to the Lowell Ten-Hour Convention.

—We may talk largely of the liberties our fathers won, but unless we can also speak of liberties preserved, all is mere sound and smoke; and tyranny, not liberty, rules the land! Why those seventy bank presidents in the halls of Congress? It means prosperity to bank monopoly, death to popular liberty, and long life to financial tyranny! We are too apt to call it the end of the struggle for political liberty in America. It is a mistake. The struggle for liberty is never ended. The foes of freedom are diverse and protean! One day it is the king of England; next it is the slave power; now it is corporate rings and monopolies, controlling finance, commerce and politics. To-morrow the tyrant will assume some new form, but the struggle will be the same. It is might seeking to crush the right! Prerogative and power on the part of the few seeking to tax and dominate the many.—John Davis in Lawrence (Kansas) Vox Populi.

—Are we farmers such an unruly set, that we need all this governing? I am for agitating the startling proposition, that they who need the governing, or the governmental protection, shall help pay for it. The two classes of society who make our governments more necessary than any other, are almost exempt from taxation, namely, the rich, and the spend-thrift and vicious. We cannot and must not stand the present rate of taxation. Our fathers took up arms about a much smaller amount.—Henry Bronson in Lawrence (Kansas) Vox Populi.

—The New Bedford Labor Reform Convention will probably be held the third Sunday in October. Particulars in our next.

—I look for the time when reform will be invitation not criticism merely.—S. H. Morse.

—In the late California election the people won against the railroads.

FARMERS' WIVES.

Probably the most envied man to-day is the farmer as he looks about at his myriad of new friends, sees his credentials in the hard gristles of his hands, and feels complacently that he is now about the "biggest thing out." But how long can the farmer hold his proud position in the eye of the public as a man who has risen to maintain his rights and secure an equitable balance of things when the public learn that he is after all selfish, and has left behind him oppression seemingly more hopeless, inequality more glaring and bitter than that from which he is trying to free himself. Can anything be more hopeless than the position of the average farmer's wife? Life to her is a ceaseless drag as an inferior. Whatever may have been her education, the incessant demands of her life leave her no time to keep up the culture of her mind. Though her husband may have some taste for literature, she has no time for it. He has his odd hours of rest—his evenings, wet days and Sundays, but the lash of necessity is over her always. He may keep himself abreast with the thought of the world, but her life is "one hurried grin" with garden, milking, poultry, washing, ironing and all the inexorable demands of maternity and housewifery. Even occasional visits to town are made unpleasant to her by a sense of her inferiority in dress and style to her town sisters who stare at her plainness, little thinking in their emptiness that "all work and no play" makes woman dull.

When not too tired she goes to her meeting on Sundays, and her lean, famished, intellectual nature fastens on even the poor, stereotyped sermon of a three hundred dollar preacher with some pleasure. It is, at least, a change and a rest. The farmer goes down to the blacksmith shop or the store, and talks by the hour about the government of his country, but his wife is a mere cipher—except for the purpose of breeding sons to defend her husband's country. She has no country. She is only the hard-worked servant of a man who has one. Being a woman she might have ideas of her own about the laws, about justice—and a woman who has something of her own to say is always interesting. "Government is essential to man; and revenue, equally essential to government," say our farmers. Did they think whether government is essential to woman? Are those who refuse justice to others in a position to demand it for themselves? Farmers complain of official corruption, but ignore a class who, without a voice to remedy it, are forced to submit to a spread of corruption originating wholly among men. Are women less interested in public purity than men? Salutary winds have always touched disfranchised classes last and lightest. What the farmer may save in a reduced taxation and gain by a higher price for his produce will not mean rest, books, culture and convenience for his wife, but the purchase of another "forty" or "eighty," another hired hand or more stock. Possibly it may send a son to college, but it will not, I fear, help to make an instructor, adviser, intellectual leader and guide of the wife who ought so to be.—L. in Aurora (Indiana) News.

"THE DANGEROUS CLASSES."—Those who possess the wealth, influence, and knowledge, and the moral and religious power, have got to learn that "they are their brother's keepers." That they cannot live in a community of which all these so called dangerous classes form a part, and not be effected, well or ill, by the moral, social or physical condition of that part of the body of human society. Under the prevailing systems of business there is no harmony, co-operation or sympathy between the upper and middle classes. While wealth, by gravitation, is drifting into pyramids, the middle classes are as steadily drifting towards poverty, and the industrial classes proper are sinking into hopeless dependence. To-day there are in this city 50,000 unemployed, or only partially employed, laborers, mechanics, clerks, accountants, and tradespeople, most of whom are willing to give value for their living. Dependent upon these 50,000 workers are families, aver-

aging five each, making up a population of 250,000 out of our million of people, who are compelled to struggle unequally, and almost hopelessly, to maintain themselves decently and honestly.

It is from their struggling ranks that the 20,000 juvenile vagrants, of both sexes, warm into life, and mature into criminals and prostitutes. But the critic and moralist will say, rum is the fruitful cause of all these disorders. Granted in part, but only in a measure. Intemperance forms only a part of the depressed conditions under which the laboring classes are groaning. Compelled idleness often drives to strong drink, as does over toil, and that depression, that always comes of want and cold, or hunger, or miserable home conditions. It is then that strong drink, for the hour, vainly strives to banish or soothe their woes. Then too, the absolute necessity of social life or amusement, can only be realized by patronizing the corner gin-mill. Make better conditions and two-thirds of intemperance would cease among the poor and toiling millions. Make better conditions. How? By doing justice to labor. By making conditions wherein every human soul, who is willing, shall have employment and recompense.—Keyser's (N. Y.) Monthly.

—Our woman suffrage friends who, last year, sold themselves for a "respectful-republican-party-consideration" will see how "Christian Statesmen" manage the "dear people" in San Francisco by the following extract:

The Hon. Wm. H. Sears, President of the Republican Convention, and a candidate for State Senator on the railroad ticket, talked to these Italian fishermen and asked humbly for their votes. He concluded: "And now boys, we'll go over the way and drink to Republicanism in California, Republicanism in Italy, and Republicanism throughout the world." The honorable gentleman's speech up to this point had called forth no demonstrations of enthusiasm; but when drinks were mentioned, two hundred "bravos" rent the air. Across the street they piled like so many cattle, the honorable representative of the Central Pacific Railroad in their midst. It was a low groggery into which the select party entered, and there they were furnished with all the vile whiskey they could drink, the honorable gentleman joining them. They started for home reeling drunk, perhaps to beat their wives and children, but all pledged to vote the Republican ticket. The indications are that rum, money, and Federal patronage may conquer, and that the Central Pacific Railroad is about to add another link to the iron chain of bondage which it has imposed upon the people of California.

—Mrs. O. F. Shepard writes from Vineland, N. J. to Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly:

"I must for the present devote myself to Dress Reform as a special branch of the central work of woman's emancipation. . . . Suggestions as to the best methods of procedure, how to raise money to be used in publishing and distributing tracts, or help to obtain a public hearing in any other way will be gratefully received and duly acknowledged."

In reply to the N. Y. Herald reporter who said "she wore a man's coat and pants" at the Vineland Convention, she says:

"If he will produce the man who owns my coat and pants, I promise to deliver them to the rightful owner; until then I intend to wear and enjoy them myself."

—The extent of the Farmers' Emancipation movement is indicated by the Grand Master of the National Grange, Mr. Dudley W. Adams of Waukon, Iowa, who reports that five thousand granges are now in operation with a membership of 450,000. An Illinois branch of this party "is opposed to railroad steals, tariff steals, salary grab steals, bank steals, and every other form of thieving by which the farmer and laboring classes are robbed of the legitimate fruits of their labor; favors controlling by law the railroad corporations of the State; submits to taxation and duties to meet the necessities of the government, but denounces as unjust and oppressive all taxation for the benefit of special classes; and favors the present banking system being so amended that all men, by giving the proper security, shall have equal privileges, so that supply and demand may regulate our money market."

—The (railroad) conflict is to be between the greatest forces—numbers and wealth. On one hand some forty millions of people; on the other the greatest concentration of power of consolidated capital in a few hands the world has ever seen.—Anna Walker.

Correspondence.

E. J. New Bedford, Mass.: "What can be done to stop Money and Banking in the United States? The swindle now practiced cannot be continued much longer. The present mode of banking is such a barefaced fraud that all must see the favoritism granted to a few rich houses and individuals, who have the exclusive right to own, use and circulate all the money of the nation, and have all the profits and benefits derived from the same. Each citizen should have an equal chance with the favored few; we take it for granted that paper money will be used as a circulating medium to facilitate trade and commerce. The right to use paper money for a circulating medium should belong to all the people alike. There should be only one money and that to emanate from all the people, made by and at the expense of the general government. Said money should be distributed equally to each citizen in the nation free of charge. The amount of money to be made and regulations for its use and circulation should be determined by a majority of all persons in the nation of the age of 18 years and upwards, including both male and female. This money should pass for its full face value in all parts of the Union. Now all persons who are in need of money (except the favored few) have to pay the present favorite 7 cents on a dollar interest per year, which is 50 times more than the first cost of the money borrowed. The first cost of paper money will not exceed 1-8 of one cent on the dollar. Verily, this present system of banking must come to an end. It cannot be possible that the great mass of the people will suffer this injustice much longer. It has been said that the masses have suffered and bled enough to see the awful sacrifices they have made and are making for the benefit of the few favorites who have the control and monopoly of money."

THOMAS HASKELL, West Gloucester, Mass.: "In the midst of this murderous, lying confusion of tongues, I think it is time that the true word of justice should be heard. I do not expect there will be many that will listen to it. For expect the greatest struggle has commenced that we have ever witnessed. I know not what names the parties will assume, but I shall call them the "Church and State" and "Equal Rights" parties; the former possess most of the money and power, but the latter most of the true ability to sustain themselves and eventually will prevail."

ELIASH MURK, Ayer, Mass.: "When 'Art' shall be suited to 'The Word' the self-imposed burdens—the support of doctors, lawyers and ministers, charitable institutions, courts, prisons, drug, wine and police—will disappear. 'Man's lower self is prone to think 'tis right that makes the right; Man's higher self distinctly sees 'tis right that makes the right.'"

OLIVIA F. SHEPARD, Vineland, N. J.: "Dress Reform is receiving the thoughtful attention of progressive minds. The feeling is steadily gaining ground that sexual freedom and purity are impossible while woman is subjected to the immodest fashions which represent her as a sexual monster."

LUCY ROYER, Princeton, Mass.: "If I had all that I have earned, I should be a very rich woman. My claims may be outlandish but not outrageous."

ELEEN RIDEY, Princeton, Mass.: "If I was not foolish I would not be making a dish cloth of my tongue to talk with him."

R. D. ELDRIDGE, Baltimore, Md.: Thanks for book and papers received. They will be read with interest.

F. MELLISH, Ottawa, Kansas: "I live in a State where character is worthless; cash they respect."

AUSTIN KENT, East Stockholm, N. Y.: Next month.

J. F. BRAY, Pontiac Mich.: Next Month.

CASH RECEIPTS.

- G. B. Davis, .60; Warren Garrett, .68; A. G. Winslow, \$3.00; Thomas Haskell, .75; Mrs. Leeds, .25; Benj. Skinner, \$1.00; Henry G. Lande, .75; R. D. Eldridge, .75; F. Mellish, .90; Geo. J. Davis, .68; T. Dyson, \$2.00; W. T. Whitman, .60; W. J. Ames, .75; C. Miller, .75; L. M. Patterson, \$1.00; I. F. Thompson, .75; J. T. Everett, .37; Wm. Melvin, \$3.50; W. D. Young, .75; Mrs. Sarah Vosburg (by J. M. Hollis), .75; Wm. Huddleston, .25; Austin Kent, .50.

THE CHRISTIAN LABOR UNION.

We give below an official statement of the doctrines of this organization. What we printed in the July Word we are informed were the personal views of its President, Jesse H. Jones.

It is composed of persons who seek to obey Jesus Christ's command "Follow me," and to secure obedience to it, in the conduct of every form of human labor. It adopts the Bible principles of the Hebrew Char in its relation to Land, Labor, and Capi. It assumes that Jesus founded no new religion, but that he came to expand the one that existed in perfect form, by laying aside its combative, ceremonial, and self-fulfilling to their falsehood those spiritual principles in it, which pertained to the temporal life of man, as well as by bringing man into a right relation

to God. Believing that the poverty of the poor is very largely the cause of their absence from the Church, and of the low moral condition of some portions of them, the Christian Labor Union aims to help lift them out of that poverty, by moral and religious influences, and reform measures. Convinced that the present efforts of the wealthy and the cultured, to diffuse the gospel among the masses, will continue to be unsuccessful, because the spirit of Brotherly Love which brings all of Christ's disciples upon a common social level, is not sufficiently manifested in material relations, we urge upon all Christians the prayerful consideration of the following questions:

- 1st. Do not the teachings, example, and spirit of Jesus, require of his churches to-day, that there should be mutual care in sickness, and such systematic provision for the help of those who have need, that the degrading sense of pauperism which now too often embitters their hard lot may be removed? 2d. Do they not now require the Church to establish Labor Partnerships, and other Industrial Co-operative organizations, as a part of its Christian duty to its members? 3d. Do they not also now require that the principle of Labor service of each other as exemplified by the Master, in Washing the feet of his Disciples, should constitute the Law of Industry, and Exchange, and, inasmuch as this requires concert of action, is it not the duty of the Church to sustain those who abandon the present maxims of trade, and endeavor to act up on the principle which is inspired by Philosophy and Religion, that Cost is the Just Limit of Price? These, and all similar questions, the Christian Labor Union desires to discuss in the true spirit of Jesus. Its means for conducting such a discussion are limited. Therefore it asks of Christian people a hearing in their public places of assembly, and such aid of money in publishing tracts as they shall judge it deserves.

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LABOR, WAGES, AND CAPITAL. (Continued from Sept. Word.)

By J. K. INGALLS.

No one interested in the future of human society can look with unconcern upon the present aspect of our industrial affairs. The worker is beginning to realize his position as the creator of society's wealth, and to feel that hazard, rather than any system of justice or science, determines his share in the wealth he has produced. He discovers that he is the victim of a system—could it be reduced to any certain rule—which can never be made to favor the toiler; and that he is who must pay all the profits and shoulder all the risks of every venture, and though often losing can never win. I know our political economists claim that there may be gains without corresponding losses. I am not ignorant of the sophistry by which it is attempted to sustain this claim. It is assumed that under certain conditions of privation, results cannot be obtained by the same amount of effort as they can under more favorable conditions. Hence the standard of real service is not determined by the amount of effort put forth, but rather by the measure of labor saved to the one who can be supplied with more favorable conditions. The economical objection to this is plain; the moment we admit that the need or the condition of the one served, is to enter into the question of exchange of services, we involve a new element in purpose or motive. It will then become a mutual struggle not to supply each other's demand, but each will strive to subject the other to such conditions as will render his own service of paramount value.

The system of wages and profits effectually accomplishes this result: the one depressing the condition of the laborer and the other improving the fortunes of the employer. It may be sometimes necessary to give enormous salvage for the saving of ships and cargoes placed in perilous positions; but the effect must be to cause the wreckers to desire more wrecks, and it is not the fault of the system if they do not show false lights to lure mariners to destruction. When our service to another is to be measured, not by the amount of effort put forth, but the necessity to which he is reduced, our duty may then be to keep him in that necessitous condition rather than render him the required service. The system of profits, however, obviates the necessity for any intentional effort in this direction; for its inevitable operation is to force labor in to more and yet more necessitous conditions, wherein the increased exactions are shown—of course by the same rule—to be wise and salutary. The inequalities relied upon at the start to justify this unequal dealing are perpetuated thereby, and rendered more and more intolerable.

No fact is better established by political economy than the normal industry and frugality of mankind. Industrious habits and judicious accumulations and appropriations are found to take place almost in direct ratio to the proportion of the labor product which they are enabled to enjoy. As this proportion diminishes, improvidence and idleness prevail. It is equally true, that while profits often stimulate to great penuriousness and greed in individuals, they also, on the whole, excite to great extravagance and dissipation, and to the engendering of parasites and sinecurists; and hence, to increase the desire for expense and diminish the tendency to conservation. The general operation of the system of profits is to discourage industry, incite to extravagant consumption, and beget indifference to judicious accumulation. No wonder that useful labor is held in such contempt by both extremes of society, and that the attainment of the means of extravagant living, by whatever dishonest method, is respected and encouraged. I have already answered the argument of the economists, that unless the capitalist could be awarded profits, he would not allow his accumulations to be used productively. He has no other means of

preserving them in existence. It is sometimes urged that inasmuch as the tool, the machine, or seed lent, enables the borrower to do so much more than he could possibly do without them; that in paying usance he is not subjected to any loss, but he is actually benefited. Bastiat makes a very labored and specious plea from this premise; but it is a most puerile, inconsequent, and one-sided argument, from a mind so able and clear on other points.

But this is all hypothesis. Now for the facts. Notwithstanding the great advantage to be derived hypothetically under these circumstances, the lending of tools among workmen, both in country and city, is practiced widely, yet payment for their use is wholly unknown. Let a stranger go into the country and be destitute of tools, and he has little trouble in borrowing. The lender will be only glad to get them again in reasonable time and with moderate wear. On the frontier neighbors will turn out and assist the new-comer in rearing a cabin, and only ask that he shall take his turn in helping some other settler. But let him want the loan of a hundred dollars, or of a piece of land which is made monopolizable under our laws of tenure, and he will be required to pay ten to thirty per cent., although he returns all that he borrows—not as he did the tools, more or less worn—but unjured as well as unconsumed. This payment will tend to keep him in the same condition of need, because the amount of land and money do not increase by labor; and whatever is paid for their use is by so much labor's loss, whoever says to the contrary.*** No one with true manly feeling can contemplate occupying the position of a hireling all his life without disgust. Nor can any true man feel that the account is wholly settled between him and his life-long helpers when he has merely paid them the current wages during his prosperity and business success.***

We must moralize wealth, as the Positivists say, not merely through the exercise of benevolence and bestowment of charities. Let us supplement and complement benevolence with a justice which shall divide the labor-product according to work, and leave mere wealth little to bestow in charity, and labor nothing to ask of alms. Society has advanced to our present state of civilization through one grand conception:—the right of private property—the public acknowledgment of one's right to control his own labor-product. This idea is not yet so unwrought into our social and civil system as to supersede the older idea of force, particularly its subtler manifestations of cunning and mere intellectual domination. We have only just freed ourselves of slavery which totally ignored this idea, though arrogantly pretending to proceed therefrom; and in land monopoly and other systems of class legislation, we have still the relics of older barbarism. But the idea stands acknowledged in our theory of law and science of economics. Indeed, both the one and the other proceed from it, and could have no logical existence upon any other basis.*** The individual is protected in his private right to property, upon no other principle than because it is the actual product of his labor. If then another has produced something that I want, the science of economy, no less than that of morals, teaches me that to obtain it I must produce an equivalent in order to exchange with him. On the contrary, the theory of profits suggests, that although I may not take the whole of another's product by superior muscular force, I may take a part of it by guile, by duplicity, or superior intellectual activity. To the clear vision of reason, however, this latter conception is essentially the same unscientific, crude and barbarous notion, which in the earlier ages prompted the robbery and enslavement of labor.

We have now to supplement the right of private property with the recognition of the general truth that individual effort is of limited extent; that the wealth of society is the result of the united effort of aggregate labor. And it logically follows that those who represent the labor of the past, or capitalists, and those who do

the labor of the present, are equal partners, and should be rewarded in proportion to the labor performed. The remedy, then, lies in the direction of co-operation; not after any specific plan, but by giving place in our thought to the grand idea that the useful industries of society are carried on under a widely-extended copartnership. At present the products of this partnership are unwisely as well as unjustly distributed. Wages and profits partake of the character of hazard, bribery, and subsidies, and are not subject to any rational or equitable division. We must recognize the social as well as the private right in property. Industries of every kind, which do not begin and terminate with the individual, have a social as well as a private-side. Especially must we recognize the fact that exchange, finance, and distribution, are public rather than private functions.

We see a great discrepancy between classes who are employed at wages; but when we contrast the income of the producers with that of the individuals who accumulate profits, the inequality of the method is most glaringly conspicuous. Skilled mechanics do not realize over \$1,000 per year. Many useful laborers do not realize more than one-quarter of that sum. The agricultural laborer, whose work is, in fact, the most serviceable of all, is generally the most poorly paid. In contrast with this, there are persons with hundreds of thousands and even millions of income, who render no useful labor. They only speculate in the products of others' labor; monopolize the land which the poor need for homes and cultivation; make a "corner in Erie," or lock up some millions of green backs, and so profit by the general distress they produce. By our class laws they are thus enabled to plunder society of its wealth, and to impoverish most those who have produced the common treasure by their persistent toil.

The banker or merchant essays the performance of a public function, as truly such as the mayoralty or presidency. When these functionaries are unprincipled enough to grasp and lay by a few thousands or millions from the public funds, we justly regard them as malefactors. A broker, merchant, or landlord lays aside an equal or greater amount annually from the results of the general industry, and we honor him as one of our "merchant princes," "bank barons" or "railroad kings." Really they have made society just as much poorer, by their transactions, as the official delinquent; and there is no certainty that they will employ this accumulation to any better purpose than he. Science must despair of any intelligible method for the division of the labor product, or for any relief to society, from the existing conditions of poverty, venality and corruption, until the principle is practically recognized, that all genuine service has a social as well as a private interest; and our industrial, commercial, and financial affairs, are regulated upon this basis.—Brittan's Journal Jan. 1873.

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We give below of Gov. Booth the nature of the versus the Railroad ballot box in that

There is no less more emphasis than great war, and especially public government decay to a centralizing ruling class or government philosophical reason cess in war depends on and unity in action people become habituated until that is tolerated first accepted as a man that great wars go great leaders. And more potent reason, the inequalities by the accumulation of fortunes; and in our do not refer now to immediately out of the vast disbursements are great, but they realized by money disturbance of values. When gold fixed by the fluctuates between eighty, and all unsettled, so that criterion for another and distinct, the meagrecy and training, and they are make for themselves times see in shop wessented the social tury "before and after alize what a vast in inequalities of fortune our sense. What is now scarcely a t upper gallery; the cases approximation of corporate control ago would have sdom. This of itself insidious danger t cent of history k ward spirit form ward spirit. To p be a general equality of rights though and act riches tend to dest one hand a feeling of power, and opinece, the servility another class—wou in human nature, choice of their o's.

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For many years fashion for the ov own money. It been. It would ha and business-like The favorite plan and loans of credit guarantees of in