

THE WORD,

PRINCETON, NOVEMBER, 1873.

A LABOR REFORM CONVENTION will be held under the auspices of the New England Labor Reform League, in LIBRARY HALL, New Bedford, on Sunday, Oct. 19th at 10 1-2 o'clock A. M. and 21-2 and 7 1-2 P. M. E. H. Heywood, L. K. Joslin, John Orvis, S. H. Morse Mrs. E. L. Daniels, Dr. F. A. Palmer, J. K. Ingalls, C. A. Day and others are expected to address the Convention. The League offers a free platform for the discussion of the Labor question—all shades of opinion finding a hearty welcome.

"REFORM OR REVOLUTION"

In the cheap scare-crow with which sentimental thinkers and affrighted politicians and property holders, under concern not for their own soul's salvation, but to clutch a share of booty which more successful gamblers are gobbling up, seek to check the present drift of the game. On our first page will be found extracts from a very vigorous speech by Gov. Booth of California and also from Ex-Gov. Robinson of Kansas which voice the issues of the Farmers' battle with the railroads. But what does all this most excellent indignation amount to? "What the laws make property is property" say Vanderbilt, Scott, Astor, Grant and Co. Do the rebel Farmers and Gov. Booth propose to go behind that issue? Not at all. By a new deal of the cards they go for a "more equal distribution" of the plunder. Controlled by, if not composed of boss farmers and land owners, it is not strange that the Granges of the West so willingly get between the same sheets with the "farmers" of Boston and New York, the land-lords, money lords and profit mongers of the East? Why shouldn't they unite in God's name to trash the railroads and get more golden grain from rich chaff? Of course "workmen" and gullible woman's suffrage women are invited to help form a "new party" to respectable and perpetuate the old majority and profit swindle under fairer names. We do not question the honesty of Gov. Booth's purpose but his "good intentions" will pave a larger hell of poverty than he dreams of unless he makes the acquaintance of Equity Moon.

PROFIT, not Vanderbilt is the head devil that he must fight and the sooner he gets himself limbered up for the action the better. The wooden horse of "government control" which he trots out is filled with armed thieves more insidious than those with whom he lately broke a brave lance; for law, religion, literature, and public opinion are in conspiracy to bring working people more effectually under a general doom of poverty. The Eight-Hour and anti-Chinese ladder up which he scrambled into the governorship is worth being ashamed of, but not good evidence of intelligent advocacy of the rights of labor "Revolution?" We guess so, but the plowshare of Justice will go deep enough to turn under the sod all institutions, laws and religions which give men the power or the wish to own what they do not earn.

—AN EDITOR WRITING DOWN HIMSELF.

Some months ago Mr. Abbot of *The Index* was called in question by Benj. R. Tucker for his volunteer defense of taking interest on money. Since then there has been a running fire on this point, from his own subscribers, which has compelled him repeatedly to "rise to explain"; but each explanation has plunged him into deeper mire than that from which Mr. Tucker's letter afforded him an easy means of escape. *The Index* of October 9th contains a letter from another "Richmond" in the field, Wm. L. Heberling of Atalissa, Iowa, reasserting the no interest doctrine with much force and ingenuity. Mr. Abbot's reply is a "dead shot" at himself but does not refute a single point advanced. The mental shallowness which it reveals is truly painful to contemplate, for the sophistry which he stoops to use is not even ingenious. There is no more pitiable spectacle than an intelligent man wrestling with his own sense of right. In the old abolition fight that part of the slavchold-

er's work which was too dirty for lawyers, politicians, or even slave traders to undertake, some minister could always be found to engage in with alacrity.

Business men will not thank Mr. Abbot for this voluntary abasement of himself before the piratical deity PROFIT; for while we meet many who take interest on money we know of very few who so far lose their wits as to undertake to defend it as morally right. Mr. Abbot has successfully shed his clerical robes but his profession as a religionist is fast sinking him below the level of average manhood. Religious superstition under various systems, sects and creeds has hitherto been so potent an obstacle to human progress that the word religion itself has become a stench among intelligent people. Judged by its most conspicuous exponent "Free Religion" is now likely, not to lessen, but to increase a nuisance almost intolerable before; for Mr. Abbot has already sided with some of the worst evils of human society. To his advocacy of war, majority and military despotism, compulsory education and arbitrary marriage, he now adds a strenuous defense of Usury which even the Roman Catholic Church has a standing protest against. We do not ask him to go from the line of a chosen work to advocate any other reform; but we have a right to think that an advocate of religious liberty should not go out of his way to defend political and social despotism, and the worst form of economic injustice. We shall reprint Mr. Heberling's letter in our next with Mr. Abbot's reply.

The Crusts. We have brought it upon ourselves. We have spent too much borrowed money. We have built too many railroads on credit. We have lived too fast. We have made our houses palaces, and have banquetted on the luxuries of the world. We have exhausted our capital in great enterprises, and in the expectation of future profit we have fixed the resources that should have been left movable for daily use. And along with all this, too many of the leaders and the people have become corrupt and dishonest. And now the settling day has come, and our trouble is extreme.—N. Y. Sun

A "settling day" will surely come, but of a more serious kind than Mr. Dana seems to be aware of; in his abundant use of "we" and "our" in this penitential drivelling, he refers to a few property holders merely, "lame ducks" that come limping out of Wall St. gambling dens. But these brokers are no worse than the man who sells a ton of coal, a barrel of flour, or a twopenny newspaper for more than he gives. The business of business is to get a living without work, as Mr. Dana in his younger and more honest years when an oracle of Brook Farm, thought it worth while to show. Where are the under million whom "we" the upper tendom descend to live on? The "settling day" will abolish land ownership in N. Y. City, interest, rents and every other form of profit by which "we" light fingered gentry of the property oligarchy now fatten on the earnings of honest people.

—Moses Hull proposes to revive *The Crucible* formerly published in Baltimore Md., but to be re-issued as Hull's *Crucible*, from 27 Milford St., Boston, Mass. Mr. D. W. Hull of Hobart, Ind., brother of the Editor chief, is an editorial and business partner in the new enterprise. The number for January first already out, is a decided success, showing resources of intellectual and moral power behind the Editorial throne which cannot be easily whistled, laughed, cursed or mobbed down. Saved from the ignorance, superstition and stupidity of the Methodist Church in which he was once a minister, distinguished as a Spiritualist Lecturer and writer of books on many themes, and now a pioneer in social reform, Moses Hull is one of the very few living men having intelligence to perceive and courage to defend and practice Essential Truth. Those who now assail him will learn ere long, that not he and his present associates, but they and their miserable lives and systems are now on trial. *The Crucible* is fur-

nished at \$2.50 for 52 weeks or 6 cents single copy. Those interested to disseminate truth (and who are not) should see that it has a paying circulation.

—The *Lawrence Journal* is mistaken in supposing that we sneer at foreigners, English, Irish, Chinese or Africans have as much right to the free use of untilled American soil, or to own and run Factories as our so-called natives. We asked Mr. Hinchcliffe for a full and candid discussion of the Ten-Hour-Law scheme. Why does he decline it? We have reprinted his articles but his readers are not allowed to see our full statement of the case as given in the August and October Words. If Mr. Hinchcliffe prefers an oral discussion we will meet him on a public platform before the factory operatives of Lawrence or any other locality.

—On 4th page we print a Platform for a new party which has original features worth considering. We are sorry the author favors a license law for that is a bad sort of monopoly. While not much given to liquor or tobacco (it would require a large salary to induce us to use any of the unconstitutional stuff) we yet go for free run on principle. If people cannot be trusted to say what they shall eat and drink the sooner we go back to pope and monarchy the better. The Prohibitory-Law movement is the worst combination of tyranny, stupidity and treachery modern legislation has given birth to. If the Temperance Reform survives it the fact will be good evidence of its inherent and indestructible vitality.

—How long do reformers propose to pay demented deference to a theological fog bank called God? If we are earnestly endeavoring to incarnate Essential Right we shall not be stupid enough to suppose that the overruling Intelligence can be either coaxed or fooled by any style of worship. One is in close quarters when he feels compelled to lie or swear; but praying is about the weakest business we can engage in. If one must pray the less lie or she says about it the better.

—Love relations are closer and more enduring than are our blood relations; for what is Love but the common blood the animating life of humanity? Against your bonds and warehouses, against banks real and personal estates against Property with all its imperial power and rude insolence we put Love, the fellow-feeling which makes people kind and which conquers money majorities and armies.

—The *Woman's Journal* is mistaken in supposing that the Democratic State Convention included men in their ten-hour-law tomfoolery. Mr. Salmon of Lowell moved to make the expression impartial, but the narrow-minded blockheadism of Mr. Woman's Suffrage Fitzgerald was able to hold the party to its old classification of women with "idiots paupers and criminals."

—Our thanks are due the Editor of *DER PIONEER*, the Boston organ of the Germans, for recent copies of that paper. His "Platform of a Reform Party" is a heavier dose of Bismarkism than we are now prepared to take. He sugar-coats European despotism in democratic phrases thinking Americans gullible enough to swallow it.

—The "Approaching Conflict," advertised in another column is a well written and very interesting book. Mr. Wilcox the author holds grave and startling views of things political and social which are well worth examining.

—When an industrious and enterprising man is cut off in the prime of life it is not easy to explain why; yet religion teaches us to believe that the Lord has put him "where he will do the most good."

—One has no more right to sell land than he has to sell his mother. Indeed in selling land he sells his mother, for what is land but the nursing parent of us all?

—Long Branch is said to be the summer watering place of Grant's Administration. To what extent it is also its liquoring place is not reported.

—Of the 219 members of the last Congress 134 were Lawyers, 11 Farmers, and 64 of all other occupations.

—No elaborate argument is needed to prove the importance of united action to forbid the bans of Church and State. The men who are so loud in their cry for the incorporation of their God into the Constitution of the United States represent a class who have been found obstructing the wheels of every reform in the past; leaving to Infidels, Spiritualists and the like the task of getting man into the Constitution through the abolition movement, they now oppose the efforts of the same liberal elements to put woman into the Constitution through the female suffrage movement; they represent the men who discharged school-teachers for attending the church of Theodore Parker, and a host of tyrannical acts lie at their door. Zealots should prove whether their God, whom they desire to enthroned in the national capitol, is a God of justice and love and humanity, or not. Do the works of his followers demonstrate this to be a fact? If the unbiased mind judged the characteristics of this God by the position assumed by the Church in reference to all great reforms in the past, the scale of his superiority would "kick the beam."

And this method of proving a faith or principle by works I would also apply with unsparring hand to the reform in which, as liberals, we are embarked; each should endeavor to set to the world an example of courage and self-devotion, matched with spotless purity of heart and life. Free Religion can hope to successfully outstrip the sects in the race for general acceptance among thinkers, only as it shows that it tends to produce better men and women than the churches can. Sterling character, not brilliant intellect, rules the world, and the life-example of the reformer is more powerful than his words.—Ella Davis Rockwood.

—THE JOURNEY OF LIFE.—Ten thousand human beings set forth together on their journey. After ten years, one third, at least, have disappeared. At the middle point of the common measure of life, but half are still on the road. Faster and faster, as the ranks grow thinner, they that remain till now grow weary, and rise no more. At threescore and ten, a band of some four hundred yet struggle on. At ninety, these have been reduced to a handful of thirty trembling patriarchs. Year after year they fall in diminishing numbers. One lingers, perhaps, a lonely marvel, till the century is over. We look again, and the work of death is finished.—*The Investigator*.

—Ten years rule of the protective tariff policy with every possible advantage in its own favor has swept the commerce of the United States from the ocean, destroyed the export trade in respect to nearly all the manufactured products, harassed and vexed the entire mercantile community, impoverished the agriculturist, unequally affected the distribution of wealth, and by increasing the cost of all the tools and implements of production imposed a tax upon the whole nation so grievous that its further continuance has become almost a matter of impossibility.—*David A. Wells*.

—I was in Congress when the salary was but \$3,000, and I always found it more than sufficient to meet my necessary personal expenses. When it was raised to \$5,000 I thought it too much, and think so still, but raising it to \$7,500 is nothing more or less than straight stealing. Every year that I was in Congress I laid by a portion of my salary, and none of my constituents ever complained that I didn't live decently. The people don't send their representatives to Washington to live like Princes, buck the tiger, and keep half a dozen of mistresses.—*Ethel B. Washburne*.

—S. H. Morse says the popular idea of co-operation is—"Let us combine together as one man to cheat the rest of the world."

—The subject of Mr. Morse's address to the New Bedford Convention will be "The World's Peace"

—Col. Tom Scott is said to control six hundred and seventy million dollars worth of railways. By this means he wields the destinies of the life earnings of one hundred and sixty-two thousand men.—*John Wilcox*.

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THE SCHOLAR IN POLITICS.

Carlyle's analysis of representative government is "If, of ten men, nine are recognized as fools, which is a common calculation, how in the name of wonder will you ever get a ballot-box to grind you out a wisdom from the votes of these ten?" Of course the superficial answer to this extravagance is, "Educate the other nine." But it is an unsatisfactory answer. You cannot always educate them. They are not always willing to take education if you have the power to give it. They have not always the ability to receive it, however willing they may be to take, and able you to give. At the best it is a remedy for the next generation;—not for the one in which, for us and ours, representative government must succeed or fail. Mr Spencer has a better answer; and it is one that deserves special note in a consideration of American politics by American scholars: "Those who elaborate new truths, and teach them to their fellows, are nowadays the real rulers, the unacknowledged legislators, the virtual kings. When the dicta of the thinker cannot get established in law until after a long battle of opinion—when they have to prove their fitness for the time by conquering time, we have a guarantee that no great changes which are ill-considered or premature can be brought about." There, then, is our hope. With the scholars of the land rests the real control of its democratic representative government. If the thinkers are doing their duty, they are the real rulers. And their rule is pre-eminently safe, because delayed till, in the battle of opinion, they have fairly won it. But they fail in their high place, and are false to the country that claims their best service, as well as their own interests, if they keep daintily out of the actual strife. Their place is in the market-place with Alcibiades, quite as much as under the plane trees with Socrates.

"The finding of you Able Man," says Carlyle, "is the business well or ill-accomplished, of all social procedure whatever, in this world." The power and real rule of the Able Man is to-day as absolute as ever. "The tools to him that can use them,"—more and more, as civilization grows complete, that become the inexorable, unvarying rule of every successful business in life. Only the character of the Able Man has changed. Carlyle found him generally a soldier. Now he is never such; or if by chance a mere soldier drifts into the Able Man's place, he is an anachronism. But, year by year, in business, in law in politics, more and more the man of the highest intellectual equipment and the best disciplined faculties comes to the front and takes command. The scholar does have his place, and can get his hearing, if he will. The function of the scholar in politics is to oppose the established, and an intellectual leadership of the radicals; to resist the tyranny of the party and the intolerance of political opinion, and to maintain actual freedom as well as theoretical liberty of thought; and candid consideration of every question on its individual merits; fairness to antagonists and a willingness always to hear the other side.—Whitlaw Reid.

Hell. The feudal system after being banished from the earth still exists in the heavens and men suppose they get so much protection for so much service. Their Chief too has plenty of dungeons, room, nicely heated, and also a patent contrivance by which he can roast his victims without the disappointment of having them die, so that he can regale his ears with their shrieks forever. The followers of this Chief are sustained by the thought that they shall some day banquet with him in the upper rooms where they too shall in the intervals of singing psalms, be delighted with the screams of their neighbors parents or children, suffering endless torment down below. The priest still, with shame, grasps the mite that belongs by right to the widow and orphan, and thunders his obstructions mostly on imaginary sins, while he rings the praise of imaginary virtues.—J. Q. Sands in Woodhull & Claflins Weekly.

—LORD BACON said loaning for interest was "a bastard use of money."

Correspondence.

J. F. BRAY, Pontiac, Mich.: "If the press, the pulpit, trades-unions, granges, labor struggles, temperance and woman's rights movement, and other signs of the times, be of any value, they appear to show a universal social wrong. The whole social fabric seems rotten, and falling to pieces. Nothing is held sound. From our various standpoints we look at this or that individual measure of reform as the one thing useful. If we have not yet accomplished reforms, we have at least excited thought, and prepared the way for them. As we progress further, we shall cease to regard these innumerable social principles, but shall look into the constitution of society itself. Here is the source of all our troubles.

We would work fewer hours, have more pay, break up monopolies, restrict the monied power, have a fair division of labor and products, and establish a higher civilization. What progress are we making? Is there some vital principle of social wrong from which all these minor wrongs emanate? Is not that found in the division of society into capitalists and laborers? What is this other than a modern phase of the old feudal system? What action have any of our reform conventions yet proposed to put an end to our troubles? How is our gigantic monied power, with its numberless robberies and tyrannies, to be reached? Do not our individual reforms involve an endless war and agitation, with no steady results? What furnishes the sinews of strength to our adversaries? Money? And is not our weakness due to the lack of it? If the great body of the people were sufficiently united and organized to fill congress and every state legislature with temperance men, eight-hour men, woman's rights men, or the advocates of any other isolated reform, they might accomplish that particular object, but might not the same union and organization effect all these things simultaneously, and a great many others, if working on a broader and more general platform? These are all social reforms, but a fundamental social reform that brings labor and capital together in one homogeneous body will necessarily destroy at once all the tyrannies and dependencies which grow out of the present condition of things.

But how bring labor and capital together? Will capital consent to take in labor as a partner in joint profits or earnings? Will the man who has money ally himself with the man who has no money, but labor only? It is not to be expected. How, then, shall the case be reached? Very easily, provided the people at large can be made to perceive that there is no hope of redress for social and governmental grievances except through social reconstruction. Other than Congress and the state legislatures, comes as a matter of course, the people. Having this power and legal authority, it is easy to crush out at once every tyranny and monetary iniquity under which the masses suffer. Consolidate productive industry into corporate bodies, call in all federal currency and abolish the national banks. Where then is the "monied power"? Feeble as an infant. Its power is withdrawn at once. The people's federal government issues a new currency, legal tender for everything. This currency shall be lent exclusively to these incorporated producers, who forthwith produce and distribute and exchange as similar bodies do now.

What would be the effect of such a social and industrial reform. An end to rings, to speculators and monopolies, to all idlers, to all overwork and poverty, to social tyranny, to every evil which we now seek to remedy through other means. Equal status, social exchange for equal values. There would be no profits for one degree from loss of another. Present antagonisms would be succeeded by universal co-operation. Society at large would be one homogeneous industrial combination, with equal rights, duties, and rewards according to service. There is not a reform now contended for which would not naturally grow out of this order of things. Social reconstruction must come, in some shape. It is a necessity of the age, growing out of modern progress. Labor is clamoring for it throughout the civilized world, and the best intellects are turned towards it. Let us begin social reconstruction before and above all other things. It is essential to the man who has little or nothing, that he may gain something; and to the man who has much, that he may preserve what he has.

"I think the points of my document well taken. As the old state rights theory makes the contracting parties the ultimate judges of the U. S. constitution, so I make the contracting individuals the ultimate judges of the state constitution. With this difference, however, that the states delegate a part of their natural rights, as states, to the federal gov., while individuals delegate none of their natural rights to the gov. of Massachusetts. In short, I am trying to introduce the principle of individualism into current discussions of state politics. The liquor sellers, whatever may be justly said against them in other respects, are, at this moment, and are interested on the side of natural rights, and are interested to give publicity and circulation to ideas of natural rights.

We are cursed now in politics by "causes," the advocates of the different "causes," not being in pursuit of individual liberty, but of domination over other people, so that they may govern other people in the interest of their "causes." The temperance cause, as such, is a nuisance, being run for the purpose of giving notoriety, influence or power, to the supporters of the cause, some of whom drink wine very

freely with me, at the Parker House, and elsewhere. It seems to me that LIBERTY, the right of every man to do as he deems please, so long as he does it at his own risk and cost, is the only banner under which we can all rally, and fight to advantage intestinally, as well as against the common enemy. But you will, of course, act according to your best judgement. In my opinion, Garrison abolition tactics are absolutely out of place in the existing crisis. We have the constitution, state and federal, on our side, not against us.

GEORGE PRINDLE, Mc Gregor, Iowa: "Only one thing meets the needs of this world i. e., Radical Universal Reform and Education. That means that every Reformer shall have perfect love to every one. The first business of each is to let God—Good—Love—reign within, and heaven—harmony—take the place of envy and malice. There is a change needed in each heart. By atonement? No! But by living for the good of others, as our elder brother did.—By breathing in life from Our Father's Life! By living for the Kingdom of Heaven or Harmony on Earth. I feel that Father's Love in my soul now. Feel, did I say? Yes! That man or woman that cannot feel he or she has an everliving and everloving soul, is an undeveloped animal of the intellectual kind. The person that cannot believe in the Infinite Omnipresence, and his or her own Immortal Existence—is from my view stupefied with materialism—probably, sensualism. Out then Reformers, from socialism, materialism, positivism, selfishness and hate, and let the spirit of Jesus and the Love of God reign within you, and then lead on the armies of progress, until the will of God be done on Earth, and the meek inherit it, as they, and they alone, surely will; for fighters are self-destructive."

—Boston, Mass.: "The summer boarding season over, I should think you would be some lonesome—but some happy also to be rid of so many hungry mouths. There you have 'The Word' and that as J. C. said shall never pass away. The addressed J. C. was of course mistaken in calling it his 'Word.' But the good man had not heard of the sons of men now living.*** T. is reading Andrew's 'Constitution of the Pantarchy.' People in just subordination to the thinking head of the world. Ah! Must we 'the people' carry our heads under our arms? Shall we let out our thinking? Then would our occupation be gone! No; two heads if one is a sheep's head, or one's own. If that is sheepish what would the 'Pantarchy' known concerning its best palubum? Now Andrew I'll pick my own sorrel for myself."

J. C. HOREY, Black River Falls, Wis.: "A man who works very hard at taking away my earnings and still claim to be a member of the wages class who in act and deed are doing no injury to any one. The Word is read here by those who can get it and I shall be glad to extend its circulation is this quarter."

W. M. HUBLESTON, Lotus, Ind.: "I am proud to say that I am an infidel to all sectarian religion; for I do know it is all a humbug. I am an infidel Spiritualist, a liberty loving philosopher ventilating my wrath. Abbot is a damned fool. He says in effect that because men have an opportunity for stealing, therefore they have a right to charge for sacrificing that opportunity! What could be more barbarous?"

J. A. EAST Editor Toledo Sun: "The Word is an advanced reform paper, and contains more interesting truths in its sixteen short columns than we have been able to find in our entire list of exchanges for the past year."

CHARLES E. TRUESDELL, Princeton, Mass.: "The rich have ruled long enough With usury and that sort of stuff; When people listen to The Word, Workers will be lucky indeed."

TO THE READERS OF THE WORD. Most of you know I have been over 16 years confined to my bed and chair—and fed 12 years with a teaspoon,—and that I am supported more or less by charity. In this article I only ask all who are interested in the discussion of Love and Marriage, if able, to send me one dollar for the three articles following: "Free Love"—a book,— "True and False Love"—a tract,—and "Mrs. Woodhull and her Social Freedom"—a pamphlet. I am in need and will mail all these post-paid, for any sum not under 50 cts, to those who do not feel able to send me more. Write your address very plain. Austin Kent East Stockholm, St. Lawrence Co. N. Y.

—Sure as fate it is on the cards for a revolution which nothing but that of '91 in Paris will equal unless capital is wise in time. Millions of men are in chronic unrest; a few minds can fling them into the ranks which write Reputation on their banner.—Wendell Phillips.

—Men live by truth and stand in need of expression. Every word was once a poem, every new relation is a new word.—Emerson.

APPROACHING CONFLICT.

The United States government to be overthrown by a conflict of arms, and to be superseded by a military dictatorship. Within five years the first blow will be struck by the Republican Party that will end in a complete defeat of their aspirations, and a final overthrow of the American Republic. Politics, Religion, and the aspirations of the industrial classes, Woman's Rights, and socialism to form the issues. Industry, and Liberalism will in the end be victorious, and the accumulated wealth stolen from the toiling millions, will be confiscated to meet the current expenses of the war. The nation is slumbering upon the brink of ruin as unconsciously as it was the hour when the first gun at Sumpter announced the approaching downfall of African slavery. The most startling prelude to the future destiny of a nation, ever issued from the Press. A complete elucidation of the relations of capital and labor, written especially for the Patrons of Husbandry.

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E. H. HEYWOOD, EDITOR

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THE WORD, PRINCETON, MASS.

PROJECT OF A PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES FOR A NEW POLITICAL PARTY TO BE CALLED THE CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY: since all political parties claim to be constitutional—to be called THE PARTY OF STRICT CONSTRUCTION.

Whereas, It has become the immediate and imperative duty of the self-respecting, self-educating and non-office-seeking portion of the community to organize itself for self-protection, into a political party altogether distinct from the old parties formed to advance class interests and secure public plunder; and

Whereas, The assertion that the people of Massachusetts when they constituted themselves as a sovereign and independent body-politic, surrendered a part of their natural rights to their government for the common good, is an assertion directly counter to historical fact, and the statement of a political heresy nowhere countenanced in the constitution of Massachusetts, but, on the contrary implicitly denounced by it; and

Whereas, The constitution of Massachusetts declares that "the end of the institution, maintenance and administration of government," is (among other things) "to furnish the individuals who compose the body-politic with the power of enjoying in safety and tranquillity their NATURAL RIGHTS;" and

Whereas, The constitution of Massachusetts especially enumerates, without prejudice to other natural rights, certain

"The New Hampshire Constitution says, in the third article of its bill of rights, "When men enter into a state of society, they surrender up some of their natural rights to that society, in order to secure the protection of others; and, without such equivalent, the surrender is void. These New Hampshire erudites receive no countenance from the constitution of Massachusetts. A man enters into human society (at the least, into that of his mother) the moment he is born, and without any observed surrender of natural right. In 1780, the people inhabiting the territory then called the Province of Massachusetts Bay, formed themselves, not into a society, but into a new and original body-politic, or state. They did by a "social compact," and there can be no "social compact" where there is no already existing "society." Society, the body-politic or state, and the government of the state, are three different things. The Massachusetts constitution makes no mention of any surrender of natural right; and it is difficult to conceive, from the Massachusetts point of view, how any natural right can possibly be surrendered.

All human societies that exist, or ever existed, have found it necessary to establish penitentiaries; and the rights usually instanced as natural, and as surrendered to society, are no rights at all, but mere facilities for savage wrong doing that have never yet been surrendered at any time, or anywhere, by unregenerate men actuated by criminal instincts. No state of nature ever existed in which it was right for men to do wrong.

The Hon. B. F. BUTLER, in his 4th of July Framingham Speech, spoke of the people of Massachusetts as existing "in a state of society, wherein each has surrendered his natural rights for the good of all." In his subsequent speeches at the Worcester convention, he gave utterance to the same and kindred heresies. It is to be hoped that he may, before he once again proposes himself to the people as their governor, revise his opinions, and adopt Massachusetts verities. His early New Hampshire education sticks too closely to him, and mars his usefulness.

natural rights of man as "essential," "unalienable," "imprescriptible," and "indefeasible," and therefore as anterior to the constitutional compact, prior conditions to the possibility of that compact, and incapable of being denied or abridged by it; and

Whereas, No man has a natural right to govern any other man, or power to transfer any governmental rights which he does not himself possess; and

Whereas, Majorities have no natural right to govern minorities, the lawful rights of majorities arising solely out of constitutional compacts which limit the powers of governments by the exact letter and spirit, rigorously and strictly construed, of the compacts, it being an approved American maxim that governments have no just powers except such as they derive from the consent of the governed; and

Whereas, Every Massachusetts subject has a natural right to do just what he (or she) sees fit to do, provided that he (or she) does it at his (or her) own sole risk and cost, the Massachusetts subject being, to-day, in all matters not falling under the express or implied stipulations of the Constitution, in the full exercise of his original and unsundered individual sovereignty; and

Whereas, The governor and the legislators, as well as the justices of the Commonwealth, are SWORN "to support the constitution" of the Commonwealth, and, therefore, by implication, are sworn to support all laws made pursuant to the constitution, AND TO OPPOSE ALL LAWS MADE CONTRARY TO IT; and

Whereas, The constitution of Massachusetts is, to each of the three departments of the government, just what that department, in its honest judgment, perceives it to be, and not something that the interpretations and twistings of sophistical lawyers may ultimately pervert it into appearing to be; and

Whereas, "The people inhabiting the territory formerly called the Province of Massachusetts Bay formed THEMSELVES"—and not either one, or all three of the departments of their State government—"into a free, sovereign, and independent body-politic, or state, by the name of THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS," and are, therefore, THEMSELVES, the original parties to the contract, and the ultimate interpreters of it in all circumstances where the interpretation of the instrument is not otherwise especially provided for in the contract itself; therefore

Resolved, That it is hereby demanded, as of absolute right, that the Governor of the Commonwealth, except in the special circumstances otherwise provided for in the constitution, shall decide on the constitutionality of laws, and of his own duty to enforce them, unbiassed by the influence of any person or persons outside of the executive department; and this to the special end that the executive department of the government of Massachusetts may serve as a check and brake upon the legislative and judicial departments; and that the government of the Commonwealth may be one of laws, and not of men; that reserved personal rights, and undelegated sovereignty, may be protected; and that the people may be, and remain, free.

Resolved, That to affirm the supreme court of Massachusetts to be the final and authoritative judge, in all circumstances whatsoever, for the Massachusetts governor and legislature, of the conformity of Massachusetts laws to the Massachusetts constitution, is to falsify affirm, first, that the expressed opinion of the supreme court, and not the constitution, is the fundamental law of the Commonwealth, and, secondly, that the three departments of the government of Massachusetts ought to be never what the 30th article of the bill of rights implies that they ought to be always—co-ordinate and co-equal.

Resolved, That it is difficult to get along well in human affairs without making some little use of the native faculties of the human soul, and that the natural necessity for the exercise of private judgement in determining the true meaning of the constitution is not at all obviated by the substitution of the technical and often obscure interpretations of the courts in the stead of the plain

wording of the instrument, since the opinions of the courts are themselves subject to private judgement, to diversity of interpretation, and to be overruled by subsequent decisions.

Resolved, That to affirm the right of an executive officer to interpret the constitution for himself, according to his own true judgment, without deference to judicial decisions, to be equivalent to a right to interpret it just as he pleases, is a dishonest fetch and subterfuge, parallel to the fetches and subterfuges which imply that a judge may rightfully determine constitutional questions, under his sworn obligation, according to his arbitrary will and pleasure, and that a witness under oath to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, has a right to say what he pleases, without reference to facts within his knowledge.

Resolved, That the constitution of Massachusetts is a clear and exhaustive exposition, in matters of State interest, of the peculiar political principles maintained by THE CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY; and that we adopt THE MASSACHUSETTS BILL OF RIGHTS in its plain and obvious meaning, just as the common people understand it whenever they understand it at all, as our officially recognized platform.

Resolved, That the legitimate and proper check upon the governor of the Commonwealth, to prevent him from abusing his official powers, and from becoming an arbitrary tyrant for the space of his official term, is to be found,—not in the obliteration of his faculty of private judgment, and the substitution of that of the courts in its stead, nor in the exertion upon him of outside pressure to keep him trembling before combined interests, and before fictitious public opinion manufactured to order in Faneuil Hall, the caucuses, or elsewhere, but, on the contrary,—first, in his own conscience, and his natural regard for his oath of office, and, secondly, in his liability, by regular constitutional provision, to impeachment by the House of Representatives, and to trial, conviction and sentence by the Senate, for malfeasance in office.

Resolved, That in matters of federal policy, we adopt the constitution of the United States, just as it now stands, but rigorously and strictly construed, as our platform of principles.

Resolved, That all laws granting special privileges otherwise than in direct exchange for express adequate consideration paid or rendered to the public, with the consideration stated or implied in the bills making the grant, are null and void, because in violation of the first part of the 6th article of the bill of rights, which reads as follows: "No man, nor corporation, nor association of men, have any other title to obtain advantages, or peculiar and exclusive privileges, distinct from those of the community, than what arises from the consideration of services rendered to the public."

Resolved, That the execution of the prohibitory liquor law now on the statute book, would involve a subversion of the personal liberty of the subject, as well as an assault upon the rights of private property, and, consequently, a violation of the 1st and 10th articles of the bill of rights; and that the law is, itself, for the reasons here stated, null and void in its vital parts, and not fit to be put in force at all, either equally or unequally, partially or impartially, and ought to be immediately repealed.

Resolved, That for every man who is made poor by drunkenness, ten men are made drunkards by poverty; the average wages of the workman not sufficing, after he has made such provision as he can for the wants of his family, to furnish him with enough nourishment to keep his physical system in due running order; and that persons who drink too much at the corner grog-shops are more excusable than persons who drink too much in their parlors, since the latter class cannot plead an unnatural craving produced by food deficient in quality; also, that the remedies for intemperance now called for, are these—better morals among people of wealth, culture and refinement, and better food, with more of the comforts of life, among the labouring poor.

Resolved, That the working people have been poisoned long enough by bad

liquor; that proper inspection laws ought to be made; and that a proper, sufficient, and stringent license law ought to be passed.

Resolved, That the existing system of punishing drunkenness by fine and imprisonment often secures the punishment, not of the drunkard himself, but of his innocent wife and family, who lose his wages while he is in prison, and also the amount of the fine; and that asylums ought to be established, in which convicted drunkards may be made to work, for the terms of their sentences, to support themselves and their families, and to get rid of the bad effects of sophisticated liquors.

Resolved, That the people have a right to count upon the protection of their chief executive magistrate against the enforcement of fanatical and unconstitutional laws: since the official oath of the chief magistrate is his plain word, his word of honor, and his word fortified by religious sanction, binding him as a true man, as a gentleman, and as possessing an immortal soul liable to be saved or damned; and since it is written in the New Testament, "Thou shalt not forswear thyself," and, in the Old Testament, "If a man swear an oath to bind his soul with a bond, he shall not break his word;" and, furthermore, that his Excellency, GOVERNOR WASHBURN, and his Honor, WILLIAM GASTON, are hereby respectfully requested to make clear public statements of their views of the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of the Massachusetts prohibitory liquor law, in order that the voters may know, before the election, just where those two gentlemen respectively stand.

Resolved, That the Republican Party, which has been for the last ten years in almost undisputed power, is responsible for the existing widespread political and financial rascality that threatens an entire ruin of our free institutions; and that we do, therefore, hereby to erly repudiate that party, with all its pomps and works.

Resolved, That the existing Democratic party of Massachusetts is a party controlled, directed and governed by undowered and unconverted fossil pedants of the defunct Webster-Whig party; and that in it no real democrat can reasonably hope to exert any legitimate influence whatever; and that we therefore renounce that party, with all its nefarious pomps and works.

Resolved, That, if a candidate for office be a member, in regular standing, of either the Democratic or the Republican effete and played-out organization, such bare fact shall be no bar to our voting for him; provided he so commits himself to our peculiar principles, that, in the case of his failure to live up to them, he damns all his prospects of future political promotion: otherwise, otherwise.

All of which is most respectfully submitted by A STRICT CONSTRUCTIONIST. Princeton, Mass., Sept. 12th, 1873.

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