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Democracy.

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Parke Godwin.



DEMOCRACY,

CONSTRUCTIVE AND PACIFIC.

BY

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PARKE GODWIN.

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" These volumes will show that the author feels strongly the need of deep social changes, of a spiritual revolution in Christendom, of a new bond between man and man, of a new sense of the relation between man and his Maker. At the same time they will show his firm belief that our present low civilization, the central idea of which is wealth, cannot last forever; that the mass of men are not doomed hopelessly and irresistibly to the degradation of mind and heart in which they are now sunk; that a new comprehension of the true dignity of a social being is to remodel social institutions and manners; that in Christianity and in the powers and principles of human nature, we have the promise of something holier and happier than now exists. It is a privilege to live in this faith, and a privilege to communicate it to others. [DR. CHANNING'S *Preface to the last edition of his Works.*

New-York:

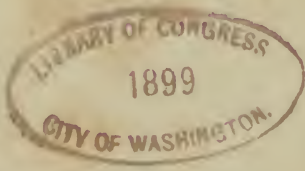
J. WINCHESTER, XXX ANN-STREET.

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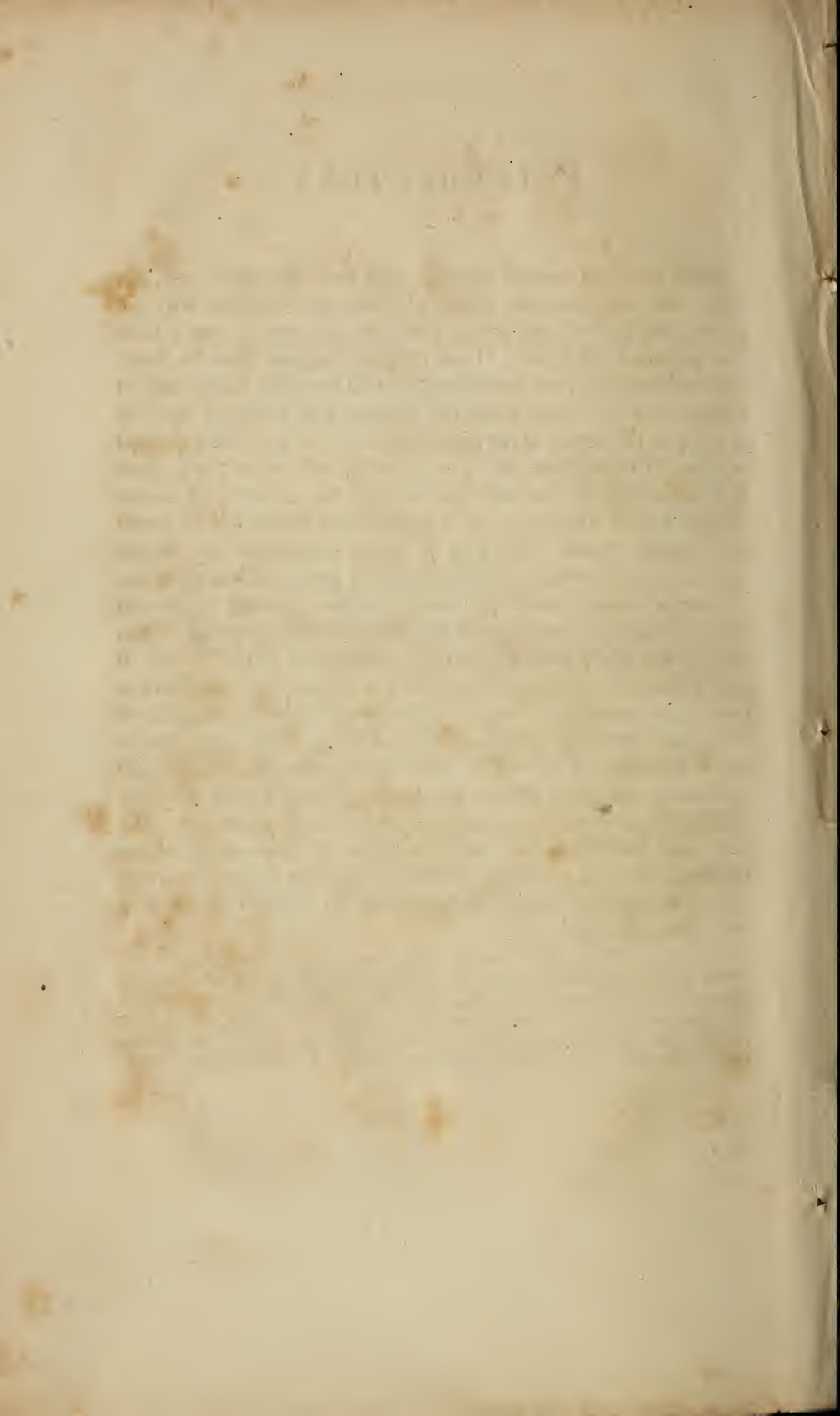
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INTRODUCTORY.

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

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



PART FIRST.

§ I.—ANCIENT AND FEUDAL SOCIETY.

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

The feudal order, though an improvement on the ancient societies, retained some of their worst abuses. Feudalism, being an effect of conquest, became very soon a mere organized conquest. War remained its leading fact—war, and the traditional but permanent consecration of the distinctions of primitive conquest. It

was relieved, it is true, by some few meliorating influences; it called forth, as even the worst arrangements have done, some few virtues: it developed in a few, a manly sense of personal worth and individuality: its system of economy was a trifle less severe and brutal in the subjection of man to man. The sentiment of humanity, too, warmed by the first rays of the rising sun of Christianity, began to stretch beyond the contracted limits of country. Nations and races began to feel the ties of fraternity, and to connect themselves in closer bonds, though still in obedience to the laws of feudal hierarchy. Throughout Europe, the nobles, legitimate heirs of the first conquerors, regarded themselves only as equals, while they trampled to the dust the clowns and commoners, whom they scarcely looked upon as belonging to the same species. But the latter everywhere enslaved, grew to regard each other as brothers, and thus unconsciously, in the darkness and distresses of the Present, prepared the way for that Future of justice and truth which was destined to wrest from their haughty oppressors, the privileges which had been so long withheld. The spirit and right of the feudal times, was the spirit of aristocracy and the right of the nobles; and both continued to exist, until the French and other fearful revolutions, gave them a blow that sent them howling in the agonies of death.

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

On the ruins of the old and feudal society, there has gradually grown up the elements and forms of a new order. A change has been wrought which is manifesting itself in the development of industry, science and art, in the silent and irresistible conquests of mind over force, in the genius of creation triumphing over the genius of destruction—in the substitution of noble, sacred Work, for base, unholy War. The right of modern societies has come to be the general right; their principle is the Christian principle of the specific unity of the whole human race in humanity, whence the political dogma of the equality of all citizens before the state; and their spirit is the spirit of democracy. True, in the older nations, the division lines of former days are still drawn; the badges of caste are still worn; the privileges and honors of nobility are perpetuated. But they are perpetuated mostly in form. They cannot be said to be the controlling spirit of the

present times. The French Revolution in the old world, the American Revolution in the new, struck a battle-axe into the rotten timbers of past institutions which has shattered them into splinters. The better classes, the nobility, the monarchs may govern—but they do so virtually in the name, with the consent, and for the welfare of the people. THE MASS is a new word that has crept into all modern languages, and which indicates the existence of a new fact. The mass, through so many weary years, the despised and spoliated hewers of wood and drawers of water, have proclaimed their equal manhood. They assert that they are an essential element in the community. They stand before us with the honest faces, the broad shoulders, the hard muscles, the swelling hearts of men; they demand of us that they be admitted into fellowship: they claim their younger brothers-share of the patrimony of the common Father. With haggard and malignant looks, their eyes darting fiery impatience and their hands grasping the red torches of fury; through streets flowing with blood and plains strewed with the dying; in the midst of agonizing cries and wild maniac rejoicings, they have fought their way to where they now stand, and there dwells not on this, nor any side, of Heaven, the power for whom it would be safe to resist their just appeals. The existence of the mass, we say, is a new fact, demonstrated in an irregular wild way—but with somewhat of significance and emphasis.

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

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

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

The new Right might have been incarnated in society by the consentaneous and progressive action of reform and organization,

which would have completed, by peaceable means, the natural transformation of the past society in all its departments.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The imperfect state in which revolutionary and destructive, or rather negative Democracy, has left its work, keeps open a sluice by which a deluge of wrongs is let in upon mankind. In spite of the supposed liberality of our new principles, in spite of the destruction of old abuses, in spite of the constitutional equality of citizens, in spite of the abolition of exclusive privileges in the sphere of commerce and trade, the actual social order, in this most democratic of countries, is a hateful and pernicious aristo-

cratic order,—pregnant with injustice and suffering—*not in principle nor law, BUT IN FACT.* We are apt to imagine in our overweening vanity that we have left behind us the odious distinctions that prevailed among our ancestors. We sometimes pride ourselves upon the equality of condition and happiness that marks the society of the United States; and to a certain extent this pride is just. Yet it is only to a certain extent. Theoretically, constitutionally, legally, there are no privileged classes in this nation; the odious laws of caste are annulled. But, practically, positively, really, we still live under a regime of caste, we are still governed by classes, all our social helps and appliances are still distinguishing, partial and confined to the few. It is not so much our legislation, though that is somewhat to blame; it is not the law, it is not political principle, that erects barriers between the different categories of the American people,—it is our economical arrangements, or to speak more accurately, our complete want of social and industrial organization. Let this be noted!

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

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

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

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

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

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

“The lists are open,” say you, “all men are called to the combat, the terms are equal for all capacities.” Hold! you have forgotten one thing! It is, that on this great field of battle, some are trained, disciplined, caparisoned, armed to the teeth an impenetrable hauberk and shield is round their bodies, swords and spears are in their hands—and they hold the advantageous places for assault or for flight; while others, despoiled, naked, ignorant, famished, are compelled to live from day to day, and support their wives and children, on the meagre pittance extorted from their

adversaries or picked by piecemeals from the streets. Oh! most benevolent free-trader, what sort of equality is this? What fight, what resistance even, are we of the many-headed multitude to make? Your absolute liberty is only an absolute abandonment of the unarmed and destitute masses to the charity of the well-fed and well-armed few. Your democratic civilization, which began in aristocratic feudalism—the progress of which has emancipated the working-classes from direct and personal servitude only—will end in a moneyed aristocracy will lead to a collective and indirect servitude just as oppressive as that from which we have been so lately relieved. “*Guurth*,” says Mr. Carlyle, “born-thrall of *Cedric*, the Saxon, has been greatly pitied by *Dryasdust* and others. *Guurth* with a brass collar round his neck tending *Cedric*’s pigs, in the glades of the wood, is not what I call an exemplar of human felicity; but *Guurth*, with the sky above him, with the free air and tinted bosage and umbrage around him, and in him the certainty of lodging and supper when he came home,—*Guurth* to me seems happy in comparison with many a Lancashire and Buckinghamshire man of these days, not born-thrall of anybody! *Guurth*’s brass collar did not gall him; *Cedric* deserved to be his Master. The pigs were *Cedric*’s, but *Guurth* too would get his parings of them. *Guurth* had the inexpressible satisfaction of feeling himself related indubitably, though in a rude brass-collar way, to his fellow-mortals on this earth. He had superiors, inferiors, or equals. *Guurth* is now “emancipated” long since; has what we call “liberty.” Liberty, I am told, is a divine thing. Liberty when it becomes the liberty to die by starvation is not so divine.” There is much in that fact, Mr. Carlyle!

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

But while this incoherence of trade, of which we have spoken, has tended and is tending to subject the workman to the capitalist, the proletaire possessing nothing to the patrician possessing all things, let us consider that it has at the same time awakened a most disastrous competition among workmen themselves. It is setting proletaire against proletaire in an almost deadly industrial war. Where laborers abound, which is everywhere, the neces-

sities of existence, under any system of competition, compel them when they go forth each morning in the pursuit of employment and a master, to lower their wages to the lowest possible sum. The rate of wages, in other words, everywhere tends to be reduced to the lowest possible sum consistent with the mere continuance of the laborer in life. This, when it is thought of, is an awful statement,—but it is not exclusively our own. We find it taught in the leading political economists of the day as one of their fundamental doctrines. “The wages of simple labor,” says Say, “seldom rise in any country much above what is absolutely necessary to subsistence! the quantum of supply always remains on a level with the demand; *nay, often goes beyond it.*” In Adam Smith, in McCullough, in Malthus, in Wayland, there are a multitude of passages to the same effect. Well, what is the obvious inference from such a statement? Why, that the least fluctuation in the demand for labor must inevitably doom a large portion of laborers to starvation—to death! These very writers are cold-blooded enough to state that inference. “Where laborers,” says McCullough in his dainty language, “where laborers are already subsisting, as in Ireland” (and he might have added other countries) “on the lowest species of food, it is of course impossible for them to go to a lower in a period of scarcity, and should their wages sustain any serious decline, *an increase would necessarily take place in the rate of mortality.*” What a coldly dignified and stately way of telling us that thousands of fellow-beings would die by a most painful and lingering death! *The rate of mortality would increase*, says the philosopher, with as much *sang froid* as the surgeon amputates a limb, heedless of the agonies of his victim! At the same time a brother philosopher, Monsieur Say, tells us, but with more feeling, that wages are liable to “most calamitous oscillations.” “War or legislative prohibition,” he continues, “will sometimes suddenly extinguish the demand for a particular product, and reduce the industry employed upon it to a state of utter destitution.” “The mere caprice of fashion,” says another, the famous Malthus, “is often fatal to whole classes. The substitution of shoe-ribbons for buckles was a severe blow to the population of Birmingham and Sheffield.” Indeed, the whole of Malthus’s celebrated doctrine of population, viz: that the increase of laborers outruns that of the means of

subsistence, and that therefore, wars, pestilences, famines, storms, that depopulate whole kingdoms, and the direst afflictions of mankind, are beneficial—is founded on the melancholy fact in the condition of the working classes on which we are dwelling. We might, were not the fact itself most glaring in every nation, fill a volume with corroborative citations from the essays of the political economists. On one side, we see competition among laborers reducing the wages on which they and their dependent families must subsist; on the other, we see competition among employers, forcing them, how great soever may be their generosity, to yield only the lowest rates of pay, (since no employer, without running the risk of certain ruin, could afford to pay his workmen higher wages than what was paid by his competitors;) and thus the detestable maxims of our modern economy break all the laws of justice and humanity. Free-trade, by which we here mean competition without organization, is distinguished by the execrable mark, that it always and everywhere tends to the reduction of wages. After plunging the toiling masses into the gulf of misery, it grinds them with a weight that is forever growing heavier. In Ireland, in England, in Belgium, in Italy, in France, in our own country, wherever competition reigns, where nothing arrests the action of a disorganized and incoherent industrialism, the working classes are inevitably becoming more miserable and more abject. They not only work against each other, but against machines that cost nothing, yet dispense with the labor of an hundred men.*

We state this not as an opinion of our own—not as a logical deduction from premises existing in our own minds,—but as a fact, proven by statistics, declared by official records, and confirmed by innumerable observations made by missionaries of benevolence and enlightened and liberal statesmen. What means that significant dispute that has put the more recent of political philosophers on the continent, at loggerheads? Whence the awful fact, that in the midst of an increase of general riches, the condition of the laboring classes is growing worse,—a fact in the solution of which they are all so much puzzled? Sismondi, one of the most brilliant successors of Jean Baptiste Say, though of another school,

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

was so painfully impressed with this fact, that his whole work may be considered as a prolonged wail over the miseries of the working-classes. "His cry of alarm," says the distinguished professor of political economy at the University of Paris, M. Blanqui, "has been solemnly and eloquently repeated; it is echoed by whole populations in manufacturing cities, amid the tumult of insurrection." Again, says the same able and profound writer, in criticising Adam Smith, "Why is wealth so unequally distributed in society? Why are there so many starving beings in civilized nations? What is the natural relation between population and subsistence? *Why does misery increase amongst the laboring classes in proportion to the increase of wealth in the nation?*" Again he says, "This doctrine," the doctrine of Adam Smith, that private interest left entirely to its own management, will always direct capital to those channels which are best adapted to public welfare, "this doctrine, which has prevailed in England and given most extraordinary impulse to industry, has commenced nevertheless to produce the most alarming effects; it has produced unbounded wealth among capitalists and wretched poverty among the lower classes; it has enriched the nation, but at the cruel expense of industry." To the same effect M. Rossi, professor of political economy in the College of France, and a learned writer regarded by Guizot as "the wisest representative of the science," in an introductory discourse remarked, "A great problem occupies all minds; it is the coexistence of two seemingly conflicting facts; on the one hand, a general increase of national wealth; on the other hand, growing misery and distress among the greater part of workmen. A solution has been demanded of political economy, but it has not yet been found. This solution, when it shall have been made, will be the greatest social discovery of the day." If we were in a position to consult authorities, we could cite many more confirming paragraphs of the same nature. But Heaven knows, that we have written enough on this head. Our hearts begin to sicken with the details which our inquiry forces upon us!

§ VII.—REDUCTION OF THE MIDLING CLASSES.

Alas! this is not all; the evil is not merely confined to the lowest classes of laborers. Analogous symptoms are showing

themselves among the possessors of small means—among master mechanics and farmers. If the first effect of our monstrous modern system of competition—competition, we mean, on conditions so unequal,—has been the subjection of the workmen, its second effect will be the progressive ruin of the poorer class of employers. Small properties—master-mechanics on a small scale—inferior branches of commerce and art—are destined to be crushed under the gigantic weight, the colossal wheels of larger properties and enterprises. We may see this tendency of things even in this country, where the possession of inexhaustible tracts of land gives so fine an opportunity to the individual to resist the tendencies of society. Already, in almost every branch of industry, great capitals, great enterprises give the law to the smaller. Steam, machinery, large manufactories are everywhere supplanting the meaner kind of workshops. Employers are sinking into the class of the employed, which only renders the supply of work the more uncertain and less in amount to the latter class. Our cities are vast commercial vortices that are drawing the whole country within their fatal circle. Commerce, which should be the dependent handmaid of Agriculture and Manufactures, has become their absolute master. It rules the world with the omnipotence of a despot. It makes all industry, and art, and science its tributaries. It is a vast insatiable parasite sucking the life-sap of Production. It is a monstrous vampire that preys with remorseless appetite upon the energies of nations. It absorbs all property, in regulating values by means of its banks; it concentrates wealth in the hands of a few men in a few central places; it is the source of innumerable frauds, fluctuations, bankruptcies and commercial crises; and it is fast laying its hand upon the land, by means of agricultural loaning companies,—and upon government, by means of national debt.*

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

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

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

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

This is no dream; it is no prophecy; it is a piece of contemporaneous history. We are advancing with rapid strides, we repeat, toward the constitution of a new aristocracy,—one as odious as it is ignoble—one which, unconsecrated by hereditary remembrances or actual deeds of valor, derives its only distinction from the ineradicable baseness and tenacity of its love of money. The fact characterizes our whole modern civilization. It is a phenomenon, not peculiar to any one civilized nation, but which is developed in every State in a degree corresponding to the advancement of its industry. It follows, step by step, in the tracks of commerce and manufactures. Great Britain presents the most signal example of the concentration of capital in the hands of a few, but the awful contrasts of her social condition are fast being rivalled by Belgium and France. Our own country abounds in the symptoms of the disease. Already the mere commercial dependents of England, we begin to exhibit traces of her vicious and corrupting spirit of aristocracy. Commerce is the controlling power in the country. It is enslaving every other branch of business. It is making every class of men its subsidiary. One of our most sagacious statesmen, Mr. Benton, long since had the sagacity to perceive this, although he did not have wisdom enough at the same time to discover the reasons of it, nor the remedy. Our political battle, said he, is a battle between Man and Money. The

Republican party caught up the saying, and has struggled desperately to resist the stream of moneyed influences that is bearing it onward to death. But, not knowing why nor wherefore, it has struggled blindly; the very means of reform which it often proposed, if carried out, would only have exaggerated the evil. It was not the Whig policy that was so much in the wrong; it was not because the law sanctioned banks that they suffered; it was not protective tariffs nor internal improvements that provoked the curse. These were bad enough; but lying back of them was a cause which was vastly more pernicious than either of them or all. For they all had their origin in the unorganized state of industry. To have repealed all monopolies, to have unloosed exclusive laws, to have given free scope to the existing energies of trade, in the want of such organization, would have aggravated the disorders of society. It could only have made the rich richer and the poor poorer. It would have accelerated the formation of that Aristocracy of Wealth which we are deploring, and against which so fierce a war has been justly but blindly waged for ten years.

§ IX.—THE INFEUDATION OF GOVERNMENT.

Yet the fact that the laws are made to sanction and sustain the overgrown monopolies of trade, is one of the most melancholy evidences of the extent to which the new feudality has advanced. So strong is it, that it is even strong enough, at this early period in its career, to grapple and overcome the strongest governments on earth. To what point soever in the civilized world we turn our eyes, we see that the Money Power is mightier than the Legislative Power. No matter what the form of the government, it is compelled to strike its colors before this formidable enemy. Monarchs, aristocrats, and republicans have alike fallen victims to the huge Juggernaut of Money. On the continent of Europe, we are told by good authority, that the canal and railway companies often rise in resistance of the designs of the government. But it is in this nation, where there are fewer restraints upon the insolence of the money power, (for the very reason that it is more democratic than any other,) that its manifestations have grown to an oppressive and overshadowing enormity. To such a height has its unbridled audacity been carried, that we can hardly find

language in which to describe the excess of its evils. Our general government, as well the governments of every individual state, has been made to succumb to its influences. What has been the aspect of our legislation for the last twenty years, nay, ever since the origin of the nation? Has it not been one unceasing struggle on the part of the possessors of wealth, either to secure past immunities, or to acquire additional privileges? Have not our legislative bodies been beset, day after day, and year after year, by the insinuating arts of the applicants for exclusive charters of all kinds? Has not the invention of selfishness been exhausted in devising schemes for robbing the mass for the sake of the few? What plans have been left unbroached,—what iniquities untried? Banks to be controlled by the few; tariffs operating solely for the benefit of the few; private enterprises to be paid for out of the public purse; hypothecations of national stock in behalf of individuals or corporations; the borrowing of money to carry on works of partial or local character; these have constituted the staple topics of our legislative discussions. Our states, which in their origin were christened, and which we still call, Independent Sovereignities, have degenerated into menial train-bearers to stock-jobbing merchants and fraudulent speculators. All their pride and dignity have been sacrificed to the selfish whims of the Mammonites. Their infeudation is well-nigh complete. They are becoming, and in many respects, have become the vile, miserable vassals of their superiors,—the Money-Lords; bound hand and foot by the heavy chains of debt, and sold, body and soul, to the capitalists, either at home or abroad, who are their owners and masters. Bankrupt in purse; bankrupt, many of them, in honor; their future time and labor, their very sinews and muscles, are alienated and pledged. Was there ever a serf, a vassal, a slave less free? Oh! it was no irony that which dubbed our knights of the bank-counter, with the title of Rag-Barons; or rather it was the keen and biting irony of strict truth! Nor was it a mere far-fetched party ruse to liken the famous Nicholas of the Bank to the *autocrat* Nicholas of Russia. He was one of the mightiest of autocrats, and the name stuck because it fit. No despots in the old world wield a more tyrannic power than the despots of our commercial system; there are none whose commands are more imperatively issued, or more speedily or more slavishly

executed. The waive of a small metallic wand in Threadneedle street, London, will send an electric shock to the remotest corners of the globe. A handful of men, gathered in a back parlor of the Bank of England, paralyze the industry of millions, living thousands of miles off, and for a half century to come. Was there ever monarch who could do as much as this?

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

§ X.—DANGER OF SOCIAL REVOLUTIONS.

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

Human beings are not mere commodities, whose price augments and diminishes with the supply in the market. Society owes them a guaranty of life and work. They possess a right to labor, which is the most sacred of all rights. Labor is their property; the highest form and source of all property. They have intel-

* The Democratic Review.

lectual and moral faculties which must be developed. God has placed them on the earth, to advance. What shall they do, then, with that society, which not only prevents them from advancing, but which degrades and brutifies them into natures worse than those of beasts? We say worse than beasts, because to the stupidity and unreasoning violence of animals, they often add the malignity of demons.

§ XI.—THE SOCIAL HELL.

Thus we have stated that blind competition tends to the formation of gigantic monopolies in every branch of labor; that it depreciates the wages of the working classes; that it excites an endless warfare between human arms, and machinery and capital,—a war in which the weak succumb; that it renders the recurrence of failures, bankruptcies, and commercial crises a sort of endemic disease; and that it reduces the middling and lower classes to a precarious and miserable existence. We have stated, on the authority of authentic documents, that while the few rich are becoming more and more rich, the unnumbered many are becoming poorer. Is anything further necessary to prove that our modern world of industry is a veritable HELL, where disorder, discord, and wretchedness reign, and in which the most cruel fables of the old mythology are more than realized? The masses—naked and destitute, yet surrounded by a prodigality of wealth; seeing on all sides heaps of gold, which by a fatal decree they cannot reach; stunned by the noise of gilded equipages, or dazzled by the brilliance of splendid draperies and dresses; their appetites excited by the magnificence of heaped-up luxuries of every climate and all arts; provoked by all that can gratify desire, yet unable to touch one jot or tittle of it—offer a terrible exemplification of Tantalus, tormented by an eternal hunger and thirst after fruits and waters, always within his reach, yet perpetually eluding his grasp. Was the penalty of Sisyphus condemned to roll his stone to a summit, from which it was forever falling, more poignant than that of many fathers of families, among the poorer classes, who, after laboring to exhaustion during their whole lives, to amass somewhat for their old age or for their children, see it swallowed up in one of those periodical crises of failure and ruin which are the inevitable attendants of our methods of loose competition? Or

the story of the Danaides, compelled incessantly to draw water in vessels from which it incessantly escaped, does it not with a fearful fidelity symbolize the implacable fate of nearly two-thirds of our modern societies, who draw from the bosom of the earth and the workshops of production, by unrelaxing toil, floods of wealth, that always slip through their hands, to be collected in the vast reservoirs of a moneyed aristocracy? Walk through the streets of any of our crowded cities; see how within stone's throw of each other stand the most marked and frightful contrasts! Here, look at this marble palace reared in a pure atmosphere and in the neighborhood of pleasing prospects. Its interior is adorned with every refinement that the accumulated skill of sixty centuries has been able to invent; velvet carpets, downy cushions, gorgeous tapestries, stoves, musical instruments, pictures, statues and books. For the gratification and development of its owner and his family, industry, science, and art have been tasked to their utmost capacity of production. They bathe in all the delights, sensuous and intellectual, that human existence at this period of its career can furnish. They feel no cares; they know no interruption to the unceasing round of their enjoyments. Look you, again, to that not far distant alley, where some ten diseased, destitute and depraved families are nestled under the same rickety and tumbling roof; no fire is there to warm them; no clothes to cover their bodies; a pool of filth sends up its nauseousness perhaps in the very midst of their dwelling; the rain and keen hail fall on their almost defenceless heads; the pestilence is forever hovering over their door-posts; their minds are blacker than night with the black mists of ignorance; and their hearts are torn with fierce lusts and passions; the very sun-light blotted from the firmament and life itself turned into a protracted and bitter curse! Look you, at this, we say, and think that unless something better than what we now see is done, it will all grow worse! Oh heaven; it is an oppressive, a heart-rending thought! How well has one of our noble young poets uttered:

I do not mourn my friends are false,
I dare not grieve for sins of mine,
I weep for those who pine to death,
Great God! in this rich world of thine!

So many trees there are to see,
 And fields go waving broad with grain,
 And yet, what utter misery,
 Our very brothers lie in pain.

These by their darkened hearthstones sit,
 Their children shivering idly round;
 As true as liveth God, 'twere fit,
 For these poor men, to curse the ground.

And those who daily bread have none,
 Half-starved the long, long winter's day,
 Fond parents gazing on their young,
 Too wholly sad, one word to say.

To them, it seems, their God has cursed,
 This race of ours, since they were born;
 Willing to toil, and yet deprived
 Of common wood or store of corn

I do not weep for my own woes,
 They are as nothing in my eye;
 I weep for them, who starved and froze,
 Do curse their God, and long to die.

§ XII.—SOMETHING TO BE DONE—AND WHAT?

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

1. We remark that little or nothing is to be done by any form of political action, that we know of, using the word political only in its common application to the movements of government. And there are two reasons for this; first, that politics have accomplished all that it is required of them to accomplish; and second, that their sphere is so limited, that they cannot be made to touch the source of the evil. We wish to say nothing here against any of our great political parties; but we do assert that the doctrines of either of them, carried out to the hearts' content of the most sanguine advocates of them, would achieve nothing in the way of social

reform. The Whigs, by the system they propose, would only consecrate by law those abuses and distinctions which are the evidence and result of our rapid tendency to a commercial feudalism. On the other hand, the Democrats, by the repeal of all restraining laws, would only give a broader field for the freer development of the elements of disorder—they would only deepen and widen the breaches in society opened by the operation of the principle of unlimited competition. The truth is, that there is everywhere spreading a secret dissatisfaction with the results of our political contests. Among our best minds, there has long been a conviction that the strife of politics was an utterly inane and useless one; fit only, like the bull-baitings and carnivals of older nations, to amuse the coarser tastes of the populace; while the people themselves are conscious of a growing indifference to the magniloquent appeals of statesmen and editors. It is now more than half a century since the controversies of our politics begun, and it would require the sharpest optics to discover in what particular they had advanced. There has been infinite labor with no progress. The same questions have been argued and reargued, without coming to a decision. We have heard speech after speech; we have seen election after election; the bar-rooms have resounded with appeals; the streets have reëchoed with clamorings; now this faction has triumphed, and now that; victory and defeat have alternated more swiftly than the changes of the moon; legislatures and senates have met, and Presidents have fulminated; yet it does not appear, after all this noise and commotion—after all this everlasting talk and expense, that we are at all nearer to a conclusion, in these days of John Tyler, than we were in the days of Thomas Jefferson. If any one would be impressed with this view, let him compare the daily newspapers of the two epochs; he will find that with the change of a few names and dates, the articles of one might well answer for the pages of the other. Our long discussion seems to have been afflicted with the curse of perpetual barrenness. This protracted struggle, this ever renewed debate, has resulted, when all is told, to the net quotient—zero.

But let us not be understood as saying that there has been no progress in American society. God forbid! How could we say it, when we know that the mighty muscles of the human hand,

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

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

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

§ XIII.—UNITY OF INTERESTS.

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

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

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

PART II.

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

§ I.—ORGANIZATION.

One fact, as much as any other, strikes us, when we consider the material creation of God. It is, that this whole universe is made according to a law of organization; that there is nothing in it incoherent or at loose-ends; that from the planet to the plant, from the stars which are the suns of worlds of unimaginable magnitude, to the insect whose body is three million times less than a visible point, amid the endless variety of forms and existences that link by link supply the interval, there is an organic law pervading the whole. Beginning with the rude masses of the mineral kingdom, which seem like mere accidental conglomerations—the primitive elements out of which the higher kingdoms are to grow—we soon see in its tendency to crystallization, the mute

faint prophecies of the more definite organization of vegetable nature. At the summit of the vegetable series, we again discover the outlines of the more intricate and finished structure of animals. While in man, the crown and chief of the material world, we behold the consummation of an organism, perfect in all its parts, and perfect as a whole. It would be delightful to inquire into this law of organization, and to show how, by the organic series, the Creator has distributed the harmonies of the universe; but it is sufficient for our present purpose, to point out its existence. This immutable and eternal fact, is impressed on all we see, that nothing is perfect which is not organized.

§ II.—MORAL ORGANIZATION.

Men appear to have been aware of this law, in the efforts which they have made to carry into effect their various religious, literary, and social projects. At least, we infer so from a superficial reading of their history, from the earliest time down to the present moment. Nearly all the controversies which have shaken the world, have related to the question, as to what was the best mode in which men could organize themselves, either as a State or a Church. The question of government, which has been the bone of contention at all times and with every people, resolves itself into a question of organization—*that is*, how the political relations of mankind can be best adjusted into a system, which would give the largest liberty to the individual, and, at the same time, preserve the unity and strength of the community. The question of the outward establishment of the Church has been a mere question as to the right method of organizing the spiritual relations of priests and people: and indeed, nearly all the enterprises that men undertake, seem to centre and end in an effort after a more complete organization. When a man, a sect, or a party have any new idea to propagate, it is common to begin by organizing some body which is charged with the task. Or we might rather say, that the very existence of sects and parties is a proof of the strong tendency of the human mind toward combination and organic effort. Thus, we have armies, instituted for works of destruction, which do their work most effectually; we have missionary societies, which send their agents to the remotest regions of the earth, regardless of tropic heats or arctic colds; we have academies of

music in which are developed concords of sound the most grand and the most melting; we have institutes of learning, where the accumulated literature and science of three thousand years are made available to any capacity; we have Bible and tract societies that scatter religious truth like seed on the wings of the wind; we have trading and banking corporations, that lay the wealth of the world under tribute, and heap up for their projectors vast untold treasures; in short, on all hands, we see the giant miraculous effects of systematic and regulated co-operation. Yet these instrumentalities are meagre and incomplete developments—mere aggregations of men, like the simple cohering particles of rude matter—hardly approaching a formal organization, yet demonstrating, with resistless force, how great would be the vigor of a true and living organism! For if such things are done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?

§ III.—INDUSTRY ALONE WITHOUT A PLAN.

And here we are struck with a notable anomaly in the midst of all these arrangements. It is, that while men have resorted to associated effort in the execution of almost every kind of enterprise, it has never occurred to them to organize the human forces, the vital energies by which alone all useful results are brought about. We mean that it is a strange oversight in the possessors of these forces that they have never thought of combining them for their own benefit. It is true, that military leaders, that governors of states, that capitalists and speculators, have well known the secret of the mighty power of united labor, and have availed themselves of its advantages. But the wonder is, that the men of industry themselves, have at no time, unless in the most narrow and feeble way, arranged that cunningness and strength of muscle, which has been their only wealth, which indeed is the only source of wealth to mankind, into something like an organization. In the sphere of labor alone, has the world remained in the state of isolated, incoherent, cut-throat individuality and competitive antagonism. The simplest forms of mere aggregated effort have scarcely been applied to it, save under the domination of some severe task-master or despot. But why should not industry be organized? Why should not laborers band together for the accomplishment of their ends; not as a class merely, not as a political

party, not for selfish or temporary purposes, but as the great, collective, eternal POWER OF PRODUCTION? Will any one say that such a thing is impossible? Can any one point out in what respect industry is incapable of being united and harmonized? No; the impossibility is in continuing it in its present condition of duplicity and discord—inefficient in its movements, at war with itself, monotonous, convulsive, repugnant and dishonorable! The time has arrived, when it must either come to an end in violence, or receive into itself a higher law. Now, what that law may be, is precisely the question of this epoch; it is the question on which we are engaged; it is the vital all-important problem, on which hangs the fate of our modern societies. We have got so far into the future, that we can say boldly, that labor must be organized—one way or another, the thing must be done. It is the impregnating principle of the coming time. As the personal Christ of old, who is our redemption, sprung from the family of the Carpenter, so do we most earnestly believe, that his second coming in spirit, for the salvation of our poor, decrepit, diseased and wretched societies, will be through the family of Labor.

§ IV.—PRACTICAL EXAMPLES.

We have said that Industry alone has remained incoherent, but we are reminded of one or two instances to the contrary, which may be regarded in the light of those exceptions which confirm the general truth. We refer now particularly to an exemplification of unity of interests that grew up among the cheese-makers of Jura, and a still more remarkable instance discovered by Dr. Urquhart, among the Turks of Ambelakia. The former case is told us by M. Considerant, of France, who speaks from his own knowledge, to this effect. In the mountains of Jura, where the climate interdicts the cultivation of the vine and grain, and where milk cannot be sold in its pure state owing to the distance from the cities, it is converted into cheese. It was the custom not long since, in every village of this region, where there were some twenty or thirty families, owning some two hundred cows, for each family to make its cheese for itself, and to send to market for itself—thus every day making use of some twenty or thirty utensils, some twenty or thirty dairies, and of the labor of some twenty or thirty men, both in producing the article, and conveying it

to market. And in most cases, to say nothing of waste, the cheese produced was of an inferior quality; while each family coming into competition when they entered the market, was obliged to sell at the lowest possible price, so that none gained by the sales, while the majority were losers. What did these brave mountaineers do in these circumstances? Why, they fell upon the very rational principle, that it was not wise in them to be picking each others pockets, and would be much better could they assist each other as good friends and neighbors. So they hired a small house in the centre of the village, composed of two rooms—one of which they converted into a shop, and the other into a dairy. In the shop they erected a huge brass kettle, large enough to receive the daily milk product of the two hundred cows, which milk was made into cheese by the labor of a single man called the fruiterer, without further trouble on the part of its owners. The quantity of milk deposited by any family each day was notched upon two pieces of wood, one of which was kept by the fruiterer, and the other taken by the family; by which simple method the strictest account was kept. When the cheeses were sold, they were sold by wholesale, without losses through competition, and with a comparatively slight charge for conveyance to market. From the general sum received for them was subtracted the rent of the house, the price of fuel, instruments, carriage, and of the work of the fruiterer, after which the remainder was divided among the families of the village, in proportion to the amount of milk contributed to the dairy. Thus, with one-thirtieth part of the labor, and a thirtieth part of the expense, they were enabled to receive a thirty-fold return for their product. This practice begun in the hamlet of Salines, is now the common custom through all the higher provinces of the Alps. It is a simple but most significant illustration of a great truth.

The other example, for the details of which we must refer to Dr. Urquhart's noble work, "The Spirit of the East," is found in the commercial municipality of Ambelakia. There, with a population of four thousand people, all the manufacture and trade was carried on according to a joint stock principle—no distinctions of interest existing between capitalists and laborers. It grew rapidly in importance; its fabrics became so celebrated, as shortly to absorb the best markets; and it annually divided from sixty to

one hundred per cent. upon all its investments. Thus a weak, insignificant hamlet, in what is commonly called one of the most despotic of nations, without a single field in its vicinity, with no advantage of position, with no local industry, with no commercial connection, in the neighborhood of no manufacturing movement, neither situated on a navigable river nor on the sea, accessible by no road except a goats'-path among precipices, its industry unaided by the secrets of chemistry or combinations of mechanical power—did, by the simple fact of a union of interests, and a union of sympathies, rise to a degree of outward prosperity and internal harmony, unparalleled in the history of commercial enterprise. External causes of violence, and the invention of spinning jennies in England, contributed to the dispersion of this hive of labor and productiveness.

§ V.—SUGGESTIONS AND PROJECTS.

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

We can easily conceive of a variety of modes in which the principle of a common interest might be realized. The shoemakers, or any other class of mechanics might, without much difficulty, form themselves into an union, under discreet and liberal laws, for the prosecution of the different branches of their trade. With a single large building, somewhere in the centre of trade, with a proper distribution of labor, allowing each man a payment proportioned to the kind and amount of his work, with the advantage of having all the departments of the art conducted near to each other, with the best tools and materials, buying by wholesale, and at all times commanding the markets for its sales—such a league would inevitably lead to the fortune of all its members. But the advantage of an industrial formation like this would be greatly

extended, if the club of shoemakers should be so enlarged as to embrace all the dealers in leather. How much could be saved in house rent, fuel, waste of material, loss of time in passing from one place or one pursuit to another? Or take the business of newspaper publishing, as an example of what might be accomplished by a right division and combination of employments. Let the editorial department constitute one group of laborers, the composing and printing department another, the publishing and financial department another; and then let each member of the firm be paid according to the skill, capital, or labor which he brings to the concern—think you, that such an enterprise would not soon grow into an extensive and wealthy establishment? Next, let there be added to it, a department for making paper, and a department for casting type, (so that what was before only an *aggregation*, would now become a *GROUP*,) and its economies would increase with a corresponding increase of efficiency. Yet a simple group, of similar pursuits of this kind, would be nothing compared with a *SERIES* of groups, with all the additional force that would be derived from the enthusiasm of contact and rivalry.

Now, it is a series of co-operations that we propose, as the means of our social reform. It is not a mere league on the part of the followers of a particular calling—it is not a treaty of amity between the members of distinct classes—not the promiscuous commingling of all branches of trade, that we vindicate; but it is the voluntary union of the whole of Humanity, on definite and scientific grounds. We contend for the solidarity of the race in organic forms; we desire the universal association of man, according to an universal principle: we aim at the thorough re-organization, not of a segment, but of the whole of society, on a basis of individual independence and freedom, and collective harmony and progress.

§ VI.—ORGANIZATION OF THE TOWNSHIP.

This object can be attained, we think, by the organization of the township. Let us suppose, that in a district composed of some three hundred families, (about eighteen hundred souls) the inhabitants should call a public meeting, to consider their social condition, and after the maturest deliberation, should adopt the following resolutions:

1st. An association is formed between all the inhabitants of this township, rich and poor; the capital to be composed of the fixed property of all, and of the furniture and goods which each one may see fit to contribute, at an appraised valuation.

2nd. Every associate shall receive in exchange for what he brings, a certificate representing the exact value of the capital relinquished to the society.

3d. Each share shall be a mortgage upon the fixed property which it represents, and upon the general property of the Association.

4th. Every associate, whether he have contributed fixed property or not, shall be allowed to take part in the productive use of the common funds, for the employment of his labor and talent.

5th. Women and children enter the society on the same terms as the men.

6th. The annual income, the common expenses being first liquidated, shall be divided among the members on the following terms :

(a) A first portion shall go to pay the interest on stocks.

(b) A second portion shall be divided among the laborers, according to the difficulties of their work, and the time devoted to it by each.

(c) The third and last part shall be distributed among those who have distinguished themselves, in various labors, either by intelligence, activity, or vigor.

Thus, each man, woman, and child, will be entitled to a share in each division, proportional to their respective concurrences in the production, by their three productive faculties of Capital, Labor, and Talent.

Let us suppose, further, that the inhabitants of this township, instead of remaining in their isolated houses, should agree to dwell in a large building, or rather, in a row of buildings, separated from each other so as to secure the privacy and independence of each family. but at the same time, so connected as to render available the obvious economies of fire, light, cooking, cellars, &c. &c. : that all the different branches of labor were distributed among groups of workmen best adapted for the execution of each, including in the term of labor, domestic avocations, agriculture, mechanical art and instruction ; and that each group should have

the entire control of its special department, subject only to the advisory direction of a more general and superior group; we say, let this be supposed, and we shall have the outline of the simple, but most important re-organization of society which we propose.* We do not here assert that an organization of this kind, is the true organization for society, although we hold that the position can be proved beyond a cavil: we merely wish to show, that Society, if it would escape from the terrible evils under which it now groans, must resort to some similar organization as the next step in its progressive career. We assert that Association by townships, as here delineated, if not *the* right way, at least leads toward the right way, and is the best approximation to a Perfect Constitution of Society, that has been presented to mankind. We assert that it is the most easy, the most feasible, the most safe, the most rational, and the most desirable phasis in which we can look at the great question of Social Reform. We assert this upon the subjoined brief views of

§ VII.—ITS CHARACTER AND ADVANTAGES.

1st. *It begins with the beginning.* It begins with the organization of the township, where sagacious minds have long since discovered that all reforms, to be efficient and practical, must begin. Napoleon, whose overwhelming energy of action so absorbs our minds, when considering his character, that we are led to forget his deep-searching practical insight, has said in a note, addressed about 1800 to his brother Lucien, then Minister of the Interior, that "if he had not been distracted by war, he should lay the foundation of the prosperity of France in the organization of the commune (*il commencerait la prosperete de la France par les communes, s'il n'etait distrait par la guerre.*") Thomas Jefferson, one of our most profound, and at the same time, most sagacious minds, writing to one of his friends, insists that all true political reform must begin with small districts. The framers of the Federal Constitution felt this when they were so careful to distinguish and secure the rights of the states. A consolidated government, extending over so wide a field of influence, would either

* Our object has been to give only the most elementary view—to suggest, rather than describe. We can prove scientifically that the organization here sketched, is the one designed by God.

fall to pieces from internal conflicts, or be smitten with the death-stroke of immobility. State action is the life of the Republic, such life as it has. Again : the new class of political reformers, lately sprung up in this State, demanding an amendment of the constitution, are impressed with the necessity of a still further extension of the districting principle ; and urge as one of their fundamental tenets, that the enormous power now held by the State, shall be taken away from it, and returned either to the school districts, counties, or towns.

Now, these politicians are right for once. Experience has taught them that nothing is to be done through the cumbersome legislation of a too extensive territory. The government of a vast nation is too huge and unwieldy to make any active progress. You need the quick brain and nimble limbs of a smaller organization. A state, comprising, perhaps, millions of individuals, distributed over a wide extent of land, and embracing a thousand diverse interests, has too many wills to consult, to attain true concert and harmony of action. Buffalo, for instance, either from ignorance or indifference, will not consent to the local reforms necessary in the city of New York. Thus, legislation is injuriously delayed, or becomes grossly corrupt. The disgraceful system of *log-rolling*, which obtains in all the larger States, has its origin in the source to which we refer. Men are compelled, as we see annually at Albany and Harrisburg, to buy their palpable rights, by the meanest compliances, or the most unblushing bribery.

It is well, therefore, that our Constitutional Reformers, would restore the usurped power of the state, to its legitimate sphere, the township. Let one township be successfully organized—and the reform would soon expand, like the concentric circles of the water, till its circumference embraced the world. Give us one example of a political community founded upon correct and progressive principles, and we will answer for the universal adoption of it—and that right soon.

In no other mode, can a system of universal reform be begun. Nature, in the formation of the manifold and wondrous series of series that go to make up her Whole, begins with a small centre of vitality, around which the parts in their beautiful and divine order, are arranged according to the glorious law of Variety in One—which is the Eternal Fact of Creation. Well, would it be for man, did he not presume to be more wise than his Maker.

2d. *It is peaceful.* As it only contemplates voluntary action, the only force which it could use, is the force of truth and moral suasion. No man's rights would be infringed by it, but on the contrary, every legitimate right would receive an additional security. It makes no violent war upon the just privileges of any class, proposes no wholesale destruction of the property of the rich, no forced distribution of goods already acquired, deals in no bitter and malignant denunciations of any party or sect. It welcomes all ranks of people, it accepts all creeds and doctrines, and shows the basis upon which all can be harmonized in variety. Good-will, the sentiment of human brotherhood, the love of the neighbor are the only feelings to which it appeals.

When we look back upon the history of the world, we see how great a thing this feature of Peace is, in any reform. Christ, in that holy moment, when he separated from his poor heart-broken disciples, said, "My Peace I give unto you—My Peace I leave with you," as though it were the grandest legacy which Omnipotence could bequeath. But the world, in mockery of the divine words, would not have Peace but War. Even the professed followers of Jesus, have propagated their faith by violence. They have burned Error at the stake, in the persons of its deluded worshippers, (burning much Truth with it,) and they have spread Truth with flashing bayonet and roaring guns. It is heart-sickening to think how Humanity has only advanced, through fightings, confusions, explosive overturnings, and volcanic uproar—how it has marched forward only amid the horrible discord of trumpet-clangors and cannon-vollies—how the masses, to establish their rights, have been compelled to wade through seas of blood, and trample out the hopes and hearts of their fellow men in the dust! The picture seems the more frightful, when we consider that at no time has this terrific slaughter been necessary, to accomplish its aims. God, while he permitted it, never designed it; and Man only has been guilty.

At any rate, let us now hope that the period of violence, whether necessary or unnecessary hitherto, is past. Let us hope that Mankind, in its modes of growth, will imitate Nature in her growth, and expand and enlarge by silent expulsion of the Old and the silent absorption of the New. One of our own poets has sung this spirit of Peaceful Reform in his noblest strains, where describing the havoc and desolation of "The Winds," he exclaims.

“ Yet oh ! when the wronged spirit of our race,
 Shall break, as soon he must, his long-worn chains
 And leap in freedom from his prison-place,
 Lord of his ancient hills and fruitful plains,
 Let him not rise, like these mad winds of air,
 To waste the loveliness that time could spare,
 To fill the earth with wo, and blot her fair
 Unconscious breast with blood from human veins.

“ But may he like the spring-time come abroad,
 Who crumbles winter’s gyves with gentle might,
 When in the genial breeze, the breath of God,
 Come spouting up the unsealed springs to light ;
 Flowers start from their dark prisons at his feet,
 The woods, long-dumb, awake to hymnings sweet,
 And morn and eve, whose glimmerings almost meet,
 Crowd back to narrow bounds the ancient night.”

3d. *It is positive.* By this, we mean, that the reorganization we propose, does not rest upon any mere critical exposition of the evils of the present state, but that it is founded in the knowledge of a higher and better state. Our criticisms proceed from our constructive principles. We condemn, not according to any imperfect, one-sided, fragmentary, variable standard ; but according to what we esteem to be a perfect and universal standard. Having discovered what we think the real formula of progressive organization, we feel prepared to animadvert upon all conditions which are a departure from the truth. The defect of all other methods of Reform, is in the fact that they are for the most part negative. They see the Wrong, without seeing the Right. For instance : there is a class of men who mourn over the desolations of Intemperance, and they denounce the dealers in spirituous liquors, but they have no positive remedy for the evil, and therefore their appeals and denunciations have had only a temporary effect. There is another class of brave and warm-hearted philanthropists, whose sympathies and convictions are shocked by slave-holding, yet, in the midst of their burning invectives and persuasions, they have only spread their sentiments, without producing any positive practical change. There are societies of tender-hearted females, who would rescue the thousands of their debased sisters whom circumstances have driven to the sullied haunts of vice, but for the want

of positive plans, they excite only ridicule and sarcasm from the more sagacious world. There are associations for the reform of juvenile delinquents; there are work-houses for the relief of poverty; there are a thousand agencies for the extinction of crime; yet delinquency, pauperism, crime, cover the face of society, and seem to be rather on the increase. The truth is, that these, and various other projects of Reform, are smitten with perpetual barrenness, for the want of an impregnating principle. They undoubtedly do good; they keep alive a tender and benevolent sentiment; they remove individual cases of suffering; they impress the scoffing world with the conviction that something is ever to be done for our fellows; but, measured by the large scale of what they ought to do, they are most lamentably partial and inefficient. They are a few drops of oil spread upon a sea, to still a tempest. They are a withe of straw held against the raw and cutting east wind. Shakspeare has said, with hardly more beauty than literal truth:

“As far as the little candle throws its beams,
So shines a good deed upon a naughty world.”

Verily; your good deeds, your plans of reform are a small candle light in a vast world of darkness, duplicity, and discord. You need a deeper insight—a broader groundwork—a mightier principle of positive vitality. In the midst of such influences as are now around you, a powerful stream of tendencies dragging you downward to evil; the poor, as we have shown,* growing more poor and debased, and the rich, more rich and corrupt; misery spreading and multiplying; cheerless homes and inviting grog-shops; the wages of sempstresses ten cents per day, while the wages of sin are as many dollars per night; political parties absorbed in selfish schemes; and the church, chewing the husks of a dead theology, or lapped in luxurious indolence; and all the while your greatest leaders proclaiming that most abominable, most cruel of political maxims, that “each man is the best judge of his own interest, and therefore must take care of himself”—a maxim proceeding from the first born Cain—under such circumstances, it is impossible that your slender, meagre, fragmentary plans of reform should succeed. No—you must walk at once into the heart of the matter; you must see that the root of all this

wrong lies in the false constitution of Society; you must know that there is a better constitution; and then, laying aside your partial schemes, plant your foot firmly upon positive universal ground. None but universal ideas are, at this day, worthy of attention. Our plan is thus universal, for

4th. *It fulfills all the duties and answers all the ends of Society.* Man has a right to a living off of the Earth, or he would not have been sent here; and, for the same reason, he has a right to use all those elements which are necessary to his full growth and development. The possession of these rights, imposes corresponding *duties* on Society. It is the primary, fundamental, most important and imperative duty of Society to guaranty his rights to every human being. But, no society that ever existed, no society that now exists, has discharged this duty. A majority of men have had hard work to get even bread and water enough to keep them alive, under the old arrangements, to say nothing of the higher wants of the mind and soul. Indeed, a theory has gone forth, and is earnestly vindicated in high places, that all society has to do, is to protect the person and property of the individual. A despicable theory, if it were even carried into practice! But unfortunately, this duty, small as it is, has not been met. Society has not protected property. It is true, the property of the rich has been hedged around with the thick-set fences of all law, learning and public opinion. Accumulated Labor in the shape of Capital, is the golden fruit, watched by many-headed dragons; but living, breathing Labor, which is the poor man's only property, is flung loose to the winds, left to shift for itself, without guaranty, without protection. Yet, society pays a fearful penalty for this neglect of its duty. Its armies of paupers, its alms-houses, its prisons, its soup and clothing charities, its taxes, demonstrate with vivid clearness, how much better it would be for it to stop evils at their source. This can only be done by the thorough reorganization which we propose—an organization which would secure to every man, woman, and child, (1.) the means of comfortable subsistence, such as a clean house, wholesome food, decent clothes, and the privacy of their families; (2.) the opportunities of education, in elementary branches of knowledge, in the business of life, in the positive sciences, and in the general principles of fine arts; (3.) and facilities of intercourse with their fellows, with a position to

be affected by all the gentler and more refined influences of learned and polite conversation and deportment.

It is because we believe that an organization, according to our principles, would secure these ends, that we have ventured to speak of Democracy. Never was there a word more abused—never was there a word more profoundly significant. It does not mean that ferocious spirit of levelling, which, in the French Revolution, crumbled the entire Past, and even plucked God from his throne; nor yet the wild, dirty, and turbulent mobism, which, in this country, covers with the slime of its filthiness, every character that is purer and nobler than itself: but it does not mean a condition of society in which the least individual shall have his rights acknowledged, and the means and opportunities for the fullest expansion of his faculties guaranteed. It means a social state, where the whole of life, for nine-tenths of the people, shall not be a suicidal struggle for life—where the finer essences of the soul shall not be ground out to furnish bare nutriment for the body—where none of its families shall esteem it a curse to have children born to them—where honesty and diligence, not impudence and falsehood, shall be the measures of success, and where noble thoughts and generous emotions shall not be trampled out, because forsooth, they are not what the worldly-wise deem practicable or prudent. But the great fact of the Brotherhood of Man shall be recognized—that Humanity is a living organism, of which every individual is a member—each in his sphere, bound to his fellows and the whole, as the arm or the foot is bound to the body—a partaker in their wrongs—a sufferer of their diseases—a sharer in their felicity, and a co-worker with them for good and evil. Then, in the arrangements of the State, the reconciling maxims of distributive equity shall take the place of the insane and destructive doctrines of positive equality—the slavery of pauperism and vice shall be succeeded by rational freedom—and the palsy of stagnation of hopeless and remediless conservatism give way to the healthful agitation of conservative progress.

5th. *It is a direct manifestation of the Spirit of Christianity.* No fact in the life of Christ, (and he was the highest form of his religion,) strikes us more forcibly than the comprehensiveness of his benevolence. Reinhard, in his admirable work, "The Plan of Jesus," attempts to prove his divinity by the very fact that he

was thus universal. His utterances, his prayers, his miracles, all evince the depth and tenderness of his sympathy with Man. He took the little children into his arms; he multiplied the wine at the festivities of Galilee; he fed the poor believing crowd, not so wise as the prudent Pharisees; and he washed the feet of his sorrowing disciples, that he might show how much he loved all his fellow-men. He wished to testify that it was our chief duty to minister to each other, to call no man master, to lord it over no man, to make life a perpetual scene of mutual helpfulness and service. Such was his spirit—and this spirit he intended should be manifested in the organization of society. The outward must ever be an expression of the inward, if we would be true to our principles. The form must correspond with the in-dwelling law—the external tenement with the idea of its inhabitant.

What then is the law which Christian Society ought to embody or incarnate: “Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy mind, and with all thy soul. This is the first and great commandment: and the second is like unto it—Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.—(Matt. xxvii. 57.)

A new commandment I give unto you, that you love one another; as I have loved you, that you also love one another.—(John, xii. 34.)

All things whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, do you even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets.—(Matt. vii. 12.)

Seek ye first the kingdom of God and its justice, and all worldly things shall be added unto you.—(Matt. vi. 33.)

Ask and it shall be given you; seek and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened. Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Ye are all one, as I and my father are one.—(John.) For as the body is one—so also is Christ. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, bond or free, &c. That there should be no schism (disunity) in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it.”

CONCLUSION.

We have hinted in the course of this essay at the following points, any one of which might be easily expanded into a volume :

1. That there is, in civilized society, a rapid increase of population, without any due provision by society for its employment or support.

2. That the working classes, who are a majority everywhere, by the present system of blind competition, are picking each others pockets and cutting each others throats.

3. That, according to the admission of nearly all the distinguished political economists, the condition of laborers is rapidly deteriorating.

4. That the continued invention of labor-saving machinery is still further tending to the reduction of all laborers for the sake of the capitalists.

5. That Capital is more and more concentrating in the hands of the few, who are thus forming an oppressive Money-Feudalism.

6. That no political party has as yet proposed any measure that in the remotest degree touches the root of these evils.

7. That some plan for the unity of the material interests of men is the only one that can prevent our downward tendencies.

8. That this plan is presented in the doctrine of Association, on the basis of Attractive Industry.

These principles we present to the public. Individually we have nothing to gain or to lose by their adoption or rejection. Our only interest in seeking to spread them, is derived from our strong conviction of their truth, and our urgent hope that something will be done for humanity. We know that we shall excite prejudice ; we know that ridicule and scorn has been heaped upon us without measure ; but we know, at the same time, that we act in sincerity, and we leave the rest to God. We are confident of victory. Already the white light of the rising sun is caught upon the mountain-tops—already we see the streaks of the coming day. Whence the present unusual ferment of the public mind ? Why are the deepest religious feelings of the soul, the oldest religious institutions, undergoing such sifting and earnest controversy ? Is it not that the world is travailing in the birth-throes of a mighty and better Future ? Even the ephemera of literature are seized

with the common sympathy, and become unconscious prophets of the days about to be. Why do your Eugene Sues probe the sores and secret wounds of your diseased society, and hold all nations captive by their pictures of Humanity in her hunger-stricken, straw-covered lairs? Why tingles the blood, when the pen of Dickens—lately so false to his own genial nature—exposes the want, and wretchedness, and cureless griefs of the poor? It is because you know in your hearts, that all is wrong with your miserable death-struck societies, and that you inwardly long for the Better Time. It is because you would like to join in some practicable and generous movement for the extirpation of pauperism and crime. That movement is at hand! The field of battle is before you; but, oh! how different the weapons and objects from those of former warfares. Our weapons are truth, justice and religion. Our objects, universal conciliation, and universal love. Unity and Peace are the banner-words of our host.

Says Mr. Carlyle, in his last and greatest work, "Past and Present," "Not on Ilions or Latium's plains; on far other plains and places henceforth, can noble deeds be now done. Not on Ilion's plains; how much less in Mayfair drawing-rooms! Not in victory over poor brother French or Phrygians; but in victory over Frost-jotuns, Marsh-giants: over demons of Discord, Idleness, Injustice, Unreason, and Chaos come again. None of the old Epics is longer possible. The Epic of French and Phrygians is comparatively a small Epic; but that of Flirts and Fribbles, what is that? A thing that vanishes at cock-crowing, that already begins to scent the morning air."

"But it is to you, ye workers, who do already work, and are as grown men, noble and honorable in a sort, that the whole world calls for new work and nobleness. Subdue Mutiny, Discord, wide-spread Despair, by manfulness, Justice, Mercy and Wisdom. Chaos is dark—deep as Hell: let light be, and there is instead a green flowery world. Oh! it is great, and there is no other greatness. To make some nook of God's creation a little fruitfuller, better, more worthy of God; to make some human hearts a little wiser, manfuller, happier—more blessed, less accursed! It is work for a God. Sooty Hell, of Savagery, Mutiny and Despair, can, by man's energy, be made a kind of Heaven; cleared of its

soot, of its Mutiny, of its need of Mutiny; the everlasting arch of Heaven's azure overspanning it too, as a birth of Heaven; God and all men looking on it well-pleased. Unstained by wasteful deformities, by wasted tears, or heart's blood of Men, or any defacement of the Pit, noble, fruitful Labor, growing ever nobler—will come forth, the Grand Sole Miracle of Man.”

THE END.



A P P E N D I X .

DEPRESSION OF LABOR.

The Industrial System, which has transformed the serf into the operative, and prepared the way for Modern Feudalism, which we insist is no advance on the Feudalism of the Middle Ages, is beginning to attract the attention, not only of radicals and socialists, but of politicians and statesmen. Its effects in reducing labor to a state of complete servitude to capital, and, therefore, the operative to the proprietor, is beginning to be seen, and to be felt, in the unspeakable misery and distress of the laboring classes. The great fact can be no longer concealed or denied, *that the present economical system of what are called the more advanced nations of Christendom, places labor at the mercy of capital, and every increase of wealth on the part of the few is attended by a more than corresponding increase of poverty and distress on the part of the many.* Here is the fact. Men may gloss it over as they will, ascribe it to this cause or to that ; but here is the fact. The richest nation in the world is the poorest ; abundance superinduces want, and, with the general increase of wealth, the mass of laborers find themselves reduced to the starving point, and rapidly falling *below* it. This is the fact our social reformers see, and seek to remedy. Our own labors for twenty years have been devoted almost exclusively to the great work of ascertaining the means by which labor may be emancipated, and the acquisition of wealth prevented from becoming a public curse.

Brownson's Quarterly Review, for April, 1844.

RICH AND POOR IN ENGLAND.

A candidate for Parliament stated that all the arable lands in England were owned by thirty-three thousand proprietors. I called on the officers of the Statistical Society in St. Martin's Lane, in London, to ascertain the truth of this statement. At their request I committed several interrogatories to writing, which they said should be answered when the results of the census, then in press, were known. Three months thereafter they told me that the statistics of England did not

afford the information required. A similar statement was afterward made by a member of Parliament ; and, as it was never contradicted, it may be regarded as true—that the cultivated lands from which the English are fed, belong to thirty-three thousand persons. The chief among them are the members of Parliament, and the hereditary nobility, born to power as well as to riches. They have established a code of laws for their own benefit, the most inhuman known in the annals of legislation. Not only are their own estates exempt from general taxation, but the cultivation of them is forced upon the people by prohibiting the importation of every article of food from abroad. The poor laborer is at their mercy ; from them he receives his bread ; and his wife and children must be fed on such terms as they prescribe. There is no escape ; ignorant and destitute, he cannot take refuge in foreign countries, where his proud oppressor cannot pursue. He is starved to the lowest point of endurance ; yet life is spared. Sufficient strength to till the earth is kept up by gruel and potatoes, provided by the poor laws or the landlords themselves, as oats are given to horses that they may bear the burthens heaped upon their backs. There is policy in oppression ; if the cords were drawn too tight, the poor peasant would die, and thus the greediness of the rich would consume themselves.

There are five millions of laborers who cultivate the earth, and six millions of operatives engaged in manufactures, who possess no land, no, not a mole-hill ; no vote, no home but at the will of a landlord ; are hungry from morning till night, and sleep and die on straw. If to these be added three millions of paupers fed at the public charge ; the beggars that frequent the streets and highways ; the poor mechanics and journeymen, prostitutes and laborers of every description, it may be safely affirmed, that out of the twenty-six millions that inhabit the three kingdoms, twenty millions—men, women and children—daily feel the yearnings of unsatisfied appetite. There is not a day that the newspapers do not tell some piteous tale of destitution, and too often has the surgeon's knife proved starvation to be the cause of death. In 1842, the poor of Preston cut and eat the flesh of a cow that died of disease, which they dug up from the common where it had been buried. The fact was published without contradiction in all the leading prints of the kingdom.

The English are, indeed, a great people. They hold two sceptres, by sea and by land ; they have stretched their vast dominions to the outer limits of the earth ; they have reached the summit of human glory ; but it is glory in rags. Of all nations, they are at once the richest and the poorest ; the proudest and the most servile, the wisest and the most ignorant. Five thousand persons, titled of right and by courtesy, are provided for by their constitution ; a few professional men, manufacturers, merchants, and tradesmen, have provided for themselves ; they spend their lives in a perpetual gorgeous holiday, while the naked, needy multitude live in a constant struggle for bread.

During the years 1841-2-3, I entered 122 cottages in Somersetshire, Devonshire, Lancashire, Warwickshire, Surrey, Middlesex, and Kent, always with a view to understand a subject in which I felt a deep and abiding interest. My first visit to Somersetshire disclosed the whole truth ; I had nothing further to learn, than that the same wretchedness, the same round of potatoes and salt, the same appalling picture of wretchedness and rags, prevailed throughout the kingdom.

Judge Carlton, in the Democratic Review.

FEELINGS OF THE POOR TOWARD THE RICH.

No man ever hears of a laboring peasant rising into an owner of land. The feudal system binds them as tightly to the soil as ever they were bound. They are as much *adscripti glebæ*, as in the Conqueror's time, with this difference, that when old age disables them, instead of a place below the salt at their owner's table, they have the work-house to retire to. They are the Pariahs of English society. And, as a consequence of this miserable and benighted condition, in which the whole mass of society appears to them one cruel, heartless jest, the well-being of the upper classes 'the arch fiend's mock,' they burn corn stacks and farm steadings, and would, doubtless, burn *chateaux*, too, like the French peasants in 1793, if they dared. It is now established, beyond the possibility of any reasonable denial, that feelings of the bitterest hostility to their masters, and of desperate disaffection to the present order of things pervade the peasantry ; that in most instances of wilful fire raising, the whole neighboring population are accessories after the fact ; that they look with apathetic indifference, if not with gratified revenge, upon the wanton destruction of life and property.

Liverpool Mercury.

NO REMEDY FOR THE SUFFERING POOR.

At the last meeting of the London Statistical Society, a remarkable paper, which touches the internal condition of Ireland, was read by Mr. Chadwick, the author of the *Sanitary Reports*, that have attracted attention in both hemispheres. This paper is included in *The Supplementary Sanitary Report*, worthy of being studied by every political economist and municipal administrator. The primary purpose of the author is to correct the *mistake*, as he deems it, of Dr. Price and other statistical writers of authority, by whom "the proportions of deaths to the population, and the average age of death, are treated as equivalent." The London Morning Chronicle describes the paper thus :

“The whole document is replete with interest, and shows that there is a process of *deterioration* going on among our population, which no mere palliative can possibly check. Even *emigration*, by itself, will only aggravate the evil, because it would tend to accelerate the rate at which a *stunted, youthful, miserable* population is rapidly growing up in the very midst of the greatest *sickness and mortality*. We are here taught the strange, wonderful, and appalling fact, that insufficient shelter, insufficient food, insufficient means of living, instead of being checks to population, constitute one of its *worst* stimulants; because under such a state of things we have a greater number of births, a larger amount of early deaths, and a more deplorable condition of *mortality*, than where the people are well-fed and well-housed. The subject is one of the very gravest importance.”

This, however, is not the first time that the fact has been proclaimed; nor is it so strange or wonderful. The results of the absence of moral checks on the increase of population were long ago indicated, and those of physical destitution and misery on the ages of death are quite obvious. Mr. Chadwick explains and works out his position, first, by reference to the actual experience among nearly two millions of English population, or upward of forty-five thousand deaths in thirty-two districts, equivalent to as many populous towns—which the Registrar-General had enabled him to examine for the year 1839. But the most impressive details are those which he has extracted from the latest returns of the census from Ireland. He proves by them that “where the pressure of the ‘causes of mortality is the greatest—where the average of death is the lowest, and the duration of life the shortest, there the increase of population is the greatest.’” And, besides, there the proportion of children, always dependent on the thinned adults, is necessarily greatest.

Washington National Intelligencer.

POVERTY IN THE STATE OF NEW-YORK.

An abstract of the annual returns from the Superintendents of the Poor, submitted by the Secretary of State to the Legislature, appears in the *Albany Argus*. These returns embrace every county in the state, and reveal an extent of pauperism which we did not suppose to exist, and which must astonish our readers. From this statement of the *Argus*, it appears that, in 1843, the number of county paupers relieved or supported, was 78,233; paupers of town, 4,521. Whole number of regular paupers, 82,754, or about 1 to 30 of every inhabitant in the State. But, in addition to these, there were 62,047 paupers temporarily relieved by the public officers, making an aggregate of paupers in the State of New York of 144,801, or about 1 to every 17 of the inhabitants.

The whole expenditure for the poor, during 1843, is.....\$592,353 23
 But the value of the labor of the paupers, amounting to.....58,653 85

Must be deducted, and the net expense is.....\$533,694 44
 which is raised by direct taxation.

During 1842, the expense was.....\$517,738 02
 Deduct pauper labor.....57,133 30

\$460,604 72

Thus showing an increase of pauper expenses of the year 1843 over those of 1842 of \$72,989 72, or an increase in a single year of over 15 per cent. in the expenditures. The average weekly expense of each pauper during the year

1843, was.....53 cents and 2 mills.

1842, was.....64 " 6 "

This shows that the expense of supporting each pauper has decreased 8 per cent., and yet the whole aggregate of expenses has increased 15 per cent. This solely arises from an increase in the number of paupers. This increase was 21,314 over the preceding year.

It will be remembered that the large numbers of poor families relieved by various charitable societies and private benefactions, are not included in these returns. If, therefore, the number of those who are in the habit of receiving aid from the German, Scotch, Irish, Italian, Welsh, Benevolent and Emigrant Societies, from the funds of different churches, created for purposes of pauper relief, from the various Clothing and Sewing societies, instituted by benevolent ladies, and from the donations of individuals, were added to the number of State paupers, we have no doubt that the ratio of paupers to other inhabitants would be greatly increased.

New-York Evening Post.

New-York is one of the richest, if not the richest, agricultural state in the Union, yet 1 in 17 of its inhabitants are supported by charity. In the city of New-York, the Alms-house have administered relief, in the year 1843, to 40,000 persons! This is at the rate of 1 to 74 of the population.

THE VAMPYRE OF COMMERCE.

We find, in a Michigan paper, the following statement of the distribution of the annual wealth of this country. It is taken from a Letter addressed by Mr. S. Denton, of Michigan, to a State Farmers' Convention.

"That wealth is but the accumulated creations of labor, is a cardinal and obvious truth, which none will pretend to deny. But how is it, that those who create it all, are enabled to retain so little for their own share, is a phænomenon which requires explanation.

What sum in dollars, would represent the value of the annual products of the United States, in all branches of production?

Different answers have been given to this interesting question by various statisticians, some estimating them as high as 1300, and others as high as 15 or 1600 millions of dollars.

But in these estimates, I have found that several large items have been twice and others thrice reckoned. For instance, our wool is first estimated, and then it is again reckoned in our manufactured woollens, and just so of our cotton and cotton goods.

Our grain is first estimated, and then reckoned over again in the products of our flouring mills. The annual value of our lumber, bricks, and lime, is first put down and then it is all re-estimated in the value of the buildings annually erected. The lumber, metals, cordage, &c., are first estimated and then reckoned over again, in the annual value of ships built, and the cordage, sails, &c., had been estimated once previously in the value of the flax and hemp crops; and thus we might go on through a very large catalogue. It will be readily perceived that this mode of analysis, will reduce the estimates of some economists very much.

We have deducted one item more from our estimates, viz: the *necessary subsistence* of the laborers. Food, clothing and lodging are indispensable, even for slaves: and all that is *absolutely necessary for that object*, we have excluded in our calculations, and thus make the aggregate annual products of industry, of all the laboring classes of the United States, over and above so much food and clothing, as a master in the pursuit of his own interest, would allow his slaves, amount to \$1,046,186,000.

Now, it is obvious, that all the wealth which any man, or any class of men in the United States obtains in any way, is derived directly or indirectly, from this original sum.

Now, if we can arrive at the sum which each class of non-producers annually receives, the remainder will be the amount left for distribution, among those who create it all.

For this purpose we have gone into a very thorough and minute examination, to ascertain the amount annually distributed to each of the non-producing classes, in the United States, viz:

THE AMOUNT DISTRIBUTED TO THE LAWYERS, AND ALL OTHERS ENGAGED IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW;

THE AMOUNT DISTRIBUTED TO THE BANKERS AND BROKERS, &c.;

THE AMOUNT DISTRIBUTED FOR TOWNSHIP, COUNTY, STATE, VILLAGE, TOWN, CITY AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENT PURPOSES;

THE AMOUNT DISTRIBUTED TO OUR MERCHANTS;

THE AMOUNT ADDED TO THE PUBLIC BURTHENS, CONSEQUENT UPON THE PRESENT MODE OF COLLECTING THE UNITED STATES REVENUE, &c. &c.

These aggregate sums amount to \$889,087,409, leaving for distribution among the laborers, \$157,097,591. This is the laborers' portion over and above such necessaries as a prudent master would provide for a slave, when acting in conformity to his own interests.

But for the sake of being on the safe side in these calculations and for the purpose of reducing the figures to round numbers, I will call the

latter sum 206 millions, and the former sum 900 millions of dollars, making 1100 millions of dollars in all."

MACHINERY. *vs.* MEN.

The subjoined is an extract from a report, read to a meeting of workingmen, held in this city, in March, 1844. It will be a significant fact to many, to state that the remedy hinted at in the same report, was *an equal division of the land*.

"Having made due inquiry into the facts, the committee are satisfied that there is a much larger number of laboring people congregated in the seaboard towns, that can find constant and profitable employment. Your committee do not think it necessary to enter into statistical details in order to prove a fact that is not disputed by anybody.

The result of this over-supply of labor is a competition among the laborers, tending to reduce wages, even where employment is obtained, to a scale greatly below what is necessary for the comfortable subsistence of the workingman, and the education of his family.

It appears to your committee, that as long as the supply of labor exceeds the demand, the natural laws which regulate prices, will render it very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to permanently improve the condition of the working people.

Our inquiries, therefore, were naturally directed to ascertain how far existing causes are likely to affect the supply and demand of labor—whether those causes tend to lessen, or increase the evil under which the working classes are now suffering.

As tending to lessen the evil, we find an increasing home consumption of articles produced by mechanical skill—we also anticipate an increase, to some extent at least, of our export market.

But we believe that this additional demand is by no means likely to keep pace with our accumulating powers of production. First, we find in our cities and factory stations, an increasing population, the great majority of whom depend for a subsistence on mechanical labor; and secondly, we find the new-born power of machinery throwing itself into competition with our working population. Indeed, if we judge of the next half century, by the half century just past, there will be, by the end of that time, little mechanical labor performed by human hands.

We find, on consulting authentic data, that *machinery* has taken almost entire possession of the manufacture of cloth. That it is making steady—we might say rapid—advance upon all branches of iron manufacture. That the newly invented machine-saws, working in curves as well as straight lines—the planing and grooving machine, and the tenon and mortice machine, clearly admonish us that its empire is destined to extend itself over all our manufactures of wood. That while some of the handicrafts are already extinct, there is not one of them but has foretasted the overwhelming competition of this occult

power. We can clearly perceive that while the laws of population tend to steadily increase the supply of mechanical labor—so does the improvement of machinery tend to, not merely lessen, but almost annihilate the demand.*

This result—this triumph of MACHINE LABOR, and ultimate prostra-

* In spinning cotton, Baines informs us that one man can now produce as much yarn as 25,300 men could have done under the old systems. "This machine-spun yarn," says Dr. Ure, "possesses a more uniform twist, and is, in every respect, superior to hand-spun yarn. As in spinning, so in weaving. One water-wheel, or engine, will set 1,000 looms to work. One of these looms will make about as much cloth as four looms worked by the hand; one female superintends several looms, merely to supply full bobbins, and mend threads that happen to break in the process of weaving.

"Nails," says Dr. Ure, "are now manufactured with little or no aid from the human hand." "The making of nails," he continues, "is no longer a handicraft operation, but belongs to a Dictionary of Arts."

Not long ago bread stuffs were ground in a handmill. Two men might be able with great labor, to dry and grind a bushel of grain in a day. Now, one watermill will turn out 1,000 bushels in twenty-four hours.

In bookbinding, Ure informs us, that a machine has been recently invented by an Englishman, named Hancock, which dispenses, entirely, with the operation of stitching, sewing, sawing-in and hammering the back, or the use of paste and glue.

Calico printing was long a tedious handicraft operation. It is now performed by cylindrical machines revolving with the rapidity of light.

In manufacturing steam-boilers much of the labor is now performed by machinery. Thus we see the iron monster, like other monsters, has the faculty of reproducing itself.

The employment which our lakes and rivers promised to afford to a numerous population, will be almost wholly superseded by the steam engine afloat.

In the crafts of boot and shoemaking, machinery is beginning to show itself—and we may not estimate the progress it will make in this department, even in our own day. Certainly skill in this handicraft will afford a very insecure dependence to our children.

"Machinery," says Dr. Ure, "is ready to accomplish everything in the manufacture of hats;" but he adds that it is kept down for the present, by what he calls "a lawless combination of the journeymen." This is in Britain, and the Doctor predicts that this combination will soon be broken down before the genius of machinery.

In ropemaking, the machine has taken almost entire possession. The recent improvements enable 4 or 5 men to do the work of ten times that number of regular hands. Such is the distress and desperation that this change has created among the working men, that several "machine-houses" have recently been destroyed in the neighborhood of this city, by incendiary fires. They were, however, immediately rebuilt, and are now in full operation.

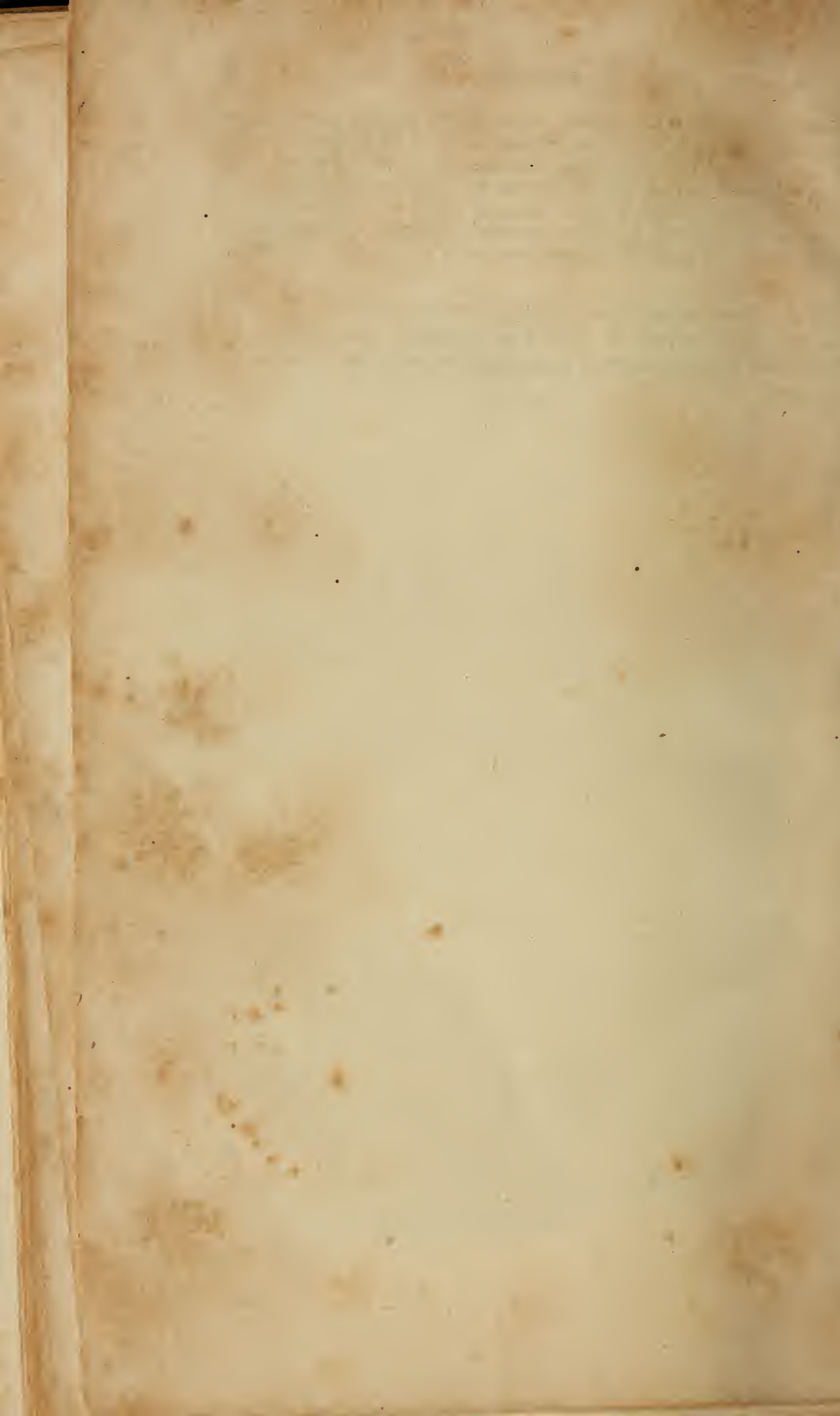
A machine for making brick, is now at work in Washington. It can mould 30,000 bricks, by the power of a single horse. These are turned out perfectly dry—ready for burning. At several points on the Hudson machines are in operation for the purpose of preparing clay for bricks—a laborious process that used to give employment to great numbers of laborers.

Even our bakers are not safe—a powerful kneading machine is coming into extensive use in England.

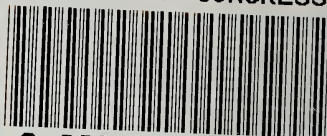
Two-thirds of our carpenter-work is now performed by machinery. To this also is coming with our ship-builders. The letter press printer belongs, almost, to a past order of things, and machinery is even trying its hand at type-setting. In currying leather they use a machine which actually makes one hide into two. Heavy cloth garments of an elegant style, are now made in England by the hatting process, thereby dispensing with the thimble and shears. Steam coaches now navigate the streets of London to the great dismay of cabmen—our very scavengers are jostled out of the way by the same power—and while the Yankee Paddy moves the hills with all the ease of a Titan, the same power is hard at work in another quarter cutting out the precise machinery of Yankee clocks.

tion of HUMAN LABOR—can not, in the opinion of your committee, be averted. We may wrestle with the monster, as the toilers of England wrestle, till myriads of us perish in the unequal strife. But your committee are of opinion, that all this will be only so much strife, and so much suffering wasted in vain. As well might we interfere with the career of the heavenly bodies, or attempt to alter any of Nature's fixed laws, as hope to arrest the onward march of science and machinery."

The author has cut these paragraphs from the newspapers, &c. of the day, while the body of his work was in press. He might, with a little labor, add ten thousand more confirmations of the views he has advanced.



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