

Reform.

What is the spirit of true reform? It does not contrast in Anti-Slavery merely; nor Temperance, nor Non-Resistance, nor any one of all of them. They are individually but fractional parts of the great whole, good in their places - essential to true reform, but wanting and imperfect when alone; it covers the whole ground, it includes them all; it knows no geographical limit, is not confined to sect or party, but in its wide embrace, clasps the great family of man; recognizing the universal brotherhood, and equal rights of all. It seeks the welfare of each, and those greatest good of the whole. It would strike the fetter from the slave, forever sheathe the bloody sword, raise the drunkard from his degradation, and restore the wanderer to the paths of virtue. It sympathizes with the wrongs and sufferings of the serf of Russia, the laborer of England, the peasant of Ireland and the operative in our own country. Its course is on war, like the current gathering additional strength the farther it travels. In its progress it sweeps away those false distinctions in society, which make man a stranger to his brother. It removes the sectional divisions which make him the destroyer of his own race. It overcomes prejudices that may have been strengthened by years of indulgence; and uproots wrong customs and usages although they boast of antediluvian antiquity, have been baptized by the holy fathers, and adopted by the wise and good of all ages. It may be slow in its progress; years may elapse before any movement be perceived; but it is nevertheless certain, and will surmount every obstacle, and effect a glorious work for the race. Who will not aid in forward, and hasten the era when the toils, struggles, hopes and fears of Reformers will be known only on the pages of history?

- *Practical Christian*

POLITICAL REFORM

1845.08.28

Political Action among the Workingmen.

This is a subject upon which there is as yet quite a diversity of honest opinion. It is a subject which we wish to treat with due candor and consideration; having nothing to advance or no convictions to utter, but those prompted from a sincere desire to advocate the best, most efficient, rational and self-evident means for the abolition of oppression in all its degrading features, and the redemption of the bones and sinews, health and happiness of the working population of our own country and the world, from the power of isolated avarice and accidental fortunes, which has created a false state of society, in which the natural rights of a man are trampled upon and violated, religion poisoned, philosophy perverted, government prostituted and the natural order of creation reversed, subjecting humanity to ignorance, slavery and superstition.

We have never believed that political strife and supremacy, was the great object which has given rise to the present workingmen's reform - that they wish to avail themselves of certain privileges which others possess through the power of the ballot-box, without regard to universal right and justice. We have no fellowship with the idea, that the workingmen should combine together, to be seen and known as a political faction, whose object shall be to dethrone other political parties and usurp to themselves the same unhallowed power to gratify a spirit of revenge or retaliation. It is power gained in this way which is oppressing us, and of which we are complaining - shall we unite together and resort to the same means to gain the ascendancy, that we may have "our turn" at ruling, while others are oppressed and wronged? This is not the aim or purpose of the workingmen's reform; the doctrine as we

understand it, is "equal justice," justice to *all* are entitled to certain great and "inalienable rights," which are indispensably requisite to their happiness - to the perfection of their natures and to their individual and collective peace, prosperity, mental, physical and spiritual progress. From this view of the subject, it is clearly evident, that if one man possesses and enjoys these "certain rights" to which he is entitled by nature, he is not robbing any of his fellows or the [...] that portion of the great family estate which is bequeathed to him by virtue of the existence, *as a capital to commence business upon*, and for which he renders more than an equivalent to swell the abundance of posterity's treasury. Now all alike, are entitled to such a portion of nature's fruits as will conduce in the highest degree to their happiness, which will secure individual rights and collective order and tranquility, and should any, from physical disarrangement or accidental causality fail to contribute their share to the aggregate of human products, they are entitled to such a portion of the products of the mass - (not one individual,) as will satisfy their every want and add to their comfort. This natural state of things does not exist, and society is cursed with the results; wrong, strife, confusion and wickedness - while one class is prodigally living in luxury which they never produced, another is in squalid poverty, robbed of the proceeds of their toil and made the servile instruments of tyranny and their own unhappy condition.

This state of society, which falls with such destructive weight upon those who are obliged to labor for a living and is casting a blight and mildew over the race, the workingmen of New England wish to remedy; and the question comes up at this time; is political action the antidote? What has made society thus? ignorance and misused power; then is it not to be feared, that the same results will follow, so long as the cause exists? Suppose the workingmen organize into a political party and go up to do

battle and contend with other parties for power; is there not danger of their being guilty of the same injustice, that we now complain of should they gain the ascendancy? Although government at present is recreant to the true interests of the working classes, would they not be likely to become corrupt and oppressive once in power? Would it not be a warfare for might, rather than right, in which the victorious party claims the privilege.

We confidently believe the day is not far distant, when the workingmen will mature and unite upon such rational and efficient plans for operation, as shall effect a radical and permanent change in our present oppressive and degrading system of labor; we do not like to call it "political action;" society has debased this, it wears the demagogue's stain - it has been prostituted and despoiled of its virtue by party contention and lustful ambition, and the mere mention seems to imply unholy, sectarian controversy, factional aspirancy and jacobinical usurpation; all the vice, wrong and uncharitable littleness which have disgraced the elective franchise, seems associated with it. Let us have some term more pure - *rational, intelligence, brotherly action, christian action*; terms upon which all the friends of truth and goodness can unite; which shall make practical, the beautiful truths of "equal rights" and mutual interests, and build to heaven the noble structure of humanity's brotherhood. Let the workingmen continue to organize and agitate throughout the various towns, states and countries, and let all well digested measures founded upon justice and human rights, be adopted vigilantly prosecuted until labor shall receive its just reward and the heart of humanity made glad. Our cause is onward as sure as knowledge and truth will triumph over error and superstition. We should be happy to hear from any of our friends upon this subject.

ORGANIZATION

...

Today there has fallen upon the hope of the laboring classes, a light which is humane and gently strong. It is the light of general friendship, of brotherhood, of orderly co-operation. We have learned that it is impossible for a State, dismembered by political factions, weakened by party jealousies, and whenever the collective well-being of the whole people is scarified to personal ambition to extend a general providence over the mass of its citizens, and to guarantee a just relation of interests and classes to each other. We have learned not to trust in political *parties*, but rather in political *measures*, and still more, in a quiet and unpretending union among ourselves, to effect hereby those essential reforms which can come only through us.

We ask no conscience wasted politician, or political economist, to assure us of the immensity of good which the general tendency to co-operation among the laboring classes, the world over, holds out to us, beyond all that their respective fraternities have ever cajoled us with. Their gilded lies have done well nigh the last of their wizard-work with us. – We would rather have the Public Lands made free to *actual sellers* only, and in *limited quantities* that all that has been done politically, for the laboring classes, from the day our government was organized. We are confident that the humble movement of Protective Union Stores, is the germ of an organized system of commerce, which will be productive of more public benefit and genuine national prosperity, than all the Tariffs and Sub Treasuries and Exchequers in *Terraquem*. Then look to the Trades Unions, the movement for a Lien Law, for the Limitation by Law of the hours of daily labor, on all public works and chartered corporations, and for the Inalienable Homestead, which have originated with the working people, and have been made conspicuous by them, and tell

us if these are not, each and all of them, measures both practicable, and of the most evident utility to all classes. But what must be the instrumentalities for accomplishing these desired projects? Do you repudiate *all political* action? We answer use all instrumentalities sanctioned by good citizenship, justice and humanity. Yes we are for *political* not *partizan* action. We wish the triumph of *measures*, and will vote for any man who will act according to our wishes, be he Whig, Democrat, Liberty Leaguer, Bavarian or Japanese. But the grand reliance of the Workingmen must be upon a noble, firm, well compacted and concerted organization among themselves. There can be no success without it. It has often been flung in our faces, that we could never do anything effective, because we are mutually jealous and suspicious of each other, and because a small ambition, to be first in affection and honor among our fellows, breeds contention and disunity among ourselves. Now let us prove these allegations false, and let us show to the world, that he is most honored among us, who manifests by *deeds* as well as words, that he is most useful and devoted in earnest efforts of co-operation. But *organize* we must, or we shall be impotent. Nothing is so important to the protective movement to day, as thorough organization and affiliation among the several Divisions. There is no beauty or order in Nature, until organization ensues. Behold what organization is arrayed against us. Let us be wise. We must have something more than a nebulous aggregation of parts. We must have one pure crystallization of order.

ECONOMIC REFORM

1847.08.21

CO-OPERATION. - One of the most prominent features of the present stage of human progress, is the tendency to associated action and co-operation. The old maxim - "union is strength" - is beginning to be felt and realized by the masses. The people are beginning to see that their true interests are one, and that conflict and antagonism are not the God-ordained and eternal laws of human society.

1845.07.03

What Do You Propose? - We have often been asked, What do the friends of Association propose to themselves, in the reform to which they are devoted. Let us answer in a few words by the systematic organization of labor to make it more efficient, productive, and attractive; in this way, to provide for the abundant gratification of all the intellectual, moral, and physical wants of every member of the association; and thus to extirpate the dreadful inequalities of external condition, which now makes many aspects of society so hideous; and to put all in possession of the means of leading a wise, serene and beautiful life, in accordance with the eternal laws of God and the highest aspirations of their own nature. This in modern society is the exception and not the rule, among all classes. Are we not laboring for an end which should command the respect and sympathy, of every sincere philanthropist? Is it not worthwhile for the most cultivated and intelligent minds, at least to look at a remedy which promises to eradicate absolute poverty, to do away with the temptations to crime, make the executioner and constable useless functionaries, diffuse inward contentedness and peace, and thus bless the whole population? This reform is based upon the practical application of Christianity to the arrangements of society under the guidance of an accurate and profound science. - To doubt its practicability or its final accomplishment, would be to call in

question both science and religion at once.

- Harbinger

1847.10.29

CO-OPERATIVE LEAGUES

We had a long and interesting conversation this week, with two mechanics, weavers, from Stirlingshire, Scotland, on the condition and prospects of the laboring classes, in England.

They are plain, unpretending men, who have been sent out, as Pioneers, to examine and report about the West. It is their intention to remain here a year. If they like it a small body of their countrymen will come over, and, should they be pleased, after a year's trial, a larger number will join them, and make the West their home.

These mechanics think, that the laboring classes have made great advance within the last ten years. The first outward impulse given to them, according to their, was the Chartist's move. The second, the anti-corn league. The third, and most important, is the *co-operative* efforts which are making all over the Kingdom.

The co-operative principle, as now acted upon, is not necessarily confined to any branch of human industry. It may be applied to all. Thus: - if there are ten persons in a neighborhood, some of whom cannot read, or write, or cipher, while others can - or if among them there be those who understand German, or have some knowledge of astronomy, and the others know nothing of these things - they meet together at stated periods, and by mutual efforts, by *co-operative* aid, instruct each other without cost, and with great social pleasure and generous happiness. In this way, these two mechanics have been, mainly instructed, and we found them familiar, not only with such writers as Mill, Douglass, Jerrold, &c. but with Dr. *Arnold*, and the strong popular writers of Great Britain. They made not the least show of learning. They talked,

indeed, in a plain common sense view of society, and the obligations all of us owed to it.

But the co-operative principle is applied chiefly, so far as to meet the *necessities* of the laboring classes. For instance take the shirt make of London. They *lived* by their labor and that was all the best among them could do. They leagued together. The result has been, that they get now *ten pence* for work which they only received a penny and a half for before! Of course their condition is greatly improved, and if *Hood* had another song to write he could joyously depict the great change which had been wrought for the poor woman of London.

These "co-operative leagues" exist in nearly all the large towns in Great Britain. A moderate sum is subscribed by each laboring man which is invested in various ways; for the establishment of reading rooms; for the erection of alls; for the purchase of large tracts of land, which is let out to members in small quantities - half an acre, or one, two, three or four acres - as they may wish, with cottage thereupon, at a rent of four or five per cent on the cost; for manufacturers for the sole and joint use of the producers; for union stores, in which clothing, wares, groceries, provisions, &c., &c., are sold to members at cost. And so far, these Leagues have done well. Many of them have one, two, three, and some over four thousand members, and they have secured competition and content to hundreds upon hundreds who were, before, almost starving. Those at Nottingham have taken initiatory steps to purchase provisions in Cincinnati (and ten others have joined them) at market prices there, with a view of escaping speculators and saving the profits secured to them.

1846.11.27

Co-operative Societies - Protective Union.

Agreeable to notice last week, we publish in to-days paper, a long and able article from "The People's

Journal" upon the superiority of Co-operative and Mutual Benefit societies over all other institutions, for the final emancipation of the Laboring classes, from the iron grasp of isolated and concentrated capital. From the facts and figures in this article, we see that a wonderful work is being wrought out in the Old world by the co-operative principle among the *laborers themselves*.

These demonstrations on the part of the oppressed working people of England, should give new encouragement to the friends of Labor Reform in this country: for the same evils exist here, and consequently the same principles will produce a remedy.

To see the producing masses, who have toiled on under the galling bondage of English Feudalism, with hardly a ray of hope to light up a better future; thus rising up in the majesty of the united omnipotence, and with a firm, steady and resolute purpose, building up for themselves a higher and better destiny; must be cheering to the heart of every philanthropist.

Of all co-operative societies extant, "The Workingmen's Protective," instituted in Boston about one year since, appears to us best calculated to secure immediate benefit to the producing portion of the community. - Twelve or thirteen Divisions of the Union are already established and under successful operation in this State and New Hampshire, and a growing interest is manifested among the working people generally to try an experiment which has thus far proved so successful; hence we may safely expect that the day is not so far distance when, in every considerable town in New England, will be established a "Protective Union." Indeed, is it too much to anticipate that the day will come when Divisions in Main, shall furnish Lumber for the carpenters of Boston, Lowell and other towns and cities, where large quantities of Eastern Lumber are used; without being subject to the large profits now

paid to Lumber speculators - when Divisions in Vermont shall furnish Butter, Cheese and Poultry, for the working people of the Manufacturing and Mechanical Districts, without passing through the hands of speculating exchange; and when Divisions in the Western States shall provide grain and flour for their Eastern breather, free from the New York and Boston flour dealers enormous Tax? Already can we fancy (what may not always be mere fancy) that we see the noble ship, - "Protective Union," - with her sails spread to the breeze making her way across the Atlantic to exchange her treasures for the necessary products of our English brothers, and returning to our shores to diffuse her wealth among the masses. We may be though airy and speculative, but it does seem that the success of the co-operative principle whenever adopted, either for good or bad purposes, warrants us in indulging in such anticipations, without being able to change the visionist. We talk about the laboring man's being entitled to a just reward for his labor! - and what is a just reward? *one fifth* only of what he actually produces? No! every man and woman who produce any value to the world should have enough of what they create to satisfy the demands of their natural wants, and did they not 'toil and spin', and give the producer of their labor to mere exchangers and speculators, who live in splendor, and fare sumptuously every day," they would not labor on in poverty, without time to cultivate their mental powers, or time and means to enjoy common blessing of life. These co-operative influences at work all around, to our mind are the legitimate results of the present organization of Commerce and Trade, which operate so partially upon the laboring community. As now organized, Trade and Commerce result in one great "grab game," of fraud and deception, and he who is the most cunning and understands the "tricks" best gets the largest share of the spoils. This has brought into existence a large class of exchangers and non-

producers, who study every art and resort to every means, to live in affluence and ease, from the labor of others. -

Their trade is *legal gouging*; and the more they can get, and just keep clear of the laws of *legal justice*, the more elevated and the respectable are they in society. This false state of things has existed so long and has so interwoven itself into the structure of society, that it is considered one of the essentials of civilization. And if the streets of our Cities and villages evince a mercantile prosperity, without giving one thought to the condition of Mechanics and real producers, we are accustomed to say 'the people are thriving;' when in fact the laboring population may be living in destitution and want. It is high time that the producers of the country should awake to the disastrous tendencies of trade, if they desire that their own and the condition of their children shall be one jot better than the victims of despotic oppression.

Let the useful laborers make the "dignity of labor" something more than a theme of admiration, by uniting in co-operative Unions, and teaching the non-producing speculators that labor is dignified enough to transact its own exchanges and commercial affairs, or at least that they cannot receive four fifth of the fruits of their hard labor for merely finding for it a market.

As the Voice is the organ of every cause that is calculated to elevate mankind by securing to them their natural rights, we shall give these co-operative Unions our aid and support, and shall keep our readers informed of their progress from time to time.

[date]

Preamble to the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association

Whereas we, the Operatives of Lowell, believing that in the present age of improvement nothing can escape the searching glance of reform; and when men begin to inquire why the Laborer does not

hold that place in the social, moral and intellectual world, which a bountiful Creator designed him to occupy the *reason* is obvious. He is a slave to a false and debasing state of society. Our Merciful Father in his infinite wisdom surely, has not bestowed all his blessings, both mental and moral on a favored few, on whom also he has showered all of pecuniary gifts. No! to us *all* has he given minds capable of eternal progression and improvement!

It now only remains for us to throw off the shackles which are binding us in ignorance and servitude and which prevent us from rising to that scale of being for which God designed us.

But how shall this be done? How shall the mass become educated? With the present system of labor it is impossible. There must be reasonable hours for manual labor, and a just portion of time allowed for the cultivation of the mental and moral faculties and no other way *can* the great work he accomplished.

We know no employment is respectable only as long as those employed are such and no farther than they are intelligent and moral can they merit the companionship and esteem of their fellow beings. It is evident, that with the present system of labor, the minds of the mass *must* remain uncultivated, their morals unimproved and our country be flooded with vice and misery!

Shall we, Operatives of America, the land where Democracy claims to be the principle by which we live and by which we are governed, see the evil daily increasing which separates more widely and more effectually the favored few and the unfortunate many, without one exertion to stay the progress? God forbid! Let the daughters of New England kindle the spark of philanthropy on every heart till its brightness shall *fill* the whole earth!

...

The following Officers were chosen Jan. 1846.

SARAH G. BAGLEY, *President*.
 HANNAH C. TARLTON,
 MARY EMERSON,
 HULDAH J. STONE, *Rec'g. Sec'y*
 SARAH A. YOUNG, *Cor Sec'y*.
 MARY A.K. TARLTON, *Treasurer*.
 CLUMENA BUTLER,
 MISS GILMAN,
 ASBEY KEMP,
 CATHERINE MAXEY,
 MARY J. ROBINSON,
 ELIZA J. SIMPSON,
 ELIZABETH L. TRUE,
 ELIMIRA B. STONE.

} Directors

1846.12.04

Workingmen's Protective Union.

The head-quarters of this most useful organization - on which promises results so highly beneficial to all classes of citizens and more especially to the families of our workingmen - have been established in Boylston Hall (Rooms Nos. 1 and 3) Boston, with Branches in the following towns, namely: South-Boston, Roxbury, Chelsea, Lynn, Lowell, Cabotville, Manchester, N.H. and three in Boston.

The main object of this Union is, by providing a central depot for articles of the first necessity, under the head groceries, imported at prime cost, to assist the industrious mechanic who is disposed seasonably to supply his future wants by furnishing a stock of goods to be paid for in ready money, so as to be enabled to afford them to him at wholesale prices. Besides which, it is in contemplation to embrace wood and coal, (prepared in Summer and retailed in Winter.) flour and clothing, as additional and important items in the comprehensive details of the plan at large. Boots and shoes they have already on hand, supplied directly from the workshops of the manufactures at Lynn. Such a movement, it will be obvious, carried out in good faith, (and there are some of our most practical and judicious men at the head of it,) must tend to produce a thorough but peaceful revolution in the whole aspect and structure of society; converting the minor grocery

establishments, where strong drink, under some form or other, continues to be vended, into one or more vast trading-houses, magazines or warehouses, "whose officers are peace and their exactors-righteousness," - dispensing with those middle men, who, doing nothing themselves, subsist upon the food of others; and above all, contributing in its aim to elevate the working man in the great scale of universal existence, so as to place him on that just level of equality with his fellow-beings for which a God of perfect justice, whose 'ways' we have been assured 'are equal,' had originally designed them.

- *Washingtonian*

...

In Association, or the Combined Order, an entirely different system prevails. The lands, edifices, manufactories, machinery, are represented by stock, divided into shares, like our railroads. This stock is owned by those who by their capital or labor have made the improvements. A fair and just interest paid on the same, and the balance of the of the product goes to those who found the Association will generally furnish the capital with which to do so, or will soon be able to purchase the stock, *so that the soil and machinery will belong to those who cultivate and work them.*

The choice of occupations the right of labor, and the entire profits of labor, (except the interest paid on the stock) are guaranteed to every person - man, woman and child - and the wages system or the custom of one person being hired to another, is entirely absolute. Suppose under this system the members of the Association, who are associated persons, introduce machinery as did the Capitalists; let us suppose that power looms (to continue the illustration,) are introduced, and that those who work them can produce five times as much that is, five yards, or the value thereof. There is no capitalist, or master manufacturer, to say - "This cloth is my property - I hire you to work for me, and I give you fair wages for your labor." No -

the workmen who produce the cloth own it, because they are joint owners of the machinery with which they work, and they divide it equally among themselves. They are consequently five times richer than before, collectively and individually. They pay interest upon the cost of machinery introduced, which is added to the stock of the Association, and the inventor is fairly remunerated for his improvements or discovery.

Let us suppose a further increase of mechanical power, say, as before, five-fold, so that the workmen can weave twenty-five times as much as the first. Will they receive a corresponding remuneration for their labor? Certainly. The product being twenty-five times greater than it was before machinery was introduced, the producers will receive twenty-five times as much real value.

Under such a system, the property and welfare of the producing classes will be increased in proportion to new invention and improvement in machinery, but under the present system, they decrease in about the same ratio. Universal prosperity, with its blessings of education and refinement, will be the result of the first, as general poverty, with its scourges of ignorance and discord, is of the latter.

...

But, alas! the poor laborer has no voice in the public press; without wealth or influence, he has none in our statesmen and leading politicians, who can work for those only who wield influence and can work for them.

Very truly yours,
- A. Brisbane.

1846.09.17

Power of Protective Unions. - The Various Protective Unions which are springing up in this country do not aim at much beyond an economy of time and money to the members in the procurement of the necessaries of life for themselves and families; they have every prospect of success, and in view of the vast expense to society of sustaining and enriching

that large class, known as the business class, who, for the want of a just and wise system of commercial exchanges, are performing ten-fold the service the actual interest of the producer and consumer require, it is but just and proper they should succeed until one grand system of connected Protective Unions shall shallow up all commerce and trade.
- *Young America*.

1847.08.14

WHAT IS DOING IN ENGLAND

[From the People's Journal.]

Co-operation in Norwich. - SIR: I feel great pleasure in announcing to you the formation of a society recently established on the co-operative principle, and it is with feelings of deep satisfaction that I read in your "Annals of Progress" the progress making in the people's cause; and as we have found ourselves very much strengthened and stimulated to exertion, from reading the various reports in your excellent Journal, we think that others may feel similar pleasure from a report of one formed in Norwich.

During the last winter two revered gentlemen of this city - one a Unitarian the other a Baptist - agreed to lay aside doctrinal differences, and united together to deliver a course of lectures, alternately, to the working classes. The objection of the lectures were to improve the moral, and elevate the social condition of the people. The subjects were truly excellent, and we have no doubt were the means of imparting new and sound ideas to numbers that attended them; and certain we are, that if the clergy through the length and breadth of the land would follow their example, it would be [brotherhood of the human...] the universal [...] of the lecture, a party of ...

...agreed to hold a meeting [develop] upon the principles as laid down by the lecturers. The meeting took place upon the 30th of March, 1847, and after mature consultation, the following resolution was unanimously agreed to: - "That this

meeting is unanimous in considering the co-operative and associative principles as the only means worthy the consideration of the working classes, for a thorough amelioration of their present condition. At the next meeting the society was organized upon the above principles, and agreed to be called the "Norwich Co-operative and Redemption Society." Its object, as stated in the rules, are; -

First: The accumulation of capital by means of pecuniary contributions, and the profit on articles sold at the common afore.

Second: The gradual employment of its members, for the benefit of themselves and the association.

Thirdly: The hire or purchase of land to enable the society to supply itself with the necessaries of life, and to become a self-supporting institution.

Knowing that union is not power, unless directed by wisdom, we meet weekly for reading and mutual information, and intend, as soon as means will allow, to establish a library and reading-room; and we hope, by it and the occasional delivery of popular lectures, to diffuse sound and practical views on the all-important topic of mutual co-operation, and other useful subjects.

Our motto is "All men are brethren;" consequently we invite men of every shade of religious and political opinion to come forward and aid us in the great and glorious work of elevating the social, moral and intellectual condition of the people.

Our subscriptions are three pence per week, and we hope to augment our funds by business transactions. We already number thirty-two members of all shades of opinion, willing to lay aside all sectarian feelings, and unite together for the above glorious purpose.

- R.E.

Co-operative Trading Society at Limehouse. - On Tuesday evening, the 8th June, **an adjourned meeting of**

this society took place, Mr. William Heydoon in the chair. – The parties present were addressed by Mr. W.H. White, Mr. Barnard, Charles Richardson, W. Thomason, and others. At the conclusion, we doubled our number of members. M. Browning, from Farringdon street League, made some observations. On Thursday, the 10th, the committee met to make arrangements for paying the deposits, and commencing their trading operations. By diligence and integrity, there is little fear of being successful.

W. THOMASON.

Cottage, Land, and Congenial Society. –

Sir: An acquaintance of mine, living near London; possesses sixty-eight acres of land situated in the county of Lincoln. I have frequently heard him say he should like to build on his estate fifteen or twenty cottages, allowing three or four acres of land to each, and go with his wife and family and live in one himself, provided he could get intelligent and suitable tenants for the other proposed tenements and pieces of land. I believe there are many comfortable people who would like to become tenants (or, if it suited them better, freeholders) of a cottage and a little land, if they could secure congenial society, which is sometimes a difficulty in remote-parts of the country. It struck me I would, by your kind permission, make my friend's idea known to the public through your Journal, and I feel assured suitable tenants will gladly come forward to offer themselves as tenants, occupiers and purchasers. My friend's estate is composed of some of the richest land in England is healthy, dry and well drained. **The owners of this land is a speculator, nor a mere adventurer; [] wishes to retire from the bustle of the world, and collect around him in the [] a few congenial spirits. [...]** This notice may be the means, too, of causing some landholders to divide and subdivide their estates, so as to furnish "homley" home for intelligent and

industrious *small capitalists* who can *handle a spade and have learned to live comfortably on limited means.* Communications addressed to X.Y.Z., Literary Institution, Greenwich, near London, will receive attention.

Another Co-operative Effort – A Friend, writing from Manchester, with the intention of opening a communication with the writer of the letter suggesting fraternal intercourse with the Co-operative Societies of America, in No. 75 of the Journal, says – "The persons by whom I am instructed to make this application are at present engaged in carrying out the principle of co-operation on a limited scale; and though they are all workingmen, they can command from one thousand or two thousand five hundred pounds!" He adds – "They are sober Industrious men, desirous of doing good."

Stockton Co-operative Corn Mill. – Pursuant to resolutions adopted at a public meeting held at the Temperance Lodge Room, in March last, a Co-operative Corn Mill Company has been formed at Stockton-on-Tees. The Rev. J.C. Meek is a zealous promoter of this work of brotherhood. Experiments of this nature cannot fail to do much good: they teach the people to rely upon their own exertions; to cultivate feelings of mutual affection; to regard their strength as proportionate to their union; they instruct the working classes in the elements of social organization; and are, in fact, so many nurseries, where the young trees are nurtured, until they assume a sturdy growth and stately aspect, when putting forth their mighty arms, they defy the wrath of the tempest, and adorn the land from which they draw their substance.

P.

1847.05.07

Public Meeting. – Agreeable to previous notice, the Reformers assembled at the school house of Philip Strall, in Malta township, and after hearing a speech of some two

hours in length, by J.S. Dye, and a few appropriate remarks by Mr. Foreaker, the following resolutions were adopted: –

Resolved. That we are in a favor of the distribution of the public lands among the landless citizens of American, giving to all one hundred and sixty acres, who are not possessed of other land, and will become actual settlers on the same and pay the expense it would cost government to have it surveyed; – that we are opposed to the present system of trafficking in land, holding it to be ruinous to the mass of the public, and only calculated to build up a landed aristocracy.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the reduction of all salaries to the workingman's standard opposed to the present system of paying Congressmen and other officers as much for a day's service as we, the farmers, mechanics, and laborers make in a month at hard labor.

– *Workingman's Advocate*

1845.11.14

...

It has been estimated, that a laboring village of 400 families, would save annually for their own benefit, eighty thousand dollars, which are now quit into the pockets of owners of Mills, agents, overseers, priests, doctors, lawyers, traders and spungers, or are wasted by bad economy and poor work. The laborer is now usually defrauded out of 70 per cent of his labor. Thirty dollars worth of labor in a large association, will go as far to subsist and improve the laborer, as \$100 now goes in our antagonistical society. If such is the case, laborers ought to unite in business and trade. They may as well trade themselves in a community, as allow our present traders to grow rich as their expense. Let them begin small as traders, and soon with their labor and trade they will acquire credit, and by the aid of credit, may carry on a large business, until they find that they can do without credit. If we wait until capitalists step forward to our relief, we may wait forever. We must commence business ourselves,

just as young traders do, with such means as we may command. If our present mode of trading operates to the ruin of laborers, laborers must turn associative traders in self-defence. Let us not be daunted by the fear of failures. Large companies of laborers will not be so likely to fail, as individuals. If they do fail, they have only to make a dividend among their creditors. The advantages of a trading association, are, that we imperceptibly and unexpectedly acquire capital, when we could not advance it outright. Let two or three more than commerce upon such conditions, as they shall agree upon. Let them admit others into their society upon fair terms. Let them always, if possible carry on the printing business, so as to be able to provide books and periodicals for the improvement of the community. If we cannot commence with all kinds of labor at first, let us commence with that which will soonest promote our object. Printing is as good business as other kinds of labor, and periodicals espousing the cause of labor, would create a favorable public sentiment and enlist many recruits into our industrial armies. If we could start a laborer's newspaper, in any of our villages, it would rally the people around it, as a nucleus around which all kinds of business might be successfully collected. If we could consent to live cheap, as upon the Graham system, we should save enough, to enable us to extend our operations, until the expenses of our common modes of subsistence might be better endured. We ought to be willing to live in tents or chancies or rough houses, until we can rear the commodious philanthropy, with its halls and workshops. In some respects, we ought to have the discipline of an army, so as to secure unity. In other respects, we ought to enjoy the freedom of a true democracy, or practice the virtues of a true church. - We ought to begin deliberately and charitably to elevate ourselves and our race. We must bear all things of a disagreeable nature, with the greatest patience and humility. A re-organization of society upon sound

principles, must require much time and experience. At present our laws and customs excite the selfish passions. Politicians priests and traders, are more or less swayed by self-promotion. - They do not compose a twentieth part of the community, and yet they rule them. The people are impoverished by armies and navies. In all ages, the business of fighting has degraded the people at large. Even the very soldiers who enlist for the sake of honor, are usually reduced to penury in their old age. - But we must propagate such christian morals, as will prevent wars. Now aristocratical governments necessarily breed civil wars, which breed foreign war, and thus the miseries of man are endless. Nobles have cheated the people out of the lands. The consequence is [...] Priests become masters, prophets, and leaders of hostile sects. The consequence is that people enlist under their banners and carry on unintelligible controversies, to the detriment of all, except those who are maintained at the vast expense, to conduct these religious factions. How many might be the savings of an association! Trade, religion, politics, pride, folly and competition all conspire to wrong the laborer. Indirect taxation makes thousands of paupers, every year. Intemperance in eating and drinking, and the following of the fashions ruin us. So many are the abuses of law, fashion and religion, that there is no remedy for our sufferings, but in a reconstruction of society, upon the principles of justice. Set down then my friends, and estimate the advantages of Association. As an economical plan, we should save three quarters of our labor. As a religious plan, we should live together in charity, for all the conceptions of sects about the nature and attributes of God, and about our future condition, would not interfere with the productiveness of labor, for our comfort in this world. As a political plan, by our unity of action, we should hasten the period, when the abuses of legislation would cease. Many of our laws are unconstitutional. That clause which

says, "No man shall obtain the advantage distinct from those of the community," &c. ought to be exemplified in practice. As things are now circumstanced, it can only be theory. It can only be practical in Associations.

I.R.H.

1846.11.13

THE FUTURE AGE. - I closed my eyes on the dark past, and lo! a beautiful vision of the future operated to my imagination, - the nations of the earth had ceased hostilities, - the flag of the warrior was furled; and laid in the dust, - and all the trophies and monuments of war were hurled out of human sight; all was concord and amity. The green earth rejoiced in a softer sunlight, and all nature was in jubilee. Religion, with a radiant brow, and aspect of heavenly benignity, sat among the children of men. She called unto her Science and Liberty, and said: - "Behold! these are my sisters!" At that moment, the rainbow bent its arch-over the scene, and the nations bowed in silent submission.

- *Truth Seeker Magazine.*

1845.07.17

Evils in the journey of life, are like the hills which alarm travelers upon the road; they both appear great at a distance; but when we approach them we find that they are far less insurmountable than we had conceived.

1847.02.26

When upon mature deliberation, you are persuaded a thing is fit to be done, do it boldly; and do not affect privacy in it, or concern yourself at all what impertinent censures or reflections the world will pass upon it. - For if the thing be not just and innocent, it ought not to be attempted at all, although ever so secretly. And if it be, you do very foolishly to stand in fear of those who will themselves do ill in censuring and condemning what you do well.

LAND REFORM [not yet typed]