

political economy

1847.03.05

Those who are not disposed to reflect on the condition of society, are not aware of the numerous evils with which our social system is afflicted and consequently do not appreciate the importance of a thorough and radical reform. Some go so far as to assert that society cannot be so constituted that the happiness of its members can be interested to any great extent. But those who have given the subject a careful and candid investigation are perfectly convinced that the present organization of society is at war with the better and higher feelings of man's nature; and the deeper the investigation has been, the more fully they are convinced that a great change must be effected before the evils which now make this earth one great store house of discord and confusion, can be abolished.

How to effect this change is a matter of which there are at present various opinions. But I am confident that all will agree that this reform must commence with the laboring classes. It is for this portion of men and women that we are to look for better days. It is vain to expect that the capitalist will ever take hold of this work. If we wait for them to better our condition, we shall only find to our sorrow that we are sinking deeper and deeper in misery, want and degradation, and therefore we, the producers of all that is valuable, must take hold of this work; and with a determination which cannot be shaken. We must take nature for our guide, and ascertain what our rights are, and so far as we are satisfied that we have rights, let us assert them; and not only assert them, but let us all with one voice proclaim to those who would take away our rights, that we are ready to defend them. We must expect to find some obstacles thrown in our way, but let us not be discouraged.

The mad dog of [Infidel] and disorganizer will be sounded from every hireling Priest and every hireling Press. But we must not be alarmed. Let us show them that our love of truth is stronger than our love of approbation. Let us boast no longer of freedom, for it is only a name. We talk about freedom, and we are free to starve unless we will consent to be slaves to the interest of capital. We are permitted to labor only when our labor can be procured for less than its real value, and we have given capital the power to cut off any particular branch of Industry, when it is for its interest to do so.

If there be but little demand for any particular article, capital is always ready to take advantage of the producers of that article, and consequently they are compelled by necessity to take for their labor just what capital pleases to give them. Capital has the entire control of labor. But this is not right. Labor should control capital. And if this was the case, we should not see the laboring classes of Europe as we now see them in a state of starvation. Capital has taken away their right to labor; and even those who are permitted to labor do not receive a compensation which is sufficient to support life. The same causes which have brought the laboring classes of Europe where we now see them, are operating here and will as sure as effects follow causes produce the same result. These causes are capital and machinery. The latter if applied as it should be to save labor would be a great blessing. But as now applied is a great curse, from the fact that we are compelled to compete with steam and consequently to labor harder and more hours to produce the same result. There is now machinery enough in New England to do the work of five times its present population performed in the old way, and the consequence is we are nearer starvation.

DISTRIBUTION

1847.07.23

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

The total value of the property of Great Britain is estimated at \$25,000,000,000, and the annual value of the product at \$2,500,000,000.

The total value of the property in the United States of America does not exceed \$6,000,000,000, and the total value of our products are estimated at about \$1,200,000,000.

If the property of Great Britain was equally divided amongst the population it would give near \$5,600 to every family of five persons, and if the annual income were thus divided, each family would have \$500.

The same division in the United States would give each family \$1,000 of property, and for an annual share of the products \$300.

It will be perceived that the income of Great Britain is less in proportion to its capital than that of the United States, but from the fact that their labor is directed to such pursuits as admit of a much greater application of labor saving machinery, and having an immense amount of capital thus invested, their animal products are greater in proportion to their inhabitants than in this country.

Though the annual income of Great Britain, if equally distributed, would be so much greater for each family than the United States, and enough to bring plenty and rejoicing to their millions of starving subjects in Ireland and Scotland, yet owing to the monstrous inequality of its distribution, much more suffering and destitution exists there than here. But we have every reason to apprehend the increase of capital here will be attended with the same accumulation in the hands of the few and consequent suffering amongst the laboring classes if no potent

remedy is devised to arrest its aggregating tendency.

This prediction is already demonstrated in a measure by what has already taken place in the more wealthy portions of our country. For instance, if the capital of New York city were distributed amongst its inhabitants, it would give to each family about \$3,500 each, and the income of her opulent commerce, &c. would divide annually six or seven hundred dollars. But it is here where the greatest destitution.

- *True Democrat*.

1846.07.03

From the Dollar Newspaper, Philadelphia

The Rothschilds' Wealth THE FRUITS OF A BAD SYSTEM

The Rothschilds have a fortune of \$156,000,000; and Lord somebody, who lately died in England, has left a fortune of 50 millions of dollars. Though the Rothschilds *operate* in Paris and London, yet Frankfort, Vienna and other German cities, have been and are the principle theatre of their business. And I n what has this business consisted? In buying and selling stocks; in negotiating loans, or standing between lender and borrower, and receiving payment for transacting their mutual business. We urge nothing against this business, as we participate in no groundless prejudice against brokers. They hold the same position between borrowers and lenders, or buyers and sellers of money and evidences of debt with merchants between producers and consumers. Like merchants, they are distributors. But we *do* complain of the system which reduces millions to extreme poverty, and all its consequent miseries, and enables one manor family to amass, in a single generation, 150 millions of dollars. Ten thousand dollars, invested in a farm, a mechanical trade, or in commerce, will afford an ample provision to a family of moderate numbers, and is more than most farmers, mechanics or merchants possess, even in our country of general distribution. The

wealth of these Rothschilds, thus divided, would supply 15,000 such families. Divided in portions of \$5,000 more than the majority of our farmers and mechanics possess, it would supply 30,000 such families, and at the rate of five persons to each family, would afford, with reasonable labor, all the comforts of life to 150,000 persons. Hence 150,000 persons must be reduced from comfort to absolute destitution, to enable one family to own 150 millions of dollars! Such a system is awful! The statistics of Berlin, the capital of Prussia, with a population of 352,000 show about 70,000 paupers and criminals, the latter being driven to crime by poverty. And whence this poverty? It is produced by bad government, producing standing armies, royal luxury, governmental loans, paper money, stock markets, monopoly of land and money, landed barons and rag barons...**[unclear text]**.

And we are rapidly building up the system. One individual in the East can own five millions of acres in the West, and thereby compel 31,250 men to remain landless paupers, instead of becoming independent farmers. And a bank can lend \$700,000 to another "enterprising person" to speculate in stocks, while it will not discount a responsible mechanic's note for \$500. And so we go, building up a system that builds up Rothschilds and paupers! And where will it end? Just where it *has* ended in England and Germany. Just where will *that* end? Just where it ended in France in 1789! Like causes operating upon like subjects, always produce like effects. *So* God has decreed, and *so* man cannot repeal. These Rothschilds, while accumulating 150 millions of dollars from the pockets of others, have not added a cent to the wealth of the world. They have not raised a potato, or manufactured a button, or distributed an ounce of bread between farmer and mechanic, or any others. We say this in reproach of the system, not of them. - The system is founded upon the very vices of the political and social

constitution. And thus through a system originating in mischiefs which ought not to exist, and which would not exist under a good government, well administered, is one family able to accumulate enormous wealth, and thus create multitudes of paupers and criminals! Retribution must follow, and as it has followed, "Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord." - "And I will visit the iniquities of the fathers upon the children to the third and the fourth generation, of them that hate me."

1845.12.05

A parent may leave an estate to his son, but how soon it may be mortgaged! He may leave him money but how soon it may be squandered! Better leave him a sound constitution, habits of industry, an unblemished reputation, an inward abhorrence of vice, in any shape or form; these cannot be wrested from him, and are better than thousands of gold and silver.

1846.05.01

HUMAN LIFE - A PARABLE. - Two pilgrims were journeying together over a desert - one mounted on a camel, with a lofty padded cushion, and a canopy above his head. The other with unsaddled feet, lacerated and scorched by the burning sands, and unturbaned head, which throbbled almost to bursting, with the sun's fierce rays.

"God is great!" ejaculated the poor wretch - "oh! that he would relieve me from this dreadful agony! For what crime am I thus severely punished?"

"Poor brother, how I pity thee!" replied the well mounted traveler; but thou knowest that suffering is a necessary discipline for human beings. Be content with thy lot."

"Alas! if thou wouldst but let me mount thy beast and ride one hour, my life might perhaps be saved. Thy sandals would protect thy feet and thy turban shield thy head."

"My soul is grieved for thee," said his sympathetic friend, with a deep sigh; "but verily, if a camel had been best for thee, the wise Sovereign of the earth would not have withheld it. It is our duty to bow to the behests of Providence."

Onward they journeyed - one feeling as much compassion as a heart overflowing with gratitude could contain; the other trying to solve the problem, why such strange inequality should exist.

Another hour - and the bleeding feet, and aching brow, and bursting heart, were at rest on the desert.

The favorite of Heaven - or Fortune, looked down from his comfortable seat and exclaimed, "Unfortunate friend, would that Heaven had bestowed on thee a camel, that I might still enjoy thy companionship and not be obligated to cross the desert alone; but the good God be praised that he has preserved me from so dreadful a fate as thine."

Monopolized Machinery*To Wm. Lloyd Garrison.*

...

Monopolized Machinery has done more in England to impoverish the Working Classes engaged in manufactures, than the national debt and the draining of aristocracy united. - Its influence can be exercised in a republic as in a monarchy, and what a prognostication for the future condition and welfare of the working classes in our own country, where the rapacity of gain is perhaps greater than in England, and the cunning of money-making more inventive!

Machinery began to be introduced upon an extensive scale in England about 1798. The inventions of Watt and Arkwright gave the decided impetus. At that period, there was machinery equal to the labor of twelve millions of men; at the present time, it is estimated that the machinery of Great Britain can do the work of six hundred millions of men.

With such gigantically increased means of production, would it not be supposed that the Laboring Classes would be rendered more comfortable, as a great deal more is produced? Certainly, but directly the reverse is the case; these classes are reduced to the most grievous poverty, to the most hopeless dependence and servitude. Wages, or the prices of labor, and, as a consequence the means of subsistence and comfort, are reduced at least one-third what they were in 1798, and the most brutalizing toil and semi-starvation are the lot of the poor 'sons of industry.'

Let us explain the operation of monopolized machinery by a simple practical illustration which will easily be understood, and which makes it clear that in the operation of this principle lies in the secret of

the increasing misery of the Working Classes in modern times.

We will suppose that a hundred weavers, working, with hand looms, can weave a hundred yards of cloth in a day. Perfected machinery has not been invented, and the master manufacturer, in order to conduct his business must employ these one hundred men, with whose labor he cannot dispense, and pay them fair wages - that is, enough to place them and their families above want. It is not easy to obtain laborers in sufficient numbers when there is no labor-saving machinery, and this produces some slight competition among the masters manufacturers, which keeps up the price labor. But soon machinery is perfected, power-looms are invented. With these new looms, the laborers that can produce five times as much, say 500 yards of cloth per day. The laborers have not the means of buying the machinery; the manufacturer alone can purchase it, and he does so, and introduces it into his establishment. The product of the operatives is now five times as great as it was: will they receive five times as much wages as they did? Or supposing that the market value of the 500 yards manufactured by hand looms, will the 100 men receive an increase in the value of the product? no. Will they get any higher wages than they did when their product was only one hundred yards per day? no. The manufacturer will say to the laborers - 'These 500 yards of cloth are my property; the machinery which produced it is my machinery, and the profits of it are mine. I hire you to work for me, and I give you a fair wages, or as much as you can get anywhere else, and I give you no more.'

This is the decision of the master manufacturer; from which there is no appeal. If the laborers could have bought the machinery and owned the profits of their labor, and they would have divided among themselves the increased product of the additional 500 yards. In this case, the machinery would have worked for them, but being owned by the

capitalist who was able to purchase it, it works for him alone.

...

- A. Brisbane.

1847.12.20

Every man should be guaranteed a permanent home on the earth, the choice of industrial pursuits, the power to limit, at will, the hours of labor, an equivalent for what he produces, the best opportunities for education, and freedom in everything.

THE SYSTEM OF WAGES

We are about to make some very unorthodox remarks upon the very much eulogized system of wages; or as it is commonly called, *free labor*. Hired labor marks a peculiar phase of civilization, - a phase in which the sword of the feudal baron has given place to the golden conjuring quill of the merchant and financier. The tactics of warfare between the aristocracy and the masses, have undergone a complete change; and that very change does most strikingly illustrate how omnipotent mind is becoming, over mere brute force. Men are everywhere obtaining what measure of success they have, through principles rather than force - in trade, in industry, in finance, in commerce, in government, and we may add, in war and revolution do we find mankind relying for success on superior calculation and mental activity, instead of violence and brute force. And this may serve as a hint to Labor Reformers, as to the nature of the tactics which they must also employ. There must be more and more an embodiment of the fundamental law of labor in its relation to production and consumption. The more speedily and clearly they can see the principles which lie at the basis of their movement, and incorporate them in measures, the sooner will their triumph make glad the sons of men.

We are not at all certain that we may not encounter the pious prejudices of many well meaning individuals for entering our protest and condemnation against the whole system of wages. We shall not be

content with any remedial patch work. The system of competitive wages, must give way to one based on fundamental justice, at least in so far as relates to the industry of chartered corporations. We hold to the sentiments "That what a man produces is his own against the universe" - and that he ought to have his own, no one will deny, not even the man, who the other day, thought us infidels, and disbelievers of the Bible, because we contended that the system of hired-labor was one of injustice and slavery. Although that same individual proceeded to demonstrate our infidelity and the divinity of the wages system, by such texts as "the wages of sin and death," and "the laborer is worthy of his hire," yet even he thinks the laborer is entitled to all he earns. But the question is, how shall he obtain it? We answer, by associating capital and labor in distribution as well as in production.

Capital everywhere tends to concentrate into few hands. House-builders, ship-builders, tailors, merchants, mechanics, and manufacturers are distributed, in a regular series, from the millionaire director downward to the salaried overseer, and the wretched, toil-worn day laborer. Competition increases, and the power to withstand it *decreases*, just in proportion as you descend in the scale. Year by year do capitalists become proportionally fewer, and their fortunes more princely, whilst laborers multiply indefinitely, - and intense competition, steadily reduces the rate of wages, to the means of bare subsistence. A tri-form monopoly of lands, machinery, and products, defies all resistance has robbed the masses of the right of labor, and is sweeping them to the condition of serfs.

The laboring classes know well that the tide sets with a strong current in that direction. Go into many large machine shops and observe the almost penitentiary regulations - Go to your Lowells and Manchesters, and witness how the day of hideous toil consumes at both ends, the

hours of rest, whilst Sunday bells chime out the knell of weary hearts, that go up to make compelled offerings on mammon's alter, in infernal dissonance with the blasting artillery of enforced sabbatical toil - witness your villainous black-law-corporation's conspiracy against the rights of labor, and then tell us if the laboring classes are not slaves? Pause and reflect on the famous speech of Mr. Webster, which inculcates the doctrine, that the *State* must take care of the rich, and let the rich take care of the poor: and remember too that the wages of operatives have fallen off nearly one half under a high tariff, from what they were in 1840 under a low tariff.

Now let no one accuse us of enmity to capitalists, or to incorporation companies. We are only opposed to the existing form of chartered companies, which confers special favor on a class, and a class too, which is vastly able to do without it. We contend that it is manifestly unjust that no counterpoises against the degradation of labor, have ever been written in the charters of corporate bodies - not even that of regulating the hours of labor. Let the Legislature stipulate that in chartered corporations, labor shall be paid directly from the dividends in the proportion from five to seven twelfths of the net income in addition to the guarantee of a minimum and we not only shall not oppose them, but on the contrary we will advocate their extension. For this would at once blend the interests of capital and labor; and co-operation would take the place of rancorous competition and anarchical industry. There must be effected a reconciliation between the concurrent elements of production, which are labor and capital: and to this end, there must be no more corporation privileges granted to capital, which do not equally insure the interests of labor. We must close this article here, promising however that we have much more to urge under this head.

1846.02.27

Combination for Raising Wages. - The laboring classes form the great majority of every community, and as has been already observed, a country must be considered as happy or miserable, in proportion as those classes are abundantly or scantily supplied with the necessaries and comforts of life. From this principle it necessarily follows, that combination for lowering wages, could they be effectual must be regarded as conspiracies for increasing human misery; and that combinations for raising wages, could they be effectual, must be approved as associations for the promotion of human happiness. In the whole compass of economical science, the most important practical question is this, namely, can combinations, amongst the laboring classes, exact a permanent increase of wages?

- Colonel Torrens

DISTRIBUTION OF
PRODUCTIVITY GAINS

1845.11.29

MANUFACTURING POWER.

The following striking passage occurs in a publication entitled the English "Poor-law Guide."

Manufacturing pressures tend to increase improvements in machinery. Driven to thread bare profits the manufacturers seek every means of reducing the cost of production; and hence it has occurred that, during the last five or six years, there has been more improvement in machinery than has taken place for twenty five years before that period. We believe we are correct in stating that, some eight or nine years since, the maximum capability of the spinning-mule did not exceed the power of turning above 640 spindles. There are self-acting mules now in use that will turn upwards of 2,000 spindles! A mill of the present day, with improved machinery is capable of given quantity of work at about one third less expense than it could have been done seven years since; in other words a factory, which in 1836 required an outlay of 600*l* per week for wages, can now throw off the same quantity of work for 400*l* per week.

We have heard one respectable manufacturer declare, that if this forty [in]ce cotton was made fast to a vessel allowed to make the best of her way to Canton, he would make the cotton as fast as the ship could sail away with it or he would consent to have nothing for it. Now allowing the ordinary voyage of four months, and calculating the number of miles the ship would sail, it would require about twenty-four million yards of cloth to keep pace with the ship, or above 8,000 years per hour working the whole time, night and day. The same machinery would in seven months, make a belt round the earthy forty inches wide. Now, we would ask if one manufacturer could do this, what could the whole machinery of England alone accomplish? Could it not make sufficient cloth in a few

years to cover the whole surface of the inhabited part of the globe!

- *Western Literary Messenger.*

1845.06.19

The Factory System

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The annual statistics of several factories show the following facts:

	1844	1845
Capital	\$10,500,000	\$11,000,000
No. of Spindles	192,376	204,000
No. of Females	7,430	7,000
Wages per week	\$2,00	\$1,75
Yards per week	1,435,450	1,500,000
Dividends	4 1-2	12 1-4

The above statement shows that the capital of \$11,000,000 employed in Lowell gives employment to only 7000 females at \$1,75 per week. That although the quantity of cloth manufactured per week is largely increased, the number of operatives are diminished. - This is effected by the improvements which have been made in machinery. The dividends in 1845 are almost 200 per cent greater than in 1845, whilst the wages of the females are 12 1-2 percent less. *This is the natural result of the state of things in New England. - The more wealth becomes concentrated in a few hands, the poorer the great mass becomes.*

...

1845.11.14

For the Voice

The wives and daughters of our farmers formerly made their own linen, stockings, flannels, woolen cloths, &c. This department of labor is now engrossed by machinery, and females are compelled to find work in factories. It is not visionary, to imagine that our farmers themselves in the same manner, by the superior advantages of capital Association and agricultural machinery, will be driven from their farms and be compelled to work in communities, where wheat, corn, &c. , can be raised at half their present cost. Machinery may supersede the use of horses and oxen. Steam plows and other instruments may expedite

agriculture, so that we may grow more on the same land, and save our pastures for the production of food for man. So great a change in farming might injure our land owners, but it would benefit the landless. How shall we contrive to plan, make and test steam power and other agricultural instruments? Individuals cannot attempt to construct new engines, under encouraging circumstances. We have no mechanic institutes, designed for new inventions and experiments. We say, that associations of blacksmiths, carpenters, farmers, &c., could employ their leisure and means, in drafting, modeling and constructing such laborsaving machines, as are wanted to enable the most of the people to live independently, with less labor than ten or twelve hours per day. But they must first combine together, that the mammoth profits of machinery may be distributed among the workman, and not be monopolized by corporation, so as to enslave labor.

...

1847.10.29

A Question for Workingmen. It is well known Dr. Franklin calculated that if every individual would labor at some useful employment *four* hours a day, that would produce enough of the comforts of life for all. Since his time there have been immense improvements in labor saving machinery and probably more labor can now be accomplished in *three* hours than could then have been four. -

There are two or three different ways by which we can prove Dr. Franklin's calculation was correct, while a very little reflection will convince any one that our own supposition is within the truth.

Now if three or even four hours of daily labor is sufficient to produce the comforts of life, why is it that day laborers, journeymen, seamstresses, clerks and others who do the hardest and most useful labor are obliged to toil ten and fourteen hours a day for a bare subsistence.

J.E.T.

FASHION AND CREATED WANTS

1845.11.07

It is a fact that more than one half of what mankind call wants are not more or less than *educated superfluties*.

1846.06.12

HANGING ON.

There are certain stores that modest, unassuming ladies will not enter to purchase goods. The reason they give is this, "The salesmen hang on to us - determined we shall buy the goods whether we want them or not. They seem determined that we shall not leave the shops without laying out our money. If we tell them we wish for different articles, they will declare they cannot be found in the city." Such a course may succeed for once, but it prejudices the mind of females, who generally know what they want and how much, and they will seldom call again. Young clerks should be taught better and never insist on selling an article that a person does not want. An accommodating, but not too talkative person will sell double the goods and secure better customers than one who is full of gab and will not permit a customer to leave the shop.

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- *Portland Tribune*

1846.02.20

BEAUTY

BEAUTY is a captivating, but fading flower, which often leads its youthful possessor into many dangers, many distresses. Happy is it for those who are distinguished for their outward charms, that they are sheltered under the parental roof. Happy for them that the watchful eye regards them with rigid circumspection. Few in the early periods of life are insensible to flattery, or deaf to the voice of adoration. Beware of the flatterer; be not deceived by fair speeches. Be assured the man who wishes to render you vain of your outward charms has a mean opinion of your sense and mental qualifications. Remember, too, that a young girl,

whose chief sturdy and employment is in the decoration of her person, is a most contemptible character, and that the more you are distinguished for the charms of your face and the graces of your form, the more you are exposed to danger. - The rose is torn from its parent stem in the pride of beauty; the jasmine is scarcely permitted to blossom before it is plucked; and no sooner are the beauties faded, than the merciless hand which was eager to obtain them, throws them away with contempt; whilst the primrose, the violet, the lily of the valley, and the snow-drop, less exposed to observation, escape unhurt and uninjured by the spoiler's hand.

Learn fair daughters of beauty, from the primrose, that your best security can be found in retirement. If you wish to be admired, be seldom seen; and if you are desirous of having a sincere lover in your train, let the virtue modesty, sweetness, be the only lures you make use of to ensnare.

You may then, perhaps, by your good qualities, retain the heart, which was at first captive to your beauties, and when time has robbed you of the graces and the innocent cheerfulness of youth, secure, a sincere and tender friend, to console you in the hours of affliction, and watch over you when deprived of those charms that first made him solicitous to obtain your love.

Repine not, my young readers, though your virtues be concealed in a homely form. If you have secured the virtues of the mind, you need not envy others the beauties of the face. And ye, who are decorated with outward grace, be not vain of such fading externals, but tremble lest they should tempt the designing to lead you into error.

Neglect not, then, in the giddy-hours of youth to make your mind a fit companion for the most lovely. Personal charms may please for a moment; but the more lasting beauties of an improved understanding can never fire. We are

soon weary at looking at a picture, though executed in a masterly style; and she, who has only beauty to recommend her, has but little chance of meeting a lover who will not grow indifferent to a mere portrait, particularly when its colors are faded by the subduing hand of time. Then it is that modesty and sweetness of temper are particularly observed; and the loss of beauty will not be regretted by him in first made captive.

1845.06.26

The rage of American gentleman seems to be for rich wives and small waists - both curses to any man.

- *Fowler*

1846.06.12

THE LADIES OF ITALY. - In form the Italians excel us. Larger, fuller, they naturally acquire a finer gait and bearing. It is astonishing that our ladies should persist in that ridiculous notion, that a small waist is, and *par necessita* must be, beautiful. Why many an Italian woman would cry for vexation if she possessed such a waist as some of our ladies acquire only by the longest, painfulest process. I have sought the reason of this difference, and can see no other than the Italians have their glorious statuary continually before them as models, and hence endeavor to assimilate themselves to *them*; whereas, our models, are those French stuffed figures in the windows of millmer's shops. Why, if an artist should presume to make a statue with the shape that seems to be regarded with us as the perfection of harmonious proportion, he would be laughed out of the city. It is a standing objection against the taste of our women, the world over, that they will practically assert that a French milliner understands how they shall be made better than nature herself.

- *Headly's Travels in Italy.*

1845.07.10

NEW FASHION. - The Lady Do-nothings of society are beginning to wear sleeves so short as to leave half the arm exposed, that being the newest and most aristocratic cut;

little thinking that the Lady Do-somethings in our factories and kitchens have had that fashion 'long time ago,' and that they are thus treading in *plebeian footsteps*.

1845.12.05

HOW TO LEARN THE VALUE OF A DOLLAR. - Reader, says the Democratic Expositor, if you would learn the value of a dollar, go and labor two days in the hot sun, as a hod carrier. This is an excellent idea, and if many of our young gentlemen had to earn their dollar that way, how much less dissipation, folly and crime, would we witness every day.

So of fashionable young ladies. If they, like the poor widowed original of the song of the shirt, had to earn their dollar by making shirts at 16 cents apiece how much less foolish finery would we see about them, and many more truthful notions would they have of the duties of life, and their obligations to the rest of the world.

1846.04.10

Superfluities. - What man in his right senses; that has wherewithal to live free, would make himself a slave for superfluities? What does that man want, who has enough? Or what is he better for abundance, what can never be satisfied?

- [L'Estrange]

1846.03.27

That state of life is most happy, where superfluities are not required, and necessities are not wanting.

1846.06.12

...

Have the courage to prefer comfort and property to fashion, in all things.

...

Have the courage to wear your old clothes till you are able to pay for new ones.

1846.09.11

The man who never knows when he has enough; is sure, sooner or later, either to want or have too much, and one is as bad as the other.

1846.02.06

Independence. - It is not the greatness of a man's means that makes him independent, so much as the smallness of his wants.

- Cobbett.

WEALTH AND
CRIMINAL JUSTICE

1847.08.21

HOW SOCIETY
MAKES CRIMINALS

Society has not yet learned that it is cheaper to *prevent* crime than to *punish* it, yet the fact seems hardly to need proof. The prison, the school-house and the church stand side by side in all our Christian communities. - there are thousands, aye, millions in this land of Christian Republicanism, to whom the doors of the school-house and the church are as effectually closed as if they were barred and bolted, and guarded by an armed police, but the *prison* is open to them. Is it a matter of wonder that they enter it?

Read the following paragraph from the pen of *Charles Spear*, the Philanthropist and *Prisoner's Friend*, and ask yourself if the picture is not true to nature.

"How dreadful is the thought that children should suffer so much from the neglect of society! Just look at a group. See them, on a summer day, in the blessed sunshine, and warm air. Misery itself will sing. You hear the merry laugh and the hearty shout. - You see them careering over the open ground, here a leg out and there an arm. All indicates that God made children to be happy and that even misery will forget itself. You converse with one of these boys. His feet are red, swollen, and ulcerated with the cold. His clothes are thread-worn. Look beneath his shaggy bush of hair. You see a face sharp with want, yet beaming with intelligence. He has learned the arts. He can lie, beg, and steal. He must beg, or steal, or starve. He goes as regularly to his work each morning as the merchant to his calling. He, with his associates, are turned out, like sheep to the hills, or cattle to the field. A certain supply must be brought home, or a brutal beating awaits them. Who wonders at the rapid growth of crime? Such children cannot pay for an education, nor avail themselves

of a *gratis* one, if offered. There is no asylum to receive them, no schoolmaster to instruct them. Let us no longer denounce the Rajpoot and the Chinese for the barbarous practice of exposing infants.

1845.11.14

LAWS. - Laws are generally not understood by three sorts of persons, viz.: by those who make them, by those who execute them, and by those who suffer by them if they break them.

1847.07.23

We understand that the young gentlemen of Harvard College, charged with incendiarism, having confessed the offence before the case was presented to the grand jury, have received a college sentence instead of the more rigorous one which the offended laws of the Commonwealth would inflict.

- *Bunker Hill, Aurora*

If they had been hod-carriers instead of College Alumni, their fate would have been very different.

- *Springfield Sentinel*

1847.12.10

ADVICE TO FELONS

"When you steal, seal in handsome clothes. 'Two ladies,' says the *Devonshire Independent*, 'stole some tea from a grocer, but they were allowed to depart, with a severe lecture.' Had they stole in rags, they would have departed with a police constable."

- *Punch*

It is to *Punch's* humour with a purpose that many an instructive lesson is attributable. Under the hunch of the merry cripple, who is plagiarised and altered from the Italians, lies a heart which impels a warm and steady current to a brain whose thoughts are as profound and as appreciative as those which animate the first divine or the most eminent statesmen. *Punch's* endeavors do not tend solely to make one laugh. His sallies, while they create a smile, suggest beneficent reflection. He squibs an abuse into rectification; he puns a folly out of existence; he jests with a serious and highly moral aim, and

the strokes of his baton have driven more than many uncouth and intolerable evils from the rocky path of the multitude. The above advice is founded on the customs of society, and applies as well in this region as elsewhere. No longer ago than last week a "respectable" man went into an oyster cellar in Brooklyn, and after destroying the property and breaking the peace, attempted to murder the proprietor. He was taken before a magistrate, and, in consideration of his fine coat and aristocratical connections, was shielded from merited disgrace by the reporters for the press. They withheld his name, and for reason presented his "respectability" of which he had given such convincing proof. Let a barefoot woman with half a dozen starving children, pilfer a loaf of bread, in desperation, from a grocer, and she goes to prison with a mob and their execrations after her. But let a female attired "respectably," perpetrate the same crime. The sympathies of the grocer, and of the people, are enlisted in her behalf, and she walks off unmolested, with "unfortunate woman, and she so respectable!" greeting her auricular faculties.

An emaciated, ragged thief stands no chance of mercy. A thief in the broadcloths commands his own terms of punishment or disgrace.

An ill clad drunkard is "Dammed to everlasting fame," But a wealthy, well-conditioned guzzler is respected.

Punch's advice to felons cannot be surpassed. It is advice for which they should vote him a silver medal. If they fellow it, stripes and dungeons will seldom or never be palpable to their experience. Ho! Then, ye thieves! Dress well and get up a reputation for "respectability." Do this and flourish. Of a verity we think that if distressed and ragged felons, ill-looking brutes, whose countenances are said to betray their evil propensities - patronize a choice, tailor and a fashionable barber, police magistrates will have become sinecures, and the Court of

Sessions entirely obsolete. Glory to Punch, in the name of society, for that plain blunt and natural advice – “When you steal, steal in handsome clothes.”

Human nature is primitively rugged and obdurate; but it is smoothed and softened by inconsistencies quicker than by any other means. What reason, cries a moralist, can a well-dressed person have for stealing? None: it is simply a practical joke – a mere freak. Those who steal to avert starvation have a reason. Punish them severely. If they won't get handsome clothes, flay them alive – anything to teach them policy and a knowledge of society's foibles.

- *Noah's Sunday Times*

WEALTH AND POLITICS

1847.07.02

☞ Ought government, which was instituted to promote the good of ALL MANKIND, to be made the instrument for enriching the few and impoverishing the many?

- *Troy Budget*

That's the question.

1846.02.06

PUBLIC MEN. – Very few public men but look upon the public as their debtors, and their prey: so much for their pride and honesty. – *Zimmerman.*

1845.11.14

THOUGHTS FOR THE WORKING MEN. – Existing abuses may be pointed out and acknowledged, but they will never be cured by the aid or consent of that small class of men who profit by them. We see and hear great professions on behalf of suffering humanity, but we find no individual ready to make a personal sacrifice to improve its condition. In the first place I must be sustained and fortified in the enjoyment of every sensual indulgence to which I am accustomed; then I will talk with you about the wants of the dear people, about benevolence and charity. the wrong end of society sits upon the upper spokes of the political ladder. The men who have wealth can take care of themselves in any situation. But the preponderance which attaches to wealth under any circumstances, the rich by the aid of combination monopolize legislative and judicial power. Legislation is exclusively for the use and benefit of the rich, and the judicial administration of the law is regulated by the controlling of influence of money. To a poor man, the law is an outrageous mockery. It is worse; it is an oppressor's rod. It is a two-edged sword which the rich man only can wield, and from which the poor may only hope to escape. Justice is offered to all, augmented out to him who can best pay for it.

Property, life and character, are in the hands of the law. The law is in the hands of the rich. The rich have

leisure to combine and the means to command legal talent, the pulpit and the press. While the great mass of society, who support the whole by useful labor, whose industry produces all, whose virtue and courage defends all, who hold the nation together, and without this aid the rich must toil or starve; that great body of useful men and women and children are scattered over the face of society, and fulfilling their duty in the most essential form to their country and their God, but neglecting and trusting to others the very important duty of self-government.

Our political rights are the same, we are all equal under our declaration of independence. But here the equality stops. The constitutions are defective. The laws are unjust, and their administration wicked. The rich prosper by this injustice, and will strive to continue and strengthen existing abuses. – We can have no remedy, and justly hope for none, until the mass of common people, the hard-working mechanics, and farmers, the men of useful toil, whether corporeal or intellectual – the laboring millions combine, take the helm of state exclusively into their own hands, and save themselves, and save the nation from the political and social evils which are now hurrying us with fearful rapidity into the great vortex of buried nations.

- *True Workingman.*

1846.03.13

A few words to the young Men of Lowell (*Continued*)

“Shall America be free indeed?”

It is a fact fully established by philosophy and common sense, that in all states of society, individuals have collective or public duties – duties they owe to the general good of the community or country in which they live, as well as their own individual happiness. It is right and necessary that the people of one town or State or of different towns and States should consult together, as to the best means and modes of securing their general and

individual happiness, and of promoting the great and end and aim of life.

These duties, society has denominated POLITICAL because they relate to government or the administration of the affairs of States or Nations. But instead of their remaining pure and free from the contaminating influences of individual party selfishness, they have been used at nearly all ages as instruments of aggrandizement in the hands of the few, to oppress the many. Instead of promoting the public good, party and individual interests have been gratified. Instead of legislating for the people, with as little expense as possible, the few have used it as a hereditary right or party privilege to render themselves distinguished among their fellowmen, and provide the comforts and luxuries of life without labor. Thus, instead of men's legislating as a public duty, for the welfare of society, they have made it an *individual business*, and in accordance with the general law of supply and demand have created as much of this business as possible, that their "trade may continue good," thereby bringing an enormous tax upon the people and rendering human laws, which should be plain and simple, complicated and unintelligible, that the "common people" should not steal the trade."

This state of things has given rise to hereditary kings, despots and rulers, who have reveled in luxury and excess, while the mass of the people have toiled in privation and want, until they could bear the burdens no longer, when open rebellion, blood and carnage have been the results. The American Revolution is a well known illustration of the effects of this system of tyranny, when long practiced upon the public. The oppression of the British government became too intolerable to be longer borne by our forefathers, and receiving new and enlarged views of the rights of man from the new world which they had fled, they determined to resist at the

peril of all things, any farther encroachments upon their declared rights. They "fought, bled and died." - America was declared a "free and independent Nation." Under her new form of government, our people prospered and became comparatively happy; - their interests were mutual - their legislators were servants to the best known good of the public weal, and to promote the general prosperity of their country seemed to them paramount to individual interests.

But a change has come over the face of our political career, and although our country remains nominally free, oppression is fast rearing its hydra head, under the genial shades of "republicanism." The glorious truths that, "all men are created free and equal, and entitled to life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness," still remain upon our national escutcheon, - but shamefully neglected - a mere array of words with which demagogues embellish their heartless harangues, while humanity is thirsting and starving for want of their realization. While we retain this national motto, we have proved ourselves false to its spirit by fostering and legislating for systems which virtually say, that all men are "entitled to life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness," whose *circumstances* are favorable - who *vote* on "*our side*," or if seventy five cents or one dollar per day will give them life and liberty and make them happy, then they are entitled, or in other words, that it takes from two to twenty five thousand dollars a year to give life, liberty and happiness to one class of men, while it requires but two or three hundred for another of like *natural* requirements.

Now what we wish to impress upon your minds, is, that liberty and republicanism *mean something*, and that a country is no better off than a monarchy, where these names are found without the spirit.

In a true Republic, *all* the people enjoy the same *natural rights*, and the same privileges of wealth and

intellectual culture. In a true Republic, Man controls wealth and renders it subservient to the general good. In a true Republic, the blessings of freedom will be alike dispensed upon all the members of the Republic and the institutions of heathenism, and monarchy will not be required to protect their virtues and property and secure peace.

Do not suppose that a few are born legislators and that you are bound to submit to their decrees. What laws and regulations are necessary to promote the virtue and happiness of all, and secure harmony and good order throughout all departments of society; you should be fully acquainted with and prepared to administer or improve them as friends and Christians. But above all, do not be partisans - governed by a political creed formed by the selfish ambition and caprice of party aspirants. Nothing will tend more to make you illiberal, bigoted and stunt your natural desire for human progression. Parties are a hindrance and curse to the progress of the age. They tend to seal up the understanding against the truth and create enmity and uncharitableness among men. An illustration of the effects of party influences over the better feelings of men may be seen by reference to the manifested by the Massachusetts Legislature in relation to the "Ten Hour" petition now before that body. Party and capital control their deliberations and labor and humanity are neglected. The fifteen thousands of human voices which have gone forth, praying that the grievous burden which combined capital has imposed upon them, may be removed, are passed by silence or winked at, while the dictates of capital are readily obeyed. Entertain young men, enlarged view of humanity, of your duty to your country and your race. Recollect that the increasing poverty, want and vice among the working classes are not the fruits of republicanism. Act then, from enlightened convictions of *right* untrammelled by party or love of gain. The destinies of a country every way adapted to nourish and

support millions on millions of happy and enlightened freemen, are with you, - shall America be free indeed?

1845.09.18

"All men are born free and equal," should be altered into "All men must remain free and equal," as it is of but little consequence, to a chap how free and equal he is born, in case his freedom and equality ceases with his suckling."

- *Subterranean*

1847.03.05

Which is the most perfect Popular Government? That, said Bins, where the laws have no superior. That, said Thales, where the inhabitants are neither too poor nor too rich. That, said Anacharsis the Scythian, where virtue is honoured and vice detested. - That, said Pittacus, whose dignities are always conferred upon the virtuous, and never upon the base. That, said Cleobulus, where the citizens fear blame more than punishment. That, said Chilo, where the laws are more regarded than the orators. But Solon said, that wherean injury done to the meanest subject is an insult to the whole community.

1846.12.18

The President's Message. - It makes us feel tired to think of it. A great, long, tedious, ugly defence and apology, for the wicked war, which has already exhausted Millions of the people's money, and thousands of their lives. President Polk has also devoted the usual quota of space and attention to fulsome encomiums upon our 'glorious institutions,' alias Negro Slavery, System of taxing the people to support a gang of political free-looters, Land traffic, Revenues, Tariffs, &c. &c. Well, so long as the people will support such en by their suffrages, they must not whine, but 'bear the cross' with fortitude and patience.

We cannot do the subject more justice than by copying the following from an able article in the last Young American.

"I was prepared for almost everything else in the Message but this first paragraph:

'In resuming your labors in the service of the People, it is a subject of congratulation that there has been no period in our past history when all the elements of national prosperity have been so fully developed. Since your last session no affecting dispensation has visited our country; general good health has prevailed; abundance has crowned the toil of the husbandman; and labor in all its branches is receiving an ample reward, while education, science and the arts are rapidly enlarging the means of social happiness. The progress of our country in her career of greatness, not only in the vast extension of our territorial limits and the rapid increase of our populations, but in resources and wealth, and in the happy condition of our people, is without example in the history of nations.'

If this extract truly represents the condition of this nation, then has this paper been one reiterated lie from its first commencement, now over two years and a half ago, and its publication, which is neither pleasant or profitable to me, is no longer necessary, nor that of any other National Reform paper, and the papers of all the other parties throughout the country that are coming out in favor of the Nation Reform measures, with an unanimity unprecedented in any former political movement, must be led away by a woeful delusion. But is Mr. Polk's representation correct? Without meaning to charge him with willful misrepresentation, I say unhesitatingly that it could not, in its main statements, well be more directly at variance with the truth. What is "*national prosperity*?" If it consists in an accumulation of wealth in the country, then is the President correct in his first statement, for undoubtedly "all the elements" for the accumulation of wealth has been more fully developed than ever before. But if the mere accumulation of wealth in

the country indicates "national prosperity," then, certainly, must Great Britain far surpass ours and every other nation, for no other nation is so wealthy in proportion to its population, or so well supplied with "all the elements of national prosperity." Yet who does not know that the people of the British Islands are the most miserable of any *civilized* nation? And who, that has studied the subject, does not know that the same causes that have mainly contributed gradually to increase the misery and degradation of the British people for the last fifty years, are now producing the same effects among us? That although "all the elements" of production are increasing, the distribution of products is more and more unequal? That through the monopoly of the Soil a few are enable to monopolize the powers of production, such as labor saving machinery, as soon as they are invented, and that thus these powers, now increasing with unexampled rapidity, become a curse and an oppression to the landless whose labor they supplant? Who that have not been rioting in the spoils' of office, and willfully evaded all investigation, can be ignorant that in the State of the New York, for example, as in England, the land is passing into fewer hands, the landless city populations are disproportionately accumulating, wages are falling and rents rising, and prisons, poor houses, and brothels are increasing in a much greater ratio than the population! Mr. Polk could have obtained official statistics for all these facts, yet he states that the increase of "national prosperity" for the past year has been unprecedented in our past history!

To what can we attribute this insensibility of the President to the real condition of the people, if not to the fact he has been educated in the lap of luxury, fed by the labors of others, and without a chance of forming a conception of what it is to be landless and dependent on a *market* and the will of others for the chance to labor for the scanty necessities of life? Will not this

statement of Mr. Polk's be a bitter lesson to the three-fourth of the people who or whose offspring are not above the liability to wages, slavery, against choosing another slaveholder or large landholder for their President, at least without written testimony that he understands how to make national prosperity and the prosperity of the toilers coincident, and he will use all his powers to secure the result.

If we do not make great allowance for "the accident of birth" and other circumstances, not the least imposing of which is the possession of an income of \$25,000 a year, it would be difficult for us in New York to understand the President's assertion that "labor in its branches is receiving in ample reward" and his allusion to "the happy condition of our people," as anything but bitter irony, in the teeth of the fact that at least 70,000 of our 400,000 in this city are dependent on charity or pauper relief, that females make shirts for five cents, that others apply in vain for work at that price and do worse, and that at this very time our poor house commissioner is doing what hardly dare be done in England, refusing applications for relief! although here, as in England, husbands and wives, parents and children, are separated in the poor houses, and many in the most necessitous condition are thus prevented from applying for relief!

But perhaps the President would say, if by any possibility these facts could be pressed home upon him, as some of our Native neighbors say, that this pauperism is mostly foreign and is only to be found in our seaports. Mr. Polk might learn if he took the means that a President ought to take, that every city, inland as well as seaboard, as gradually approaching New York in their increase of poverty and pauperism, and that the causes are at work though more slowly, if not a foreigner come to our shores. Here is an extract from the Syracuse Star of the 5th instant:

THE POOR. - The Poormaster of this town recently informed us that within the first few days previous he had been applied to [by], and had relieved over six hundred different persons! When we reflect that is only those who are most necessitous and needy that usually make application for town charity, we at once perceive the alarming state of want and destitution existing here in our midst at the present time. Should not some active and concerted measures be taken by our citizens to provide relief to the poor during the coming winter? Cannot the hands and hearts of some of our benevolent ladies be enlisted in the work?

Does that little item from an inland town look as though "Labor in all its branches" was "receiving an ample reward?" What must our farm laborers and their employers throughout the country, the former of whom toil (when allowed) from sun to sun for six, eight, and ten dollars a month, think of the President's statement? What must the widows and orphans of the men forced by necessity to venture on the ocean, so many of whom have laid [winrows] along our shores lately, think of the assertion? What will our miners and mechanics say to it? "Amply rewarded!" are they? And this assertion from a man receiving \$100,000 for four year's salary!

1846.03.13

REPUBLICS. - In republics the sovereign power, or the power over which there is no control, and which controls all others, remains where nature placed it, in the people. In a country under a despotic form of Government the Sovereign is the only free man in it. In a republic the people retaining the sovereignty is the only free man in it. In a republic the people retaining the sovereignty themselves, naturally and necessarily retain freedom with it: for wheresoever the sovereignty is, there must the freedom be: the one cannot be in one place, and the other in another.

- Paine

1846.02.06

GOVERNMENT. - The end of all government is the happiness of the whole community; and whenever it does not secure that, it is a bad government, and it was time it *was altered*.

- Barlow

[date]

STOCK JOBBING

Stock-jobbing is the (twin) brother of monopoly. Both have placed public opinion so much in subjection to them, as to compel even sovereigns to yield; they openly attack the operations of princes, who, abused and deceived by sophisms, do not propose a research for another commercial system.

...

There is then a power which enjoys an ascendancy over heroes, as well as over the united opinion of the people: it is Stock-jobbing which directs at will, the whole industrial mechanism. it renders Empires subject to the mercy of a parasitic class, which being neither proprietor nor manufacturer, and possessing no property but the portfolio, and being able to change its residence at a day's notice, is interested in disorganizing every country, and alternately overthrowing every branch of industry. And when we see our economic theories sustaining such scourges as Stock Jobbing, Monopoly, Bankruptcy, &c., which unceasingly convulses the whole Industrial body, which sport with sovereigns even, and with the confidence they inspire in the people; when we see, I say, these infamies and the host of others which commercial license engenders, no writer has had the courage to denounce this ridiculous science of political economy, to condemn in the mass the whole commercial system, and to propose a research for a new system of Industrial relations. - They all bend basely before commercial vices which they hate in secret and sound in unison the praises of commerce, without thinking about the means of throwing off the yoke, so terrified are the civilizees at the idea of a reform which would require a degree of political contrivance of which they deem themselves incapable. Without doubt the modern philosophers have a secret shame at the results of their

mercantile system, but through self-love they suffer the evil to grow worse and worse; they flatter the political pigmies, Stock-jobbers, and monopolist whom they know not how to restrain; they habituate the public mind to tremble and bend at the very name of Commerce. How do such scandals belie the reason which boasts itself of perfection. Into what a slough has political economy clunged modern Empires! Were we not less abased and was not civilization less despicable when mercantile philosophy and economic science were yet unborn?

...

As I have already observed, the political vices of a profession are not individual vices; an attorney in living upon his clients, a Stock-jobber in spoliating the social-body, incur no blame individually; the fault falls back upon civilization alone, which engenders so many branches of hurtful occupation, and upon Philosophy which would fain persuade us that this infamous civilization is the social destiny of man, and that God has designed 'no better' plans upon which to organize the social and industrial relations of mankind.

- New York Phalanx

[date]

THE CORN CRISIS- PROTECTION A DELUSION

We are aware that we have a numerous class of readers, who, with a general tendency to liberal and enlightened views on the subject of commercial legislation, still do not go the length that we do, in repudiating all protection whatever, as a vicious and injurious principle. There is a large class of persons, though, we believe, a rapidly diminishing one, who disapproving of protection to agriculture, both in its amount and in the principle of its application under the existing law, still cling to the opinion that *some* protection, mitigated in extent and altered in form, is due to the agricultural lobby; and many who, denying the *abstract right* to protection, still contend for a small duty on foreign corn, subsisting between farmers and landlords, or

for other reasons into which we need not inquire. A crisis has arrived when men of all classes will be called upon to decide either *for* protection as a principle, or *against* it. This crisis, which has long been foreseen, will now, whatever tends temporary expedient may be resorted to for the purpose of averting the immediate and impeding danger, render it implausible longer to delay the [blind] settlement of the question - Is protection, as a principle, benefited or injurious? That much, very much, will hang upon the true decision of this question, will be best manifest to the bulk of men, when they reflect how all the laws which have affected to mitigate and regulate the extent of protection front time to time, have not only failed in their operation, but how each succeeding attempt has, sooner or later, produced embarrassment and derangement, which have threatened the vital interest of the country. In the final settlement of the corn law question, men have really to determine whether the country is to be subjected to these constant and violent alternations of prosperity and adversity, under which temporary advantages of the former disappear in the ruinous and more lasting reverses of the latter.

For ourselves, we utterly repudiate the principle of protection, either as a *right*, or as a *benefit*. We contend, that its application is no less an act of injustice to the consumer, than one of error and folly towards the producer; and that, in whatever degree it exists, it is more or less cause of loss to all parties. - It is the habit of those who contend for protection, to a lesser or greater extent, to take it for granted that protection is really a source of gain to individual interest. And if is then be said, that in that case special interests are advanced at the cost of the general good, we are accustomed to hear the most unseemly argument as to the "comparative" importance of particular classes, both socially and numerically. Denying as we do, the very groundwork on which this argument rests - that protection *is*

beneficial - we will content ourselves with simply showing in what dilemma the contrary assumption places these who take the opposite view. If they contend that the protected classes are more influential socially, and more importantly numerically, then it is admitted that the weaker minority is sacrifice the stronger majority. then is it admitted that social and numerical power are used to seize an advantage to itself and inflict injury on the other portion of the community. - Or, if it be contended that the protected classes are the minority in numbers or influence, and require the fostering care of the government, as it is termed, then the *many* are scarified to the *few*. On whichever dilemma the claim for the protection is rested, we contend it to be equally insupportable.

But our object is now rather to show that the whole of these estimates of advantages are founded on grave errors and miscalculations. The expense of every protected interest ought to have elicited suspicion long ago, that the whole system was a delusion; for it has been precisely in the proportion that different classes have been the objections of Government care and solicitude, with respect to their material interests, that they have been proverbially the subjects of reverses and disappointed hopes. It is Providence, in the moral government of the world that the true interest of every individual, in whatever sphere he exists, is, in the long run, found to be coincident with the general interests of society at large.

The ultimate welfare of individuals is solely dependent on that of the community of which they are members, and thus we recognize the consoling fact, that even men's temporal interests are never, when rightly understood, inimical to their duty to their fellowmen. The social law enacts mutual reliance and dependence, and any attempt to promote special interests, at the cost of the general good, must sooner or later react upon those who make

such an attempt, though the injury be perpetrated on the community at large. But, although these certain reactions and disappointments invariably await parties who rely on protection, yet the mischief is not confined to this negative effect. A reliance on protection diverts attention from those other means which would ensure cheaper and more economical production, which would be at once beneficial to the public, and profitable to individuals. The uncertainty to which protected interests are ever exposed, from their reliance on false and artificial props, repels from them the capital [...], to secure the most improved and economical methods of protection.

But, even if it were possible permanently to secure higher prices by restrictive laws, for whose advantage would such prices exist? it must be quite plain to all, that if capital and labor were recommended more, in one particular more of their application than in others, all things considered, competition would soon, in one form or another reduce them to the common standard. When, therefore, it is said that a law is passed for the protection of the farmer, can it be supposed that the law even were it as successful for its professed object as it has notoriously failed, would enable the former to obtain a higher rate of profit than other occupations yield? Competition for [] compels the farmer to pay a rent proportioned to whatever price has is led to expect. And if, by this means, the value of the land be raised, not only is a higher price paid by those who purchased it, but much, if not the whole, of the apparent advantages are lost in the increased poor rates for the support of unemployed paupers, of country rates for the persecution and punishment of criminals, and for other purposes directly referable to the artificial scarcity produced by restriction.