

rightfully own any portion of the soil, because others have already acquired a rightful and exclusive ownership in the whole of it. But the Tribune declares explicitly that they would be wrongfully deprived of it—that each one of them has a "perfect right" to his "equal share." The Tribune, therefore, must deny the principle with which we started, that one man can rightfully be the exclusive owner of any part of the earth's surface. This is the fundamental principle from which the Tribune starts, in its advocacy of Association, namely, that their can be no rightful Property in Land.

Now if a man may not rightfully own land, how can he rightfully own anything which the land produces? Is there any ground for a distinction between property in land, and property in the products of land? Why may a tree be owned, when the land upon which it grows cannot? Why may the wheat which grows out of the soil be owned by some man, when the soil from which it grows cannot? What inherent quality makes the one ownable, when the other is not? The Tribune may reply, the labor bestowed by the land produces? Is there any ground for a distinction between property in land, and property in the products of land? Why may a tree be owned, when the land upon which it grows cannot? Why may the wheat which grows out of the soil be owned by some man, when the soil from which it grows cannot? What inherent quality makes the one ownable, when the other is not? The Tribune may reply, the labor bestowed by the land makes one the subject of property. But as labor only changes the form of a thing; it does not create it. And if the original be not ownable, can its product become so? If no one man can own land, to the exclusion of all others, how can any man own its products? There is no principle which will sanction the distinction. If land is not ownable, nothing is. If the right of property in every land be denied, the right of property in every thing else is denied also. If, as the Tribune maintains, every person in New-York has a perfect right to his equal share of the soil of New-York, then, most certainly, he has an equally perfect right to his equal share of whatever that soil, directly or indirectly, may produce.

The original proposition, therefore, from which the Tribune starts in its advocacy of Association, is denial of the Right of Property in land, and includes a denial of the right to own anything whatever. Now we must not be understood to say that the Tribune does this actually and consciously;—it is not. It is the theory of property in land, which will probably promptly disavow any such radical opinion. But we do assert, and we think we are right, that the ground principle of its whole System, the elementary proposition with which it starts—the very principle which shows its whole theory of Rights and Obligations—does, of necessity, involve these results. If that principle is true, these results must follow; and the Tribune cannot disown the results, without disavowing the principles.

Now it can scarcely be necessary, at least at present, to establish the right of absolute Property, either in land or in any thing else. The God gave to man not simply the use, but the ownership, the property, the ownership of the Earth. His declared object in doing so was most important, namely, to secure its cultivation. At first, when there were but few men upon the Earth, they did not find it needful to cultivate it much, and so they did not care to own it—and thus it remained uncultivated and unowned. But when men increased in number, it became essential to till the Earth no man would till land of which he had not the property, either original or complete, or derived or limited; and thus, out of the very necessity of the case, grew the right of property in land, and so the right of property in the products thereof.

That right was essential, was necessary, to secure the cultivation of the Earth and so the fulfillment of God's design. From it grew up Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry in all its forms, Passion, and Avarice threatened to disturb or destroy it, and hence grew up Law for its protection. Out of the institution of Property, therefore, which grew from the law of Nature and of God, arose the fabric of Civilized Society. This, which is the order of Nature, refutes, as will be seen, the order of the Tribune. That paper insists that Society creates property, which is the root of the tie of which Society is the trunk; and Society, in turn, as it is the product, becomes guardian of the Right of individual property. Property has always originated every thing like order, civilization and refinement in the world. It has always been the mainspring of energy, enterprise and all the refinements of life. Evils are, of course, developed in connection with it—but they are accidental and comparatively trifling. Without it they would be increased, a thousand-fold, and would exist alone, and without relief. Without it civilization would be unknown: the face of the Earth would be desert; and mankind transformed into savage beasts. There is no such law of Nature as that in which the Tribune finds its sanction for the doctrine it promulgates. There is no "law of Nature" which gives to every man a "perfect right" to his "equal share" of the Earth's surface. No man born now, can stand in the same relation to the earth as which Adam held: the law of Nature has foreclosed it. That law brings men into the world under a certain system of circumstances, which have rightfully, and in our course of nature grown up around them; that is the world into which he is born, and no "law of Nature" impels or requires him to overthrow that system, in order to secure his fancied rights.

Now let it not be said that these are idle speculations, mere dreams which no one dis-

putes, and which it is a waste of time to pro-mote and discuss. Let it not be said that the Tribune entertains no such extravagant theories as those set forth, and urges no such application of them to the practical affairs of life. We are anxious to redeem this discussion from any such reproach; and we insist upon the fact that the principles are applied to the concerns of daily life; that they have already, to a very great extent, shaped and guided the public sentiment, and that they are slowly but surely creating a new habitus of thought and of action, in every department of civil and of social life,—as one of direct pertinence and of immense importance in the bearings and arguments of this discussion. Let those who deem these matters of no importance look back to the state of the public mind ten years ago, when precisely these same fundamental principles were proclaimed in this city by very Tribune. We intend no disrespect, and none is implied, to any one by this allusion to the fact that these same principles of that day, when preached by that woman found no adherents, except in a small company, gathered from the most trivial and ignorant portion of the Loco-Poco party. She then denounced the rich, as spoilers of the poor; the bad owners as robbers of those who owned land; the laws of society as essentially unjust; and the thing that all others, how can any man own its products? These are, as the exact particulars of the things that she said are, the exact particulars of the things that we say.

The Tribune may reply, the labor bestowed by the land makes one the subject of property. But as labor only changes the form of a thing; it does not create it. And if the original be not ownable, can its product become so? If no one man can own land, to the exclusion of all others, how can any man own its products? These are, as the exact particulars of the things that she said are, the exact particulars of the things that we say.

These are the considerations which we oppose to the fundamental principles of Association, as they are set forth in the Tribune's article of Nov. 20th, to which that paper will consider this reply.

EDWARD F. WRIGHT, of Boston, published the public when Fanny Wright proclaimed in the Tribune enlists their championship, or at least their toleration. Principles which when urged by Loco-Poco, were denounced as radical and destructive, when put forth by a leading Whig press, become simply milestones of "Progress" and "Reform." In 1840, O. A. Brownson, then an active Loco-Poco, published an elaborate proclamation of his belief that no man could rightfully bequeath property, which he owned, to his posterity; and claimed that it should be thrown into a common stock. The public sentiment was aroused; leading Whig presses published the review in full, and held it up as a beacon whereby to warn the citizens of the Union from the rocks of radicalism upon which the Loco-Poco would wreck the ship of State. Now the doctrine that no man can rightfully own land at all, finds an advocate in one of the leading Whig presses of the City of New York. And many sober-minded, sound-headed, thoroughly conservative Whigs are excessively annoyed that any one should deem the law of the last importance!

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VOICE OF INDUSTRY.

LOWELL DECEMBER 17, 1845.

The Industrial Reform Pledge.

We whose names are signed, in witness of our adherence to the principles of industrial reform, do solemnly swear, to each of industrial gentlemen, to hold for himself the hours of labor, in accordance with his profession, to the best of our abilities, for the welfare of the working classes, to whom at any time he should be called upon, to give the benefit of his skill and knowledge, to earnest appeals to the poverty and wretchedness which may at any time be found upon the earth, sake and her doctrines, were universally despised, and she was execrated with the pointed contempt of all those persons who thus regarded her fundamental doctrines, then realize that they are now duly prepared and urged upon the public ear, by one of the ablest, most astute and most intelligent leaders of the Whig party. And they thought enough to suppose that this can go on without producing an effect in the minds of the States and of most of the States, and no one to be sent to the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, who will not be pleased to add to its Freehold lands to a Limitation of the hours of labor to be obtained by any individual or corporation, and to make a law to require to end the hours of daily labor, public works or necessaries, as a curse by law.

The Ten Hour System—What is it?

The objects and aims of the friends of the Ten Hour movement have been strangely misrepresented by those who wish to pervert, or are ignorant of the principles upon which the cause is based.

It is represented by nearly as an inviolate combination among the employed to demand the employment of time and service to which he is justly entitled. It is said to be a combination of the lazy, and indolent, to avoid work; and most unfriendly is it denominated a political agitation to destroy some existing party and gratify a lust for political power and distinction. But friends, how do these charges correspond with the true state of the case? Are the friends of the Ten Hour System more lazy and idle than those who oppose it? Not it is a lien upon the hard-working, men, and women, of the country. Men who never did an honest day's work in their lives, accusing the Mechanics and Operators of business, because they are unwilling to work thirteen hours per day, to gratify the insatiable avarice and speculation of the age! The Ten Hour movement, instead of being the result of envy, idleness or political aspiration, is the promptings of the most benevolent desires of the human mind—that justly demands that all, in equalizing the hours of toil, that all shall have opportunities for cultivating their intellectual, social and physical attainments; and he who opposes it either by open denunciation or by abridging for its existence, is an enemy to the welfare of society, and the best interests of his fellows. How can it be otherwise, when it is known and acknowledged that the long hour system now prevalent, does violence to the physical, moral and intellectual natures of mankind? We cannot conceive how men who profess so much regard for the progress of intelligence, virtue and morality in the community, can excuse themselves for keeping aloof from this subject. Are they sincere and honest in their professions, while they neglect so fully a source of ignorance, and moral and physical degradation?

But it may be said, inasmuch as it has been made a political subject, there is sufficient reason why many should remain neutral. Is this good reason why any who believe the cause just should withhold their co-operation? If they are confident wrong means are being used to accomplish a reduction of the hours of labor, so much the more necessary is their counsel and aid. No true friend to the cause can stand upon such grounds in relation to an evil of such fearful results and tendencies. But why has legislative aid been asked for by the friends of the Ten Hour System? Not because they believe that the legislature or any other body have a fundamental right to constitute ten hours a legal, universal day's work. The Labor Reformers believe that the hours of labor should be regulated by *natural Laws* only—that the age, and constitution of the person, and the nature of the employment he is engaged in should govern the time of

labor per diem. But this natural state of his does not exist. And why, because unjust laws and customs have interfered with nature's design, by building up monasteries of wealth, granting exclusive privileges to capital, whereby it is enabled to control the laborers and preserve such rules and regulations as agree with humanity shall dictate. The effect of this concentration of wealth upon the hours of labor, is more potent and effective than compelling laborers to work twelve thirteen, and in many cases fourteen hours than would be a law framed for that express purpose by our legislature; because the present system is looked upon as a "custom" growing out of the infamy of things, and therefore unavoidable, rather than the legitimate result of the unjust and partial laws to which we have alluded. The inevitable result of partial legislation, is to concentrate power in the hands of the few to govern the many; and the effect is the same to the governed, whether arbitrary laws are passed directly by our legislative bodies and enforced by constitutional authority, or the power delegated to other bodies under legislative sanction. That this is an evil, is the controlling influence which protected, fostered and concentrated capital yields over defenceless and competing labor clearly demonstrates. Capital says to labor, work for me at my prices, and the hours that I prescribe, or you shall have no work at all; and work for yourself, you cannot for I through the power which I have invested in me, have taken away the means, and labor through the urgent demands of necessity is obliged to submit. Well, now, seeing these things are so? The Labor Reformers apply the same source which has imposed these burdens; or in other words, granted power to others to impose them, for some redress. They ask that the hours of labor in Charter-established establishments, which is acknowledged to be the signature of legislation, shall be restricted to ten per day, for us an end, but as a means of finally throwing off and extracting all that now trammels and cripples free industry, and weighs down the laboring classes. Inasmuch as the legislature has granted this freedom, who will not be pleased to add to its Freehold lands to a Limitation of the hours of labor to be obtained by any individual or corporation, and to make a law to require to end the hours of daily labor, public works or necessaries, as a curse by law?

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ONCE MORE.—All papers returned to this office subject to postage, and we now wish to be explicitly understood, that all subscribers wishing to notify us of a desire to discontinue their papers by this method, must pay their *own postage*, or if they choose they can mail us *free postage* through their Post masters.

THE FIFTEENTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR will open at Faneuil Hall on the 22d of this month. A great variety of beautiful and useful articles will be offered for sale; the proceeds to go to the cause.

The Dogs of War, let loose are Howling.

President Polk is putting wrath; Secretary Marcy is issuing his mandates; Uncle Sam is in a bad mood; Mexico is showing her teeth, and all creation looks astonished. More men are wanted, to butcher and to be butchered; and if all accounts are true, there will soon be chance for all those who wish, to distinguish themselves by cutting the throats of their fellows. One regiment only is wanted from Massachusetts at present. "Who'll enlist?" is the cry. Not the Workmen, for they have nothing to fight for; not an inch of land theirs, though the United States should acquire the whole of the western continent; their blood flows free as water, let them murder their thousands, still they will be ignominy without honor. There is nothing to be gained—much to be lost in this infamous war, by those who are too foolish as to engage in it. That clique of demagogues at Washington, speculators, gamblers, in stocks and Texas script, only will reap the spoils those who do the murderous work may pocket what little glory there is, but precious little else, anything else will they get save hard knocks, maimed bodies, broken constitutions and scarred consciences, all of which can be obtained at a cheaper rate and nearer home, if necessary; then let President Polk, Secretary Marcy and Governor Briggs give their orders and issue their proclamations, and all the "Bomberos" in the land reiterate the call, and tell what a glorious thing is 'war,' and how willing they are to die for their country! Stand back and give them a chance—stay at home and attend to your own affairs—they can be spared as well as not. Most of them can say as did the man sentenced to Botany Bay, that they "Leave their country for their country's good." But no, when the pinch comes, these valiant souls, so ready to sport with pestle and famine, find their courage has out done their fingers ends, and they lie *leg to be excused*, by paying a fine of procuring a substitute. But the poor laborer cannot raise "the ready," and must either fight or go to jail. Under Working-men, at this time choose the lesser evil, and patronize that peculiar institution, the prison rather than pay a visit to that "human slaughter house" and *cripple mandatory* in Mexico, to help sustain that "vile pending institution of one *evil and glorious Republic*, Negro Slavey. We have concluded to spend a season (should winter draft) at Samuel's romantic villa, near Mechanicsville, for we think that "skill" and a clear conscience is better than all the glory that can be obtained by underling our fellow beings in any way, much more such a *thick, abominable, unclean* one as the present. Mechanics, laborers, and everybody else, DO NOT ENLIST.

Mechanics' Papers.—We have received during the past week two Journals, devoted to the Mechanics—the "Mechanic's Advocate" and the "Mechanist," both published at Albany, N. Y.

These publications are well printed and ably conducted, and we hope they will be well sustained, but we are fearful they will not. It appears to us that these publications, devoted to Mechanics cannot be supported in the city and vicinity of Albany. One such paper well sustained and well circulated, will do more good than a dozen half starved.

The Mechanic's Friends gave their third concert at the Tabernacle on Tuesday. Their singing is of the *natural* order, and is worthy of all the praise bestowed upon it. Their emanation is plain, and their subjects generally are well chosen. Their rural melodies are enchanting, and their performance of the "Song of the Shirt" and "There's a Good Time Coming" can't well be surpassed. Their last concert in this city, for the present, will take place on Thursday week.

The Millerian Coming.—Parker Pillsbury, in his speech before the anti-slavery convention in this city, thus left off the Doomsday Divinity. "Last year they got together and declared slavery to be an *organic sin*, for which, of course, noboby is responsible; this year they have done the same thing with polygamy next year, (continued Parker,) if we think they will organize all the other sins and then vote in the millennium.—Providence Sentinel.

Those *blue* *Pantaloons*—Too fast.—We supposed from the evidence received from various sources, especially the Courier, (which all admit to be infallible authority,) that the case we published last week in relation to the expeditious manufacture of the cloth and pantaloons, was substantially true. But we have since learned that the statement is so far from being correct, that the work was not only commenced at 2 o'clock on Monday morning, but considerably advanced the day before—Sunday! What could be the object in getting up this tombola? Is the editor of the Courier in a *breach*?

SCHOOL BOOKS.—The Editors of the "Prisoner's Friend" whose unwaged labor have done so much for depaved humanity, advertise that a variety of useful School Books may be had at their office. Give them a call, they deserve patronage.

CITIZENS' TEMPERANCE MEETINGS at the City Hall every Thursday night at 1-2 past 1 o'clock.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Labor Reform is surely gaining ground.—Our instance of late came under my own observation, which goes to show that this great and good enterprise is fast finding its way to the hearts of our industrious mechanics. In a union meeting a few evenings ago, in this city, one of the teachers arose and expressed his regret that so many left the house or God regardless of Sabbath School instructions. He went on to say that he wished it might be able to induce more of the professed followers of Christ, and others, to remain at least one hour, to study the Bible. Another teacher blessed (as we believe), with a fine sense of the cause of indifference on the part of the community, very beautifully discoursed upon the reason why so great a number of our brethren and gentlemen were thus unwilling to be confined. "He told of the iron hand of discipline calling us to task before light in the morning and compelling us to labor not only till dark, but till late in the evening. He understood the intimate connection existing between mind and matter; and also how this connection manifests itself when the body becomes weary, the mind also is weary. The truths which he spoke came home to every heart. Not a father nor a mother in that audience, but felt that to clothe and feed their little ones, was as much as they had time to accomplish. And that this could only be done by neglecting the duty they owed to those immortal minds placed under their care. Four months in the year we are not permitted to see the rising or setting sun, unless by change through the window of P. I. At one time I would almost resolve almost said our prison. We know there is a system of slavery at the South, but there is also a worse system of bondage at the North. I mean the taking away of the privilege of attending to those duties so essential to our happiness. We are now allowed time even to thank our Heavenly Father for the food we eat. And why all this haste? It is because we must bring so much interest into the pockets of some walking pestilence, instead of appropriating a part of our time so kindly given, to our own improvement. We hope that every brother will again open his mouth on that of the highest order—And you avose to think that we may have the pleasure of hearing him?

[We must defer from the opinion of one correspondent in relation to Southern Slavery and Northern Oppression. Northern oppression is bad enough God knows, and in many, very many cases more misery actually exists among the laboring population at the North, than among the more favored portion of the slaves at the South. Still the system of selling men and women upon the Auction-block, and separating wives and husbands, children and parents, is more nefarious and abominable in itself considered, than any other system of servitude can be. However, if our correspondent thinks otherwise, our columns are open.—Ed.]

John B. Gough.

This is the heading of a communication in the Voice of last week, and speaks my mind perfectly. The temperance cause has been regarded more by such persons for the last two or three years, than it ever recovered from in ten. It is not a short time since I sat in the papers that John B. Gough was to receive a hundred dollars per week for lecturing at the South. Now this does not correspond well with Mr. Gough's profession. His life has not the world devote the rest of his life to the cause of temperance; and that he would not receive more than enough to defray his expenses for lecturing. It may be he does not, but if his expenses have become so enormously large as to require twenty dollars per day to defray them, I think he is a poor subject for a temperance lecturer, and should be shamed by those who are more economical, even if quite so eloquent. The temperance cause has receded for a few years past, and many are the causes it is attributed to—but nothing, I believe, has affected so much room, as iniquity, or other improper lectures. And who would give all credit to reformed prostitutes, and restore to them all the privileges and respect of society which they deserve, (which I think cannot be, more than those who have always held virtues and temperance lives,) if it has always seemed improper to me to place them first and foremost in society thereby crowding out those who have lived honest temperance lives. It is virtually saying, Boys be drunkards, drink so long as you can and live; when you can't drink no longer and keep body and soul in company, then reform and you will be one of the first men. Every body will honor and respect you. It has generally been said that virtue was conducive of happiness, and vice of misery. But now it seems that honor and respect are results of vice, and virtue is not cared for. This I think is not bright. And while I would do no injustice to the reformed, I would wish no score to the virtuous, to the temperate, those who lie always let such lives, the position in society which they so richly deserve. Even the old fashioned temperance lectures shortly after the Washington movement commenced seemed to receive that as an order to ground arms, and give the field into the hands of those who professed to be more able to do battle with the enemy than themselves, and drive all in his country and his fellow men, should have done.

I tried and found wanting. Temperance instead of advancing has receded, and it becomes the temperance people either to tack to the old temperance plan, or get up something new to check the progress of an evil which is doing more to degrade humanity than all other causes combined. But I have my doubts as to there being any really effective method of suppressing intemperance, unless something is done to ameliorate the condition of the laborer. The amount of labor is often more than his constitution can bear, and the laborer finding his system giving out under such excessive labor, resorts to a struggle to get him through his day's work.

Now I am not going to tell you the excuses, merely say I believe this to be the case, and it is not well for us to quarrel with the individuals and gentlemen who are thus unwilling to be confined. "He told of the iron hand of discipline calling us to task before light in the morning and compelling us to the rising or setting sun, unless by change through the window of P. I. At one time I would almost resolve almost said our prison. We know there is a system of slavery at the South, but there is also a worse system of bondage at the North. I mean the taking away of the privilege of attending to those duties so essential to our happiness. We are now allowed time even to thank our Heavenly Father for the food we eat. And why all this haste? It is because we must bring so much interest into the pockets of some walking pestilence, instead of appropriating a part of our time so kindly given, to our own improvement. We hope that every brother will again open his mouth on that of the highest order—And you avose to think that we may have the pleasure of hearing him?

Mr. Edward Eastman.—The following communication was picked up near the Depot, in this place. It seems to be a love letter; and I will give you some of the most important extracts, which may edify and amuse your numerous readers.

Milford, Dec. 16.

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a life of usefulness, and causing friends to mourn his untimely end. We copy the following from a correspondent of the Nashville Union, dated Oct. 27—

On the morning of the 26th inst., Leon Edward Eastman, of the Nashville Blues, died at this place, having relapsed into a fever, and fever. Great effort was made to save him, by Dr. Wyllys, but he had sunk too low to afford him a fair chance to restore him to health. He was a diligent and enterprising officer, and died beloved and lamented by all who knew him.

The editor of the Nashville Union speaks as follows:

It is with feelings of the deepest sorrow that we announce the death of this brave soldier. He died on the 26th inst., after a long and painful illness, during which he had been detained to take care of the sick belonging to the first regiment of Tennessee volunteers. Lieut. Eastman, by his untiring efforts to soothe their spirits and relieve their distresses, and his uniform kindness and goodness, won the heart of all whom he visited.

He was a man of great energy and firmness, and his talents and abilities were well known throughout the army.

We have learned from the parents and friends of the deceased, that he had been ill for several weeks, and that his health had been failing.

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The widow of the celebrated war chief Black Hawk, is dead. She was 39 years old.

A man has just whipped his wife, in New York—causes a diversity of opinion on the subject of the existing war with Mexico.

The "Letters of Marque" we think are a decided humbug. But we will tell you what won't be a humbug—the expenses of this Mexican war.

FRANK ADMISSION.—Under the sign of an Attorney at Law in Cincinnati, is the following horrid request: "Walk in and be shaved."

The Government is now offering for sale about a million acres of land in Florida, bordering between Tampa Bay and the Gulf coast.

The object of this is, to raise money for sustaining the National Mob in Mexico, and shedding the blood of that people.

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