JOSIAH WARREN NOTEBOOK "D"

A SENIOR HONORS THESIS

499.1

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MAY 1, 1964
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Josiah Warren

Josiah Warren is a will o' the wisp, an elusive combination of practical genius and idealistic dreamer whose two bents intertwine and somehow have formed an impression that is not yet concrete upon American thought and action. There is no way to create the man himself. All who speak of him use the same references; statements are made as to the effect of his thought upon others; he has become only a sentence in history books, a name, not a personality.

America has become what it is due to a peculiar combination of cooperation among individuals in production, government, and social consciousness and an inherent individuality. Josiah Warren is labeled the "first philosophical anarchist." His ideas of individuality have been emphasized strictly from the anarchist viewpoint. Little has been noted of his strict adherence to the theory of cooperation, voluntary cooperation between individuals. Voluntary subordination is a far cry from the coercion that he feared. We submit to voluntary subordination in every facet of life, and Mr. Warren would have no quarrel with this. What we do submit to in accordance with the trends toward conformity in American life Josiah Warren would definitely scorn. The individuality that Americans have so long regarded as a part of the American dream is rapidly becoming lost in a search for security from an outside agency. Josiah Warren would want us to remember that our greatest security comes from reliance upon self and acceptance of the responsibilities that go with this freedom.

The ideas found in this notebook may be regarded as a voice from the
past, an impractical set of notions that do not fit into a modern industrial society. The trend toward larger institutions, socialism, automation, and organized life goes on, but Americans should know the other side. They should be presented with the part of their history in which men trying to find answers believed that the happiness of the individual could be created by his own efforts. Freedom in economic matters could be brought about by his own labor, and freedom in society demanded that the individual have respect for the individuality of all other men.

Josiah Warren was born in Boston in 1798, a simple statement and practically the only one about his birth that writers agree upon. Eunice Minette Schuster in her Native American Anarchists says on page 93, "His father, General Joseph Warren, was a distinguished Revolutionary War general, a "hero of American liberty." This is a fine example of the confusion about Warren's life. General Joseph Warren lived from 1741-1775. The "first great martyr of the Revolutionary War" was killed at the battle of Bunker Hill.

William Bailie, Josiah's only biographer, introduces him in this manner, "He was born in Boston in 1798, of historically famous Puritan stock. The Warrens of Pilgrim lineage from which he sprang have furnished Massachusetts with many distinguished citizens, of whom the most renowned was General Joseph Warren, the Revolutionary hero killed by the British at Bunker Hill."¹ James Jay Martin in Men Against the State, the Expositors of Individual Anarchism, 1827-1908 says that there is no mention of Josiah Warren in any of the genealogies of Joseph Warren.

In any attempt at the present to discern the truth about the happenings in Josiah Warren's life one must rely upon two primary sources. John Humphrey Noyes in his *American Socialisms* published in 1870 relies upon material written by A. J. Macdonald "whose business proved to be the collecting of memoirs of socialistic experiments." Miss Schuster gives Noyes himself credit for the writing of Macdonald about Josiah Warren, although Noyes freely admits that the quotations are from Macdonald. The second source is his biographer who was a professed anarchist and seems to have given this label to Warren. William Bailie wrote the biography and also the chapter about Warren in George Lockwood's *New Harmony Movement*. James Jay Martin gives this description of Bailie:

Bailie, a native of Manchester, England, came to the United States in the summer of 1891, settling in Boston. A Kropotkinian anarchist for some time, he rapidly became a convert to the American variety achieving prominence among them somewhat later as the biographer of Warren. It was his conviction that anarchism was a political rather than an economic doctrine, but that it involved the economic aspect of society in as fundamental a manner. Both Spencerian and Stirnerite in outlook, he sought to arrive at a body of principles on which all the individualists might agree, in an ambitious undertaking, "Problems of Anarchism" which ran through 19 lengthy installments in *Liberty* during the first eight months of 1893. In an excellently written essay "The Anarchist Spirit," inserted as an introduction to his *Josiah Warren*, published 13 years later, he summarized the conclusions of this investigation, as well as placing on record a twentieth century definition of anarchism and his reason why it still had its place in his own time.

In view of Mr. Martin's unforgivable inaccuracies in regard to *Notebook "D*", one should not form a preconceived attitude about Mr. Bailie's biography,


but, in reading it, the impression is formed that unwittingly Mr. Bailie is attempting to ascribe his feelings to Mr. Warren rather than presenting a strictly objective report. There is room for someone to present Josiah Warren factually, correctly and dispassionately.

Another problem that arises is one that confuses authors. Josiah Warren was a combination of philosopher and practical pragmatist. In discussing his experiments authors fail to note the fact that Mr. Warren attempted to prove each of his ideas is a most commendable fashion. He simply did these things himself to prove that they could be done. His genius extended from musical ability to mechanical pursuits, from community planning to writing and printing his own manuscripts. He was a doer which should have made him of this world, and yet, he was apart from it. He lived during a time of turmoil and national decision, and his life touched little of it. If there had been no need of interference from the outside, this would be acceptable. But, he lived during the period of industrialization, of growth, of controversy and none of this reached his notebook. His own theories, his own small circle, seem to be his life. He was not afraid of work, labor was the exchange of life. He was fascinated by mechanical processes, and not interested in merchandising them. He could have made a fortune, but preferred to hold to what most would call unrealistic ideals.

Perhaps this is the confusion in his life. Perhaps this is why he is elusive. Perhaps he was nothing but an eccentric man who lost out on life, gave away a fortune in real estate, left his family, established a community dedicated to the wildest type of depravity because it did not insist upon marriage, religion and government. Perhaps, but also perhaps there must be a type of personality in the world that believes in giving, in individual
freedom, in personal responsibility for one's self. Perhaps the eccentric should have his vision analyzed and his actions reviewed.

Again I cannot give accurate information about Warren's early life.

His son George wrote in a letter to George B. Lockwood Nov. 10, 1893 while Mr. Lockwood was preparing his book The New Harmony Movement, "My father was born in Boston, Mass. in 1798. He and his brother George joined the "Old Boston Brigade Band" while very young. In 1821 my father came west, settled in Cincinnati and followed the profession of music for some time."

Mr. Martin says, "Warren married a girl named Caroline Cutter this same year (1818) but the exact date remains as obscure as that of his birth. A daughter, Caroline Maria, was born in Cincinnati Sept. 12, 1820."

After we place him in Cincinnati it becomes a little easier to find agreement except for the "Peaceful Revolutionist" episode. His life follows with its pattern of practicality and idealism conflicting and constantly changing.

1823--Cincinnati--Josiah Warren invents a lamp for burning lard rather than tallow, is soon running a lamp factory in Cincinnati.

1824--Robert Owen comes to Cincinnati.


1827--Cincinnati--Warren leaves New Harmony at the dissolution of the community convinced that the experiment had failed because of the communal ownership of property.

First Time Store opens May 18, 1827 in Cincinnati on Fifth and Elm Streets. The store is operated on Warren's principle of "Equity" designed
to illustrate and practicalize the cost principle, the germ of the cooperative movement of the future. The storekeeper exchanged his time for an equal amount of the time of those who purchased goods from him. The actual cost of the goods bought was paid for in cash, the labor note of the customer was given to the merchant to pay for his service. Here was the application of the principle of labor for labor, the cost principle.¹

1829--Convinced of the success of his Time Store principles and wishing to extend them to an experiment in cooperative living, Warren closes the Cincinnati store and, after a visit to New York in 1831, founds the village of Equity in Tuscarawas County, Ohio. This village lasted two years but was abandoned due to the malarial and unhealthful conditions of the locality.² Pencil entries on page 133 of the notebook place Warren at Spring Hill, Stark County, Ohio in August of 1830.³

1833--Warren publishes first issue of his periodical "The Peaceful Revolutionist."

"The Peaceful Revolutionist, Warren's first periodical appeared in January, 1833, but survived only a few months. It was a four-page weekly of conspicuously neat typography, and was devoted to expositions of the principles of equity. So primitive at the time were his resources, and so marvelous his skill and ingenuity, that the plates from which


² Ibid. p. 298.

the paper was printed were cast over the fire of the same stove at which the wife cooked the family meals.¹

1834--Pencil entry in notebook on page 133 places Warren in Tuscarawas County.

1835--Village of Equity founded.²

1840--New Harmony--This is the period of the beginning of the notebook. Warren invents and constructs the first press that was ever used to print newspapers from a roll. The following description of this press is from an editorial which appeared February 28, 1840 in an Evansville, Indiana newspaper.

The first number of the Southwestern Sentinel is the first newspaper probably in the world which was ever printed on a continuous sheet. Our press or printing machinery is the invention of Mr. Josiah Warren, of New Harmony. He has brought a series of experiments extending through nine years to a successful close, and this machine, which he calls his speed press, is one of the results.³

Unfortunately this labor saving device was not appreciated by the printers who saw it as a threat to their livelihood. Warren's son, George, says in the letter written to Lockwood, that his father, angered by the deliberately caused breakdowns in the press, went to Evansville with a wagon, brought the press back to New Harmony, smashed it, and used the stone from its bed for a front step for the home he was building. The stone is now in the New Harmony museum at the Workingmen's Institute Library along with the original drawing for the press itself.

¹ Bailie, in Lockwood's The New Harmony Movement, p. 298.


³ Bailie, Lockwood, p. 298.
1842—The New Harmony Time Store opens.¹ The following is taken from a notice printed by Mr. Warren to be distributed in New Harmony. This notice is a part of the Warren collection in the Workingmen's Institute Library in New Harmony.

LABOR PRICES

All those who wish to exchange labor for labor, or transact business at the Time Store, are respectfully requested to find out the amount of time or labor required in all kinds of farming produce, and all mechanical or other useful operations, and each to bring forward his or her estimate of the labor cost of Butter, Milk, cheese, Corn, Oats, Potatoes, Wheat, Rye, Flour, Wool &c.

The labor cost of horses, oxen, & their keeping. Of iron work, Cabinet work and all mechanical productions with the cost of materials. We invite each to set his own estimate of the labor in each article; and to attend a public meeting on the 22nd day of March, at ten O'clock and hand in their estimates from which the keeper of the time store will fix his labor prices, not to be changed till another public meeting. He will also make a report of the condition of the time store, its losses and gains during the past year, and will answer any honest enquires, and will further explain the objects of Equitable Commerce--

J. Warren Dec. 10, 1842

1844—Warren next turns his ingenuity to the production of an original system of music, denominated by him "Mathematical Notation," designated on scientific principles to accomplish in the representation of harmonic sounds a similar service to that performed by phonography in the representation of the elements of speech.² A copy of this book is in the New Harmony collection and would present an interesting field of study to one who could understand its significance.

¹ Noyes, American Socialisms, has an account of A. J. Macdonald's visit to Warren's Time Store in New Harmony, pp. 95-98.

² Bailie, Lockwood, p. 300.
1846--Equitable Commerce: A New Development (sic) of Principles for the Harmonious Adjustment and Regulation of the Pecuniary, Intellectual and Moral Intercourse of Mankind, Proposed as Elements of New Society published at New Harmony.


The (New Harmony) Time Store existed about two years and a half, and was then discontinued. In 1844 Mr. Warren went to Cincinnati and lectured upon his principles. On the breaking up of the Clermont Phalanx and the Cincinnati Brotherhood, Mr. Warren went to the spot where both failures had taken place, and there found four families who were disposed to try "Equitable Commerce." With these and a few other friends he started a village which he called Utopia, where he published the "Peaceful Revolutionist" for a time.¹

Noyes then gives a report from Utopia which he says came from an 1845 copy of "The Peaceful Revolutionist" of 1845. This is in direct conflict with Bailie and Schuster.

1850--Warren visits in New York and Boston. This is the beginning of his connection with Stephen Pearl Andrews.

1851--Warren founds the village of Modern Times on Long Island. This village was conducted along the lines of the principles of "Individual Sovereignty". Because of the publicity given by the New York papers many odd characters were attracted to the community and, because the villagers believed in individuals being responsible for their own actions, were allowed to remain. The community prospered, although it was forced to give up the Equitable Commerce plan due to a lack of manufacturing capital and the outbreak of the Civil War. The community is the present city of Brentwood, New York.

¹ Noyes, p. 97.
1852--The second edition of Equitable Commerce and the first edition of Practical Details in Equitable Commerce, Showing the Workings in Actual Experiment During A series of Years, of the Social Principles Expounded in the Works Called "Equitable Commerce" by the Author of This, and "The Science of Society" by Stephen Pearl Andrews are published by Fowler & Wells in New York.


1855-56--He spent the winter of 1855-56 visiting his old friends in Ohio and Indiana. After 1860 he returned no more to Modern Times.¹

The notebook gives us the dates and places of residence for the rest of Warren's life, 1862, Long Island, 1863, Boston, 1866, Cliftondale, Mass., and 1872, Princeton, Mass. His last volume, Practical Applications of the Elementary Principles of "True Civilization" to the Minute Details of Every Day Life Being Part III, the last of the True Civilization Series, and the Facts and conclusions of Forty-Seven Years Study and Experiments in Reform Movements Through Communism To and In Elementary Principles, Found in a Direction Exactly Opposite to and Away From Communism, But Leading Directly to All the Harmonic Results Aimed at by Communism, was published by the author in 1872 in Princeton, Mass.

Mr. Bailie gives the following description of Warren's last years:

The reformer's activity declined with advancing age. Several years were spent quietly at Cliftondale, near Boston, and in 1873 he went to reside with his friends, the Heywoods, in their home at Princeton, Mass......

The last months of Warren's life were passed in Boston at the house of his early friend, Edward Linton, where he was cared for in his last illness by kindly hands. Kate Metcalf, one of the pioneers of Modern Times, nursed him to the end, which came on April 14, 1874.²


² Bailie, Lockwood, p. 306.
I believe that any reader can now understand the difficulties in presenting an accurate biographical sketch of Josiah Warren. There are snatches of his life known but not included such as the story that he owned several lots in Cincinnati which increased so in value that Mr. Warren, believing that man had no right to unearned increment, returned them to the original owner at the original cost. There are descriptions of the community of Modern Times that would make research material for several reports. The Time Store alone could be thoroughly reported. All these need additional research, not mentioning the stories of the family that he left in New Harmony.

His son, George, moved to Evansville, Indiana and followed his father's musical occupation. He became the leader of Warren's band and organized the band that accompanied the 15th Indiana Volunteers in the Civil War. Warren's wife remained in New Harmony, and, according to newspaper clippings in the Workingmen's Institute, conducted seances. Martin refers to two letters written by her to her husband.

Each facet of Josiah Warren should be studied separately so that a comprehensive picture could be drawn. The Stephen Pearl Andrews' collection at the Wisconsin Historical Library should be studied. The Labadie collection at the University of Michigan also contains Warren material. From there one should go to the Brentwood, New York library and historical society, check for A. J. Macdonald's papers through the Oneida community, cover the papers of Benjamin Tucker, and trace Bailie's papers. This adds up to a lifetime labor of love, but if there is an importance in Josiah Warren, he should take his rightful place and receive the appropriate credit for his accomplishments.
There is a compulsion in search, search for anything. American socialism, the men who have been involved, holds an interest because of the dedication of both thought and action to an ideal for the betterment of mankind. America took another road and the human characteristics of the people involved in both utopian and scientific socialism doomed these experiments to confusion and failure. Yet these people dedicated their whole lives to these principles. Why?

When one embarks upon as broad a question as this, reading in generalities does not help, secondary sources too often confuse and it is necessary to find a focal point. I wandered in the maze for months, not knowing what I wanted, or where I was going.

In George Lockwood's book The New Harmony Movement I found Josiah Warren. Why did I know nothing of this man? His genius in mechanical things, his philosophy and his social reform were not in encyclopedias or the history books we had used in class. Charles Beard mentions him, and in some intellectual history books he was mentioned as "the famous Josiah Warren" or "Mr. Warren and his well known social philosophy"; a sentence here, a paragraph there, but nothing concrete and all using Bailie's biography and Noyes' book as sources.

The Warren manuscripts were to be found in New Harmony, Indiana. I went to read what he had written. The find was disappointingly small, three copies of the biography, three pamphlet size books, a few letters, and some memorabilia. We went through the files and read the books. It was not until the second day that the librarian remembered the notebook. She removed it from the case and told me that I was welcome to use it.
Notebook "D" was presented to the Workingmen's Institute Library in New Harmony by Stanley Porgellis, librarian for the Newberry Library, Chicago, in 1944. Because of the listing of notebooks in the back of notebook "D", they had hoped to find others, but wrote that they had given up and felt that the book should be in the Warren collection in New Harmony.

The book itself is a ledger type notebook, about 6" x 10", with unlined pages, about two inches thick. The handwriting is very legible, and written in two colors of ink. The black ink had faded to a brown and the blue is very distinct. Josiah Warren and I would differ a great deal on spellings and punctuation; commas were the main problem. I can cross refer the first section of the notebook to Mr. Warren's work Practical Details in Equitable Commerce, and, in doing this, one notices that the wording has been changed slightly and the punctuation has been greatly increased.

I have reproduced the notebook as it was written. The numbering of the pages is arbitrary because there is no pagination in the original. Since most pages are written on both sides I have numbered right hand pages with consecutive odd numbers, left hand pages with even numbers. I have felt that I should have the manuscript exactly as it was written to work with later so the discrepancies in spelling are marked with an underline under the obvious change.

When one works with this material, one practically becomes Josiah. It would not be consistent with a certain intuition I feel to include his rejected thoughts in the body of the manuscript, I too have trouble with choice of words. The only important marking out would be the deletion with regard to Robert Owen on the first page. This shows a marked change in Warren's attitude and should be noted.
It was impossible to show the underlining correctly. The more intensely Mr. Warren felt about something, the more lines he used to emphasize it.

The only reference that I have found to the notebook is in James Martin's *Men Against the State*. Evidently Mr. Martin read the notebook and may have taken some notes, but his information is erroneous. The librarian at New Harmony does not believe that any work has been done with the manuscript.

Mr. Martin says on page 28 in Note 13 of his book, "One of the recent discoveries of an intriguing nature concerning source materials dealing with Warren's life has been a manuscript notebook of Warren's bearing the letter "D" and containing dated entries from other notebooks lettered from "A" to "J", none of which have been located. The first of these is part of the Warren manuscript collection in the Library of the Workingmen's Institute at New Harmony, Indiana. This notebook contains dates of musical engagements played in and around Boston on January 3 and April 7, 1818."

(According to Mrs. Bradley, the librarian at New Harmony, there is no notebook other than notebook "D" in existence at New Harmony.) Mr. Martin is obviously referring to the pencil entries in notebook "D" on pages 133-35 of my copy. I did not believe that these were in Mr. Warren's handwriting and do believe that they must have been added at a later date.

It is not necessary to go into the other discrepancies in Mr. Martin's footnoting, but perhaps these errors show that the notebook should be presented as it is. This has been copied in longhand, typed from the longhand, and re-typed. There are undoubtedly errors in it. New Harmony is 275 miles from Muncie; I can not check the manuscript again at this time. I would definitely reserve the right to check and correct this copy before doing any more with it. There are already too many errors and misconceptions with regard to Josiah Warren without my adding any.
The fascinating thing about this is that I am not speaking for Josiah Warren. As I present the notebook, he speaks for himself; he speaks for individuality, and no one would have a better right to do so.
Warren Notebook

D

A I No. 1

Josiah Warren

New Harmony, Jan. 29, 1840
Natural liberty coexistent with social order

"_________ the man

Of virtuous soul commands not nor buys

Power, like a desolating pestilence

Withered all it touched and obedience

Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, Truth

Makes slaves of man, and of the human frame

A mechanized automaton."
New Social Arrangements

New Harmony Jan. 29, 1840

Intended to gradually restore the Natural liberty of mankind--
To render to labor its just reward--and to establish security,
peace, and the means of enjoyment to all,

1. These proceedings are conducted with a watchful and strict
regard to the laws of our nature. Particularly its Individualities.

2. These laws teach us that our own happiness depends upon a
proper respect for that of others, and therefore

1 After the word nature, "so ably developed by Robert Owen"
had been marked out with the blue ink used after the January
entries.

2 "Particularly its Individualities" was added in the same blue
ink.

3 "Regard" marked out and replaced with "respect".
3. not to make any Social Arrangements which require compulsion, or the violation of the natural ability of the individual.

4. Not to make such as depend for their success upon the coincidence in the understanding and application of verbal rules or processes for agreements of opinions, tastes or interests; but to preserve\(^1\) the liberty of each to differ in all these and all other respects,

5. and the liberty to change with his situation.

6. This natural liberty being impracticable in combinations, masses and organized\(^2\) associations having connected interests, & connected responsibilities, we are hereby taught not to form them; but to preserve-

7. Individual interests

8. Individual Responsibilities

9. Individual executives

or, 10.

The sovereignty of every individual over his or her person, time and property

---

\(^1\) "Prescribe" changed to "preserve".

\(^2\) "Organized" added.
11. These laws of our Nature require us to render an equi-
valent in labor and nothing but labor for labor received.
This principle of labor for labor renders (12.) All natural
wealth common to all!!!

13. It rejects all speculation!!! and consequently forbids the
buying up of land, provisions, building materials, goods
etc. for the purpose of selling them again at a profit
beyond a reward for the labor bestowed.
The great mistake of all society is the compromise or surrender of the sovereignty of the individual.

This must not be

Society must be remodelled without this surrender—
The sovereignty of each individual over its own person & property in all cases, is the great idea that must work out the problem of happiness.
14. Labor for labor rejects interest on money and consequently all Banks and Banking operations together with all stockjobbing and the whole of the present systems of financeering, and institutions built upon money.

15. It gives to everyone equal opportunities of acquiring knowledge and property and renders the natural inequality of mankind harmless.

It gives to females and children a just reward for their labor.

---

1 "As now conducted" inserted and then marked out.
2 "Corrupt" inserted and then marked out.
3 "And institutions built upon money" added to original writing.
16. **It makes it impossible for one portion of the human race to live upon the labor of others without their knowledge and consent.**

**Note 11**

The numbers in the foregoing programme are for reference in illustrations, to show the correspondence between theory and practice,¹ exhibiting the particular applications of the ideas referred to by the figures.

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¹ "And Truth" inserted and then marked out.
These are some of the teachings of the laws of our Nature, over which no human power has any control.

"Those who have eyes to see, let them see."

"Those who have ears to hear, let them hear."
Jan. 29, 1840

With a view to illustrate the foregoing principles and to prove their correctness and to show the fundamental mistakes which society has made in its organisations as well as those made in the management of Children and the organisation of schools, I began, on the 21, of Jan. 1840 a Seminary at what we call No. 1 in New Harmony, where I intend to establish a little world organised and governed according to what I conceive to be the only way in which society can be organised so as to secure individual rights, justice, security, peace and the means of abundance and enjoyment to all, and to solve the problem of Natural Liberty co-existent with Social Order. I shall take notes of interesting illustrations as they occur but shall confine myself entirely to facts which actually take place.

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1 "Correct" inserted and then marked out.
Jan. 21, This day, commenced a Labor for labor Seminary at 1840 No. 1 in New Harmony with only two boys with the view of increasing the number as fast as they can sustain themselves with such aid as I can furnish. These boys were told that they were now to act entirely upon their own responsibility, each to have the whole proceeds of his labor to do with it just as he chose, and that no power of parents or anyone else was to interfere to compel (3) them either to work or to study or anything else, but that if they did not they would suffer the natural consequences.

* refer to 3 proposition in the programme

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"Or natural rewards and punishments, some of which were that they could not have the proceeds of others labor to live upon, nor for purposes of (arrivement ?)" marked out.
which, a very few words served to explain. G.W.W. are the initials of one and E.H. of the other.

In order to preserve individual interests and individual responsibilities it would have been necessary for each to have had distinct premises of his own but they preferred being in one room together and as it was impracticable to have separate rooms at the present time they are both in the same room but **they were told that they would probably meet with some disagreeable consequences from having even so much connected interests**, but as these are the arrangements for experimental education I had no objection to their trying it, and ascertaining by their own experience some of the consequences¹

¹ "Of connected interests, this violation" marked out.
As they were to act entirely for themselves in all respects they were to pay rent for the room we now came to the first application of the cost principle. I told them that if they chose they might appoint some third party to ascertain the real cost in wear and tear of the building and that should be the rent they were to pay me, but they left it to me, and they engaged each to pay one dollar per month for the room which is about 18 by twenty feet.

I now told them as I had at the outset that if they wanted any of my assistance in any way, whether by advice or instruction I would render it on the principle of labor for labor and if I wanted any of their assistance or labor that I would pay for it in the same manner and that it would be necessary for each of us to set the price per hour which he would expect to receive, and that it was necessary to fix this price before any debt was incurred.

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1 "It was then a question who & which should be responsible to me for rent." marked out.

2 "Labor for labor" replaced by "cost."
Comments

Feeling that they were to act and decide for themselves inspired them with ambition quite new to them.1

The proposal to appoint a third party was to convince them that I received no more than an equivalent for the use of the building—in other words that I did not get any of their property for nothing (see 10 in programme)2

It is likely that at this very first step I should have been suspected of some interested motive as others have been which would have operated very much against our progress, but for my resort to this principle

1 "It will be seen that the mode of introducing any part of arrangements is to do it in the time and place where the want of it is felt thus the receiver feels that he is benefited, feels grateful for our advice or is even ready to pay for it" marked out.

2 "We do not violate one's sovereign control over one's property when we give a satisfactory return for it, even though that return be not an equivalent as is commonly the case with house rents—the difference between this and the common mode is that while the common rents often exceed the real wear and tear and that excess amounts to so much "something for nothing" yet the one who pays it not knowing any principle which proves it wrong in fact never thinking about it any more than the receiver, he pays it voluntarily, but as soon as he perceives it to be wrong and can prove it so and he sees it his interest to adhere to the right" marked out.
Illustrations

so that one could not get power over another's property (10) by setting the price after the receiver had incurred the debts and as a matter of great convenience too it was recommended not to change the fixed price of time or labor for light and trivial causes—-that some pursuits being much more (or costly) disagreeable than others it would be reasonable¹ to ask more for the same length of time and as no one can judge for another (9) how disagreeable any pursuit may be each must decide the price of his own labor in different pursuits, and that competition would be likely to keep us all within reasonable bounds

Each then set a price per hour upon his time, which it is understood is to remain till he chooses to change it (5) of which he is expected to give notice before any debt is incurred.

The boys then proceeded to fix up their benches and tools— they required some advice which I gave at their request (9)² them and they told me I must charge for my time but I replied that it was

¹ "According to the inconvenience or cost of performing it" marked out.
² "At their request (9)" added in later writing.
so small an amount that it was best to take no account of it, but that I had already fixed my price high enough to cover any little items\(^1\) like that. E.H. wanted some boards to fix up his bench—I had some to sell—what is the price? he asked

One dollar per hundred original cost at the saw mill

20 cents per hundred for hauling, 12 cts. for sticking up, about 2 cts. for rent of drying room, and 30 cts. per hour for the time spent in getting them from mill; which, altogether will make them cost $1.50 per hundred, without any interest on money which the labor for labor principle rejects as unjust. This is their present cost. If I spend time in selecting and measuring them to you this will be added at the rate I have fixed for my time.\(^2\)

After having received the boards the next thing was for him to credit me with them—here was the first natural introduction to book keeping which

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1 "Losses" marked out.

2 There were several words marked out and illegible at this point.
Comments

This is one of the most common modes of getting something for nothing, the having no standard of prices, no principle to fix or govern them, every one is left to the mercy of that principle of Cannibalism "the worth of a thing is what it will bring." This principle carried out but a step beyond present practice would justify us in requiring the whole of a man's estate for a particle of medicine\(^1\) which cost a cent, because, (his life depending on it) the medicine is worth it and will bring it. This is\(^2\) the demon of mischief that preys secretly upon the vitals of society unseen, undetected, unexposed, unscorned, this it is that makes Rich and poor.

The difference between this and the new principle is that instead of "The worth of a thing is what it will bring."

We say

"The price of a thing is what it costs of money or labor."

We overstep the natural bounds of our own Individuality and encroach on that of the purchaser when we presume to judge how much a thing is worth to him.

\(^1\) "To save his life" marked out.

\(^2\) Word marked out and illegible.
-Comments-

There I had a principle to refer to at once that evidently worked with justice towards both parties and one which having been fixed before hand left nothing to be discussed, nothing to differ about, left no room for dissatisfaction, no chaffering about the price being too high or too low as is common in the most trivial transactions; and what was most important to success in the undertaking there was no room to suspect that I was speculating out of him. How many noble undertakings have failed because their projectors could not place themselves beyond the suspicion of Interested motives!!!
-Facts-

occasion I made use of to prompt both of the boys to learn as they could not proceed at all without— they perceived it at once and that night, one of them went voluntarily with my advice to apply to the best bookkeeper within our knowledge to ask him if he would give them some lessons!

Jan. 29th

We were conversing on the subject of toasts or sentiments for a public celebration when G.W.W., aged 13, said if it would be in place or proper for such little ones as he to give a toast it would be to propose that all children should be\(^1\) situated as he was!!! This was said voluntarily and so unexpectedly by me. I do not know how this may strike others but to me coming from a little boy\(^2\) speaking in reference to his school and mode of government under which he was placed it spoke more than I can find words to express.

\(^3\)It was a boy placed in a school, voluntarily acknowledging that he was happy!!!

\(^1\) "So" marked out.

\(^2\) "At school" marked out.

\(^3\) "Different individuals will attach different degrees of importance" marked out.
There every step was taken naturally and voluntarily by the boys—not one single violation of their freedom of choice was attempted, nor was it necessary—Why? because each had an individual\(^1\) Interest, in what he was doing\(^2\). They felt that what they did was necessary for their own purposes and they felt this because they had, from the commencement, acted entirely under the impulses of their own wants and interests, and each perceived that no other interest was mixed up with theirs; but that whatever they did was done for themselves, that whatever they left undone, themselves and only themselves would suffer—This is the Great point to establish. This is substituting natural rewards and punishments instead of artificial, this being once felt by them they will ask our advice and receive it as a favor and even be willing to pay for it\(^*\) which is generally never listened to but as a task and forgotten as soon as given Why? because they do not feel\(^3\) any interest in it.

\(^*\) for proof refer to fact on page 13, 2nd\(^4\) line from bottom.

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1 "Or undivided" marked out.

2 "There was no room for them to suppose that I had (was?)" marked out.

3 "Know what" replaced by "feel".

4 I believe this was "2nd", but I am not sure.
Facts

Jan. 30th-- G.W.W. said to me "Father I wish you first measure this board for me to see how much I must credit you for. Yes certainly said I, but you know if you could measure it yourself, you would have what you will have to pay me for my time--"I must study arithmetic" said he with great emphasis, lifting up his little hand and bringing it down in a most decisive and resolute manner; and at night immediately after supper without a word being spoken on the subject took a light from the table and was gone so long that, as it was very cold, I was curious to know what he was doing; when after about 15 minutes he came in--he had been hunting up his arithmetic, and it being a stormy night he said he would not go over to work tonight but would study arithmetic and he did all the evening.

In the morning although it was very cold I called him and asked him if he did not want to get up (10) and study Arithmetic--he got up without another call which is unusual for him, and studies the tables most intensely while breakfast

1 "Faithfully" marked out.
-Comments-

1. ______, can we make them feel an interest in their studies by whipping them? No—Why? because "the feelings are not within the control of the will." Therefore whipping will produce little else than counteraction, a development and exercise of the worse feeling of self degradation a want of ambition and of self respect and by example produce a quarrelsome and fighting habit among the scholars.

---

1 This was an illegible word for me. It appeared to be "_leese."
was getting ready and asked me to take the book and exercise him in the multiplication table and this was all done with a smile upon his countenance and he said that he would take the book over to his room and he and E would exercise when it was too cold to work.

The two boys had agreed on a place for the key of their room but G. remarked to me that E. had got the key and had gone away with the key in his pocket promising to be back at a certain time but had not, and that he had lost an hour at least in consequence of his failure to fullfill his promise; now says he E. ought to pay me that hour shouldn't he? (Truly?) in strict justice I think he should though he may have very good reasons for delay said I, but the best way is not to lay the foundation of such things in having connected Interests. You will remember that I told you in the commencement that "you would probably discover some objections to having one room in common."
Now had the boy agreed beforehand to make the article according to certain verbal description which each would construe perhaps differently and when it was done she and he would have had a more or less disagreeable collision about price before the matter could have been decided either way but liberty obviated it.¹

¹ This page was written at a later time with blue ink.
-Facts-

said I, charge it to me. --I will take it--G.W.W. but what if Mrs. _____ should conclude to take it? she might think that I was offended--but look said I how beautifully the just principle obviates any difficulty--while I hold it for sale (ll) she can have it at cost with only the addition of the price of my time at 30 cents per hour for selling it to her which would make it cost her only about 3 cents more than I pay you--and, said he, would you let me have it at that rate if I should find another market that was more satisfactory? Certainly said I, while I (ll) hold it for sale, anyone dealing upon the same principle with us, can have it at the amount of money and labor which it has cost me up to the time of delivery. Very well, said he, then I will charge it to you, but I had rather have money for it--you shall have my money that I may owe on account whenever you may say you re-quire it said I--that will do said he and away he went to his work.
-Comment-

I have given the details on the opposite page to show some of the minute workings of the "perfect law of liberty" and of the just principle of Labor for labor; which, I conceive are calculated to assist the imagination in following them out in applications far more important. My object is to develop principle¹; but with a proper respect to personal liberty I cannot insist on any particular applications of them, but² am quite willing to risk the natural effects of these principles and to trust to³ the impulses they will impart to every mind which shall once⁴ conceive them.

¹ "Principles" changed to "principle."
² "I" marked out.
³ "Their own" marked out.
⁴ "Receive or" marked out.
Feb. 3

-Facts-

G.W.W. ate no breakfast and was evidently unwell--went to work, and at dinner time remarked that he had done nothing of any consequence all the forenoon--I do not feel as if I could work, said he--then don't attempt it said I, I would not go to work this afternoon unless you feel more able.
-Comments-

Now how could a parent—how could I, with any propriety, risk advising the Child not to work when he did not feel like it, if 1 he had no motive for working? If he had been working for my interest as all children generally do for their parents, I should not have dared to advise him not to work for fear that he might make that a plea when it was not true how he did not feel 2 well and how cruel to feel obliged to be suspicious that his complaint might be a false plea to escape from work—to doubt his account of his own feelings—perhaps such doubts might prove fatal! *

Working as he was for his own interests I knew that he had sufficient motive to work.

"Those who have eyes to see let them see!" Let them team to place their children upon their own separate and distinct interests. Entirely separate and distinct from the interests of parents or masters or rulers— in other words let all mankind learn 3 Individuality!!!

* Fatal at least to his character for truth, for if the child can not inspire belief and confidence when he tells the truth, he will not long persevere in telling.

---

1 "If he were working for my interest? if he were not working for his own interest," marked out.

2 "Like it" marked out

3 "To re-shed (obey) the laws of our Nature" marked out
In a conversation today with a friend whom I shall call W. I was endeavoring to illustrate the subtle workings of the natural liberty and its effect in supplying children with motives to do at once what their parents wish them, voluntarily, without any exercise of authority or fear of artificial punishment. For instance I related the fact that my own boy was sitting by the fire in the morning when it seemed best that he should employ that time in preparing wood for the day. When I said to him that I should like to have him cut some wood—now here was the point—where should his motive come from to get the wood? We know that the common reply is in his sense of duty—but suppose this does not move him? what next? fear of our displeasure? suppose this does not move him? what next? fear of the rod or what? W. Why perhaps the most desirable motive would come from a kind feeling.

But suppose he did not feel very kindly just then? and besides he might with equal reason say that kind feeling on my part might exempt him from doing what de did not like to do.
There is the explosion of that subtle mistake which has laid the foundation of so many cruel disappointments in the experiments on communities and other institutions built upon self denial. When we once subscribe to the doctrine it works as much against us as for us—what we gain one way we lose the other and it is nothing but a delusion—you will grant that we gain nothing unless some one's happiness is increased; now the more applications the rule of self denial has, the more of some body's happiness is curtailed.

I said the rule of self denial works as much against happiness as it does for it, and leaves everything just where it finds it, as in the case of the boy getting the wood, if he is required out of kindness to me to get it, by the same principle, kindness towards him would require me to get it myself—this is all delusion verbiage—The question is still unanswered, where is his motive rationally to come from, to do what I require—does not the law of his nature which prompts him to pursue his own happiness, answer his question? does it not say that the child should feel that it would result in some benefit to himself? and in conforming our requests to this law, do we not extend the greatest practicable amount of kindness towards him?
-Comments-

The greatest extent to which we can ever exercise kindness towards others is in assisting them in their pursuit of happiness, in that particular course or manner that he or she may choose, when the pursuit of one clashes with that of another it exhibits the point where the spirit of accommodation can be exercised with advantage until the circumstances which compel us to clash can be removed or abolished. Therefore we are led to the new social arrangements now proposed (3)4)5)6)7)8)9)10) 11)12)13)14)15)

The organization of society is artificial—an invention—a continuance and the most ingenious person would be likely to succeed best in this, for the same reason that he would succeed best in the invention of any machine, combining a number of elements for the accomplishment of certain objects; but to succeed well in either he must understand well the objects to be accomplished and he must understand the principles involved and he must

1 "This clashing does not affect of the right of each or either, nor should it to continue on" marked out.

2 "Temporary" marked out.
The addition of ten thousand wheels will not supply the place of the pendulum, they, like a multiplicity of laws in the social state would only serve to complicate to perplex and clog the machine--We must have the Pendulum; and that pendulum must be in proportion to the other parts or else, although the machine would go, it would not be a clock, it would not measure time and although a little variation in its length from the true proportion would be a surrender of "Only a portion" of right, yet at the end of the year the machine for all the purposes intended would be worse than no clock.

Society is the clock--Individual liberty is the pendulum. We must surrender no portion of this for the future; we may do it for the present moment often with advantage but as a principle to run into the future unknown circumstances, and to be applied and made use of by others, it becomes the shortened pendulum and the longer it runs, the farther it deviates from right.

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1 "This pendulum must be in proportion to the individual, and he must adapt its length to himself if we undertake to measure it for him, or to push its motion beyond what its capacity carries it, ten to one but we derange the whole machine and it becomes no clock" marked out.
Society will never attain its objects until it sees this. The laws of human nature will not admit the absence of this knowledge with impunity—out other arrangements may be in some respects imperfect, like the cogs in the clock, our side walks may not be so wide but that when two happen to meet the necessity of the case would induce each to vary a little from his straight line as much for his own convenience as for that of the other—but here is no surrender of the individual sovereignty, no violation of the freedom of choice and if there was it would be better to make the side walks wider than once to admit the fatal dogmas that when a man enters into society he surrenders "a portion of his individual liberty." This is making the pendulum only a little too short but at the end of centuries, see what it has produced!!

So the pendulum must be proportioned to the other parts, so must each individual be left to adapt his scope of liberty to his own views and capacities—if we undertake to measure it for him or push it beyond its natural capacity or to retard its motion, we do but derange the whole machine.

Individual liberty includes the right of its own definition!(or in other words) Each one has a right to define it so far as it relates only to his or her

1 "Permit" changed to "admit."
season, time and labor.

It is but a hackneyed as well as a short sighted objection to unqualified Individual liberty but it is often brought up that "if each one sets his own limits or no limits to his liberty" what shall prevent his encroachments upon others? The answer is included in the first proposition that Each and every Individual has this natural right—not some or a few or many but Every One, this forbids any encroachment. So that if it encroaches on B, this is a violation of the proposition, B's right is violated, how shall this be treated? This is for B to decide because he has a right to sovereignty over his own person and all his own interest and it is an impertinent interference for any one or any set of men to dictate to him how he shall proceed—different people would act very differently under the same circumstances, and they have a right to do so. But perhaps we are troubling ourselves too much about assumed difficulties, for if the personal liberty and the right of property were habitually respected from infancy, we are all too much

1 "Every one has a thousand times" and "It has often been objected" are marked out and seem to be false starts for the paragraph.

2 "How should" marked out.
the creatures of habit, of public opinion and of example to
encroach upon the rights of others wantonly, and there
is great reason to believe that no such encroachments ever
would be made. The fears on this point are derived from
the notion of natural depravity.

The past furnishes no fair criterion—justice has
never yet been done in the social state to the individual—
we must begin anew, watch the progress and build according
to necessities.

The great problem is to establish Natural Liberty,
co-existent with social order.

Now (no one can give a definition of Natural liberty
that would be practically approved by everyone—this shows
that any attempt to do so is overstepping the bounds of our
natural Individuality and encroaching upon that of others,
and shows (to my mind) that each one is alone the proper
authority to define it for himself—That Individual natural
liberty includes the right of its own definition.) The exer-
cise of this right as society is now constituted is in
many respects impracticable—what are the obstacles? Con-
ected Interests—connected responsibilities—These, then
are wrong, here is the point to apply the remedy—not in
multiplying laws or inventing new violations of natural right
the mode
will never make the machine succeed—we must let right
alone and apply the remedy to the wrong or we shall never
get a clock. Suppose the remedy completed—suppose all con-
nections of interest all connected responsibilities dissolved—
suppose each Individual in no wise connected with any other
excepting in voluntary and friendly social intercourse—
suppose each one absolutely sovereign of himself or herself,
time, property interests to such an extent that no power on
earth could say to him thou shalt and suppose each one's
interests and responsibilities so completely separated from
all others, that A. may do just as he pleases Without in-
volving the person, property, or responsibilities of any
other one. What objection would there be to A's defining
liberty for himself? I presume none then the
business of reform is plain and straight forward to the
establishment of

 Individual Interests
/ and then
Individual responsibilities
/ Sovereignty of each

Individual

One of the first steps towards\(^1\) such a

\(^1\) "The establishment of" marked out.
-Comments-

Reformation is

To enable every one to obtain the natural product of his or her labor, or its equivalent * so that he may exercise his own free and sovereign choice in the disposal of it.

The labor for labor principle is intended to effect this

*Each one deciding for himself - at all times what that equivalent is and how far he is willing to disregard exact equivalent for greater consideration.

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Reformation is

To enable every one to obtain the natural (or what he or she considers a satisfactory) produce of his or her labor or its equivalent so that he may exercise his own sovereign and free choice in the disposal of it," marked out.
March 20

Several interruptions have occurred which took me away from home since taking the last notes but I felt at ease in leaving the boys to their own self government. Why?

Because they could do no harm to any but themselves. They had no access to any one's property, nor no connection with anyone's interests but their own and they had the proper and natural stimulus to promote their own advancement in having all the proceeds of their exertions and were assured that no one would interfere with their free choice in the disposal of the proceeds of their labor. (In shorter terms) each was placed in his natural & proper sphere.

1 "They were each of them the sole executive of his own person, time and property" marked out.
on my return home I found that they had done all they had to do and were anxious for my return to advise them farther.

E. took his first lesson in shoe making from Mr. V. today—
the lesson cost him 3/4 of one cent and his labor amounted to 12 1/2!!! -------

21 G.W. took his first lesson in shoe making this evening of
the same person—Mr. V. This lesson cost G. about one cent—
he mended a pair of pumps for me and earned 12 1/2 cents!!
He went immediately after supper voluntarily to take his
lesson in shoe making and to pay for it himself out of the
proceeds of his own labor, and all this with as much hilarity
and cheerfulness and interest as boys under common circum-
stances generally rush into the street to play!!

He came home after I was in bed, but was so desirous
to show me the results of his first lesson that he came
into my room and awoke me, holding up triumphantly the
mended shoes.
Look at this, and consider it, ye who have been taught youths should give away seven years of the best part of their lives to learn a simple art.
It is often remarked, when discussing these subjects, that the pecuniary affairs seem to occupy too important a place, that they are too prominent. That they seem to claim so much attention that children under the influence of such circumstances or even adults would be likely to become mercenary in their habits and feelings.

The reply to this if it were full and ample would occupy volumes—for the present let it be considered that pecuniary affairs are all that we have to regulate, that this is the proper and legitimate subject of reform, that all the institutions of society¹ are governed by property considerations.

¹ "Are based solely upon" marked out.
If it were not for property considerations persons would not be danger\textsuperscript{2}--I have ventured here to advance the that which is not self evident to any but those who are in the practice of tracing the remote connections of things. Personal crimes are not always committed to obtain property, but all violations of personal rights will be found upon analysis to proceed either from a desire to obtain property, or from Ignorance which might and would long since have been dispelled but that it was perpetuated by interested rulers and law givers, and those who wield the press for profit.\textsuperscript{3}

See Robert Owen's works for proof.

See also the conduct of the press towards Mr. Owen and his efforts.

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\textsuperscript{1} This whole page was marked out with two light lines.

\textsuperscript{2} It is unclear whether he meant "in danger" or "dangerous."

\textsuperscript{3} "For profit" written in later in blue ink.
-Comments-

This is the first meeting that has been held in this place on these subjects: at least, the first that has been in any way public.

March 30th I am informed that the merchants of this place are already informed of the meeting of yesterday and the bearing it is likely to have upon their interests\(^1\) -- that \________\ has already manifested a curiosity that was soon answered and the probability in my mind is that this little meeting of yesterday will work a change here in the prices of common necessaries in favor of the working classes.

\(^1\) "We shall see" marked out.

\(^2\) This was copied as "our more" which does not make sense, could be one man?
"more easy to deal with ignorance than with error"

"men lose sight of primitive or real nature and have no other guide but custom a second and false nature."

"The author of one is divine wisdom, of the other, human imagination," and yet when ever the second stands in opposition to the first, as it does most frequently, the second prevails.

From hence it happens that the most civilized nations are often guilty of injustice and cruelty which the least civilized would abhor, and that many of the most absurd opinions and doctrines which have been imposed in the dark ages of ignorance continue to be the opinions and doctrines of ages enlightened by philosophy and learning."

"It has been said by many that they wanted time to make their discourses shorter."!

"It is disingenuous to sacrifice truth to popularity."

"As the want of an exact determination of ideas and of an exact precision in the use of words is inexcusable in a philosopher, he must preserve them even at the expense of style.

"It seems to me that the business of a philosopher is to dilate\textsuperscript{1}, to press, to prove, to convince while that of the poet is to touch his subject with short and spirited strokes--to warm the affections and speak to the heart

\textsuperscript{1} I am not sure of this word.
"I will endeavor not to be tedious; and this endeavor may succeed the better perhaps by declining any over strict observation of method." To digress and to ramble are two very different things; and he who knows the country through which he travels may venture out of the high road because he is sure of finding it again. Thus the several matters that may arise even accidentally before me will have some share in guiding my pen."

(To Pope) "All I can promise you is that my thoughts in what order so ever they flow shall be communicated to you just as they pass through my mind." just as they used to be when we converse together on those or any other subject.

"I dare not pretend to instruct mankind, and I am not humble enough to write to the public for any other purpose."

"I distrusted myself, not my teachers, men of the greatest name ancient and modern, but I found at last that it was safer to trust myself than them, and to proceed by the light of my own understanding than to wander after these ignes fatui of philosophy." If I am able, therefore to tell you easily, and at the same time, so clearly and distinctly and to be easily understood, and so strongly as not to be easily refuted how I have thought for myself, I shall be persuaded that I have thought enough on these subjects."

In these four and a half last lines, Bolingbroke has given
me whole sum and substance of grammar!

"darken by tedious definitions what is too plain to need any."

"the abuse philosophers are guilty of when they suffer the mind to rise too fast from particulars, to remote and general axioms."

This waving underlining is my own not the authors.¹

"I say, that all science, if it be read, must rise from below and from our own level. It cannot descend from above nor from superior systems of being or knowledge."

¹ In the notebook there was a "waving underlining" which it is impossible for me to duplicate on the typewriter.
"the less men know, the more they believe they know."

"religious disputes have been the plague of the world."

"__________² the refuge of ignorance" the instrument of metaphysical and theological deception."
June 1840

1How great! how glorious the era when mankind shall perceive their errors and apply themselves to the remedy.

With fear and trembling do I approach a subject involving the mighty consequences I contemplate! and gladly would I shrink as I have again and again done from the tremendous responsibility involved; rejoiced should I be could I see this subject in hands competent to its full and clean development. Twelve years have I waited for such competent aid and testing by every variety of experiment the principles involved, but have not found it—practice has now proceeded even beyond theory—Time flies!—life is uncertain and such is the mighty magnitude of the subjects as they effect the happiness of the human race that I cannot—dare not longer yield to that sense of my own incompetence—
I fear not common criticism—I desire not personal applause, even so much as I dread the envious persecution which applause generally induces, but I do fear that these subjects will not find justice at my hands. I feel entirely incompetent after twelve years of reflection and experience to select any language which can adapt itself to set forth these! principles in their practical bearings in all the Majesty and sublime importance in which I behold them.  

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1 "How Great! how glorious the family to point out this one defect," marked out.
2 "Which shall discover this" marked out.
3 "No language which" marked out.
4 "Views" replaced with "principles".
5 This page written in the blue ink.
Individualities of Nature

(10)

There is no certainty that any two cases or combinations of circumstances will occur alike nor that any two persons will be found alike, therefore our social arrangements should be so devised that every individual can be free to act or to remain inactive, according to his or her peculiar views or feelings in each individual case, and under all circumstances. This involves the necessity of determining clearly what are the rights of individuals without involving any other so as to render it impracticable to differ.

How can our social arrangements be so made as to allow of this Individual Liberty?

THIS IS THE GREAT PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED.

The verbal solution is

Make no arrangements which either directly or indirectly produce CONNECTED INTERESTS (OR PROPERTY) CONNECTED RESPONSIBILITIES OR CONNECTED EXECUTIVE POWER

But these must be all INDIVIDUAL or, in other words

1 "Peculiar" marked out.

2 "The persons or interests or responsibilities of" marked out.
every individual should have his or her property separate
and distinct and unconnected with that of any other and
should have his or her separate and distinct responsibilities
unconnected with those of any other, and each and every in-
dividual should be his or her own executive power unconn-
ected with that of any other.

To carry out this view it is necessary to establish
definitely what are the proper and legitimate interests,
responsibilities and executive powers or, the right of
every Individual. This is already done in the American
declaration of Independence Verbally, but the language in
which it is done is subject to different interpretations by
different Individuals and cannot therefore act as a common
guide to any definite physical arrangements. Nor does it
appear practicable to devise any forms of words which would
not be subject to the same objection, but the Individuality
of our nature and the right of every one to exercise their
individuality instruct us to communicate or to suggest any-
thing we have to propose but having so placed it before the
eyes of others to leave them to ex-
exercise their own free choice and sovereign decision relative to it, however, each may differ from each; and not to lay down any forms of words whatever with the view of enforcing conformity thereto. This is the great fundamental error of all organizations of society.¹

The most important error of this description is that of the general admission that "when we enter into society we surrender a portion of our natural liberty." This is one of the visionary dogmas of Blackstone, a man who wrote in order to reconcile mankind to a monarchial government, who held office under a monarchy, who was paid by a monarchy and who was paid according to what he wrote.

There is a subtle sophistry in that dogma which when it is once admitted serves as the excuse for the most monstrous violations of the rights of persons and property that the most insatiable tyrants can devise.

¹ "Which it is my wish to expose and explode. The very first step of which is that in which this fatal error" marked out.
If they wish to command the whole property of their subjects a conscription to carry on their means of plunder and destruction, they can tell their subjects that "when they enter into society they "surrender a portion of their natural liberty" or freedom of choice."

Or if a member of a little neighborhood meeting actuated by the same ambition to govern, vexes and perplexes another with unnecessary forms growing out of his peculiar individual construction of certain verbal rules "he has only to say that "when we enter into society we surrender a portion of our natural liberty" and his tyranny on an overall scale is permitted to proceed unchecked.

I challenge this dogma—I challenge it for the sake of the human race, for the establishment of human rights.¹

¹ "Their natural" marked out.
² "A chairman" marked out.
³ "A speaker" marked out.
⁴ "I challenge it on the ground that as it does not express all its conditions and all its applications, that no one can rationally be bound to any of its conditions or applications even if he" marked out.
I challenge it on the ground that it is not in the power of the different members of society to construe and apply it alike, and that therefore it is entirely unfit to be referred to as a principle or a rule.

When we meet others in the social circle the same respect to their freedom of choice and of action which we desire for ourselves is the involuntary impulse of a well regulated mind, and is apparently the only rational application of this dogma, but when we consider the Individuality of person of times and of circumstances and the inadequacy of language to express all these individualities, we perceive the utter futility of attempting to prescribe to each other or for different cases, the amount or portion of the natural liberty thus to be surrendered—what, then, is the result or object of this reasoning? It is to show that our nature and all nature indicated that we are constituted to act as individuals! That each should be free to apply this as well as all other verbal processes according his own individual views of each individual case.

What are the practical obstacles to his natural liberty?

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1 This word appeared to be "verbal."
They are found in those connections which do not permit one to move without involving the person, or the property or the Responsibilities of others--what is the remedy?

7 Individual Property--Individual Responsibilities
8 Individual Executives
9

The word Equality which has so frequently been a watch-word or rallying cry in revolutions that have shaken the world, and that have ended in disappointment and disgust, would have been a very valuable and harmless word had its definition or interpretation by each individual been confined to the persons and interests of that individual who used it. But interpreted by a vote of the majority or by any other power which extends a certain interpretation so as to involve the persons of property or happiness, others against their own views and choice is an act of madness.

In the experiments of communities of common property attempted in New Harmony the word assumes a very important

1 "Who used it" is written in in the blue ink.
position. It was one of the cornerstones of the whole superstructure but it was a different thing with almost every different person. One applied so as to prescribe the same amount of value to each member for clothing and food leaving him free to choose the kind according taste etc. while another insisted that the word fairly prescribed the same kind, color and make of clothing and insisted on uniformity of dress was one of the most necessary external signs of that equality of condition desirable among men. Others would carry it further and prescribe the same kind of food for all as a still greater demonstration of equality. Equality of labor too was interpreted by some to call for each taking his and her turn in all the different employments especially the most disagreeable while others interpreted the word to require only an equal amount of time employed in the service of the connected interest. All these and a vast variety of other interpretations of this word sprung up and became the subjects of interminable contention breaking up those social sympathies which was the object of the experiment to establish--but having one common, connected interest