

A.W.T. PAPERS

Misc. Papers  
Articles 4

CHAUTAUQUA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY 2013

There are certain <sup>propositions</sup> facts which nobody will attempt to deny. They are not axiomatic in the generally received sense of that term. That is, they are not universal truths common to all times and peoples, but they are part of the common consciousness of the American people of today. Among them may be enumerated the following:

Poverty is the inherent heritage of freedom. Where slavery exists, poverty, in the sense of actual physical want is impossible because the master's interest requires that the slave be kept in fair physical condition. The beast of burden is rarely starved by his owner.

— Freedom separates the master and the slave by one remove. The interest of the lord in the income of his estate is substituted by it for the master's personal interest in the slave's condition. The earl has become in a sense his own man and begins, therefore, to feel the sting of want.

— As individual independence increases

Poverty is the inheritance of liberty.  
The master provides for the wants of the  
Slave. He is directly interested in his  
physical condition. The owner rarely staves  
the beast of burden.

---

From Slavery to perfect equality, the  
blessings of liberty and punishment of  
poverty increase and decrease al-  
ways in an inverse ratio. The perf is one  
degree removed from the slave. He  
has begun to be his own man. He  
must feed himself and provide for  
his children. The interest of the lord  
in his well-being is less than that of the master  
in his slave. He is no longer a marketable  
commodity and the controller of his labor.  
He has no direct interest in his physical condition.  
If it dies, there is always another to take  
his place.

There first arises the conflict of interests which marks the relation of laborer and employer or more properly of producer and absorber. The interest of the lord is to throw as much of the burden of self support as possible upon the serf; the interest of the serf is to obtain as much advantage for himself and family as possible from the lord.

---

This conflict of interests continues through the relations of <sup>free day laborer,</sup> peasant, renter, leaseholder and every other form of sub-proprietaryship of land. It ceases only when the land worker becomes a landowner.

---

The same thing is true. It is not however, dependent upon any system of land tenure. Precisely the same relations exist between worker and employer when the object of labor is to enhance the value of raw material as when its object is the production of marketable commodity by the worker's toil or the operations of mind. The interest of the employer is always to get the greatest return for the smallest share of the resulting profits. Beyond this, he has — as an employer — no interest in the employed. His struggle which self-interest dictates consists always in an endless attempt of the master to shift upon the shoulders

of the employe as large a proportion of the joint risk, and expense, ~~too~~ with as small a proportion as possible of the joint profit and advantage. The self-interest of the laborer <sup>leads</sup> impels him also in exactly the opposite direction and impels him to seek as large a portion of the joint profit and advantage with as small a ratio of the joint-risk as he can possibly obtain. The relation of lord and serf, landlord and tenant, lessor and lessee, still remains. Only the subject-matter of mutual interest is changed.

---

The same relation still prevails, when the matter of joint-interest ceases to be either the development of natural products, or the change of form of raw material. Agriculture, culture, mining, and fishery, embrace the production of raw material. Manufacture is the generation of profit by changing the forms or relations of crude material. In all these labor is a distinct element of the resulting gain and



whenever the labor is separated from the ownership of the materials, the same conflict of interest arises — and the <sup>economic</sup> relation of land and surf obtains. The interest of the owner of the material to which labor is applied, is directly opposed to the interest of the laborer who does not own the material. As in the case of realty, an absolutely just division of profits and advantages can never arise until the laborer becomes the owner of the soil he works; so in manufacture there can never be an altogether equitable division of profit and loss, except when each laborer is also the owner of the crude material to which his labor is applied.

There are two other forms of applied labor: <sup>from which profit results.</sup> transportation, which neither increases ~~not~~ the production of natural products, nor modifies the form of crude material, and Commerce which is the mere exchange of commodities by actual or symbolical transfer. Transportation is the business of removing natural products

~~the and~~

the relation of lord and serf - landlord and tenant - employer and employe - remains unchanged. The owner of the means of transportation or of the facilities for exchange has simply the natural impulse to secure the operation of these means with the least possible diminution of the proceeds and in this case there comes as in the

others an absolutely equitable division of the aggregate profits is only possible when ~~each~~ <sup>each</sup> owner of

such facilities is likewise the operator of the same.

---

<sup>classes</sup>  
These <sup>classes</sup> comprise all the forms of ~~asso-~~  
~~ciated labor and ownership~~ in which in  
which labor and ownership are associ-  
ated for the production of profit. When  
they are united in the same person, the matter  
of profit and loss becomes absolutely equitable  
throughout the whole domain of profit-seeking

labor. The ideal status of profit-yielding labor, may, therefore, be said to be a state of society in which every <sup>eliminator</sup> ~~producer~~ of natural products shall be the owner of the source of supply; every worker of crude material the owner of the raw product; every transporter of articles of traffic, the owner of the means of transport; and every agent of exchange the owner of the facilities he employs.

---

In addition to these, there are certain forms of labor which may be termed not profit-producing though their exercise may be a source of profit. First among these is domestic or personal service, in which one man or woman ministers by their labor to the ease, comfort or pleasure of another. This class embraces lawyers, doctors and purveyors of amusements. Second in import-



once ranks the teacher who is employed to do a part of the parental duty of culture and development of the offspring of others. Third, those who <sup>minister</sup> ~~serve~~ by personal labor service to the public need as to the needs of specific portions of the community alike. This class embraces all political and military servants and officials, and all whose services are given for the safety, health, prosperity or enjoyment of the whole body of the people. Authors, artists, actors and all who create intellectual forms combinations or evolve ideas which are reproduced and offered for public sale, are, in that capacity, simply producers who own the source of supply.

the mutual relations of the actors, therein was obtainable. The contributions to <sup>a reliable</sup> history of that epoch during the past year or two have been of the most remarkable and valuable character.

First in importance among these must of course be ranked the Memoirs of the General in ~~the~~ command of the Union armies. This ~~is~~ is such the time or place for an exhaustive <sup>a</sup> view of ~~the~~ work the first volume of which is just now fresh in the hands of some millions of readers. The deeper one's reverence for the author and the higher his estimate

of the value of this work, the keener will be  
 his chagrin as he opens and closes this volume.  
 The purrmony of a publisher whose only  
 inquiry has been, how much profit can be  
 made out of the dead hero's memory, with  
 the least possible expenditure <sup>on his part,</sup> for paper  
 is visible on every page. If there was ever  
 a work that justified and demanded  
 the utmost care in preparation and publi-  
 cation it is this ~~last~~ work of the great  
 soldier's last days. It is to be his  
 great monument. Myriads of eyes

will scan its pages for every one that will  
 see the note the shaft which will be  
 reared above his tomb-grave. It will  
 represent our great general to the young  
 of future generations. And what a shabby  
 presentation! Paper, ink, binding, illustra-  
 tion ~~and~~ all of the meanest and cheap-  
 est character! The maps of the most insatis-  
 factory character, the proof-reading careless  
 and the general impression produced that even  
 death did not protect him from wrong.  
 It is to be hoped that these things will some time

41  
be amended and his lush message to his  
countrymen be given a setting worthy of  
the author's merits. So far as the narrative  
has proceeded, it ~~should~~ may be remarked  
that it is restricted with wonderful care and  
thoroughness, <sup>first,</sup> to the relation of facts and events  
which tended to shape the author's early life  
and shape his development and, secondly, to  
his own personal relations to and views of the  
conflict in which he must forever be ac-  
counted the foremost name. Aside from his  
personal views of men and events it can hardly  
be said to add very greatly to our his-  
torical knowledge. That it should



have  
 any freshness of interest at all is re-  
 markable when you consider the fact  
 that General Badenone one of his person-  
 al staff, ~~and~~ had covered the same  
 grounds, not only with every opportunity for  
 personal consultation, but with the most  
 amazing elaboration and care and with  
 the actual scrutiny and oversight of the  
 author of the Memoirs. In addition to this  
 one of the most skilled of our modern  
 journalists, one of those men ~~to whom~~ who  
 have brought the art of reporting  
 another's thoughts to a perfection never  
 before dreamed of, had written

of the same matters under the  
 inspiration of the author's presence,  
 taking not merely his facts but  
 their coloring from the hero's lips  
 during that too brief interval when  
 fame and leisure waited on his  
 peaceful days. Yet the closest student  
 of Grant's Campaigns, is sure to get  
 new light not merely on the man who  
 planned ~~and executed~~ <sup>conducted</sup> them but also  
 on their execution, from the simple  
 and graphic pages of the "Memoirs".

It should be remembered too that these Memories are only the latest of a remarkable series of works bearing on the subject of the Civil War and its causes, which are autobiographical in character and permit us to view this era of our history from various points and with the bias of <sup>chief actors in ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> great events they describe</sup> ~~various~~ <sup>On the side of the</sup> Union, Sherman and Wilson and Greeley have told the story of the conflict which terminated in war and of the resulting events each from his own vantage of special vantage. Grant, Sherman, and Barlow, have followed substantially the same ~~course~~ route, with divergencies and variations of view. At least five corps or division commanders have told the story of campaigns of which they were at more