

6

THE
ADDRESSES
OF
ROBERT OWEN,

(AS PUBLISHED IN THE LONDON JOURNALS),

Preparatory to the developement of

A PRACTICAL PLAN

FOR THE

RELIEF OF ALL CLASSES,

WITHOUT INJURY TO ANY.

LONDON;

STEPHEN HUNT, 4, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN,

SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS,

(And to be had at the Co-Operative Bazaar, Greville St. Hatton Garden.)

Price Eighteen-pence.

1830.

KING'S COLLEGE PRINTING OFFICE,

HELMET COURT, 337, STRAND.



Just Published, (to be continued Monthly),
THE LONDON CO-OPERATIVE MAGAZINE,
NEW SERIES, Nos. 1 & 2.

In the Press;
THE BEAUTIES OF PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY
WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR, &c.
In one volume 18mo. Price 3s. 6d.

STEPHEN HUNT, 4, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

Page numbers of addresses:

To the Gentlemen who Direct the London Press	- 3
To the Governments of Europe and America	- 5
To the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain	- 13
To the Proprietors and Editors of the Press in Great Britain and Ireland	16
To the Merchants and to the Wholesale and Retail Traders in Great Britain	19
To the Religions of Every Denomination	- 21
To the Agriculturists and Manufacturers of Great Britain	25
To the Operative Manufacturers and Agricultural Laborers in Great Britain and Ireland	- 29
To the Political Economists and Utilitarians	- 31
Fundamental Laws of Human Nature	33
Conditions Essential to Human Happiness	36
To the Infant School Societies and to the Patrons of Infant Schools	37
To the Members of the Learned Naval and Military Professions	41
To the Literary Members of the British Population	- 44
To the Aristocracy of Great Britain	46
To the Conductors of the London Press	- 49



ADDRESSES.



TO THE GENTLEMEN WHO DIRECT THE LONDON PRESS.

FROM an impression, early imbibed, and confirmed by daily experience, that all classes, sects and parties, in all countries, have emanated from notions of error relative to human nature, I have never connected myself with any of them except by kind feelings and good will impelling me to attempt an amelioration of their condition. Having also recently disconnected myself from all private commercial interests, I have been induced to employ my time in an attempt to penetrate and unveil the mysteries which have induced such extraordinary anomalies as now exist in the most civilized countries, but more especially in the British Empire. I have endeavoured to ascertain the real cause why the British population, with a power of production new in the history of mankind, and capable, if they were rational in their proceedings, and the power rightly directed, of over-supplying the wants or desires of 10, or 20, or 30 times its present numbers, so large a majority of this population should be at the present moment contending, with all their energies, to obtain an increase of property, while a considerable number are in want of the first necessities of life.

Disregarding the theories and prejudices of all, I have been induced to examine carefully such facts connected with the subject as my intimate acquaintance with various classes, sects, and parties, enabled me to collect and compare together,

without being influenced in my decisions by the educational or national feelings or prepossessions of any of the local divisions of which society is composed. The result of this investigation I have submitted to the consideration of the British Cabinet, and await its decision.

I am strongly impressed with the conviction that the Government of this country will not, that it cannot, much longer suffer the population of the British dominions to continue to be overwhelmed with an abundance which, as circumstances now are, necessarily inflicts with poverty and various unjust hardships the producers of that abundance, while, at the same time, the empire contains dormant manual and scientific powers sufficient to increase the real wealth of the population twenty, fifty, nay, more than a hundred-fold.

This is an irrational state of existence, which it is greatly for the best interest of every individual, whatever may be his rank, station, or condition, to terminate in the shortest period practicable, without creating by the change permanent evils of magnitude.

Such is the object which has been attempted in the *exposé* which has been presented to the British Cabinet.

The subject, however, is necessarily most extensive, and in its results will materially affect the feelings, the interest, and condition of every individual in the British dominions, and, ultimately, of those who inhabit other countries.

A subject so comprehensive requires much elucidation to enable the population to understand its practical effects, through all its ramifications, upon their respective conditions, occupations, and employments.

In addition to the subject, as submitted to the consideration of Government, I have prepared addresses to the various existing classes, explanatory of their situation and of the manner in which they would be affected by the proposed change in the condition of society.

These addresses are as brief as the subject of each will admit; many of them will not occupy more than half of one of your columns, some not so much, but a few of them will require a fuller development.

There is no private interest or party object in the slightest degree connected with them—they are solely intended for the public good.

Upon this ground alone I request the use of your columns for one of these addresses every alternate day until the meeting of Parliament, that, by that period, its Members and the public may have the subject fully before them.

You, as well as the public, have a deep stake in this matter; and when the whole subject shall be placed fairly before you it will be open to your scrutiny; and I desire it may receive your support, or call forth your censure and opposition, as it may appear to you to merit the one, or deserve the other.

Jan. 4.

ADDRESS TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA.

In September 1818, I presented to you a memorial; and in the October of the same year I presented another, through the late Lord Castlereagh, to the Allied Powers, assembled in Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle.

These memorials related to the general state of the civilized world, as it existed at that period; and to these I beg to refer you for an explanation of the causes that have created the general changes which have occurred in Europe and America from that time up to the present period.

Upon perusing these memorials you will perceive that, without the alteration of a single word, they describe the exact condition of the leading powers, and their respective populations, in Europe and America, as they exist at this moment.

In the first of these memorials it is stated that "A period has arrived in which a greater change in human affairs will be forced on the world than the world has yet witnessed; but, in all its extent, the change will be highly beneficial to every individual and to all States. It is a period when the errors which have hitherto perplexed mankind are about to be unravelled; and, in consequence, the obstacles which stood in the way of human improvement and enjoyment will be removed.

"The immediate causes which make this change certain and necessary are, the overwhelming effects of new scientific power, and the rapidly-increasing knowledge of all classes of men.

"The former will soon render human labour of little avail in the creation of wealth, while the latter will make evident to the people the absolute necessity, which has thus arisen for them to give a different direction to their powers, and will inform them, also, how the change is to be effected.

"To this day the means of consumption, or of obtaining the necessaries of life, by the working classes, have been

acquired solely through the medium of their labour, the value of which the new power has already much diminished. And the certain consequences of the undirected progress of this power will be to reduce the exchangeable value of manual labour until it falls below the means of procuring a wretched subsistence for any large proportion of the working classes, while the remainder of them must be starved out of existence.

“Such is the nature of the contest, which has already continued for some time, and which now exists in full activity, between scientific power and manual labour—between knowledge and ignorance; but no one, who comprehends anything of the subject, can for one moment doubt the result.”

The period has arrived when this change has become inevitable throughout the British dominions; and the causes which have produced the necessity for it in these countries are in active progress in the United States, in France, over Europe generally, and in many parts of Asia.

The new scientific powers of production, which, during the late revolutionary war of France made such a progress in Great Britain, as by their effects to astonish her allies, her enemies, and the world, have now taken deep root in the United States, and in many of the nations of Europe; and this new power, which no human effort can now arrest in its continually increasing progress, is already sufficient, or may be made superabundant, to supply the physical wants of the human race, however rapidly the population of the world may increase.

Such is already the dominion which science has acquired over the productions by which the physical wants of mankind are supplied.

“It is unnecessary, therefore, that poverty, or the fear of it, should be longer numbered among the evils to which humanity is liable, except through the want of knowledge, and consequent misrule of those who govern.”

The most ample means to secure permanent abundance for the population whom you govern, and whose happiness or misery depends upon your knowledge or ignorance, are now at your disposal, and wait only for you to give them a right direction.

In the words, then, of the second memorial, to which I have already referred, it is strictly true that—“The period has arrived when the means are become obvious, by which, without violence, fraud, or disorder of any kind, riches may be created in such abundance, and advantageously for all, that the wants and wishes of every human being, relative to real wealth, may be more than satisfied.”

But the still more important knowledge has been acquired, and is now offered for your consideration, by means of which you would be enabled to remove, from among the people over whom you rule, and from their descendants to the latest posterity, the cause of all intellectual and moral evil ever experienced in human society.

The inhabitants of the world have heretofore lived under the impression that the thoughts and the convictions of each individual were of his own formation; and that they depended upon his will, which they supposed to be an independent part of his nature. They have, therefore, been angry because of each other's thoughts and convictions; and have, consequently, been, without exception, ignorantly cruel and unjust, individually and nationally.

The inhabitants of the world have also existed, to the present time, under the impression that each individual possesses a power, of his own formation, to like or dislike things, and to love or hate persons at his pleasure.

They have, therefore, been angry with each other when they did not like or dislike, and love or hate, according to the fanciful or arbitrary notions of individuals or nations.

Experience has now proved that these are impressions, arising, not from facts, but from imaginary notions opposed to all facts; and that hence alone has proceeded all the intellectual and moral evil; or, in other words, all the irrationality which the world has ever known.

The cause of all the misery which has existed is thus before you; and you possess the most ample power to remove that cause in this generation, without injury to yourselves or others.

Will you not, then, remove it, and thereby withdraw all the evil and misery from among yourselves, and all those whose well-being and happiness are under your guidance and control?

Will you unite among yourselves for your safety, and seriously deliberate what measures may be most beneficially adopted under the new circumstances which have arisen, and the knowledge of which can be longer withheld from the general population of the world?

Can all your present wealth and power procure a higher enjoyment than that of becoming the active instruments of securing the future happiness of the human race.

To accomplish the object of all my exertions, it is necessary for me to economise time and money; and when the end to be attained is the permanent well-being of mankind, ceremonies become less important.

I feel myself therefore obliged to make this communication to each Government through the medium of the public press; in which form I beg each of you to accept it with the same kind feelings and attention which my former communications experienced from many of you.

Jan. 6.

ADDRESS TO THE BRITISH NATION.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,—After having visited various countries I find you on my return increased in wealth, and also in poverty and distress.

That the public wealth has greatly accumulated may be inferred by the improved state of the roads and the higher degree of cultivation visible in every part of the kingdom, by the increase of the large towns and the superior character of the new buildings, and by the multiplied productions of every description which are now created.

That poverty and distress also more extensively prevail, is equally evident from the increased appearance of wretchedness visible among the lower orders, and from the degree of corroding anxiety and care depicted upon the countenances of the great majority of both the middle and working classes, producing among the population of these kingdoms an appearance of less satisfaction and more misery than is to be seen among any other people, whether free or enslaved, in any other part of the globe.

And these results are produced in a country superabounding with means for the creation of wealth; and in one where public opinion has a greater influence in directing the measures of Government than in any other, perhaps, excepting the United States of North America.

It becomes, then, most interesting to ascertain how it is that there exists such extraordinary means of creating wealth, and of securing pecuniary independence to all within the British dominions: and yet, that there should at the same time prevail so much poverty and misery among a large portion of the population, and so much dissatisfaction with the existing order of things, both at home and abroad.

The cause is in yourselves, and from you the remedy must proceed.

The scientific knowledge of the educated part of the inhabitants of this country greatly exceeds that of their moral and political knowledge. For, by means of scientific knowledge, powers have already been obtained, sufficient, if rightly direct-

ed, to saturate with wealth not only the British dominions, but the world at large; while the deficiency in moral and political knowledge is so great, that these powers of production, instead of being applied to the creation of the most valuable wealth for all the population, are now so unwisely directed as to make a few individuals greatly too wealthy, either for their own or the public benefit, and to render poverty and crime, and their consequent misery, unavoidable to a large portion of the community.

The remedy for these evils is to be found, therefore, only in the introduction of more correct moral and political knowledge among you. An accurate knowledge of these subjects would enable all parties to discover the great and lamentable errors into which mankind have hitherto fallen in directing the powers of society; and to perceive that, in order to govern a country well, it is necessary that all its physical and mental powers should be applied to form the best character for the whole population, that it may be enabled to produce the greatest amount of the most valuable wealth, and to distribute it in such a manner as to secure the greatest degree of happiness to the whole population,

These desirable results, it is evident, have never hitherto been obtained for any portion of the human race; and all are effectually prevented from attempting to introduce into society such measures as would secure them, by the mistaken system of morality which they have been forced, from infancy to receive.

To give a right or beneficial direction to the new scientific powers of production, a union of feeling and of action is necessary; and that union cannot be permanently effected among any portion of the human race by any moral or religious system founded on the notions upon which all the past and present moral and religious systems of the world have been established.

Is it then desirable that for the sole purpose of keeping men in ignorance and misery, that they may be more easily governed by the few, while the few, also, are essentially injured, that moral and religious errors which generate disunion and a want of charity, and of kindness among the human race, and which prevent the enjoyment of a very high degree of happiness among all people, shall be longer allowed to be considered sacred in the estimation of the public?

My conviction is, that now there is no wisdom whatever in thus continuing to destroy the superior faculties of the human race—that there is not one individual, whatever may be his station, who is not grievously injured by this deception—

and that for the safety, well-being, and happiness of all, it is necessary now to unmask the hypocrisy of a system by which so many evils of the most lamentable description are entailed upon the population of all countries.

It is the moral courage to effect this object that is alone wanting, in order to relieve the world for ever from poverty, or the fear of poverty; and to remove the obstacles which now prevent a superior character being formed, and rendered permanent among mankind.

Shall we, then, of the present generation, who have been permitted to perceive these great truths, be deterred, by fear of man, or by any temporary consequences, from performing the greatest duty that ever can be performed for the human race?

Shall we, for want of bestowing a rational education upon the people, and giving a right direction to their industry, see Ireland in misery, and agitated from its centre to its circumference?

Shall we see the middle classes rapidly sinking into the lower, and the lower incompetent, by their utmost exertions, to secure a reasonable support? And shall we see the whole population, from the highest to the lowest, educated under false notions, and surrounded by the most vicious or futile circumstances, and not attempt to remove these evils, when the means of removing them for ever from the world have become obvious?

Shall we see nations opposed to nations, striving to obtain some small territory, when the earth is still a wilderness for want of people to cultivate it; or contending for the privilege of disposing of some of their useless productions to distant countries, while their industry would become ten-fold more beneficial to themselves if it were wisely applied at home?

Shall we see nations inflicting, through war, almost every kind of evil upon many millions of their respective populations, for the mere chance of obtaining some uncertain commercial profit, while these nations possess the most ample means to gorge the world with the most valuable and substantial wealth?

Shall we, I ask, see these enormous evils advancing day by day, many of them hourly increasing, and distinctly perceive the cause which generates these sufferings, and, from fear of an ignorant interested public opinion, take no open and effectual measures to remove that cause?

Whatever circumstances may exist to prevent others from now coming forward to aid in this great work for the regeneration of mankind, none exists to deter me from thus perform-

ing the highest duty that man can perform for man. Perceiving the extent of the evil, its cause, and its remedy, I can no longer refrain from placing them before the public; and from calling upon all nations and people to put far away from them the cause of their ignorance, their imbecility, and their vices, and to apply the remedy in their power for the innumerable sufferings proceeding from these evils.

For man is incompetent to think as he pleases, or to feel as he likes; yet all the moral and religious systems known have been made to rest solely on the contrary supposition. This single error is the origin of evil among mankind, and alone generates all the evil existing at this hour among the human race. If the supporters of these systems can discover error in what is here advanced, let them now openly come forth and prove wherein that error consists.

The time has arrived when it has become unavoidable that the question should be for ever set at rest, and that the truth or error of these respective systems be made manifest to the world.

If it be true that man is forced to believe according to the strongest conviction made upon his mind, and to feel according to the impressions which external circumstances make upon his individual organization, then a very superior moral, political, and commercial system, for the practice of the world, may be immediately adopted, and evil and suffering may be altogether removed from human society. But if, on the contrary, man does possess the power to believe as he likes, and to feel as he pleases, then must the present wretched condition of the human race continue without ceasing; for experience has abundantly proved how man, under these notions, has thought and felt, and how necessarily evils and sufferings have followed from these thoughts and feelings; and thus no hope would remain for the future.

But a new day is opening in Britain, which will extend its light from these islands, until it shall illumine every continent and every island where man dwells.

For the first time in the history of Britain, truth may now be publicly spoken on subjects the most interesting to man, without the individual being liable to be burned or imprisoned, or without his experiencing any other inconvenience than the being called, by ignorant or interested persons, a visionary or a madman. And when truth can thus be publicly spoken, and have a fair chance of being heard, it will be seen how soon error will disappear before it, and how rapidly every mind will advance in the acquisition of real knowledge. Man must believe according to the strongest conviction that

can be made upon his mind, and truth must, therefore, sooner or later, prevail over error.

Under the impression, then, that every fact connected with the subject will prove that all human evil proceeds from the erroneous supposition that man has been formed with powers to believe as he likes and to feel as he pleases, and that this origin of evil must now give place to the superior knowledge that man is forced by the unchanging laws of his nature to believe in obedience to the strongest conviction that is made upon his mind, and to feel in obedience to the impressions made by external objects upon his individual organization, I have developed a new moral, political, and commercial system for the British dominions, founded on this change of moral principle; which system will, in the first instance, be submitted to Government for their calm consideration, and afterwards be laid before the public, as it must, ere long, be adopted, to relieve you from the dire effects of immorality, and of misdirected scientific power.

The plan recommended is, to supersede the vicious circumstances which pervade the moral, political, and commercial system now in practice, by other circumstances of a more favourable character, formed in accordance with the now-ascertained law of human nature, that belief and feeling are alike independent of the will of the individual. Such a combination of circumstances would at once relieve the world from all the misery entailed upon it by the consequences arising from a contrary supposition; which supposition could only have been upheld, through past ages, by reason of the ignorance which pervaded the human race upon these all-important subjects.

No such change, however, as that which I propose can be established unless borne out by the sanction of a majority of the reflecting part of the population.

I therefore thus address you, that you may at leisure consider the principles upon which the proposed change is founded, and that all who may deem themselves interested in opposing that change, or its principles, may have an opportunity of bringing forward their objections with the least delay. I say with the least delay, because the sufferings of a large part of the industrious classes in Great Britain and Ireland are now almost greater than they can submit to, without seeking a remedy for themselves, unaided by the non-producing classes; and because, while the existing moral, political, and commercial system shall continue, these sufferings must unavoidably increase.

Jan. 11.

TO THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The population of the British empire is oppressed by a superabundance of wealth, and by an excess of poverty.

It seeks the means of relief from both these evils. Other civilized nations are beginning to experience the same effects from similar causes; and the most enlightened individuals in these countries look to the wisdom of your Councils for a remedy.

All who reflect, now perceive that the immediate cause of these is an excess of production, unaccompanied by a knowledge of the means by which that excess may be advantageously distributed.

These evils were first experienced in the year 1810, when a new æra commenced with regard to supply and demand.

Up to that period the supply never equalled the demand; it was therefore the chief business of political economists and others to devise and point out the best means of increasing the supply.

The introduction, within the last 50 years, of machinery into the manufactures of Great Britain, overcame this difficulty; and in the year 1810 the period of a deficient supply was passed for the first time in the history of nations.

It was passed, too, in the midst of a long, general, and most wasteful war; proving that the powers of production were become not only ample for a period of peace, but were also more than sufficient to meet the exigencies of the most wide-spread warfare, simultaneously carried on by the most powerful nations of the world.

Since that eventful year, the distress which has arisen in Great Britain, in the United States of North America, and in many of the civilized countries, has uniformly arisen from an excess, continually increasing, of supply over demand.

In consequence a necessity at that period commenced for a change in the commercial policy of society; that necessity daily increased, producing periodical distress among the industrious classes, until at length its severity in 1816 became such, that the proceeds of a large public subscription were inadequate to afford relief to the extent required. Under these circumstances, a public Meeting was held in London, to consider the cause of the evil, and of its remedy.

At this Meeting a Committee was appointed to investigate the subject, composed generally of the most respected public-spirited Statesmen, political economists, and others, and the

late Archbishop of Canterbury was selected to preside over its deliberations.

It appeared inexplicable to the Members of this Committee how such general and alarming distress could arise among the agricultural labourers and manufacturing operatives, while there was at that moment, through Great Britain and Ireland, a greater superfluity of productions, both agricultural and manufacturing, than had existed at any former period.

At the first meeting of this Committee various conjectures were offered by different Members as explanations of this singular anomaly; but none were deemed satisfactory. The writer, who was supposed to have some useful practical knowledge upon the subject, was requested by the Chairman and others to state his view of the case; which he did, but probably in a very imperfect manner, as he was then unaccustomed to public speaking.

He attributed the difficulties, the cause and remedy of which they were met to consider, to the rapid extension of machinery and other scientific inventions and discoveries, which had been introduced during the late war, and which had superseded the necessity for so much manual labour as had formerly been called into action. Thus a large surplus of all kinds of productions was created, and a diminished supply became unavoidable: the newly acquired scientific power produced more economically than did manual labour; manual labour was, in consequence, dismissed from employment, and machinery was retained.

The Committee considered that this statement contained a reasonable and satisfactory explanation of the subject, and the writer was requested to draw up a Report on the existing state of the working classes, and to propose a remedy for the evils under which they were suffering.

He accordingly, in the Spring of 1817, presented to the Committee a detailed Report upon these subjects.

The distress of the working classes had become so general, and pauperism had in consequence increased to such an alarming extent, that your Lower House was induced to appoint a numerous and highly-respectable Committee, under the title a "Committee on the Poor Laws," to trace the subject to its source, and through all its ramifications.

When the writer presented his Report to the General Committee, of which the then Archbishop of Canterbury was Chairman, the subject was deemed by them too important to be passed slightly over; and they recommended that the Report should be submitted to the Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Laws, which was then sitting.

It was presented, accompanied by drawings explanatory of the practical arrangements proposed; and the writer offered to be fully examined as to the cause of the evils under which the country was suffering; the principles on which he proposed to apply a remedy; and as to the detail of the practice which he recommended.

The Report, the plans, and the offer of examination, were under the consideration of the Committee, with closed doors, for two days; at the termination of which, the writer was officially informed by one of the Members, that the Committee, after a long and interesting debate, had come to the resolution not to receive the Report, or to examine the writer upon the subject.

The Committee judged wisely. The public had not then been sufficiently prepared by commercial difficulties, or by distress among the lower orders, to believe that a change so extensive as the one proposed was necessary, nor indeed would become at no distant period unavoidable.

The Report and detailed reasoning thereon were, however, at that time extensively published in the newspapers, to prepare the public for the adoption of the principles and the plan when the further extension of mechanic and other scientific producing powers should compel all classes to seek relief from the overwhelming effects of over-production, and of competition between scientific power and manual labour, and when the increased knowledge of the people should have convinced them of the necessity of changing the policy of the empire, in order to apply this new power in aid of, instead of being, as it now is, opposed to human industry, and the general prosperity of the British dominions.

In proof of the benefit arising from the practical adoption of his plan, the writer now begs leave to refer to the experiment commenced in 1818, in the Netherlands, under the sanction of the Government and the auspices of the Royal Family; when some of the principles, and much of the detail, were put to the test of experience. That experience, during a period of nearly 12 years, has now abundantly proved these eminently calculated to diminish pauperism, and to improve generally the habits and condition of the industrious classes.

The principles and practice recommended in the Report to the House of Commons are no longer hypothetical, it having been proved that they have raised the condition of 30,000 ignorant, and therefore generally vicious and useless persons, from a state of burdensome dependence upon the producing classes of the community, to become industrious and useful, to earn their own support, and to acquire good and orderly

habits; and these favourable results were produced, too, in a country where knowledge was less diffused than in Great Britain, and where the Colonies were, to their pecuniary disadvantage, without the aid of modern improved machinery. Still they have produced a surplus, which will repay the original capital expended upon each establishment, and all the interest accruing thereon.

When the Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Laws rejected in 1817 the Report and the plan presented to them by the writer, circumstances justified their decision; but these circumstances no longer exist, and have been replaced by others of a different character.

The machinery of the kingdom has been nearly, if not fully, doubled since that period, and in consequence distress now not only overwhelms the operative manufacturers and agricultural labourers, but pervades the smaller farmers, and a large portion of the master manufacturers, and threatens continually to advance upwards until the sufferings of the majority of the population will become greater than they can endure; and this by means of a power, which, under a wise direction, is capable of securing permanent prosperity, not only to those born within the British dominions, but to the subjects of every State brought under its influence, when aided by a national system of education, founded on a knowledge of the general laws of human nature.

The writer, therefore, now in the most earnest manner recommends the full consideration of these all-important subjects to the Members of the Imperial Parliament, as individuals and as constituents of that Government to which all nations are looking for direction, in the adoption of measures for the relief of their respective populations from poverty, vice, and misery.

Jan. 12.

TO THE PROPRIETORS AND EDITORS OF THE PRESS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

Public opinion governs the world: and the public opinion of Great Britain influences, to a great extent, the public opinion of all civilized nations.

You, gentlemen, form, or might form, the public opinion of Great Britain; and you thus become agents in effecting the greatest amount of mischief or benefit among mankind.

Such is the importance which the present circumstances of the world give to your position; and such the magnitude of

the good or evil which you may accomplish for the civilized world,

Were you intelligent, and at the same time independent in your circumstances, it would be unnecessary to add one sentence more, for in this case your direct and obvious interest would lead you aright. But, under the vicious circumstances in which you have been trained, and are compelled to act, it is impossible that you should possess intelligence, or acquire an independence.

Under the circumstances which have existed, you could not arrive at a knowledge of your nature, without which knowledge no man can be intelligent. You could not, by the acquirement of any amount sterling, obtain, at all times, a full supply of the best of every thing for your nature; and until arrangements shall be formed which will secure these objects, no one can be thoroughly independent in mind or circumstances.

It is now, however, in your power, by creating a right public opinion, mainly to assist in procuring these advantages for yourselves and for all your fellow-creatures; and to be the chief instruments in effecting this important change in the condition of the civilized world is, perhaps, the highest privilege that can be conferred upon any individuals.

But in order that you may be successful in speedily giving a right direction to public opinion, it is necessary that you should cordially and honestly unite your efforts, and that you should aid each other with as much zeal as is incumbent on those who have the same interest and object in view.

Before, however, that any general or permanent union can be effected among you, it is indispensable that each should acquire a knowledge of the great principle of union in human nature.

You have all been thoroughly trained in the notion, and been subjected from infancy to the mass of injurious consequences which follow from the supposition of its truth, that you possess, by nature, the power to feel and think as you please. And while your conviction in the truth of this notion remains, you cannot avoid being displeased or angry with those who cannot, or, as you suppose, will not, feel or think in accordance with your feelings and thoughts,—never suspecting that your thoughts and feelings, as well as theirs, are formed for each without your being aware of the means by which they are so formed.

It is this error alone which has hitherto prevented, and which now prevents, the existence of a cordial and sincere union among the human race. Let but this error, by instil-

ing into the minds of men a correct knowledge of the laws of human nature, be withdrawn from the world, and universal union, peace, and kindness, must, and will prevail among all nations, people and individuals.

The simple task, then, which you have to perform, in order to create a right public opinion, and one which would be invaluable in its effects, is to stimulate all to examine the facts from which the great truth that *(man does not possess the power to feel and to think as he pleases,)* has been deduced.

(Make this fundamental law of our nature familiar to all—enable them to trace the beneficial effects which a knowledge of it would produce among society in general, and the rising generation in particular; and a public opinion would thereby be formed, which would speedily remove the vicious circumstances which have hitherto created all the irrationality, disunion, and evil passions, now prevalent among mankind.)

Do this with the industry and energy which you have been accustomed to exercise in the cause of party, of faction, and of sectarianism, or for the acquirement of common commercial gain, and you will become the instruments of removing for ever from the world the cause of ignorance and of poverty, of vice, and of misery.

Why should you, then, for the limited and inferior advantages which you obtain, longer lend yourselves to faction, sect, or party, when the means of obtaining the most ample permanent benefits that human nature can enjoy, are, by a noble straightforward course, so easy of attainment?

Abandon party—abandon faction—abandon sectarianism—and, above all, abandon that fundamental error which has engendered every human ill; and you will discover that science now offers the most certain and the most delightful means of creating unlimited wealth for all, and of giving to the coming generations, physically, mentally, and morally, a character greatly superior to any that has hitherto been formed for man.

—This is the race which is now set before you; and by a prompt and decisive conduct, you will obtain the inestimable reward which is affixed to its completion. The press will then no longer be made instrumental in the creation of error, disunion, or malignant feelings; and, by becoming under your hands a powerful engine of good, will prove itself to be one of the greatest blessings that knowledge has yet discovered for the use of man.

Remember that man feels and thinks as he has been compelled by his nature to feel and think; and that to be displeased or angry with him for his thoughts and feelings, is a

demonstrative proof that the individual thus displeased or angry has not yet been made rational in his feelings, thoughts, or actions.)

Jan. 18,

ADDRESS TO THE MERCHANTS AND TO THE WHOLESALE AND RETAIL TRADERS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

THE business in which you are engaged, is, fortunately for yourselves and society, rapidly drawing to a termination.

The genuine British merchant is already scarcely to be found in any part of the world, (and the wholesale and retail trade of the kingdom will soon be absorbed by a few great houses,) such as Morrison and Co., Leaf and Co., Ellis, &c. which principle of trade will continue to obtain until the whole business shall be taken up by banking bazaars, which will supersede banking, and every other more expensive and hazardous mode of representing and distributing throughout society the wealth of the producers.

It is, doubtless, under existing circumstances, unpleasant to our feelings, to be obliged to alter our established habits, and to seek subsistence by a different direction of our faculties to that we have been accustomed; but such a change as that which is about to become unavoidable on your part, will, instead of being productive of injurious results, be ultimately highly beneficial to yourselves and to the public.

It is evident to every one that you do not create a particle of wealth for society; but that, without any adequate compensation to it, or real benefit to yourselves, you consume, in the support of useless, showy establishments, a large portion of that wealth which others produce.

The real utility to the public of all your industry lies in the distribution you make of the wealth produced by the industrious classes; but this your system effects, only at an enormous waste of that wealth, and at a cost of, perhaps, 99 per cent. beyond what would be necessary, under a rational arrangement of society, to produce and to distribute in the best manner.

(You are, however, blameless; you have acted under a system which you did not comprehend—which you could not direct; but which, on the contrary, has controlled you. You would run much less risk, you would be engaged in occupations greatly more favourable to health and intelligence, and

be less liable to deteriorating mental and moral influences, were many of you to become producers of wealth, under proper arrangements, instead of being distributors of it, under the very unfavourable circumstances in which you have hitherto been placed.

The interest and happiness of yourselves and families require that you should, as speedily as possible, be relieved from the injurious position in which a most irrational state of society has placed you; making you almost a dead weight upon society, and rendering you by the fanciful, expensive establishments you have thought it beneficial to form, useless and extravagant consumers of wealth, instead of being active and intelligent producers of it, which wealth would have been made to add greatly to your own comfort, and to the riches of the public.

It is clearly, then, for the interest of the British empire, that there should be, among its population, the greatest number of intelligent producers, and the fewest distributors of wealth.

I, therefore, thus address you, to prepare you for a change of this description—a change, which the increase of knowledge renders necessary and unavoidable, and which will contribute, more than could any occurrence, however favourable under the existing system of society, to the attainment by your class of permanent prosperity and happiness.

The superior faculties of your nature can never be called forth under a system which makes it appear to be your interest to endeavour to buy as cheap, and to sell as dear as possible. While men are involved in such practices, it is idle to talk of virtue; as, under a system which is technically termed fair trading, they do but endeavour to obtain advantages one over the other—the more acute or intelligent prevailing over the more ignorant or simple.

In a rational state of society, were you to be as successful in obtaining wealth, as you are, under this system, generally the reverse, your employment would yet be deemed useless and degrading. It is a system of vicious competition, for the purpose of procuring for each family the greatest amount, directly or indirectly, of the hard earnings of the industrious classes. It is a wretched arrangement of society, productive of little good to any, and of much evil to all.

That such a system should be brought to a speedy termination, your interest and your happiness clearly require; and therefore it is expedient that you should afford all the aid in your power to effect the proposed change with the least possible delay.

Jan. 18.

ADDRESS TO THE RELIGIOUS OF EVERY DENOMINATION.

Brethren,—I am intimately acquainted with your feelings and thoughts, and with their origin ; and I therefore know that many of you most conscientiously entertain the opinions and feelings which you have been made to possess ; and that under your present convictions there are many who would prefer death rather than be compelled, by any other human power than the force of a stronger conviction, to deny what they now deem the fundamental truths of their respective religions. This conscientious character has been formed equally all over the world,—for the Jew, the Christian, the Mahomedan, the Hindoo, and the Pagan. And by it you have been made to view each other as irrational beings, and to act most irrationally, both as individuals and as members of the particular sect, by whatever name that sect may be called, to which you have respectively been trained to belong.

You have desired to be superlatively wise and good ; and many of you imagine you have become so by the choice of the religion which you think that by your own decision you have adopted, and therefore expect unspeakable rewards in some future state of existence.

I regret the necessity, even when it may be for their ultimate benefit, to give to any of my fellow-beings even momentary pain ; but the highest duty that can be performed for man is to remove error from his mind, and to enable him to see those great truths, upon which his own permanent well-being and the happiness of his race depend.

My friends, it now becomes, therefore, my duty to inform you that one and all have been in error ; that you have been deceived by your education, and that you have been made ready to sacrifice your lives in support of a fallacious supposition, which is the real origin of evil, and to oppose a principle which would produce the greatest permanent good to yourselves and to all mankind.

The character of man, as it is exhibited in the particular character belonging to each individual, is an effect of the circumstances in which he has been placed, modified by the original organization or constitution which he may have received at birth. We have all, therefore, been made to be as we are ; and we have been compelled, from our infancy, to believe that we possess the power to feel and to think as we please ; on which basis alone has been formed the whole fabric of human society. This supposition is the sole founda-

tion of all the religions which have ever been invented—of all Governments, of all codes of laws, and of all institutions, which have ever existed in any country. Yet, strange as it may appear to you, there never has existed one single fact to prove the truth of this supposition: on the contrary, all facts connected with the subject show it to be one of those popular errors received, without investigation, into the human mind, which it has required the experience of all past ages to detect, unveil, and remove.)

Contrary, though I well know it to be, to your present strongest conviction, it is nevertheless true that the greatest of all evils to man would be for him to discover that he is capable of feeling and thinking as he pleases, did he make no better use of his power than he has hitherto done.

Fortunately, however, for all, it is now ascertained by facts equally free to the examination of every one that man has not been created with the power to feel and to think as he pleases and consequently the direct road to the attainment of the highest virtues, and of a very superior state of earthly existence, is opened, and may be securely travelled by all of the human race, without their experiencing any of the innumerable evils which the contrary supposition entails, and particularly that arising from a diversity of religious opinions.

You desire to introduce into practice universal charity and kindness, and to hasten the period when peace and good will shall pervade the population of the world and when truth, being freed from error, shall be made to extend its dominion over every part of the habitable globe. These results can only be secured when all shall be taught, from infancy, to understand the laws of their nature; and, especially, to trace the causes which demonstrate that man has been formed to feel in obedience to the impressions which are made upon him; and to think in obedience to the strongest conviction which is made upon his mind.

If you desire that a state of society should be brought about, such as you have been taught to expect the Millenium to be, then you should endeavour to examine these subjects without prejudice; because, if you succeed in doing so, you will discover that the supposition that man has been organized with the power to feel and to think as he pleases is directly opposed to the attainment of such an object, while the contrary supposition would tend in every way to promote it.

And as to the future state of existence, about which you now trouble yourselves so much in vain, it is sure to arrive to

all material things: but no one, with our present knowledge, can ascertain what this change will be. We may feel certain, however, that the best preparation for it here is a life replete with good feelings and kind actions, which the knowledge that man is not formed to think and to feel as he pleases will infallibly create in every human being.

You, therefore, brethren, of all men, are the most deeply interested in having the truth or error of this important position ascertained, that the proposed change of circumstances throughout society may be speedily introduced, and thus all be relieved from the demoralizing effects of poverty, ignorance, and hypocrisy.

Your minds, through the influence of the belief that you are capable of feeling and thinking as you please, have hitherto been kept in a state of irritation or anger towards each other, and towards those whom you deem irreligious. But a correct knowledge upon this subject will exhibit to you the error by which these irrational feelings are engendered; it will calm your minds, destroy within you the seeds of anger, and fill you with that pure and genuine charity which will create in you good and kind feelings only for every child of man.

That you may be thus blessed is the sincere desire of your friend and servant.

Jan. 19.

TO THE BANKERS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

GENTLEMEN—(You have amassed enormous sums of money, by means of a system which has reduced the real producers of wealth to the lowest state of misery. You are, however, blameless, having acted as all other men would have done under like circumstances.) And many of you are, I know, sincerely anxious to remedy the evils which the system under which you have acted has produced. (You are too intelligent not to understand, that every shilling which you have acquired has been circuitously drawn from the hard earnings of the agricultural labourer, or from the skill and industry of the operative manufacturer.)

The industrious classes have thus paid dearly for the representation of their wealth, with which you have supplied them. You have given to them a shadow, and have received from them their substance. Had they possessed sufficient knowledge, they would have created for themselves another repre-

sentative of the wealth which they produced; one which they might have obtained for a small commission, without risk or the payment of additional interest, by which to exchange their commodities and services; and thus would have been spared that enormous loss, sustained by them, in upholding banking establishments and their proprietors, to the real benefit of none, and to the injury of all.) Had this knowledge not been hidden from the industrious classes, by reason of the ignorance in which they were involved, they would have discovered, that to possess the requisites of a sound or correct representation, it must be one which should increase as their real wealth increased; and diminish as their wealth diminished; and which was unchangeable in its value; and thus your bank notes would be rendered valueless, and your gold and silver held in less estimation than iron and steel.

Existing circumstances have permitted you to acquire the artificial wealth you now possess, but others are about to arise, which will reduce that wealth again to its intrinsic value. By all your proceedings, you have not created one pennyworth of real wealth; but you have abundantly consumed that which the working classes produced; of which, however, by a legerdemain in society, they have been prevented consuming but a very small portion.

What is now to be done? How is justice to be awarded, and yet none injured? (Let some of the surplus artificial sums which you possess be applied, while the circumstances of society give them currency, to create new arrangements, under new knowledge, which will secure for yourselves and your children permanent advantages, a hundred fold more beneficial for you and them than can be experienced under the miserable system of deception in which you and the whole world are now involved, and in which you are compelled to act the part of irrational beings, to your own incalculable loss and grievous injury.

The principles on which these new circumstances will be formed, have been developed, and submitted to the consideration of the British Cabinet; but no government can change the fundamental principles on which human society has been based, without the aid of an enlightened and influential public opinion.

Your early accession to the measures proposed will benefit yourselves, and the community, in an essential manner; and will be the best compensation you can make to those classes upon whose wealth and ignorance you have hitherto subsisted.

Jan. 22.

ADDRESS TO THE AGRICULTURALISTS AND MANUFACTURERS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN.—I have been for some time waiting to see if the stimulus erected by your downward progress in society, through your own competition, or the misery, which, by that progress, you are obliged to inflict upon the labourers and operatives whom you employ, would enable you to discover the hopeless prospect before you, while the system which renders that competition necessary shall continue to govern your transactions. But it seems the distress which you have experienced, or your desire to accumulate individual gain by an increased competition with those who bring forward similar productions with your own, has hitherto prevented you from detecting the uselessness of your contest, or from perceiving the degrading and injurious character of the system in which you are involved.

You invest large capitals in your business; you employ all the producers of wealth in Great Britain and Ireland; you use much skill, and apply great personal industry in your operations, and yet, very generally, your capital is depreciated; you are obliged to reduce the wages of labour; and then, after your utmost toil, and being subject to the most corroding anxieties, you frequently experience an entire loss of your property, and are reduced to poverty, without any hopes for the future.

This is your present situation; while you, and those whom you employ, are the producers of all the wealth which is annually consumed in the kingdom. You can create a superfluity of wealth for the non-producers in society; you can overstock all the markets in the world open to you, not only with useful, but with the most useless productions; and yet you cannot prevent yourselves and those whom you employ, from sinking in the scale of society, or from often experiencing an actual want of the common necessities of life. Surely these results are sufficient to call your attention to the system itself, in which you are involved; to those perpetually recurring circumstances which proceed from it, and which disappoint all your skill, exertion, and perseverance.

Does the thought never occur to any of you, why is it that we can and do bring forward an overwhelming amount of wealth, which we annually increase, and yet that we are compelled, by an irresistible necessity, to use less and less of it ourselves?

Why, my friends, if you could be enabled to look out of the confused and perplexing system in which you are involved, and calmly examine the cause of such absurd anomaly, you would discover that you are troubling yourselves in vain; and that there is no real necessity for any risk of capital for so much toil, or for any anxiety whatever.

You have it now in your power, without any of these evils, to produce—first, abundantly for yourselves and families, and then, abundantly also for all those for whom, beyond your own supply, there is any necessity you should produce.

You, and the labourers and operatives whom you employ, now create all the wealth which the whole population annually consumes; while a very large part of your capital, skill, and industry, is most injudiciously or injuriously employed. Produce for yourselves; and exchange your respective commodities and services for equal labour in other commodities, or for equal services, and you will perpetually superabound in all things that the human heart can desire. And such proceedings, were you once trained in the practice of them, would be simplicity itself, compared with the involved and perplexed transactions, in which, under the existing system, you are hourly engaged.

Those whom you employ are now the slaves of the non-producing classes in society; and you are no better, under this system, than mere slave-drivers; with this difference upon the part of your slaves, compared with those I have seen in the West Indies, and in the Southern States of North America, that your slaves have no legal claim upon you, when you do not require their services, for houses, food, clothes, medicine, and medical advice, when necessary; all of which coloured slaves have, and are, therefore, free from the excess of anxiety and corroding care with which your white slaves are overwhelmed.

But there is in this case, as in every other, a sufficient cause for the irrational state in which, apparently without hope of relief, you are now entangled.

You exist in the midst of circumstances the most irrational, and, therefore, the most opposed to your well-being, and to the happiness of the whole community, in which are a few individuals for whom you toil so unremittingly, without adequate remuneration for your skill, industry, and capital.

Your expectations of happiness are continually blasted by a system, the foundation of which is an error the most lamentable that can afflict the human race.

It is in consequence of this error, that you are unable to

relieve yourselves from the difficulties which surround you on every side; that you are compelled to continue the wretched practice of an overstrained attempt to buy cheap and to sell dear; while the sole effect of such efforts is to compel you to sell every thing at the cheapest rate to the non-producers, and to buy every thing from them, in return, at the dearest possible rate; whereby you do not, in reality, obtain one per cent. in return for your capital, skill, and industry.

Through this error you are made too irrational to perceive or to pursue your real interest. You are made to imagine that it lies in one course, when it is to be found only in an opposite direction. And, until this error shall be removed, your condition must remain as hopeless as that error has made it.

No parties, therefore, have a greater interest in detecting and removing that error than you, and those whom you employ.

For, while this error shall be suffered to remain, to compel, as it does, all men to feel, to think, and to act irrationally, you cannot unite in feelings, thoughts, or actions, with sufficient sincerity and honesty to attain the relief you require, or the prosperity which your ample means would otherwise secure to you. Without a union of purpose and of action, your case is hopeless; and there can be no honest union of purpose or of action among any portion of the human race while they shall live under a system founded on an error so directly opposed to the well-being and the happiness of the human race as that on which the whole system of society, in all countries and at all times, has been established.

You will naturally enquire what is this error, the consequences of which are so calamitous to ourselves and to the human race? It is the supposition, "*that man has been formed by Nature to feel as he likes, and to think as he pleases;*" on which supposition alone all the religion, governments, codes of laws, and institutions in the world, have been founded; and from which supposition alone all the circumstances in human society, of man's formation, have arisen. Hence the disunion, vices, misery, and irrationality, with which those circumstances have afflicted the human race.

Detecting this error, and understanding all the direful consequences which follow in its train, it is for you to break this spell of iniquity; for it is you, and those whom you employ, who are the first and greatest sufferers from these consequences. You coin the wealth and keep the purse strings of society; and, therefore, you possess the power now to say to

- Ignorance and to Poverty, and to the innumerable afflicting evils which they generate—"Thus far have you advanced; but your race is run, your origin is detected, and you shall proceed no farther."

For, henceforward, the foundation of society shall be laid deep in real knowledge; and, in consequence, its practice will be alone truth, sincerity, union, charity, and kindness.

The motives to induce any to buy cheap, to sell dear, or to obtain any advantage whatever over their fellows, will cease to exist, and will be for ever extinguished. All such irrational motives will give place to those which are rational; or, correctly speaking, to those only which are strictly virtuous, or in accordance with nature.

If you were in possession of the requisite knowledge to direct your conduct, you would have the power to effect this great change for the benefit of the whole population, in a shorter period, and more effectually, than any other class.

Truth is always simple; and the knowledge of it, when honestly stated, is easily acquired by any portion of the human race. You have, therefore, but to examine the facts, which will be given to the public on these important subjects. You will find them all in unison one with another; for, when you discover inconsistency of any description in what is placed before you, there must be an error somewhere. And fortunately, there is a *certain criterion*, both of *truth* and *error*; the former being always consistent with every other fact in the universe, while the latter is opposed to some, or many, or all of them.

By this criterion we know that man has not been made to feel as he likes, and to think as he pleases; and that every system, founded on the supposition that he possesses the power to do otherwise, must lead to endless errors in human conduct, deception of every kind, and, consequently, disunion; to continual irritation and to every kind of misery.

That you may acquire moral courage, sufficient to examine these subjects fairly and honestly, and thus be enabled to relieve yourselves from the difficulties which now oppress you, is the sincere wish of your friend.

Jan. 26.

ADDRESS TO THE OPERATIVE MANUFACTURERS AND AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

INDUSTRY, properly directed, is the foundation of wealth in human society; or, in other words, knowledge and industry are the sources of all wealth, except that which the earth spontaneously produces. You have now more persevering industry than is to be found, probably, among any other portion of the human race. You obtain less wealth, and are subject to more care and anxiety, than any other class. It follows that you are deficient in knowledge, or these effects could not exist. Your skill and industry, rightly directed, are sufficient to produce more wealth than you could beneficially use, and to enable you to have your children educated to make them superior, physically and mentally, to any of the present generation.

But, to direct your skill and industry aright, you require knowledge of a superior description to any that has yet been given to you; and, above all things, you should endeavour to obtain this knowledge, for it will enable you to discover the necessity for union of mind and action to relieve you from the difficulties by which you are surrounded. And it will also discover to you the impossibility of being united in mind and action, while you shall be compelled to live under a system, the foundation of which is an error, forced from infancy into the minds of the whole population, in direct opposition to every known fact. In consequence of this error, you have been trained in a system of deception, and in bad or inferior habits; and thus have been made the lower class in society, although you are the actual producers of all the wealth which is consumed in the British empire, and much that is consumed by the population in many other districts, in distant parts of the world; and yet by this system you are prevented from producing more than a very small part, probably not one-tenth, of the real wealth which your present skill and industry, rightly directed, would enable you to bring into existence.

Such, then, is the necessity for you to acquire knowledge, to relieve you from the system which has placed you under such unfavourable circumstances, and which has afflicted you with so many calamities. You, and the existing population of the world, have been compelled to become irrational in your thoughts and actions, and hence the misery and vicious character, not only of your class, but of the human race. This irrational character has been created by all receiving the

- * impressions from infancy that they possess the power to feel and to think as they please, although, as soon as an unprejudiced judgment can be applied to the subject, it becomes evident that there never existed one single fact to prove the supposition thus formed and steadily maintained in the human mind through all ages which have passed. It is this error which has created universal disunion among the human race. It is this error which now keeps you in bondage to your employers; to the non-producing classes; and to all the vicious circumstances which have necessarily arisen from the system of society founded on this error.

(Try to feel differently from what you are forced to feel, try to think differently from the conviction which you are compelled to receive, and the impossibility of effecting either will break the spell produced by this most calamitous of all errors.)
Your mental chain will be snapped asunder, you will commence a new existence, and the road to the highest virtues and most permanent happiness will be straight before you, and most easy of attainment. Acquire the knowledge which this simple experiment will give, and you will soon attain moral courage sufficient to enable you to look with pity upon those who, through the effects of this error, have been compelled to oppress you, even upon those who may be engaged at this moment in active measures to endeavour to rivet more securely those chains by which they suppose you are held in bondage to them. The invaluable knowledge which you will thus acquire will destroy all germs of anger and desire of revenge, and it will fill you with compassion for your oppressors and opponents. You will at once perceive the cause of the malady which urges them on to the destruction of their own happiness and the well-being of all their fellows; and you will have no other feeling but a desire to remove the cause of their malady, and to do them all the good in your power. But you will have no merit for this conduct, because the knowledge which you will acquire, by the means recommended, will compel you thus to feel, to think, and to act.

A new day will arise upon you, in which there will be no desire on the part of any to oppress or offend; and every one will be, of necessity, filled with charity and kindness for all his race.

Be not afraid that this change in human affairs will not be now accomplished; for there are none to oppose its progress, except for a little time, because it will be discovered to be for the interest of all that it should be now effected. It will benefit every one from the highest to the lowest; nor is there

now any power in man, whatever inclination may exist, to stay its course, except for a short period.

Truth will, henceforward, take the place which error has occupied in directing the transactions of the world; sincerity will supersede deception, virtue vice, and happiness misery.)

Acquire this knowledge of the laws of your nature; spread it widely among your class; teach it to your children; wait calmly and patiently; but be of good courage, and you will see what great things will be accomplished without force or violence, for you and all mankind.

Jan. 1830.

TO THE POLITICAL ECONOMISTS AND UTILITARIANS.

Fellow-Labourers in the Cause of Human Improvement. You have long occupied yourselves in attempts to elicit the principles on the practice of which society is to be rendered wealthy and happy.

Upon these points, however, you have not yet satisfied yourselves or others; but your search for truth on these important subjects is, nevertheless, continued with unabated energy and interest. That your pursuits are highly important and praiseworthy all must readily acknowledge; yet, from causes which may now be rendered obvious, you have hitherto laboured in vain; for with much learning, great ingenuity, and extraordinary acuteness of certain intellectual faculties, you have, through many words, made that which is plain and simple in itself a most involved and perplexed theory, unintelligible to those who desire to obtain knowledge from facts, and to apply that knowledge to practise for the general benefit of society.

(One party desires that wealth may superabound; and the other that the greatest amount of happiness shall be secured to the greatest number.) The latter includes the former; but the former does not necessarily include the latter; for there may be, and often is, a superfluity of riches, which tends to produce partial happiness only for the few, and misery for the many. The Utilitarians, therefore, aim at the highest object, and at that which most deserves the attention of rational beings (for the investigation of the means by which to produce the greatest amount of happiness for the greatest number, is a subject which must ever deeply interest the best and most intelligent of the human race.) By taking a somewhat different

view to that which you have hitherto done of the means by which wealth and happiness are to be produced, it will now, perhaps, be possible for you to discover how these may be obtained and permanently secured to all; for until all shall be made to possess them, it will be impracticable for the few permanently to enjoy either.

The direct road to the attainment of wealth and happiness is only to be found through a correct knowledge of the fundamental laws of human nature; of the conditions which are necessary for its happiness, of the best means by which these conditions can be obtained, and permanently secured to all. The most important fundamental laws of human nature, and the conditions essential to its happiness, are annexed. From a consideration of these laws and conditions in connection with each other, it is evident that there is but one mode by which mankind can secure for themselves a permanent sufficiency of wealth and a full enjoyment of happiness. It consists in creating a new arrangement of circumstances, which shall form for each individual a character so superior, physically, mentally, and morally, that a due exercise of all his faculties alone will be sufficient to obtain for him, in a rational state of existence, a full supply of those things which are essential to the happiness of human nature. In a development of the means by which this new arrangement of circumstances can be formed, a knowledge of the science of the influence of circumstances will be found indispensable; for this science it is which explains the origin of good and evil; and which exhibits the means by which evil may henceforward be extracted from human society, and good alone retained.)

For as the circumstances in which human nature is placed are of a vicious or virtuous, or of a rational or irrational character, so will be the general character of all the population placed within those circumstances, varied only in the character of each individual by the difference at birth in the organization of each, united to the difference of time and place when and where the impressions of those circumstances are received, and the order and strength by which they are made to act upon the individual.

A first Essay to direct the application of these principles to practice has been made in an *exposé*, which has been submitted to the consideration of the British Cabinet; but, perhaps, your learning, ingenuity, acuteness, and practical knowledge, may enable you to suggest a better mode of applying these principles to practice than the outlines proposed in that *exposé*. In this case, you cannot perform a greater service to your fellow-beings, than by giving the result of that knowledge to

the public; and, if it shall appear to be founded on reason, and of a practical nature, no one will more sincerely rejoice, or be more willing to aid, to the full extent of his abilities, in its reduction to practice, than your friend and servant.

Jan. 29.

FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF HUMAN NATURE.

1st. That human nature, in the aggregate, is a compound, consisting of animal propensities, intellectual faculties, and moral qualities.

2d. That these propensities, faculties, and qualities, are united in different proportion in each individual.

3d. That this difference in the proportion of the same general propensities, faculties, and qualities, constitutes the original difference between one individual and another.

4th. That this difference in each is made by a power unknown to the individual, and therefore, without his knowledge or consent.

5th. That each individual comes into existence within certain external circumstances, and that these, acting upon his peculiar original organisation, during the early period of his life, impress their general character upon him; and that thus the local and national character of each individual is formed independently of himself.

6th. That the influence of these general external circumstances is modified in a particular manner, by the peculiar organisation of each individual: and that thus the distinctive character of each is formed and maintained through life.

7th. That no infant has the power of deciding at what period of time or in what part of the world he shall come into existence; of what parents he shall be born, in what particular religion he shall be trained, or by what other external circumstances he shall be surrounded, from birth to death.

8th. That each individual is so organised, that, when young, he may be made to receive, either true ideas, derived from a knowledge of facts, or to receive false notions, derived from the imagination, unsupported by, or in opposition to facts.

9th. That each individual is so organised, that he must necessarily become irrational, when he is made from infancy to receive, as truths, false notions; and can only become rational when he shall be made, from infancy, to receive true ideas, unaccompanied by any of an opposite character.

10th. That each individual is so organised, that, when young, he may be trained to acquire injurious habits only, or beneficial habits only; or that he may be made to acquire a mixture of both.

11th. That each individual is so organised that he must believe according to the strongest conviction that is made upon his mind; and that this conviction cannot be given to him by his will; but that the will is generally formed by the conviction which he is compelled to receive.

12th. That each individual is so organised that he must like that which is pleasant to him) or, in other words, that which produces upon him agreeable sensations; and dislike that which is unpleasant to him,) or in other words, that which produces in him disagreeable sensations; and that he cannot know, previous to experience, what particular sensations new objects will produce in him.

13th. That each individual is so organised that his will is formed for him by the effect, either immediately or more remote, which circumstances produce on his individual organisation.

14th. That each individual is so organised that not only his *will*, his *feelings*, and his *thoughts*, are formed *for him* by the effect of the impressions which circumstances produce upon his individual organisation; *But that his whole character, physical, mental, and moral, is also thus formed independently of himself.*

15th. That each individual is so organised that impressions which, at their commencement, and for a limited time, produce agreeable sensations, will, if continued without intermission, beyond a certain period, become, first, indifferent, then disagreeable, and ultimately painful.

16th. That each individual is so organised that when, beyond a certain degree of rapidity, impressions succeed each other, the effect produced is to dissipate, weaken, and otherwise injure his physical, mental, or moral powers, and to diminish his enjoyment.

17th. That each individual is so organised, that his highest health, his greatest progressive improvement, and his permanent happiness, depend upon the due cultivation of all his physical, intellectual, and moral faculties and powers; upon all these constituent parts of his nature being called into action at a proper period of life; and upon their being afterwards temperately exercised, according to the strength and capacity of the individual.

18th. That each individual is so organised that he is made to receive a vicious, unhappy, or what is commonly called a bad character, when he has been created at birth with an unfavourable proportion of the general propensities, faculties, and qualities, of our common nature; and that, when so unfortunately organised, he has been placed, from birth, amidst the most unfavourable circumstances.

19th. That each individual is so organised that he is made to receive what is called a medium character when he has been created at birth with a favourable proportion of the general propensities, faculties, and qualities, of our common nature, and when the external circumstances which surround him from birth are such as to produce continued vicious or unfavourable impressions.

Or, when he has been created with an unfavourable proportion of these propensities, faculties, and qualities, and whe-

the external circumstances in which he is placed are of a character to impress him with favourable sensations only:

Or, when he has been created with a favourable proportion of some of these propensities, faculties, and qualities; and an unfavourable proportion of others; and when the individual has been placed, through life, in varied external circumstances which make on him impressions which produce some good and some evil sensations. This last compound has hitherto been the general lot of mankind.

20th. That each individual is so organised that he is made to receive a superior character when his original organisation is such as to contain the best proportion of the propensities, faculties, and qualities, of which human nature is formed; and when the circumstances which surround the individual from birth are of a character to make impressions upon him which produce superior sensations only; or, in other words, when the circumstances or laws, institutions, and customs, under which he lives, are all in unison with the laws of his nature.

CONDITIONS ESSENTIAL TO HUMAN HAPPINESS.

1st. The possession of a good organisation, physical, mental, and moral.

2d. The power of procuring, at pleasure, whatever is necessary to keep the organisation in the best state of health.

3d. That an education shall be given to the whole population, which shall cultivate in the best manner, from infancy to maturity, their physical, intellectual, and moral powers.

4th. The inclination and the means of promoting the happiness of our fellow-beings.

✓ 5th, The inclination and the means of continually increasing our stock of knowledge.

6th. The means of enjoying a superior society ; and, more especially, the power of associating, at pleasure, with those for whom we cannot avoid feeling the most regard and the greatest affection. ✓

7th. The means of travelling at pleasure. ✓

8th. A release from superstition, from supernatural fears, and from the dread of death.

9th. That the origin of evil shall be removed from society ; that is, the supposition that man has been so constituted as to have the power of feeling and thinking as he pleases, and that in consequence of the removal of this erroneous supposition, that all shall be enabled to speak only what they feel and think.

10th. That all the laws, institutions, and arrangements of society shall be in accordance with the laws of human nature.

ADDRESS TO THE INFANT SCHOOL SOCIETIES, AND TO THE PATRONS OF INFANT SCHOOLS.

You have seen the effects of Infant Schools, as they have been introduced into practice, in various parts of the kingdom ; and that practice, imperfect as it is, has been sufficient to induce you to encourage the extension of them throughout the British dominions. But Infant Schools, upon the principles from which they originated and were first introduced into practice, do not belong to the system of society in which you, in common with the whole human race are involved.

The Infant School, from which all modern Infant Schools in Europe and America have emanated, belongs, altogether, to another system of society ; to one the reverse in all respects of that by which the world has been hitherto governed. (This Infant School was established as the first practical step in a system intended to supersede that which has ever pervaded savage and civilised life.) It was an experiment to ascertain how the practice of this new system would be received by

those educated under the principles of the old; and the result has been most satisfactory.

But these Infant Schools are an anomaly in the system in which you and the inhabitants of the world have been trained to feel, to think, and to act; and, assuredly, those Schools, on the principles on which the first was established, or the system which the world now supports, must be abandoned; for they are in direct opposition to each other. The existing system of the world (and there never has been any other known to the present race of man) has been founded altogether on the supposition that each individual is born with the power to feel and to think as he pleases.

(The Infant School was founded in order to exhibit to the world the fallacy of this supposition;) in order to prove that the nature of man has not been understood by our ancestors; and that the laws of human nature have been, hitherto, an enigma even to the intelligent of the past and present time. It was founded, first, to demonstrate to the learned and the unlearned, that man does not possess the power to feel and to think as he likes, or to form his own character. Secondly, to prove that the human race has been, through all past time up to the present hour, irrational; and that every individual may, hereafter, be trained from infancy to become a rational or consistent being in his feelings, thoughts, and actions. Thirdly, to prove that all the inferior passions, vices, and miseries of mankind, proceed from the supposition that each individual has the power, within himself, to feel and to think as he pleases; and that from the knowledge that he has not this power will emanate universal charity and kind feelings, and that a very superior character will be formed for the whole human race. Fourthly, to prove that all the nations of the earth are, at this moment, under a mental delusion with regard to themselves, and the means of attaining a superior character and happiness; and, consequently, that a rational Infant School and the present system of society cannot co-exist.

A right system of education has never yet been seen in practice, as one possessing that character could not exist under the system which has been alone known in the world. The prejudices which this system has forced all to receive from infancy have been an insurmountable obstacle to the formation of an establishment to educate human beings to become rational.

All seminaries of learning have been founded to instil the notions of man's responsibility, under the supposition that he is so organised as to possess the power to feel and to think

as he pleases; and consequently they have been established, without one exception, to destroy, in the most effectual manner, the rational and superior faculties of the human race. None of these seminaries, therefore, deserve notice, when the foundation of a rational system of instruction for the rising generation from infancy is under consideration.

The rational Infant School, which was established at New Lanark, and opened on the 1st of January, 1816, by a public discourse, explanatory of the principles on which it was founded, and of the consequences which were expected to result from its establishment, emanated from a knowledge of human nature, derived from a calm and attentive consideration of the facts relative to its organisation manifested at the birth of an infant, and of the formation of its character during its growth to maturity. From an accurate attention to those facts it became obvious that the whole character of every infant, child, and man, is formed *for* him; that in every instance, at every instant of time, it is created by a union of the original organisation of the infant with the impressions made upon it by the general and particular circumstances in which the individual is placed from birth to death; and that the character of every human being is, without an exception, an effect necessarily proceeding from these united causes.

Consequently all that man can do for man is to adopt the most efficient measures to improve the future organisation of all individuals of his race, and to surround them by those circumstances only which experience may prove to be the most effectual to create the best or most superior character in each of them. To attempt to establish a system of training and instruction for the human race, upon any principles than those developed by nature will continue to make man an ignorant, imbecile, vicious, irrational, and miserable being, inferior to many of the animals in health, consistency, and enjoyment, and superior to them only by his powers of speech and invention.

If, therefore, you desire to encourage the introduction of rational Infant Schools throughout society, you must acquire a knowledge of the principles on which they are founded, and the practice which is necessary to their success. And more, if you wish the children and the public to derive permanent benefit from them, you must establish other schools on the same principles, in which to receive the children who shall have passed through the course of education which will be given to them, in the rational Infant Schools. And in these seminaries of instruction, in which none but rational circumstances should be permitted to exist, the character of each in-

dividual should be matured; and then, and then only, will the saying be verified, that "train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it."

But, perhaps, you will now ask, where is there a rational Infant School to be seen as a specimen, that we might adopt its practice? None exists; none can exist under your present system of belief respecting the power of man to feel and think as he pleases. The nearest approximation that has yet been made was the New Lanark Infant School, as it existed from the year 1822 to 1824, when it approached as near to a rational Infant School as the prejudices of the proprietors and of the public would bear, and children were then seen to enjoy a slight foretaste of what a rational system of society will give to mankind.

The Infant School, on its original principles, has ceased to exist for some years at New Lanark. The schools for the older children at this establishment are, however, excellent schools under the old system for children of the working classes. Mr. Charles Walker, who now superintends the establishment, does great justice to this department, in which he has retained, to the full extent, as much of the new and rational system as the conscientious scruples of his partners and the system of the Society of Friends will admit.

Before, however, you can establish a rational Infant School, the ignorance of society, with regard to the fundamental laws of human nature must be removed, and especially it must be generally known, acknowledged, and felt, that man has not the power to think and feel as he pleases, and the circumstances which now exist in opposition to this fact must be removed; so that all in unison with it must be introduced; to replace the former, and then, and not before, the inestimable and innumerable advantages of a rational education may be witnessed and enjoyed.

The present Infant Schools which you support and patronise, are evidences of your good intentions, and also of the vicious circumstances in which you are involved. They are, in very many instances, a mockery or caricature of the original school; and have no pretensions to be considered, as that school was intended to be, the first practical step towards a rational system of education; or, in other words, a new arrangement of circumstances in which to place children, as nearly approximating to virtuous and rational circumstances as the ignorance of the present vicious system will admit. And these new arrangements were so formed in consequence of the founder of the rational system of society seeing the children of the operatives at New Lanark, and in other manufacturing districts,

surrounded from their birth with so many *unfavourable* and *vicious* circumstances. Your aid, therefore, to remove more and more of the existing vicious circumstances from around all children, and to create those of a superior character, with which to replace the vicious circumstances, will confer a practical benefit upon the human race, such as at present it knows not how to estimate.

Jan. 30.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LEARNED, NAVAL, AND MILITARY PROFESSIONS.

GENTLEMEN—You have been trained and placed, by the circumstances of the society in which you have lived, in professions by which to gain a livelihood or distinction. No one who is rational can attach blame to you on this account. Your professions have arisen from two suppositions—first, that it is impracticable to form arrangements to produce wealth to satisfy all; and secondly, that man is capable of feeling and thinking, and consequently, of acting as he pleases. The time, however, has arrived when by a new power unknown to our ancestors, more real wealth can be easily created than the inhabitants of the world can advantageously use; or than they will ever desire to possess. And the late progress of knowledge has been such that it is become publicly known that it does not belong to the nature of man to feel or to think as he pleases; but that he is compelled to feel and to think, according to laws of his nature, made without his knowledge or consent.

In consequence of these changes in society (your professions have become not only unnecessary, but most injurious to yourselves, and to every individual of the human race.) It becomes, therefore, your duty to yourselves and to your fellow men, to aid in creating other arrangements, to supersede all necessity for the longer continuance of your professions; and your duty in this case will be found to be in strict accordance with your interest and your happiness.

A priesthood will be no longer necessary in the world, because, when the change of circumstances proposed shall be effected (and the knowledge now existing will effect it), each child will be so taught, trained, and placed, that he will be, of necessity, honest, sincere, and intelligent, and will possess unlimited charity and kindness for his fellow-beings, the practice of which virtues will constitute that pure and ge-

G

nuine religion which can alone be of any real utility to God or man.

The profession of law will be no longer necessary; for individual riches under the new arrangements will give place to a superfluity of public wealth, which will by a rational application of manual, mental, and scientific power, be annually produced, to an amount greatly beyond the wants or wishes of all. No one will then be required by law to think, or to say that he thinks, contrary to his conviction; or to feel, or say that he feels, in opposition to his impressions; for all will speak only what they are obliged to think and to feel, and they will act accordingly. Under these rational circumstances, law, or the ingenuity of lawyers, will not be required. All differences, if it be possible for differences to arise in a rational state of society, will be speedily adjusted by the prompt decision of individuals, formed by a rational education to be honest and intelligent, and who would be duly appointed to perform these friendly offices for society.

Physicians will be no longer necessary, for every child will acquire sufficient knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of the human frame to understand the nature of his own organisation and particular constitution, and thus be enabled to adopt proper measures for the prevention or speedy cure of any disease; for, as each individual must possess a more intimate acquaintance with his own constitution than any physician is likely to obtain, each will regulate his food and exercise as his feelings may dictate. Good air, proper exercise, temperance in all things, and the absence of corroding anxieties, together with the enjoyment of full liberty to speak whatever they may feel and think, will tend to keep all individuals in the best state of health and spirits.

Surgeons may be occasionally useful, but accidents or diseases, requiring surgical operations, are not likely to be frequent, when all shall be trained from infancy to be rational; and when, in order to produce this character, all must necessarily be surrounded, through life, with rational circumstances only.

Your professions have been generally filled by individuals, who, under the old irrational notions of society, were supposed to possess by nature superior intellectual powers, when compared with the other members of the family from which they were selected.

In the improved society that will arise, when all shall be trained in rational circumstances only, the individuals naturally possessing superior intellectual faculties will become members of a new profession, in which their powers will be

applied to the most valuable, instead of the most injurious purposes. They will be taught to acquire a correct knowledge of the influence of circumstances, in giving a superior or an inferior direction to the human faculties, and will thus become "Professors of the Science of the Formation of Character;" which science will soon be discovered to be, beyond all comparison, more valuable to themselves and their fellow-beings than all other sciences hitherto discovered. The practice of this new profession will become, in a rational state of existence, the most important of all occupations; and, therefore, the first department in every society.

In this new state of existence, when men shall be taught from infancy to understand the laws of their nature, and the conditions necessary for its happiness, no motive will arise to render it necessary that men should be united for the purpose of destroying each other's lives, their productions and all the means of human happiness. They will discover that all such proceedings, through the past ages of the world, have been the very essence of irrationality.

(The energies and faculties necessary to conduct war, or in other words, to destroy upon a large scale, and to inflict misery upon nations, will, under the change which knowledge will speedily produce, be applied to create real wealth; to preserve and to distribute it, and thus to promote the happiness of the community, to which those valuable powers belong.) And the immense waste of human labour, now sustained in the creation and support of the naval and military professions, will also, under the change about to commence, be applied to the preservation and improvement of society, in order to secure to every one the greatest amount of enjoyment of which his organisation is susceptible; and of the nature and extent of this enjoyment no one yet can form a just estimate. No one portion of society will feel the magnitude and importance of this change in a higher degree than those individuals who by their professions are compelled to murder some of the most noble and generous of their fellow-beings; and to render void the labour of others who have been occupied in producing for the public the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life. It is not possible, irrational as men have hitherto been forced to become, for a member of the naval or military profession to reflect upon his occupation without feeling deeply conscious of the misery which it inflicts upon the human race.

Under the change proposed, those individuals who have hitherto been compelled to be the destroyers of the human race, would become the most active promoters of its happiness. In hastening the proposed change—a change under which the

world will be governed by knowledge and not by ignorance, Priests, Lawyers, Physicians, and members of the naval and military professions, have all an immediate and deep interest.

Permit me, therefore, to request your best attention to the consideration of the principles on which this change is proposed to be made; and of the consequences which these principles will produce in practice.

TO THE LITERARY MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH POPULATION.

THE great object of your ambition is to acquire knowledge, but, while you are ignorant of the laws of your nature, what knowledge can you be supposed to attain, capable of being applied to any useful or important purposes?

It has been said that knowledge is power; and it may be added with equal truth that knowledge is happiness. You wish for both, but possess neither, excepting to a very limited extent. The reason is obvious; the knowledge you have obtained has been that of useless or inferior objects; your acquaintance with these has been limited, and the facts you have discovered have been united with errors of such magnitude, as to depreciate, and to render useless or injurious, much of the knowledge which has been acquired, and upon which, therefore, you set a most erroneous estimate.

How little real benefit or happiness do the public derive from all your literary pursuits, and from all the establishments for the acquisition of learning, when compared with the time therein consumed, and with the expenditure, national and individual, which they involve! It is sufficient, however, that the inutility of such pursuits has at length become obvious; and that a different direction is about to be given to mental investigation, by means of which man will obtain a knowledge of his own nature; and thus be enabled to make a right, and therefore beneficent use, of all the less useful or unimportant knowledge now in his possession, or which he may hereafter acquire.

For the errors of the past, no one, who has, by acquiring a knowledge of the laws of human nature, been rendered rational, will ever consider you as blameable. These errors have been the necessary, the unavoidable results of the unfavourable and vicious circumstances in which all have been trained, and under which you have hitherto been compelled to live. In giving a new direction to the pursuits of many of your

number, and in re-modelling, and thus rendering efficient for the prosecution of future important designs, the greater proportion of your establishments, your best interests would be consulted; for, by this proceeding, the greatest amount of real happiness would be afforded and permanently secured to all. If it be a truth (and such all known facts prove it to be), that man never possessed the power of feeling and thinking as he pleases, but that he feels and thinks in obedience to the laws of his nature, then do your theological studies, your law investigations, your moral systems, and your theories of government, rest upon an error which is indefensible, and which can no longer be upheld in opposition to public opinion.

By this single, simple, and now almost the best ascertained and most obvious of all abstract truths, it being in the power of every one to demonstrate it for himself, your learned treatises on divinity, law, morals, and government are rendered, not only of no avail, but are proved to be a positive evil to the world, in consequence of their filling the mind with confused and fanciful images and notions, which perplex, confound, and ultimately destroy all the rational faculties which belong to human nature.

The training which man has thus received through past ages has made him a weak, imbecile, and miserable animal, instead of a superior, intelligent, and rational being; a character which each individual is destined to acquire, as soon as society shall obtain a knowledge of human nature, and shall live under circumstances in unison with its laws.

In the promotion of this great change, all the powers of your mind may, most advantageously for yourselves, and others, now be called into requisition. A new religion, a new code of laws, a new moral system, a new theory of government, and a new science of education, will shortly be found indispensable.

Rational books of instruction for the rising generation, and a complete collection of the most useful real objects, or the best representations of these, with correct explanations of each, will also be immediately required.

The history of past ages too, in order to answer any useful purpose, must be entirely re-written. >

But in assisting to render perfect the science of the formation of human character, by a full development of the influence of circumstances in producing vice or virtue, misery or happiness, among the human race, your services will be found the most important.

The change, then, which, in consequence of a knowledge of the laws of human nature being obtained, is now about to

become general, will be highly favourable to the advancement of your future views and proceedings.

Every thing must, of necessity, assume a new character; but the whole arrangement of circumstances proposed being in strict accordance with nature, the change must unavoidably produce universal satisfaction and happiness.

Feb. 1.

TO THE ARISTOCRACY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—Circumstances of former times, existing without your knowledge, have placed you, in the present day, in a situation in society, most injurious to yourselves and the population of the empire.

In consequence of your artificial condition from birth, you acquire feelings and sentiments which force you to become most irrational; and to believe, that the world was formed solely to administer to your gratification. Habits of luxury and of self-importance, destructive to your health and real enjoyment, are thus formed; and these involve a most useless and unreasonable waste of human labour; and absorb the means by which, if rightly directed, the general happiness of the community might be permanently secured.

In consequence of this combination of unnatural and vicious circumstances, you are encouraged to think, that the mass of the people exists only that you may employ them to promote your own views, and to provide for your real, or for your still more numerous imaginary wants.

By these means, an artificial state of society has been created, which gives you an apparent interest, in direct opposition to that of the remainder of the British population, of which you form but a very small portion. I say an apparent interest, for such it is not in reality; there is but one true interest among the whole human race; which is, that every individual shall possess the means of obtaining the best of every thing for his nature, be trained to know what these things are, and to enjoy them rationally.

Your class is a formidable obstacle to the attainment of these objects; and it is now requisite that this obstacle should be removed; but you have rights of happiness, which require attention, as much as those of any other portion of the community.

Your habits of thinking and of acting have been formed for you; and your happiness depends upon being free to retain these habits or not, according to your pleasure; but ar-

rangements may be made, by which, without inconvenience or disadvantage to either party, your interest and happiness, as well as that of the public, would be permanently secured.

It is possible for you to retain such habits as custom may have rendered necessary to your enjoyment of life, and yet, essentially to aid in the promotion of a change, in which the happiness of your own posterity, and of all your fellow-beings, is equally involved.

You have hitherto made the laws, and generally controlled the Government of the British Empire. You have formed the one, and directed the other, to give and to secure peculiar privileges to your order, in opposition to the superior interests of at least nine-tenths of the whole population.

Experience has fully proved what effects these privileges have produced upon the members of your order, and upon the public, it must now be evident to yourselves, that under those privileges, you cannot possess, individually or collectively, one in a hundred of the superior advantages, which another state of society will afford you.

Modern discoveries in physical science, and of the real nature of man, have produced a new æra in the history of our race. The discoveries in physical science may now be made to aid in the creation of more wealth than the population of the world will desire to consume; and the discoveries which have been made of the laws of human nature have developed the means by which, without awarding particular privileges to any class, the permanent happiness of all may be effectually secured.

The discoveries in physical science have already placed, at the disposal of the British Government a power, for the production of wealth greater than could be created without them, by three times the present number of the producing classes throughout the world; and this power—enormous as it may appear, is but in its infancy—it is advancing in a continually increasing ratio, and to its further progress there can be no assignable limit.

Wealth and power, therefore, the chief objects of desire to your order, will, with the exception of a dominion over your fellow beings, which hereafter will belong to no party whatever, be fully secured to you as individuals, under the changes about to arise in society.

The knowledge that has been acquired of the laws of human nature, not only develops the cause of all the evil that has ever existed in the world, and the means of removing the cause of that evil; but it discovers a new mode for the government of the human race, which will render contest

and competition unnecessary, and will effectually destroy in man all desire to domineer over his fellows. For he will clearly perceive that the path of happiness is to be found in another, and a very different course; and the real object of all being to secure happiness, that course alone will be invariably followed.

Were it possible for you to mistake your interest so far, as to attempt to oppose this change, you would discover that no efforts of yours can arrest its progress; but you may, on the other hand, essentially promote it, by employing some of your surplus funds, for which you would obtain an advantageous return, to assist in the creation of a new arrangement of circumstances, in conformity to the laws of our nature, by means of which a superior character, and an independence, would be insured to all who shall hereafter be born.

You are even, under the existing notions of society, too enlightened not to perceive that the old system of the world is worn out; that it is now producing, among the labouring class, the miseries arising from poverty or the fear of poverty; among the middle classes, the miseries arising from competition and contest; and, among the upper classes, as well as among the two former, the miseries arising from universal hypocrisy, the practice of which the very nature of the system necessarily engenders.

I therefore recommend to your most serious attention, the study of the principles on which it is proposed to effect a change in the moral, political, and commercial policy of the British empire, and to create a new arrangement of circumstances, in accordance with the new moral and scientific knowledge which every where pervades the population of the British dominions; in order that Great Britain may now take the lead in saving the world from the most overwhelming evils, moral and physical, with which it has ever yet been threatened.

That you may assist in effecting this change, in proportion to the influence which you possess in the empire, is the earnest desire of, &c.

February 4.

TO THE CONDUCTORS OF THE LONDON PRESS.

GENTLEMEN,—Having finished the addresses which appeared to me necessary to arouse public attention to the lamentable errors and consequent evils of the present system, previous to the development of the cause of, and remedy for, the existing distresses within the British dominions; permit me to return you my best thanks, for the liberal manner in which you have met my request, in publishing them to the world.

I am aware, that in so doing, you have run the risk of immediate pecuniary loss, in consequence of the principles which my feelings of duty compel me to advocate being directly opposed to the most deep-rooted prejudices and apparent interest of your subscribers. In no instance however, have I ever made an open and honest appeal to any public body of men, without being responded to by feelings of kindness and generosity; proving to me, that human nature, whenever it shall have justice done to it, by being placed in circumstances congenial with, and not opposed to it, will always exhibit every kind of excellence, as well as its capability of attaining in this life a high state of rational enjoyment.

February 4,