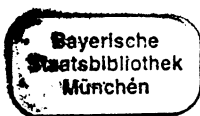


MANIFESTO
OF
ROBERT OWEN,

ADDRESSED

**TO ALL GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLE WHO DESIRE TO BE-
COME CIVILIZED, AND TO IMPROVE PERMANENTLY THE
CONDITION OF ALL CLASSES IN ALL COUNTRIES.**

**The sciences are known by which to form any human character and to create
wealth in superfluity for all.**



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MANIFESTO OF ROBERT OWEN,

Or public papers, numbers 1, 2, and 3, addressed to all governments and people who desire to become civilized, to aid in the adoption of measures to lay a solid foundation for the permanent peace of the world, the progressive intelligence, morality, and happiness of all individuals, and to give right direction to the illimitable mechanical, chemical, and other scientific productive power, in order that it may become the slave and servant of humanity, instead of being made, as at present, the tyrant master and cruel oppressor of the most industrious portion of society.

It is evident, from the signs of the times, especially from the illimitable progress and power of new scientific productive power and the rapid increase of real knowledge among the working classes, that a new era in human existence is about to commence, and that the ignorance, division, poverty, wars, crime, and misery, which the system of society hitherto alone in practice has inflicted upon nations and people, is now in due order of nature about to terminate, and to be superseded by another based on principles of nature, which will ever lead to knowledge, goodness, and happiness.

Fortunately for the human race, it has been discovered that the base of all past society, under every variety of form and name, has been a few unchanging errors of inexperienced imagination—errors which have ever destroyed the rational faculties of man, and made the attainment of virtue and happiness by any portion of the human race impossible.

To enable mankind to become civilized, permanently prosperous, virtuous, rational, and progressively happy, these errors of imagination must be at once and forever abandoned. They must be abandoned, because they can never produce, under any change of form or name, aught except ignorance, falsehood, division, wars, contentions, crime and misery.

It is, then, the immediate and highest interest of one and all over the earth that these errors should be made manifest, and their lamentable, unchanging evil effects, laid bare to all nations and people.

This course of action is necessary to accomplish the well being and happiness of man; for these errors are, from the beginning of time, unsupported by a single fact, and are directly opposed by every known fact; and their unchanging influence on hu-

manity is to create and perpetuate falsehood, deceit, moral cowardice, contention, wars, crimes, and misery; and to make man, through every succeeding generation, probably the most irrational animal upon the earth,—a being possessed of all the means of high physical, mental, and moral attainments, and progressive rational enjoyment around him; yet who is, through demonstrable fundamental errors, continually applying these means of permanent and general happiness, to inflict misery on himself and his race.

To those who reflect, it is now evident, that, contrary to the inexperienced imaginations of our ancestors, individual man does not possess the power to create, at his birth, the smallest part of his physical, mental, or moral organization; or afterwards of his sentiments, or opinions, or feelings; or of his conduct, except through his original organization and the subsequent influence upon it of external circumstances; both of which powers have been formed for him, by mysterious means, beyond his knowledge or control.

And yet, hitherto, the population of the world has been governed under institutions based on the very opposite impressions early made on the inexperienced imaginations of men, made before men know how to observe and accurately investigate facts. They imagined that all individuals have been created with an internal independent power to form their own physical, mental, and moral capacity, and, by a supposed will of their own creating, to decide upon their own opinions, and, at their pleasure, change their belief or disbelief in any of them; and in like manner form and change their own feelings, affections, and conduct. In consequence of these erroneous impressions respecting the laws of humanity, certain portions of the human race have made their ignorant and most irrational notions standard of perfectibility. These portions, at various times and places, having accidentally acquired power over their fellows, have made this weaker portion responsible to them, the stronger, for what they should feel, think, and do; and have, through all past ages, endeavored to force them to believe, feel, and act according to their most ignorant and superstitious previously taught fanciful imaginations. These ignorant and superstitious men have assumed also to govern the weaker part physically, mentally, and morally, up

to this period, in the most oppressive, unjust, cruel, and irrational manner, in accordance with these fundamental errors, by force and fraud, the only mode of governing which is practicable while these errors are maintained. And to effect this object, they have been compelled to make laws in accordance with these errors, in direct opposition to nature's laws. Now the adoption of nature's laws, when fully comprehended and rightly applied, would insure the rationality of the human race, and their permanent happiness through all succeeding generations.

These, then, are the fundamental errors on which alone, to this period, the characters of men have been formed, and the various governments have been instituted; and hence the universality of the irrational conduct of the human race.

Thence the present heterogeneous mass of error, by which the human character is now formed, and the nations of the earth are now governed.

Thence the irrational classifications, divisions, contests, and wars among all nations, and the strange, incongruous, and immoral institutions, which have been established throughout the world; institutions founded often by well meaning men, with the professed view to produce knowledge, health, riches, unity, justice, charity, and kindness among men; but which institutions have never yet succeeded to produce these blessings in a single instance to any population.

To civilize the human race, to make all permanently prosperous, truly virtuous, rational and happy, these fundamental errors must be now openly abandoned by all governments and people, society must be *rebased* on demonstrably true and unchanging laws of nature. It must be *reorganized* on a knowledge of those laws, and in a spirit of universal charity, which can alone emanate from a knowledge of those laws.

It must be *reclassified* according to age, in accordance with those laws.

It must be *reconstructed* in all its parts, to be in unison with the principles upon which this new order of society is based, that it may form one consistent whole, and at all times and under all circumstances work harmoniously, from the centre, which will be *everywhere*, to the circumference, which will, in every case, extend from each centre to the uttermost parts of the earth; ultimately forming, among all men, one language, one code of simplified laws, one interest, one currency, one spirit, and one general superior mind, and conduct over the globe.

But thus to *rebase, reorganize, reclassify and reconstruct* society, it is also necessary that the character of every one, as soon as practicable, should be, from birth, *recreated* through a new creation and arrangement of superior external circumstances, and a new spirit thereby within it of charity, kindness, and love. Thus, through a correct knowledge of the eternal laws of humanity, and how to apply them to practice, this divine spirit may be made to pervade the whole being in all his feelings, thoughts and conduct, not only to all his fellow men, but, as far as compatible with the happiness of the human race, to all sensitive life upon the earth. And thus gradually, without violence or injustice or misery of any kind, a terrestrial paradise may be formed for all; contention of every kind may be made to cease among men and nations, and sound practical wisdom, united with activity of mind and body, may be made to pervade the human race, and thus insure permanent, high, rational enjoyment to every son of man.

The materials to effect this change over the earth, wherever men need to live, now superabound; and it is the interest of all, without one exception, that this change should be *now* made. The means by which it shall be accomplished, in peace and order, although the greatest of all changes which have yet been experienced by the human race, shall be explained, in extended principles and practice, in public papers No. 2 and 3, and subsequent publications.

ROBERT OWEN.

DECEMBER 16, 1844.

P. S. These papers are intended for public documents for the immediate and future benefit of all without exception. They have no reference to party of any description, but are now published with the view to the general, permanent and substantial advantage of every individual; it is therefore requested that the editors of all newspapers and periodicals will give circulation to them at their earliest convenience.

Public paper No. 2, addressed to the leading men of all parties in the United States, who possess extensive experience in the general business of society.

You have a country which possesses the power, and contains the most ample means, now to insure a high progressive prosperity to every one within the Union.

Your position, therefore, at this crisis, is one of great interest to yourselves, your country, the world, and to all future ages.

By your union upon new and neutral ground, you may now lay a solid foundation for the most powerful and splendid empire, without war or conquest, that the world has known.

The path is now open and straight before you; it requires only that you should enter it fearlessly and boldly, and to pursue it with moral courage, without turning to the right or the left for any petty or party consideration, come from whatever quarter it may.

To found and sustain a great empire in peace with all the world, and to continue to progress without stay or temporary retrogression, six things are required, all of which you possess, or soon may easily attain. These are, 1st, a strong position upon the globe, with sufficient extent and quality of domain to support, in permanent comfort, a numerous population. 2d. The means to well form the character of the whole of this population. 3d. The means to beneficially occupy or exercise physically and mentally all, at all times, according to age, to produce wealth, and, at the same time, keep them in the best state of physical and mental health. 4th. To secure to all an ample supply, at all times, of those things which experience shall prove to be the best for the permanent well-being and happiness of humanity, through every period of the life of each individual. 5th. The means to replace, without disorder of any kind, all the inferior external circumstances of human creation, with others, all useful, beneficial, and highly superior; and lastly, the means of extending a federative union, without limit, over the western hemisphere.

The United States now possess these advantages, or the means to acquire them, to the full extent that can be desired. It is for the leading men of the present day to unite these means, and to combine them into a scientific new arrangement of society, to secure these benefits to themselves, to their country, and to the world.

To proceed aright in this new path, it is necessary to consider what is now the permanent interest of every individual; for the permanent interest of one will be found to be the true interest of all. This interest is to become an independent subject in a powerful, well governed, and respected country; to have all his faculties well cultivated from birth; and to be made physically, mentally, morally, and practically, the best subject, in these respects, that his original organization and the knowledge and means of society will admit; to be surrounded from birth with superior animate and inanimate circumstances only, to the entire exclusion of all that experience has proved to be inferior; to be well and beneficially occupied through life, without over-anxiety for the present or future, or regrets for the past. That there should be in the world the fewest variety of languages, religions, governments, laws, or currencies, or institutions creating prejudices and obstacles to his progress in the attainment of knowledge, or to his travelling into every quarter or district of the world. That all other human beings should be as well trained, educated, and placed as himself; and that he should find himself everywhere surrounded by society, well informed, with superior habits, manners, and conduct; with the pure spirit of charity, confidence, kindness, and love, pervading the heart and mind of every one; each possessing the desire and means to promote, cordially and heartily, the well being, well doing, and permanent happiness of all others. Society has now, for the first time in the life of man, attained the period when these results, to a considerable extent, may be gradually obtained, progressed in, and secured in unceasing growing perfection through all future generations.

The circumstances in which the United States now exist are by far the most favorable for the commencement of this great and glorious change in the condition of humanity.

These States possess within themselves land, minerals, materials of every description, mechanical and chemical power, inventive faculties, skill and manual power more than sufficient to commence, with certainty of success, this new, superior, and rational state of human existence.

In this new state, wars, contentions, or opposition between individuals or nations, will be unknown; the change through each stage of its progress will be effected through the evident interest of all that it should proceed. There will be no anger, or ill will, or supposition that any one intends to do another an injury.

By a scientific new arrangement of all the elements of society in their due proportions, superior wealth of all kinds will be so easily, pleasantly, and abundantly created, annually, beyond the utmost wants or desires of all, that contests and crimes about individual wealth will gradually cease, while public wealth and virtue will increase without limit, until not one injurious, unfavorable, or inferior external circumstance shall be found around any portion of the population within these States.

The arrangement thus formed, will constitute entirely new scientific nuclei of societies, so superior for all the purposes of human life and enjoyment that all the adjoining populations, divided now into separate, small, or comparatively weak States, not possessing these advantages, will, by degrees, seeing the permanency of these benefits, desire to become integral parts of the same system, and

to form new, independent, additional federative States, to be united to the present Union, until the inhabitants of one territory after another shall thus combine their strength and energies, and form the continent of America without conquest, contest, intrigue, violence, or deception of any kind, into the great western empire, with, after another generation, one language, one general government, one code of simplified laws in accordance with nature's laws, one interest, with all the inhabitants trained systematically from their birth cordially to desire and endeavor to promote the happiness of each other, without national restrictions to a free intercourse and exchange of native commodities from the extreme of north to south, and east to west. And this empire could easily, if necessary, be permanently prosperous, independent of any other part of the world. Such are the means now developed by nature to insure the permanent prosperity and happiness of the western hemisphere within its own territories; and it is the interest of each of the inhabitants of this continent, without one exception, that this change should be now effected in the shortest period compatible with peace, order, and foresight, in every stage and progress of the change.

But while this great and glorious change shall be proceeding in the western hemisphere, the eastern cannot remain inactive or be unaffected by it. A change equally great, glorious, beneficial, and necessary, also awaits this hemisphere; and both, under different circumstances, may advance together, each materially aiding and never opposing the other. The development of this change in the eastern hemisphere will form the subject of paper No. 3, and shall speedily follow.

ROBERT OWEN.

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 18, 1844.

Public paper No. 3, on the future of the eastern empire and of the world; addressed especially to the prime minds, leading statesmen, and practical men in both hemispheres.

Upon you depend now, at this crisis of nations, the immediate peace and prosperity of the world, and the well-being and happiness of all individuals. You have already at your control the most ample means to commence measures to insure these blessings permanently to all nations and people; or you may, for a time, through errors of party, class, or creed, contrary to your own interests, retard this glorious change.

The causes of the past and present errors, and consequent miseries of the human race, have been stated in public paper No. 1; and the outline remedy for these evils in the western hemisphere has been given in public paper No. 2. Both papers should be well studied, to enable the reader to comprehend the foundation and extent of a subject so new to all.

It has been stated in public paper No. 2, that the real interest of one individual will be, ere long, discovered to be the true and permanent interest of every individual. In accordance with this principle, the interest of all the inhabitants of the eastern hemisphere will be found the same as in the western, namely: to be a member of the most powerful and well governed State; that there should be throughout the hemisphere the fewest languages, governments, laws, and opposing institutions, prejudices, habits, and manners; that there should be a superior character formed for all its inhabitants, and

abundance of wealth created in every part of it; that there should be, throughout its whole extent, the fewest restraints and obstructions to a free intercourse and exchange of knowledge, commodities, and advantages; that the arts and sciences should be carried to the highest points of perfection; and that mechanism and chemistry should be made to supersede all severe, unhealthy, and disagreeable manual labor; that wealth of superior qualities should be made to superabound for all; that war should cease, and unity of feeling and object made to exist as far as practicable; but especially that genuine charity for every variety of class and creed, and a spirit of unchanging kindness and benevolence, should, by their education, be made to pervade all the inhabitants of this region, both in principle and practice; that the old fundamental errors on which alone society, over the world, has been hitherto based, should be now openly abandoned by all its governments and people, and that new institutions should be universally adopted, in accordance with the unchanging principles of nature, from which principles alone a rational system of society, to give knowledge and happiness to any people, can ever emanate.

Adopting these principles as a guide, what course, it may be asked, should the inhabitants of the eastern hemisphere now enter upon to secure, in the shortest time, the greatest number of these all-important advantages?

Evidently to follow the general outline recommended for the adoption of the inhabitants of the western hemisphere. Let the present most powerful nation be made the nucleus or centre to which all the other divisions within this hemisphere should gradually, for their own permanent benefit, unite and become independent federative States, somewhat on the principles of the present North American Union.

The rapid and extended progress of mechanical and chemical productive power, applied under a false principle of society, in opposition to manual labor, has rendered (especially in Europe) a physical revolution in the condition of society unavoidable; while the false fundamental data from which society hitherto has alone emanated renders a mental and moral revolution equally necessary. The great and all-absorbing question now for consideration is, shall this physical, mental, and moral revolution be a foreseen, wise, and well ordered change in the condition of society, effected in peace, for the benefit of all, or shall it be a revolution, forced by unbearable oppression and misery into violence, murder and bloodshed, with the endless evils arising from external and internal war, when the passions of men have been aroused from their lowest depths?

Surely the experience of the governments and people of Europe during the French revolution is sufficient to turn all parties from thinking for a moment that the world can be improved by the immoralities of violence and war; or that any except a great physical, mental, and moral change in the condition of society, to do justice to all, and conducted with foresight, wisdom, and order, can now permanently benefit any portion of mankind.

The fact is, that society, as stated in public paper No. 1, has ever been erroneously based, and hitherto has continually suffered the endless evils necessarily arising from fundamental errors—from errors which, under every form of government which has ever been carried into execution at any time, in

any country, have ever been destructive of the well being and happiness of the human race.

As, then, an entire revolution in the physical, mental, moral, and practical condition of man has now become inevitable—inevitable on account of the overwhelming productive, mechanical, and other scientific power now in progress throughout the world—inevitable on account of the now demonstrable errors on which society has ever been based; errors which have created evils that cannot longer be maintained,—it will be wise in all that the change should neither be violent, partial, or imperfect; that it should be based on demonstrably true fundamental principles; that it should be effectual to secure a superiority of character and condition for all of the human race, and to exchange all that is now inferior and injurious of man's creation in the external circumstances around each one from birth, for those which will be superior and substantially beneficial to every individual in all countries.

Let the facts be now accurately investigated, and it will be found that the powers acquired within the last century, wisely applied, are much more than sufficient to perform this task; and it may be reasonably inquired, Shall the mistaken interests of a few individuals now in false, and, to themselves and others, in most injurious positions, stay or obstruct this advent of a superior state of human existence when these few individuals also will be greatly benefited by this universally glorious change?

If these principles be in accordance with nature—and no man can disprove their truth, or the self-evident deductions which necessarily arise from them, and that all, without exception of country, creed, class, or party, will be permanently benefited by the entire change in society now proposed to be made, to an extent never yet experienced or anticipated—who is there, after calm and due consideration, so devoid of common sense as to imagine that he has an interest in preventing or retarding this glorious advent for all the future children of men?

Taking it for granted that, after due reflection, no rational being will attempt to obstruct that which is so essential now to the highest well-being and happiness of all, we will proceed to apply these principles to practice in the formation of the changes required to form a "great, permanent, universally-beneficent eastern empire," to secure, in union with the great western empire, the lasting peace of the world and the happiness of all individuals. The centre or nucleus of the great western empire has been previously stated to be the United States, it having now become by far the most powerful and respected nation in the western hemisphere, and with which all the other nations on this continent will naturally, for their own advantage, desire to unite on terms of perfect equality in an extended federative system. In like manner, a combination of circumstances, which have been accumulating for ages, has now made Great Britain the most powerful and respected nation in the eastern hemisphere, and, from its extended dominion in the three quarters of this hemisphere, the best adapted to form the centre or nucleus of this new empire—an empire to be composed of all the nations and people within its boundaries—all uniting in federative union with Great Britain on terms of perfect equality; and each individual, possessing all the advantages and privileges of this extended and all-powerful empire—advantages which no sovereign, or the most favored individual, can acquire under the system by which alone the characters of men have been hitherto formed and the world

governed. Great Britain being thus made the centre of the eastern empire, there would arise, in due time, gradually, in the order of nature, one language, one general government, one code of simplified laws, based on nature's laws, one interest, and, ultimately, one mind and one spirit pervading the whole.

It would be the interest of every individual within these two empires, that they should be also cordially united, that they might maintain peace over the earth, and in seeing that no injustice should be practised by any one portion of society over another, and the laws and language of both empires might be the same, and the people meet everywhere as kindred of the same family.

This is the outline; but it will be at once discovered, by the experienced man of the world, to be, as society has hitherto been formed, more visionary and impracticable than any of the imaginations which have previously entered the mind of men; they will necessarily deem the change described impossible to effect; and in this supposition they will be correct, so long as society shall be based on its existing fundamental errors, and men shall be, as heretofore, taught and trained in a system of false principles and injurious practices, and to take advantage of the ignorance and weakness of their neighbor.

Although, in a society based on principles opposed to nature, and erroneous in practice through every department of human affairs, it would be utterly hopeless to attempt to effect the change contemplated, or to form man into a rational being; yet, when society shall be once based on its true principles—on principles in accordance with all nature and every known fact, and the practices of society shall be made to be in unison with these principles, then will the change, to the whole extent stated, be found easy to introduce and to be made permanent. Nothing will be discovered to be so impracticable, while society shall be maintained, as it hitherto has been, on erroneous first principles, as to give a superior character to man, and induce nations and people to act in accordance with common sense, justly and wisely; while, in a society based on self-evident principles of truth, derived from a knowledge of nature, and governed by institutions made to be uniformly consistent with those principles, there would be no difficulty whatever in creating and conducting these two empires most beneficially for all the inhabitants of the world. But, as a preliminary measure to induce weaker neighboring nations to desire to unite federatively with the strongest, (that is, with the United States in the west, and Great Britain in the east,) it is necessary that these two powers exhibit, within their territory, a state of existence for their people superior to any which is experienced by the most favored and advanced of the surrounding nations. This they may now do, by introducing gradually a change from the false principles on which all society has ever been based, and the injurious practices which, of necessity, have emanated from those errors, to demonstrable principles of nature resting solely on facts never known to change, and to a construction of society new in all its departments—each part being in undeviating union with those principles, in order to form one consistent whole that shall continually increase in knowledge and goodness, and work consistently, through all futurity, in harmony, for the well-being and happiness of all individuals. It is, then, of the last importance to those now living, or who may live hereafter, that

a model of this new state of existence should be formed, without delay, in the projected western and eastern empires. But, as the government of the United States is already federative in principle and practice, and as the States are, in many respects, better prepared to receive and adopt new extensive improvements devised to secure equal benefit for all classes, it would be well that this great, glorious, and magnificent change in the condition of the human race should now commence in or near the present seat of government of this new western empire. It may thus be made to commence without unnecessary delay, and gradually proceed in its onward course without prematurely disturbing the existing order of society, or interfering with any of its present operations, until all shall be convinced and perfectly satisfied, by the first experiment, that no evil will arise from its introduction and progress, however rapid, to individuals of any class, creed, country, clime, or color.

The model scientific nucleus and normal school of this new state of society, to exhibit to the public its innumerable advantages over society as it ever yet has been, might be beneficially placed within or near to the District of Columbia, in order that the members of Congress, coming from all parts of the Union, may annually inspect its progress; and, on their return, explain to their respective States the advance made in the working of this new and superior state of existence, and report, from its progress, at what time all the States might safely and most advantageously begin to create similar arrangements, and to remodel their territories, to obtain, in perpetuity, the endless benefits to be derived from the change.

This model and normal school should be made as perfect as present knowledge and means will admit. Nothing short of a full and complete model society can enable the public to form a correct conception of the blessings in store, and near at hand for it speedily to enjoy. To accomplish this result, and to form a superior model, to be a full nucleus of society, and a normal school to teach men and women how to conduct such society in accordance with the principles on which it will be based and constructed, considerable funds—yet small for such an object—will be required in the first instance: probably, to do common justice to the plan and to the public, not less than three millions of dollars, but to be advanced only as the work progressed, and to be paid only through commissioners especially appointed by Congress, or otherwise, to disburse the money as required.

As this model nucleus of society would be for the benefit of the whole republic, the money might be advanced by the different States and Territories in proportion to their wealth and population, or in any other better manner that may be devised and adopted. Various public educational and scientific institutions, now existing or in progress, may be advantageously made immediate preliminary establishments to assist in leading the way to the attainment of the adoption of the later improvements in the whole range of knowledge and of domestic science.

But it should be kept prominently in mind, that these eastern and western empires, intended to be formed to secure the permanent peace of the world, and the well-being, well-doing, and superior happiness of all individuals, can emanate only from the establishment of a scientific nucleus of society in both empires, based on nature's laws, and not on man's laws; and each nucleus being formed into a superior

scientific model for society, in which to exhibit all the business of life practically arranged and conducted in a manner far superior and more beneficial than can now be found in any part of the world. As a superior society can be formed only by each individual who is to compose it being well trained and educated, from birth to maturity, physically, mentally, morally, and practically, in like manner must superior combinations of these nuclei be formed, to compose extended empires of the east and west hemispheres, by each commencing with a true nucleus of a scientific arrangement of society, as a model which all other nuclei should take as their guide, making such improvements as time and experience may suggest.

Well, then, may the present generation rejoice that the discovery has been effected in their day, not merely that thought and feeling may be made to pass from person to person, hundreds of miles apart, in a few seconds, or with the rapidity of electric movements, but that sciences have been also discovered that are, ere long, destined to remove poverty, or the fear of poverty, from the world; withdraw all the causes which heretofore have generated all the inferior, injurious, and violent passions; divided man from man in thought and feeling; created contests, wars, and bloodshed, between tribes and nations; prevented the exchange of inferior external circumstances for superior only, and the formation of a spirit of pure, universal charity and kindness, which will pervade the whole mind, and influence, at all times, the entire conduct of every individual: sciences, in fact, which will secure, in a reasonable time, all that the aspirations of the best men

in all ages were made to desire for themselves and all others through every succeeding age.

If a long life of the most varied and extended experience in all the great departments of society—a life devoted, during more than half a century, to the investigation and calm study of the science of humanity, uninfluenced by aught except an unconquerable impulse to penetrate to the true causes and lowest depths of human error and evil, and to find a remedy equal to the removal and final eradication of those causes—has led an individual conscientiously to believe that these causes of misery may be forever removed, and replaced by others which shall conduct the human race, through every succeeding age, to higher and higher attainments, and more elevated, pure, and rational enjoyments,—surely, as all, of every class, creed, country, clime, and color, would be permanently most essentially benefited by this all-glorious change in character, condition, and position, the subject deserves the most grave examination and calm and unprejudiced attention and investigation. This attention to the subject is alone now asked of all governments and people—attention, independent of party, independent of lines or boundaries, or other petty divisions, by which men, in their infant progress towards knowledge and civilization, have heretofore separated man from man, tribe from tribe, and nation from nation.

Let this be now done, in good faith, and with a sincere desire to search for truth, regardless of every other consideration, and the progressive prosperity and happiness of the human race will be secured forever.

ROBERT OWEN.

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec., 19, 1844.