

PART I

OF

THE NEW EXISTENCE

OF

MAN UPON THE EARTH.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

AN OUTLINE OF MR. OWEN'S EARLY LIFE,
AND AN APPENDIX, CONTAINING HIS ADDRESSES, &c.,

PUBLISHED IN 1815 & 1817.

BY

ROBERT OWEN.

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NEW EXISTENCE

OF

MAN UPON THE EARTH.

GOD now commands all nations, through the new manifestations of spirits from superior spheres, to prepare for universal peace, that man may commence on earth a new existence, for which the late extraordinary progress in material, mental, and spiritual knowledge has been the forerunner; or

A *new existence*,—to be obtained by a change from *inferior and bad, to superior and good conditions*:—

To conditions which may be now created with ease and pleasure to surround the human race. And not slowly, but rapidly; until the change shall be completed among all peoples, however savage, barbarous, ignorant, and undeveloped they now are.

This change is to be effected by the truth on all subjects being openly declared to the human race in the utmost simplicity of language, expressed in the spirit of pure charity—of that divine charity which thinketh no evil, but intends universal good.

But means are now required to arouse the human race to attend to its own interest and happiness, and to induce it to abandon the false principle and practice on which it has hitherto acted,—a principle and practice which necessarily force the perpetual recurrence of crime and misery.

We are living in a world which is acting upon notions worn out, and which are now far worse than useless: and pursuing a practice strongly opposed to the well-doing and happiness of every one. And yet, all appear to be unconscious of this ignorant state of their mind and conduct.

They even imagine themselves to be reasonable and rational beings, while they are unwittingly believing in and acting upon a false principle, unsupported by a single fact through all time, and in consequence creating inferior and bad conditions, when it is the highest permanent interest of all to create superior and good conditions only.

As soon as man can be made reasonable and rational,—that is, consistent in mind and practice, and will study facts, instead of creeds and dogmas opposed to facts, they will be enabled to overcome the deep-rooted prejudice of class, sect, sex, party, country,

and colour, and will thus become full-formed men and women, with all their faculties, propensities, and powers of body and mind duly cultivated and regularly exercised to the point of temperance for each.

Thus will human nature be satisfied when its laws are adopted and acted upon consistently; and it never will be satisfied or enjoy happiness until this change shall be effected.

This is the new existence, which, when attained, will place all in a far higher position in goodness, wisdom, wealth, power, and happiness, than any one has yet attained, or can attain upon the system of falsehood in principle and consequent error in practice which has hitherto been alone known.

But this great and glorious change is not to be effected by violence and the agitation of the angry passions.

No! It can be introduced and accomplished only by foresight, with great order, in peace, with the willing consent of Governors and Governed, and with the eyes of all opened that all may see and know the principles and practices of the change which is to be ultimately attained, in order that all may be satisfied that the change will be for the permanent advantage of every rank and class in society, from the greatest to the least, without exception of creed, country, or colour.

There will be no secrecy in this divine revolution from an ignorant and undeveloped condition to a comparatively enlightened and developed state of existence. It will be a new existence, in which the evils of the present system shall all be *prevented*, and soon their existence shall become unknown, except as a fact remaining in the history of the past.

Prevented, too, by the most simple and easily applied practical measures,—such as in a short time children of ten or twelve years of age will fully comprehend and aid to execute.

But who is to convert the population of the world to this great and glorious change, that will develop the savage, barbarian, and half-civilised nations to a sense of their present ignorance, degradation, and unnecessary misery?

Who shall convince the Despot, Aristocrat, and Democrat, of their errors, and thus terminate tyranny and slavery, physical and mental?

The spirits of just men made perfect will accomplish this high task for humanity.

They will show how, by right conditions, savage nations, as well as the most advanced towards a rational civilisation, may be speedily made to feel, think, and act justly.

These spirits of just men made comparatively perfect, have promised to accomplish this change for the human race, and there is every reason to suppose that they have now the power as well as the desire to make their promise good.

These superior spirits strongly perceive our errors of class, of

sect, of creed, of country, and of colour; they know the cause of them, and will remove that cause; and then will man, for the first time, know himself, and all humanity, under whatever creed, clime, or colour it may appear.

The superior spirits will change man's petty local ideas and feelings into universal truth, charity, and love; and artificial divisions among mankind will no longer exist;—justice and impartiality will govern all the affairs of man;—man will vividly perceive by his inner spirit, and will become perpetually conscious, that the God of the universe is always everywhere, and doing everything,—that without him nothing was made or done, by any secondary, much less opposing power; for within his universal essence we and all things live, move, and have our being; and that from this Universal Creator of all things, all motion, life, and mind emanate without ceasing.

In fact, that this, to man, if not to angels, incomprehensible existence, is the soul of the Infinite Universe, from which all sensation, knowledge, wisdom, and love proceed; and through which ultimately, the happiness of all, and the everlasting harmony of the Universe, will be attained, and thus the objects of creation will be accomplished.

But it will be asked,—How do I know all this?

By the teaching of the spirits, confirmed by the past history of our race, and the nature of things, as I have found them to exist through a long life devoted to the investigation of truths derived from facts, and not from creeds. By this unceasing investigation of facts, regardless of all creeds and theories, the writer has attained to the discovery of the most important practical truths;—of truths on which depends the future happiness of our race;—and truths which, of necessity, will gradually lead to an entirely new state of existence upon earth.

These truths develope certain laws of nature, by attention to which, and applying them to consistent practice, this new existence will be attained.

The first of these laws is that of *Universal Justice*. Injustice is a fertile source of misery.

The second law is,—*Equality* according to age throughout the family of men. Inequality is a fertile source of misery.

The third law is,—that the *natural organs, faculties, propensities, and powers of humanity*, and which are all good and necessary for health and happiness, shall be well cultivated and regularly exercised up to the point of temperance for each organ, faculty, propensity, and power. A want of true cultivation and of due exercise for all our powers of body and mind is a fertile source of misery.

The fourth law is the desire to be freed from want of the necessary comforts and beneficial luxuries of life, or from the fear of wanting them in the future. This fear is a fertile source of misery.

The fifth law is the *universal natural desire to speak the truth on all occasions*. The necessity to use, under the present system of error, the language of falsehood, is a fertile source of misery.

The sixth law is, that man is made to *desire to act* according to the *instinctive feelings* which God, through nature, gives him. To be obliged to act contrary to our feelings, or not in harmony with them, is a fertile source of misery.

The seventh law is, that man is made continually to *desire happiness*. But as anything approaching to permanent happiness is unattainable under existing conditions of society, all of which conditions have emanated from false notions of humanity and of the formation of character, the disappointment of our expectation of happiness is a fertile source of misery.

The happiness of the human race, then, depends upon the conditions in which it is placed, or on the circumstances by which it is surrounded from and before birth through life. Can this be true, and man remain so mentally blind to this day as to be unconscious of the fact? Or, if conscious of it in some vague manner, to be spell-bound in all his attempts to make any rational use of his vague consciousness of this important truth? For at this day he is most actively and energetically creating, day by day, the most injurious conditions, and maintaining with the strongest obstinacy of ignorance the most inferior and vicious conditions, commenced and continued by our inexperienced, undeveloped, and barbarous ancestors.

Little do the great majority of mankind at this day imagine that the public Religions of the world are compounds of inferior and bad conditions—that the governments of the world are similar compounds—that the Learned Professions, and the Profession of Arms, with Commerce for a monied profit, and all the Institutions of existing society, are also compounds of gross follies and absurdities, full of bad conditions and circumstances unfavourable to the growth of goodness, wisdom, and happiness, and all of them destructive of love and charity, of union and attractive qualities,—all of which are necessary to the attainment of common sense, or right reason, and of happiness.

And as little do the nations of the world imagine, that the creation of those conditions which would compel all to become good, wise, and happy,—that would fill all with the pure spirit of universal love, charity, and a just equality,—that would cordially unite all of our race as one family in a brotherhood of interest and feeling and of universal attraction,—would now be most easy of practice and certain in their results.

How is it that men thus continue so mentally blind to all that is the most desirable and best, and cling so tenaciously to all that is disgusting, inferior, and bad? It is because the religions of the world teach all to believe, and not to think, except upon

the false principles of belief which all surrounding conditions from the birth of each force on the young unresisting mind.

Witness the disciples of Budha, of Bramah, of Moses, the Christians, so called, Mahomedans, Pagans, and Savages.

All, all, are the creatures of their early surroundings, which overpower and destroy the germ of rationality within all born of humankind.

The whole truth must be told, or there will be no immediate hope of human emancipation from the most lamentable and fatal errors.

No nations or peoples are now surrounded with conditions to cultivate from birth the germ of rationality which God has given to each when created;—and this appears to be the time, in the due order of nature, when *the science of conditions*, in its outline and details, should be made known to mankind.

Previous to commencing this part of the subject, let us ascertain the true wants of our race, and see wherein they consist.

There are, in fact, but two wants; for these include and cover all other wants.

The *first* great want is that of the conditions necessary to form every character from birth,—physically, intellectually, morally, practically, and spiritually,—as *well as* the natural organisation of each at birth will permit.

This is the justice and equality of brotherhood, which God now requires from society. Because society, through such conditions as it may now create, can irresistibly make every one to use only the language of truth, and to acquire the spirit of universal love and charity, so as, in every action throughout life, to be kind and benevolent to all men, earnestly seeking to promote their highest permanent happiness, and on all occasions to be merciful to whatever has life.

The *second* great want is the creation of conditions which shall enable each one, when cordially united in feeling and interest with his fellows, as each would be by the previous formation of character, to create annually, with health, pleasure, and high enjoyment through life, much more real substantial valuable and enjoyable wealth, than he and his associated fellows would or could desire to use or enjoy.

Thus, conditions to give to all from birth a superior character in body, mind, and spirit, and to surround all at all times with a full supply of superior wealth, are in truth and in fact all that the human race can wish for or desire, so long as individuals remain in life upon earth.

The conditions to accomplish these two results would raise earth to heaven, and form men and women into earthly angels.

Thus will "God's kingdom come, and his will be done on earth as it is now in heaven."

Evil passions will cease to exist;—wars, conflicts, and compe-

tion will be known no more ;—repulsive qualities and feelings will die their natural death ;—peace among men and nations will be universal and perpetual over the earth ;—and man, nature, and God, will ever after remain in perfect harmony.

The earth will thus become an Infant School to train man for a superior spiritual existence, and thus for ever to destroy all necessity for future punishments of man by man, and the fear of hell in every mind.

“Glorious results !” will the men formed by present conditions exclaim—“Only,” they will add, “they are impracticable.”

So this same made kind of men said, only a few years ago, when one thread only could be spun at one time by one person, that it was impossible for one person to spin a thousand, much less two or more thousand threads at once, and still less that they should be spun as they are now, not by human hands, but by mechanism. So also it was said that it was impracticable to light towns and cities with gas :—to propel vessels at sea against wind and tide, and proceed at fifteen and twenty miles an hour :—to travel upon the earth at sixty and seventy miles in the same time :—to take human likenesses and objects of art and nature correctly in a few seconds ;—and to converse with our friends thousands of miles distant in less than a minute. But these once supposed utter impossibilities are now in every day common practice.

And how ? Simply by creating the conditions competent to produce these said-to-be-impossible results.

And to produce the glorious results now stated, all that is required is to combine the natural conditions required to rationally form the human character from birth to death, (for the formation of character ceases only with life,) and to surround all with a never-ceasing supply of the most valuable and enjoyable wealth.

But in fact the first class of conditions necessarily includes the second ; for to form a superior character practically, it must acquire the knowledge and facility of creating its due proportion of this wealth.

It will now be asked,—What are the conditions which can produce these unheard-of results ?

None which at present exist in any combination over the earth. Therefore ultimately, not by violence, but gradually, there will not be one stone left upon another of this now worn-out and most wretched system of ignorance and falsehood. And thus must the old things of man’s past formation pass away, and all become new :—even a new character from and before birth for man, and a new construction of society, religious, political, commercial, and social ; and all shall be benefited and delighted by the change.

The second coming of truth is arrived, when God, in His foreseen time, through a knowledge in man of the principles or facts which create universal love and charity, will make all, by the aid of superior spirits, to become good, wise, and happy.

Thus, speedily, will the knowledge of the Lord cover the earth, and union, peace, prosperity, and unalloyed happiness will be perpetual, until the earth shall perform its destiny in the great work of God's Incomprehensible Creation.

All the materials for creating this change throughout society have been prepared in the most extraordinary manner during the last century, and especially within the latter half of it.

The means of creating illimitable wealth are known.

The science by which to form a superior character,—physical, intellectual, moral, practical, and spiritual—are known.

The science by which to reconstruct society on true principles, and with consistent and most beneficial practice, is known.

Thus, how to create illimitable wealth, to form superior characters for all, and to reconstruct society on the basis of truth, and to make it one complete science to ensure the well-being and happiness of all, are distinctly known, and ready to be now applied to practice.

What more can society require as preparation for this great and glorious change from evil to good ?

All throughout society is now inconsistent, in confusion, and working most disadvantageously for every one living ; while every material is now ready to be applied to practice to place all gradually so as to render the change natural and easy for governors and governed in churches and states, without the necessity for injurious revolutions.

This change from falsehood to truth must come ; and surely it is better that it should come by foresight, duly arranged, in order, by wisdom and experience, rather than hastily and by the folly of violence, which would as heretofore fail in its unprepared random proceedings.

At the present period the elements of humanity on earth are in a state of general effervescence, or apparent chaos of contending confusion.

This is preparatory to the glorious change previously stated. It is a state necessary to stir up the power of man, to elevate him to a higher plane in the ascending progress of creation ;—to bring man nearer to the divine nature of his origin—of his Incomprehensible Father in the heaven of heavens, from whom the germ of every human being has originally emanated.

It is evident from the rapid and extensive progress of physical discoveries and mental attainments of the past century, that the Great Creating Power of the Universe has been preparing humanity for a new and very superior state of earthly existence, and out of universal disunion to produce universal harmony.

For now it appears that harmony must be produced on earth, before it can be completed in the lower spheres of the spirit world. Harmony on earth will produce harmony throughout heaven ; and after a comparatively short period no more inferior undeveloped

spirits will pass from earth to heaven, and harmony will be permanently established between men in and out of the flesh, and between earth and heaven.

To effect this ever-to-be-desired change, all that is required is, for the heads of governments and churches, in union with the people, to commence immediately to supersede bad by good conditions, and to introduce the language of truth to supersede the language of falsehood; but this latter will be a necessary consequence of the former.

Now, then, for the preliminary practical measures to effect this great change.

Are the heads of governments and churches prepared to admit openly the following facts, and to be sufficiently rational to act consistently in accordance with them, and to abandon all the absurd superstitions which are opposed to them?

If they are, the change may be easily and speedily accomplished. If not, the population of the world has to pass through another period of ignorance and contest, evincing that humanity is yet too undeveloped to feel, think, or act rationally,—too much yet of the animal, to become a reasonable, intellectual, and consistent being.

The trial shall now be made; and we proceed to state the facts, for the calm consideration and patient investigation of the parties.

Fact 1st.—That God, the Great Creating Power of the Universe, has created *all things* that have been created; which necessarily include every organ, faculty, propensity, and quality of man—physical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual;—and that these are *all necessary* for the progress and happiness of man upon earth.

Fact 2nd.—That as God has created *all things*, he has created the *conditions* in which man has been placed *from his creation to this day*.

Fact 3rd.—That the original formation of man's faculties and powers—physical, mental, and spiritual—with the conditions with which he has been surrounded, constitute the life and character of every man; and that, consequently, for such life and character *God is alone responsible*.

Fact 4th.—That the early and apparently inferior character of the human race, through the past to the present, has been necessary and unavoidable, as an infant state to progress humanity from the animal to the intellectual and spiritual sphere of existence.

Fact 5th.—That man has been and is yet too young or undeveloped in this progress from lower to higher spheres, to know what is evil and what is good, or of himself to attain the knowledge of that which is the best for his progress and happiness, and therefore often calls good evil and evil good; for that which

one nation or people call good, another call evil, and positive good and evil are thus confounded in men's minds. But as God *does everything*, and without his active power *nothing is done*, there can be no positive evil throughout the universe; for all is *very good, and necessary in its progress to produce the ultimate harmony and happiness of the universe*. Therefore, whatever is, must be right and best, and be necessary for foreseen ulterior universal happiness.

Fact 6th.—God has hitherto, in the progress of developing humanity on earth, *made the conditions* through the *past*, by which man has been surrounded to the *present*. He has made them in part through the *agency of society*,—every organ, faculty, and quality of which He had previously created. But society has so far blindly, or without knowledge of itself, created conditions *apparently* of evil for a limited time, but which apparent evil, as it has proceeded from God through society, has been, as will be presently seen, a necessary process to attain the coming good.

Fact 7th.—That these *apparent evils* have stimulated man to discover many sciences, and to make many improvements, previous to the great discovery of the *science of good conditions*, and of its *universal application to practice over the world*. Until the late great mechanical inventions and chemical discoveries had been made, the knowledge of the *science of good conditions* would have been imperfect, and far less beneficial than it will be now, when the *new powers* to create these *new, good, and superior conditions* have been increased in *less than a century* from an active power, over the world, not amounting to the labour of *three hundred millions* of men,—a power, too, most ignorantly and wastefully applied for all the purposes of society, and much of it occupied in war to destroy what another part of society had created; while now, this power has been increased, chiefly by gas, steam, electricity, and mechanical inventions, applicable to human purposes and improvements, (that is, to the creation of good and superior conditions to effect a new existence for the human race,) to an amount equal to *several thousand millions* of full-grown, well-taught, obedient slaves, and with a power of annual increase many hundred times greater than the annual natural increase of human life; so as at once to silence all fear of want, or of an over-population, and to terminate all pretences for man to make a slave of man.

Fact 8th.—That this tremendous new scientific power, with its illimitable means of increase, is at the service of man, to perform his work better than he can do it himself in almost every department of life; for every physical motion of man can now be imitated by mechanism and chemistry.

Fact 9th.—That this power is now most ignorantly applied,—not to assist to form a rational character for man, or to create useful and valuable wealth calculated to produce the peace and

happiness of the population of the world ; but, on the contrary, it is now admirably applied to maintain ignorance, produce repulsive feelings, poverty, crime, and misery in the mass governed, and to produce luxury, crime, and misery in the governing classes, and the counteraction of happiness in all. Yet no one is to blame for these apparent errors ; because this effervescence or apparent confusion which they have created among the human race, is evidently a preliminary, and we must conclude a necessary preliminary process, to elevate humanity to a much higher plane of existence upon earth ; a process of instructing society in the necessity for a *new science of creating good and superior conditions over the world*, so as to make of one family the whole race of man, and to form the population of the world into a brotherhood, with one language, one interest, and one feeling, and that a cordial never-dying desire to increase the excellence and happiness of every one, without reference to class, creed, country, colour, or clime.

Fact 10th.—That when this enormous new aid to man derived from science shall be applied to create new, *good, superior, and consistent conditions* over the earth, instead of the inferior, bad, inconsistent, and counteracting conditions, as they have now become, the power for good to man by the change will be again multiplied, not only many hundred, but many thousand times.

Past and present conditions are said in this connexion to be inferior and bad, as we would now call a crab apple *inferior and bad*, compared with superior and well-flavoured apples, derived from good cultivation or *good apple conditions*. We do not blame the crab, but we know it was necessary to produce the apple.

Now these are facts which no sound thinker, competent to observe and reflect, will deny ; and they become almost self-evident truths, or self-evident deductions from self-evident truths. And yet at this day *all religions, governments, laws, institutions, and practices of the human race, are in direct opposition to them* ; and hence the present excitement and dissatisfaction of the thinking part of society over the world—the impression that something is *fundamentally erroneous, but they know not what*, and that something must be done, but they *know not what or how, to effect the required change*.

It is not yet seen, even by the practical men of the world, so called, that man is not *bad* by nature, but is *good*.

That *God* creates man ; that he creates the *conditions* in which man is placed through life ; that these together form him to be what he is ; and that *God* is thus alone responsible for man's existence and conduct ; and it is against common sense to blame and punish man for that which is the superior work of *God* through nature. It being more than absurd to suppose man, the created, competent to be or to act contrary to the will of *God*, the Creator of every natural quality of man, and the Creator also

of the conditions which give the inferior or superior direction to each of those qualities.

This error, which is the cause of all human falsehood, crime, and misery, must now be removed, and man must acquire sufficient moral courage to speak the truth, regardless of the ignorant or undeveloped state of popular notions opposed to palpable and never-changing facts.

In former publications I have said that it is useless to find fault with things as they are, without the fault-finder stating his remedy for that which is supposed to be wrong and injurious.

I commenced, many years since, in my early life, to state the errors of, and the remedies for, existing evils of society. By existing evils must be understood those things which by time have become obstructions to future progress.

These proceedings of mine, although they excited universal thought and attention at the time, are almost unknown to the present generation, and appear to have been nearly forgotten by those now remaining of the last generation.

They failed to produce their natural effects at that time, because I openly opposed all the religions of the world, because they appeared to me to contain too much error, and were fruitless in practice. This open opposition to the so-called religious world turned men's attention from considering the practices which I then openly announced to the amazed population of the civilised world, and especially to the Statesmen of Europe and America. Nor could I then, on account of the popular ignorance, bigotry, and superstition, sufficiently engage public attention to effect the union of mind to my measures for creating good conditions to ensure our spiritual as well as our earthly happiness; and also because I was dissatisfied with all existing religions, and had not been at that period sufficiently enlightened to comprehend the absolute necessity for uniting with these good worldly conditions, good spiritual conditions, to include and provide for the whole nature of man—physical, intellectual, moral, practical, and spiritual.

The four first I had been enabled amply to provide for; but in the last, the spiritual,—the most important in the future development of the human race, I was not then so far developed as to comprehend its overwhelming importance in new forming the human character and reconstructing society over the world. And I remained without sufficient divine light upon this most interesting of all subjects to man, until I was called, like Paul, while advocating, but honestly, the necessity for opposing the religions of the world, on account of their corruptions and failure in doing good, by the kind and apparently most anxious spirits of my Father and Mother, to see and to know the truth of our future existence, and the unimaginable glories and happiness of a never-ending progressing immortality.

In looking back, however, through my life, even to its earliest period, I can trace the finger of God directing my steps, preserving my life under imminent dangers, and compelling me onward on many occasions so to act as to accomplish, unaided by any other power, most astounding beneficial results, while opposed by all worldly interests, and by the superstitions of all past ages.

It was only under the immediate guidance of the spirit of God, while I was inexperienced, that I could in my younger days have accomplished the public good which I was enabled to effect, and could have introduced the imperfect preliminary changes in society, which have emanated from the measures which I recommended.

The first proof of the inspiring spirit which has influenced my life through its whole extent, I find on recurring to my early childhood, in three most extraordinary preservations from death before I was six years of age; and one of these has had a powerful influence in forming habits of thoughtfulness and of great temperance in eating and drinking, and thence in the daily exercise of all my faculties.

This was when about five years old. I took hastily and unsuspectingly a spoonful of boiling hot food at breakfast, which instantly scalded my stomach to so great an extent, that I immediately fainted, and became insensible for a period so long, without sign of life, that my parents concluded I should not again revive, and that the vital spark was gone without hope of return. However, after a long period feeble signs of life began to appear; but it was long before any expectation was entertained that I could be reared to manhood. For years I was obliged most carefully to attend to what I eat or drank, as very few things, and those of the most simple but consequently wholesome kind, would remain on my stomach.

This event gave a new and singular character to my life as a boy, a youth, and a man; and I conclude it was the means of preparing me by the spirits to become a writing and speaking medium to the extent that I have written for and spoken to the public; for, considering my want of education, except the merest crude rudiments of learning to read, write, and the first simple rules of arithmetic, without other human instruction, my early public writings, speaking, and acting, always produced, to the surprise of myself, an extraordinary impression upon the minds of the most thoughtful, and of the highest in rank and station, as well as upon the unlettered children of Nature.

It was thus that my four "Essays on the Formation of Character" went speedily through five superior editions in this country, and I know not how many cheap editions in this country, in America, and on the Continent of Europe, producing an unheard of influence among the most powerful governments, learned universities at home and abroad, and in the Catholic and Pro-

testant churches. It was thus, also, when I held most exciting public meetings in this country, in Ireland, on the Continent of Europe, and in the United States, or when I lectured to thousands in crowded houses in these countries,—all of which will be more particularly narrated in the history which I am writing of my eventful life, if I live to complete it to the present time.

It was owing to this superior invisible aid, that long before the monitory system of teaching was known, I was at the age of seven years made usher over a school of thirty or forty boys and girls, many older than myself, and retained the situation for two years, that is, until I finally left schooling instruction.

That from a distant county, when the roads in it were nearly impassable for carriages, I went at ten years of age to the Metropolis, to obtain occupation, and finding a situation in another distant county, I was enabled from that age, without aid from friends or relatives, to well maintain myself, as my services in the school had paid for my last two years' schooling; having left school when nine years old, with only the most ordinary instruction in reading, writing, and the rudiments of arithmetic.

It was owing to this superior invisible aid, that my first master, whom I had left after four years' service, offered me at eighteen years of age the immediate half of his old established very profitable business, and the whole of it soon to follow if I would accept his offer, and, tempting as it was in all respects to one in my situation, that I was then influenced to decline it; for, as it appeared afterwards, God had a very different work for me to perform.

It was owing to this superior invisible aid, that I was impelled to leave my first acquired business, and to adopt another, of which I was totally ignorant; and that, while inexperienced in this business, knowing it most imperfectly and superficially, one of the oldest and most successful merchants and manufacturers of Manchester should, merely from my previous character in another business, agree to give me, at the age of twenty, three hundred pounds a year as salary, and engage me to take the entire charge of a new and most difficult mechanical manufacturing system, then employing five hundred persons, including men, women, and children; and that in less than half a year, without any one to give me the slightest instruction in any of the departments of this then unique manufacture, this shrewd man of business, who never came to this establishment while it was under my direction, offered me of his own accord, from knowing the effects which I had produced on the hands employed, and in the improvement of the manufactured article made for sale, if I would remain with him, four hundred pounds for the second year, and five hundred for the third year, and a partnership afterwards.

It was owing to this superior invisible aid, that after four

years service I refused to continue longer in it, although offered to name my salary, and this too at a period when £70 and £80 a year were thought a good salary for old-experienced assistants in the Manchester business.

It was owing to this superior invisible aid, that I was again, at this period, influenced to refuse the offer of one-third of the profits, and the full management, of a large new establishment with abundance of capital and first-rate commercial connexions, and to accept one-fourth of a smaller establishment with much more limited means and less promising prospects for a successful business; but which decision, as will be explained, led to the most important results of my future life.

It was owing to this superior invisible aid, that this new partnership led me into Glasgow, and I there accidentally met, in company with a young Manchester friend of mine of the same sex, in the most public part of Glasgow, a young lady, a native of the place, and who was then sought for in marriage by the most aspiring young men of the city, and who immediately after this first public interview said to her companion and confidant, my young Manchester friend,—“If ever I marry, that is to be my husband.” And so it proved: leading to a new set of circumstances, which are only yet in progress, but which will ultimately, before I depart this life, secure the rational progress and future happiness of our race upon earth, and terminate crime and all punishment of man by man.

It was this same superior invisible power that influenced this lady, my future wife, to induce me to visit the falls of the Clyde and New Lanark Mills, the latter then the property of her Father, the celebrated David Dale of Glasgow.

Having trained and governed most successfully for several years in Manchester a large population on a principle practised only by myself—a principle vividly given to me at an early age by this invisible superior power—I was on seeing New Lanark strongly impressed by this power to desire the possession of that establishment, for the purpose of extending the experiment of the new principle upon a larger scale of practice. I had not, however, at this period, the most distant expectation of obtaining it. I knew not that Mr. Dale was beginning to think about disposing of it, nor of the feelings which had been expressed to my Manchester friend by Miss Dale in my favour. Events, however, were so ordained, that although I was the active partner in the Chorlton Mills in Manchester, I induced new parties to join me from London and Manchester in the purchase of these works, in about eighteen months after I first saw them, and in a short period afterwards I married the eldest daughter of Mr. Dale.

I had now a fair field before me; for after some short time my new partners wished me to leave Manchester and to undertake the

sole management of the New Lanark Village, Works, and Farm, a property for which we had agreed to pay Mr. Dale sixty thousand pounds.

My monied partners had made the purchase with the view of profit for their capital, and I from a desire to try a great experiment, and to make a reasonable interest and profit to my partners for the use of their capital.

But this experiment, which I made for the benefit of our race through futurity, and which was continued for more than a quarter of a century, at this, during that period, most celebrated and wide-world-known establishment, was a continual bugbear to my first and second sets of money-making partners, and to the third set of well-meaning but some very narrow-minded sectarian and over-righteous partners, who wanted their own sectarian views to supersede the superior universal views given to me by the Great Author of all permanent good.

It was this divine power which directed me to perceive the necessity for commencing any great substantial and permanent good for our race at the beginning of life,—then, when it is most easy to give a right spirit, kind dispositions, good habits and manners, a true principle of action, and to train the judgment to an accurate, sound, and just mode of observing facts, reflecting upon them, and drawing only just and consistent conclusions from them. It was thus that the first idea of a rational school for infants was impressed so strongly on my mind, that rather than abandon it I was obliged to differ with my second set of partners, and refused to accept £1,000 a year for managing this unique establishment, which they forced to a public sale, intending to deprive me of it; but in which they were frustrated, and the experiment thereby greatly accelerated, until I had satisfied myself of the truth of the principle on which it was based, and of the divine practice which necessarily emanated from it.

It was this superior invisible power that opened my mind to perceive the unavoidable permanent injury to, and to open my heart to the evils and sufferings of, the operatives, and especially of the young children who were engaged in this new-manufacturing system, and who, old and young, were made slaves to mechanical powers and mechanism, instead of this power and science being made the slave and servant of society,—not only of the upper, but of the working classes also, to raise them to the rank of rational beings, and to enable them to improve and enjoy life.

Many attempts have been made by the professors of religion to give the invention and introduction of the Rational Infant School to any one rather than the sole originator and introducer of it into society; and they have done much to endeavour to destroy it, by making their attempts to imitate it into *irrational* Infant Schools. Neither the principle nor the practice of the Rational Infant School has yet been taught or understood by any of these imitators of that which they could not comprehend.

It was this invisible superior power which induced me to call the first meeting of master spinners and manufacturers in Glasgow, with the Lord Provost for Chairman, to consider measures to obtain the repeal of the tax on cotton, and also to give relief by Legislative measures to the poor sadly-oppressed operatives, young and old, now daily increasing by the increase of cotton, wool, flax, and silk mills, and other factories and establishments which these mills made necessary.

I succeeded in inducing these masters to agree to adopt measures for the repeal of the tax ; but could make no impression on their judgment or feeling to induce them to ask for salutary measures to give relief to those whom they employed, and whom they were then training to become their helpless slaves, and degrading below the condition of free persons in a free country.

But on this failure, the same guiding and directing power impressed me to publish the address which I delivered at this meeting, as a letter to the Lord Provost of Glasgow, and to send a copy of it to every member of both Houses of Parliament. (See Appendix A.)

The consequence of this letter was the immediate repeal of the tax upon cotton, and a general desire in the leaders of both houses to give Legislative relief ; and by subsequent personal application to the members of both houses I obtained the promise of a large majority in both to support a bill if I would prepare one for that purpose.

I did so ; and prepared an efficient bill to remedy some of the evils of this wretched system for rational beings ; and the leading members of both houses recommended me to entrust the bill to be introduced into the House of Commons to the first Sir Robert Peel, who in this case wanted energy and decision, and was then, with his son, too much under the influence of the then grown-to-be-powerful interest of the money-making manufacturers, who, I regret to say, were, with very few exceptions, thorough worshippers of Mammon. If Sir Robert Peel had pushed the bill to divisions in the first session, I know it would have been carried through both houses by overwhelming majorities. But he kept it before the House of Commons four years, and during that time he consented so to mutilate my bill, that I ceased to take any interest in it after the two first sessions, although I earnestly watched its progress from mutilation to mutilation, until it became a worthless measure, requiring amendments ever since to this day ; amendments approaching towards, but not coming yet to the plain, honest, and simple principles and practices of the bill when first introduced by Sir Robert Peel. However, these proceedings in Parliament, with which I had become familiar, opened my eyes, contrary to the high expectations in my previous life, to the almost universal corruption which then prevailed there and in public business generally.

But while this matter was in progress, new circumstances had

arisen, in consequence of the sudden cessation of the war of Europe, which may be said to have continued for a quarter of a century.

The revulsion from a war so extended and long continued, to a general peace, which appeared to terminate hostilities in Europe for many years, produced a sudden stagnation in the trade and commerce of this country, and such distress arose in the agricultural and manufacturing districts as had not been previously known. Labourers and artisans in town and country were dismissed and thrown out of employment to such an alarming extent, that the fears of the government and country were excited for the consequences, and a great public meeting was called to consider the cause of and remedy for this dangerous state of the commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural poor and working classes. The late Duke of York was Chairman of the meeting, and the whole strength of Government and of the church was put forth to give weight and influence to the meeting. I attended this meeting at the particular request of the late Bishop (Bathurst) of Norwich, to apologise for his absence, and to subscribe for him,—for a large subscription was called for and expected.

After much speaking on the subject, to little purpose, it was decided that a Committee of the leading statesmen in Church and State, Political Economists, and Philanthropists, should be appointed, thoroughly to investigate the extraordinary circumstance that peace should overwhelm the country with adversity, and should reduce the peasant and artisan to poverty for want of employment.

The Committee was appointed—the then Archbishop of Canterbury, (Sutton), Chairman, and, to my surprise, my name was put upon it as one of its members. It was to meet the next day.

One of the leading philanthropists of that day, who had also been named upon the Committee, invited me to breakfast with him before we went to attend the Committee. He asked me what I thought was the cause of this extraordinary distress, and how it was to be remedied. I freely gave him the impressions which had been made on my mind from calmly viewing the events which had occurred during the past half-century. These explanations and opinions seemed most satisfactory to my friend. We attended the meeting of the Committee, and sat together, not far removed from the Chairman—the Archbishop, with whom sometime before I had had very interesting proceedings privately at his palace in Lambeth.

I went to this Committee, knowing it to be composed of the leading members of the leading parties in the state, with the expectation of hearing much profound wisdom and valuable practical knowledge. I was yet a novice among public men, and being a mere cotton manufacturer, had great reverence for statesmen, high dignitaries in Church and Law, and political econo-

mists, who were now making great claims to new discoveries in their science.

I listened to speech after speech with rivetted attention, and never was so sudden a change effected in opinion in a few hours;—for they thoroughly convinced me that they knew next to nothing practically of the subject before them. It was the furthest from my thoughts to venture to speak before these celebrated men, whose language was so fluent and correct, and I was then totally unaccustomed to attempt to speak in public. I was therefore silent; but my friend had also become quite disappointed and dissatisfied with the learned speeches which he heard at last with great impatience, and said quietly to me, “Mr. Owen, say to them what you explained to me this morning.” I took no notice, but signed for him to be silent. He however persisted in urging me to speak, until the Archbishop heard what he was saying, and observed my great unwillingness to meet his wishes;—when the Archbishop said as Chairman, “Mr. Owen, we know you have attended to these subjects and have practical knowledge of them,—may I request you to favour the meeting with your opinions?” Greatly against my feelings I was now obliged to speak in public, for which I was quite unprepared; but on this occasion also the invisible superior power sustained me, and I stated such facts and reasons as astounded the statesmen and political economists present.

I told them that the then cause of the want of employment for the working classes was the extraordinary progress made during the war in mechanical inventions and chemical discoveries, and that these now superseded human labour to an enormous amount. The political economists were eager to know what that amount was. I said that, not expecting to be thus called upon, I could not venture to hazard a conjecture as to its real amount; but without having statistically investigated the subject I knew it must be very large—much larger than I could venture to state, without documents to guide me, to such a meeting as the present; but I was urged by Mr. Colquhoun, the great political economist of that day, and he was warmly supported by other members of the meeting, to name some amount, that they might have some data to proceed upon. I was then directing machinery that performed with the aid of the working part of a population not exceeding *two thousand five hundred*, as much work daily as fifty years before would have required the working part of a population of *six hundred thousand*; and I said, upon being farther urged upon the subject, that I knew it must very greatly exceed the labour of *three millions of men*. The surprise of these leading men of the nation at this statement was most extraordinary and most amusing. “Equal to three millions of men! Mr. Owen,” was exclaimed by Mr. Colquhoun, and followed by others—“It is utterly impossible!”

Yet at that moment—as I was soon afterwards enabled from undoubted evidence to convince Mr. Colquhoun, James Mill, David Ricardo, and others—it exceeded, and far exceeded, the labour of *three hundred millions*;—and now it much exceeds the labour of *one thousand millions*—while it is every day on the increase.

It was at this and immediate subsequent meetings that I was enabled to direct public attention to the wonderful new power acquired in the British Island alone from the sciences of mechanism and chemistry, and to give the public some faint idea of the power yet to be obtained from them.

After hearing what I had to say, the Archbishop suggested that I should be requested to make a report upon my view of the whole subject, to be presented at the next meeting of the Committee. All the members agreeing in this request I consented to do so.

I have been thus particular on this subject, in consequence of the immediate important results which it occasioned, which are now in progress, and which must yet arise from it;—consequences most important to the human race throughout futurity.

The report which the invisible and superior power enabled me to make, and which I presented to the Committee at its next meeting, is given in the appendix. (See Appendix B.)

When I presented this report to the Committee, it was amusing and most instructive to me to witness the surprise and confusion of the members when it was read to them. They were confounded, and many of the members felt they had got into a dilemma.

The report went to the foundation of the subject, and to the true and only remedy—the remedy which must yet be adopted for the permanent relief of all parties. But at this period the members connected with and dependent on Church and State were not prepared for the change proposed. They were not inclined to truly educate or efficiently employ the poor and unemployed of the working classes. To keep the mass in ignorance and poverty had been and then were the principles acted upon by the then members of our Aristocracy and Church. They were at that period stone blind to the interests of the country and to their own true interests. What were the Committee to do? They could not disprove any of its principles or practices. But they dared not refuse or accept it. What was to be done?

They hit upon a most happy expedient, as they thought, to overcome the difficulty before them.

At this time there was sitting a Committee of the House of Commons on the poor-laws—a Committee of forty members (if I recollect right) composed of the leading members of all parties in the house. Mr. Sturges Bourne was Chairman; and it was considered the most important Committee of the Session.

The Archbishop's "*Committee of the Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and Labouring Poor*," after hearing the report read, and discussing what they were to do with it, came to the conclusion that it was too large a subject for them to interfere with, and they recommended it to be presented to Mr. Bourne's Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Laws; and thus they escaped the necessity of expressing an opinion on a subject now evidently to me so far beyond their knowledge and comprehension.

As directed by this Committee, I went to the Committee of the House of Commons, and offered to be examined by it on the subject under their consideration. It appointed a day, and at an early hour, for the commencement of my examination. I attended, and was the first introduced that morning to the Committee. I put my papers and plans upon the table before me, ready to be questioned, while waiting for the first question to be asked. I was personally well known to the Chairman, having been often with him on the subject of the "*Bill for the Relief of Persons in Cotton and other Mills and Factories*," (as it was entitled on its first introduction into the house), and he had always treated me with great attention, and I may add deference,—for upon one of these occasions he said, "Mr. Owen, how do you collect such information upon these general subjects, which we cannot, or do not know how to procure?" I was therefore sure as an individual he was friendly to me. But there was on this occasion an anxiety in his countenance, for which I could not account; and instead of beginning to examine me, he began to whisper to his nearest neighbours, and an under-tone conversation passed among them, which I could not hear. The Committee was crowded with members—every one being present,—for my expected examination had created considerable excitement among them. It was evident to me that the substance of my report had been communicated to the Chairman and other members of the Committee; for I held it in my hand, and was going to put it in as part of my evidence; but I soon found that this Committee was as much afraid of it as the former; for after this under-toned conversation among the members, the Chairman said, "Mr. Owen, will you have the kindness to withdraw into the adjoining room for a short time, until we discuss some points on which there is a difference of opinion respecting the mode of your examination." I withdrew, and occupied myself, while waiting the decision of the Committee, in writing my supposed examination by the members. I was in attendance until the Committee broke up, about five o'clock, p.m.—when Lord (then Mr. Henry) Brougham, a personal friend of mine, who had been on a visit to me at New Lanark, came to me and said,—“Owen, this is an extraordinary business. We have been debating with closed doors since you left in the morning, whether you should be examined or not. We

have adjourned the debate until to morrow morning, and the Committee request you to come and be here at its commencement to wait their ultimate decision."

I attended accordingly, as directed, early in the morning, and occupied myself as during the day preceding in writing out a better examination of the subject than the members, for want of the necessary practical knowledge, were prepared to elicit from me. I was now well convinced in my own mind that the majority of the Committee, who were Conservatives, were afraid to have my examination recorded in their blue books.

After being kept waiting the whole of the second day, when the Committee broke up late in the afternoon, Lord Brougham was again sent to me, and he said,—“This is a strange business. Here have we been debating for two whole days, with closed doors, whether or not you are to be examined; and we have but just now come to a division, which by a small majority has decided that you are not to be examined.”

Seeing now that the well-being and well-doing of the poor and working classes were not at this period under the consideration of the Government and Church, I was influenced to send copies of my self-examination to all the newspapers in London, morning and evening; and I conclude it was the same invisible superior power which induced the proprietors and editors of those days to publish it, and which enabled me to write it; for every daily morning and evening paper published it upon the same day, with the additional letter annexed to it respecting my visit to Newgate with Mrs. Fry, and which first introduced her name and experiment to the public. And as upon this occasion I purchased for distribution upwards of thirty thousand copies—one of which was sent to each member of both houses—one to each clergyman in every parish in the kingdom—one to the leading Magistrate and Banker in every City and Town—and one to the leading public characters of the day, Mrs. Fry's fame was thus established in less than a week in every county and parish over the land; and by this accidental visit and publication was her success in Newgate made known to the world; for previously it was unknown to any part of the public. (See appendix C, for copies of this Examination and the Letter.)

These proceedings, which I was impressed to adopt, created an interest and excitement among all classes, seldom if ever produced in so short a period to such extent by an individual unaided by any sect or party in the state, but opposed by all.

Having aroused this great excitement and expectation of something new and good, and having the London press of all parties willing to give currency to my ideas, I was influenced by this invisible superior power, which directed all my measures, to call a public meeting, to be held at noon, in the City of London Tavern, to declare my opinions openly to the world, and to submit

them to the test of public discussion, and to the most severe examination. For I felt a confidence in their truth and goodness so powerful that I was impressed to believe that no open and fair means could overcome them.

A public meeting was advertised in my name "For the consideration of a plan to relieve the country from its present distress; to re-moralise the lower orders; to reduce the poor rate; and to gradually abolish pauperism, with all its degrading and injurious consequences."

I was then, as I have been since, and am now, deeply impressed with the conviction that the practical measures I then advocated were the only course of action that could accomplish those results; that, for the permanent benefit of all classes in all nations, the principles and practices which were then recommended by me must be, and will be, universally adopted. Society in Europe and America has been continually endeavouring, bit by bit, to secretly steal as it were those principles and practices; but it has not yet acquired sufficient grasp of mind and moral courage to look the whole subject fairly in the face, and to adopt it, as the population of the world must ere long do, to relieve itself from an overwhelming accumulation of moral and social evils, too grievous to be borne; and especially as it will now soon discover that it possesses powers, when rightly applied, far beyond the possible wants of the human race. It sees not yet that the progress of science must inevitably destroy individualism, which is the essence of selfishness, and that, while it is supported, for any parties to talk of charity, of love, of union, and of universal brotherhood, is infantile weakness. It cannot now be long before society will discover that these true principles and practices are alone applicable to a social state of existence, in which ultimately, but gradually, the human race must be united on just, superior, and enlightened principles of equality, so as to really form one cordially, and, if I may use the expression, heavenly attracted brotherhood.

This, my friends,—this state is straight before us, and at no great distance;—it is the "Good Time Coming" for the human race.

But to return to the Public Meeting at which this great change was announced first to the public. It was to be held on the 14th of August, 1817; but previously, as I did not wish to take the public or any party by surprise, I had published in all the London Morning and Evening papers, a sketch and explanation of my intended proceedings, as given in the Appendix D.

The meeting was held as advertised on the 14th of August, and such a meeting has seldom been seen in the City of London. It was crowded to excess. I then delivered the address which I had written previously, — as given in the Appendix D. Such had become the excitement previously created by my proceedings, that

all the press of London applied to me to give them copies of what I was going to say at the public meeting, that they might publish it the next day in the Morning and Evening papers. To avoid partiality, and to prevent error or misrepresentation, I had sixteen MS. copies written out, and I promised that if they would come and apply to me at the meeting when I had delivered about half of what I intended to say, I would give instructions that each paper, Morning and Evening, should have a copy; and this they did; and thus an accurate statement was given in full the next day in every paper. It was a meeting which created the most intense interest in the public of all classes, and especially when it was known that there would be another similar meeting, as an adjournment was moved and carried.

The leading articles of the newspapers in London were full of these proceedings, and the provincial papers followed their example. The subject appeared to absorb public attention day by day.

This meeting was held on the 14th as stated; and on the 16th I published in all the London newspapers the letter and explanations given in Appendix F, which yet more increased the excitement of all parties.

The public, or rather the sectarian part of the public, were urgent, by articles in the newspapers, to learn what were my religious views and sentiments. But I had the press unanimously with me.

Whether this unanimity arose from the obvious, honest, straightforward, disinterested, mode of my proceedings, or from the expectation of my liberal purchases of their papers when published, after I had seen their contents, I cannot say; but I think they were carried away by the great excitement, which appeared to increase as the time for the next meeting approached, and that they were impelled to proceed as they did. Mr. Perry, then proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*, when asked why he devoted so much of his paper to my views, replied, "That the subscribers to his paper insisted upon his doing so."

I was now become the most popular man living; having the London press so far strongly commending my proceedings, and so far now under my control, that they could not and did not refuse to insert any communications from me, however long, to which I would put my name.

Under these circumstances the Government became alarmed. A minute had been sent from the General Post Office to the Treasury, stating that the additional newspapers sent in by Mr. Owen, (for my name was printed on all the covers), stopped the whole of the mail coaches going east, west, north, and south, more than twenty minutes beyond their time;—and they became afraid of me, for they said I had broken the back of the press.

In the interim between the first and second meeting, I asked

an interview with Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister. It was immediately granted, and fixed for twelve o'clock the next day.

I had been in the habit for sometime previously of having interviews with his Lordship and the other members of the Cabinet; and they had been always friendly, open, and candid with me, in all my intercourse with them.

Upon my calling, at the hour appointed, on his Lordship, I was shown into the room of his Private Secretary, then called "Young Peel," (afterwards the Premier, the late Sir Robert), who on my entrance immediately stood up, and said most courteously—"My Lord Liverpool will see you immediately"—and requested me to be seated; but he himself remained standing until Lord Liverpool opened the door of his room and requested me to come in. His Lordship asked me to be seated, and then he said—"Mr. Owen, what would you wish to have done?—what would you wish the Government to do for you?" This was said in such a manner and tone of voice as to assure me that whatever I should ask in reason would be immediately granted.

Here was a fair opening for the height of private ambition. I had not a particle of it within me. The sole feeling created within me was the desire for the permanent good and happiness of all my fellow creatures. I said—"My Lord, I have nothing to ask for myself. I have important matters before me for the public good, and I wish them to be thoroughly investigated. At my next public meeting I intend to ask for the appointment of a Committee of investigation, and I wish it to be composed of the first minds in the country;—will you allow the names of certain members of the Cabinet Ministers to be upon the list, with an equal number of the leading members of the opposition, to form a Committee of investigation and to report thereon?"

Previously his mind appeared full of anxiety, and I have never seen anxiety so completely and as it were instantaneously removed. He said frankly and with the most relieved feelings—"You may make freely any use of our names you may deem useful, short of implicating us as a Government." I thanked his Lordship and departed.

I now was impelled to feel the full weight of the responsible position in which all this time, unknown to myself, the invisible superior spirit or power within me had placed me, with reference to all my fellow men. This power had convinced me of the worthlessness of popularity,—of wealth, beyond a reasonable amount,—and also of future fame.

For now I was dissatisfied with all the professed religions of the world, and I did not believe in future conscious existence, although I believed in a Great Creating Power of the Universe, which was my God, and in the eternity of all things except forms, which were evidently constantly changing,—that is, in the eternity of the Power which composes, decomposes, and re-

composes the elements of nature, which are, as I believed from a very early period, and as I yet believe, also eternal. I had been made from a boy an earnest seeker after truth, and, I conclude by the same invisible superior power, to prefer it to life itself, when convinced that I had found truths that were important in their consequences. And, at a period before I can remember, I had been deeply impressed with a criterion to discover truth from error,—namely, “That eternal truth is always consistent with itself, and in accordance with all ascertained facts.” This rule or law, so early impressed on my mind, became afterwards my guide through life; and I was constrained to act on all public occasions, regardless of self, in accordance with my most conscientious convictions.

I was now asked by the press what were my religious views. I had previously made up my mind that no one should be deceived in my views of religion, or of man, or of society. But now I had to consider what was the greatest possible good that I could effect for my fellow men, with the extraordinary power I possessed at this period over the press and the public. Deeply pondering over this question, the invisible superior power acting within me said—“You must destroy, as far as you can with this power, the conflicting and contending superstitions of the world, which their supporters call religion:—they are all in practice opposed to universal love and charity, without which there can be no peace and goodwill on earth—no real unity, or means to establish one language, one interest, one feeling of action, or a true and cordial brotherhood among mankind, so as to make the race good, wise, and happy.”

I inquired then of my mind or inward monitor what course I should pursue? “You must,” was the reply—“openly denounce at your next public meeting all the religions of the world.” But my ordinary or worldly mind replied—“I shall at once lose my popularity, my character with what is called the respectable part of society, be degraded by all the religious, perhaps be deprived of property, liberty, or not very improbably, upon such public denunciation of all religions, be torn from the platform and my life sacrificed.” The voice within said—“It may be so; but what of that?—what is your life, or the momentary suffering even to death of one person, compared to the immensity of good which such a declaration of this grand truth under the exciting circumstances which you have now created in the public will produce on the civilised world? But fear not—be of good courage—pursue the high destiny which you have to accomplish. You must suffer for the time in the world’s estimation; but after a due time you shall overcome all prejudices and obstacles, and great shall be your reward. Do your duty to your race, and disregard all consequences.” I determined to obey this voice within, and made up my mind to act as my interior voice dic-

tated ; and I went to the meeting with feelings of calm determination to perform this high duty, to sacrifice my proud position in society, and if required my life also.

No one knew what I was going to say on this matter ; for I knew every friend I had would strongly oppose my determination.

I delivered the address, and when I approached to the denunciation of all the religions in the world, I had by my words and manner gradually prepared the audience for something not of an ordinary character, and I expected to witness an outburst of uproar and violence even to death,—for the meeting was crammed to excess, the stairs were crowded to the outer door, and it was said that six or seven thousand persons went away, or waited until the result should be known. Such was the excitement created that nothing of the kind had ever before been witnessed.

When I had emphatically thus denounced all the religions of the world, demolished in a few minutes my high position with the professors of religion and what are called the respectable portion of society, I paused, and waited calmly for some moments to observe the effect produced. There was at first a dead silence. All appeared to be stunned and confounded. Many clergymen, and religious persons, and independent members of society, had come to support me. The political economists and radicals of every shade had come to oppose me, supposing, from the encomiums upon my measures in the Ministerial papers, that I was an instrument or agent of Government to yet more assist it to enslave the people ; but now this supposition was instantly proved to be false. All parties were confounded, and no one appeared to know what to say or do. After this pause and dead silence had continued for some time, I proceeded with the address,—upon which a few clergymen near began a faint hiss, which was immediately replied to by the immense meeting present by the most heartfelt applause I ever witnessed in any public assembly. I was now confounded, because this was so contrary to my expectations. At the termination of a very protracted meeting much discussion ensued, and many opponents spoke against time, that workmen who had heard nothing might come in from their work as others went out to their dinner at six, having been in a high state of excitement from before noon. Notwithstanding this, the majority of the meeting, had it been fairly put to the vote, were with me ; but a few violent persons by their noise prevented the vote being put, and the meeting broke up in some disorder ; but to my surprise I experienced not the slightest insult, but much friendly commiseration that I should so unwisely destroy such extraordinary popularity. But, as I expected, my object was attained ; which was, to have what I said faithfully reported the next day in all the papers ; for the same arrangement had been made with and for the whole London press as was practised in the former meeting. It

was faithfully reported the next day in every Morning and Evening paper, and copied afterwards extensively in the provincial and the London weekly papers. This address, and "a further development," and a statement of measures "for the immediate relief of the poor," which I published soon after, are given in the appendix G. H. and I.

I then felt that my mission so far was completed. The denunciation of the Superstitions of the world had gone forth throughout the civilised world, and never could be recalled; and its effects have been to undermine all these superstitions already, to an immense extent, and from which they never can recover their power over the human mind,—but they must now rapidly give place to a practical religion of universal love and charity, to make way for a new existence of the human race, in the union of universal brotherhood, in the bond of peace, when all from infancy will be trained and thoroughly educated to endeavour cordially to promote each other's excellence and happiness.

The *Times* newspaper now led the way in what it called opposition to my irreligion;—but my influence with the public remained much greater than I could have anticipated. To show the impression made by this daring deed,—for at this period the church was all powerful, compared with its present weakened influence,—I met the next day after this meeting Lord (then Henry) Brougham, whom I well knew. He crossed the street to come to me, and said in his usual frank manner—"How the devil, Owen, could you say what you did yesterday at your public meeting? If any of us (meaning the liberal or opposition party) had said half as much, we should have been burnt alive?"

However I was not burned alive, nor did I experience any personal injury or inconvenience; but on the contrary I received much attention and consideration where I least expected it for years after this event. Yet certain parties in the so-called religious world formed a conspiracy to do whatever they could to prevent my writings being read, and to defame and misrepresent all my proceedings.

But the invisible superior power which inspired all my proceedings had so fortified my position by my previous well-known practical measures and published writings, that they could only influence the ignorant and those who knew me not; and as if nothing extraordinary had occurred I pursued the even tenor of my way, and have, with trifling interruptions, enjoyed from that time to this more health, peace of mind, and personal consideration, in public and private, by the best disposed among high and low, rich and poor, than have often been experienced by those leading so public and active a life to the age which I have now attained.

Notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the professors of religion, and of the supposed interested, and of the prejudiced of all parties opposed to the simple naked truth on these high and

important subjects, involving the progress and happiness of the human race,—these two public meetings produced an excitement throughout Europe, America, and the civilised world, such as had previously been unknown, in their immediate effects upon the thinking part of society, and in their permanent influence on the mind and practice of all who desire the substantial advance and continued progress of the human race.

That the character of each one is formed in the whole of his organisation by God,—that this organisation is afterwards influenced for good or evil, for truth or error, by the good or bad, inferior or superior conditions in which it shall be placed through life,—all who have been taught to reflect and reason from facts respecting human nature are now compelled to admit. And to the immense consequences for permanent good to mankind from the knowledge of this principle and practice, those same parties are preparing, and attempting day by day, to make progress by acting upon it.

It is true, the railway, banking, mining, and other extensive companies, clubs, and club-chambers, for the rich,—lodging, washing, and bath houses, ragged and other schools, &c., for the poor,—are but infant proceedings, or the A. B. C. of the application of the knowledge of this principle and practice to the purposes of life. But society having thus discovered, although late in its history for such a simple yet all-important discovery to be made, that good and superior conditions always make, to the extent of their goodness and superiority, good men and women, are beginning, from seeing the very beneficial effect of their hitherto petty infantile proceedings, to have their faculties opened to perceive the necessity of proceeding farther in this direction; and ere long even children will be made conscious that really good and superior conditions will be sure to make men and women truly good and superior.

“What!”—the inexperienced and incredulous, or, spiritually speaking, the undeveloped, will exclaim—“only good and superior conditions necessary to make good and superior men and women!” Yes, my poor friends, without useful practical knowledge,—all that is wanting to make the human race permanently, that is, as long as our earth shall maintain human beings, rationally good, truly wise, cordially united, and progressively happy, without retrogression, are good and superior conditions from birth to death.

“Yes,”—it will be now reiterated,—“we find it true, as far as we have yet tried, that every advance that we have honestly made towards improving the conditions of the poor has been beneficial; but see the rich and the great,—they have surrounded themselves with good conditions, and they are neither good, wise, nor happy.”

Not so fast, my poor deluded friends;—their conditions are not good.

"What!—Not palaces, and parks, and wealth, giving luxuries of every kind and description,—with friends, fawning though they may be, innumerable:—are not these good, nay first-rate conditions?"

No! on the ignorant and unjust principles on which they are formed, conducted, and preserved, they are very bad and dangerous conditions.

"What, then, are good conditions?"

Ah, "there is the rub, which has made calamity of so long life" in the history of mankind,—which to-day has made of the human race a character partaking strongly of fool or knave, or a compound of both.

Good conditions have never been known among men. They are not yet known.

At these meetings the invisible superior power acting within me enabled me to broach the subject, and in two years afterwards prepared in Lanarkshire the means and occasion for me to enter into a more extended view of the outline and detail of what good conditions are.

Still the subject was too large and new for the undeveloped to understand. But after these proceedings had been widely circulated over the world, and my "Report to the County of Lanark" had passed through some editions, and my memorials on the same subject had been presented to and well-received by the Congress of Sovereigns held at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, Fourier, St. Simon, and others, began to make attempts, by commencing arrangements under various names, to combine good conditions; but mistaking the principle on which alone good conditions can be created, he, St. Simon, and all others, have failed in their well-intentioned object to "socialise" society, by creating, as they intended, new social conditions.

I now proclaim, without fear of refutation, that all existing conditions over the world are calculated to create the existing characters only; and that, however varied these appear, from the most savage to the most civilised, all are formed upon false fundamental principles, and all are therefore made to become false to their nature, and with a considerable mixture, in consequence, of fool or knave to that nature, and necessarily in their conduct to each other; for none dare openly to speak the full language of truth to any one, and the general language of the human race, in look, manner, and words, is the language of falsehood and suspicion.

I have not yet found one who thoroughly understands the principles, and the practice of truth in accordance with those principles; and yet the happiness of the human race cannot be approached without this knowledge and practice. This, and this alone, is positive philosophy, or plain and simple truth.

After these two extraordinary public meetings had been held,

it became evident to me that society was yet too undeveloped to comprehend the truth and purity of the principles and practices which the invisible superior power acting within me had inspired me to thus promulgate to the world. I was then influenced to a new course of action, and to receive a considerable power of prophetic knowledge, so as to foretel the outline of the future changes which were preparing for the progression of mankind, and I was impelled to other proceedings, and to the publication of other writings in the London newspapers, as will be stated in the next part of this work.

ROBERT OWEN.

Sevenoaks, March, 1854.

END OF PART I.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.

Observations on the Effects of the Manufacturing System;—being the Address delivered at the Public Meeting of the Scotch Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers, held in Glasgow, in January, 1815,—The Lord Provost in the Chair;—and afterwards published in the “Glasgow Chronicle,” addressed to the Lord Provost; and for separate circulation, by LONGMANS, CADELL, HATCHARD, and MURRAY.

MY LORD,

The subject which is to engage the attention of the meeting is one of deep interest, not only to those who are immediately engaged in the cotton trade, but to every member of the community; it is one of great national importance, and it is in this view I now intend to consider it.

Little more than half a century has elapsed since, it may be said, the cotton trade commenced in this country; it is now the most considerable in the kingdom, and its ramifications extend through every part of the British Empire. It is worthy of remark that this astonishing increase has taken place not only without the aid of Government, but even against national oppression; for can a duty on the importation of a raw material which may be obtained by every nation in the world, be called anything less than a national oppression?

During this period the linen trade, although aided by bounties, has gradually diminished. The woollen trade, although unaided by bounties, has not been oppressed by duties, yet it has remained nearly stationary.

The varied qualities of cotton enable the manufacturer of it to form fabrics of every texture for clothing and furniture, from the most cool, light, and airy, to that which is almost impervious to cold. It can be produced cheaper than wool, flax, or hemp, and manufactured more easily than either. From these circumstances it may be inferred that cotton is destined to become the common clothing of mankind.

We may hence infer, that in whatever country the cotton manufacture shall finally prevail, there also may be found the greatest political power.

Hitherto, in consequence of the conflict of contending nations for their political existence, we have had no competitors in this manufacture that could materially retard its progress; but this conflict is now terminated. Peace pervades the Continent of Europe; and I trust, ere long we shall receive intelligence of the ratification of peace between the British Empire and America. We must, however, now prepare for a new rivalry—a rivalry in arts and manufactures; and, as the political importance of the cotton trade is already duly appreciated in every state in Europe, from seeing and feeling the effects of the wealth and power which it has created in this country, we may rest assured that all means will be used by those States to participate in its advantages, and that each Government will willingly render its subjects every assistance to procure some share of its benefits.

Favoured by our exclusion so long from the Continent, this trade has already made a progress in France, Switzerland, and Germany, that will scarcely be credited by those unacquainted with the business.

Is it then wise in our Legislators to aid the views and wishes of our rivals, to do all they can to withdraw this source of our wealth, power, and greatness, and give it to other nations? This, however, is truly the tendency of their present conduct; and if they persevere in continuing the duty on the importation of cotton, we shall most certainly be deprived of the cotton trade, and of a part of many others which depend upon it for support.

Let us now examine what this trade is, which our legislators thus put to the hazard.

On the average of the last ten years, we have imported about seventy-three millions of pounds of cotton annually, for which we have paid about five millions sterling.

This cotton has been spun into yarn, and exported or made into goods, from the coarsest fabric for household purposes and garments to the finest

muslins and lace; and, averaging these, I think it may be stated that the subjects of this country increase its value six or seven times, making a return for the cotton trade alone of from thirty to thirty-five millions sterling annually, which sum is paid to the inhabitants of this country chiefly for labour, and which they again expend within the year for food and other necessities of life, making an annual sum paid and expended for labour of from sixty to seventy millions sterling. However extraordinary this sum may appear, I believe it will be found, on accurate investigation, to be under the real amount.

Now seventy millions sterling will support about three millions of the working classes, as they at present live in this country.

I believe this number, or more, derive their employment and support directly or indirectly from the cotton trade, for it is not those alone who are occupied in the manufacture of cotton that should be included in this number; but a considerable part of those who are engaged in almost all the other manufactures in the kingdom. It gives activity to the lead, tin, and copper, mines;—to the Baltic and Canada trade in timber, tallow, &c., &c.; to the manufacturers of glass, cards, leather, vegetable oil;—to the whale fisheries;—and to a variety of other branches of commerce too tedious here to enumerate, besides the direct consumption of food and of all the other necessities of life required by the individuals so occupied. Such, my Lord and Gentlemen, is the importance of the cotton trade.

The next question for our examination is, whether we possess the means of retaining this valuable branch of commerce?—and it is an inquiry deserving our most serious attention.

This question can be answered only by reference to the local advantages possessed by this country, and a comparison of them with those enjoyed by other countries likely to become our opponents.

Here we have the manufacture established, and a large part of the population trained to the business; there is a steady industry and application in the people, which cannot easily be outdone; our capital is perhaps superior to any rival; and, above all, our constitution gives more liberty and security to the subject than any constitution hitherto obtained by our neighbours. These are our local advantages.

We are opposed on the Continent of Europe by a strong inclination to obtain the trade, by low wages, aided by protecting import duties on the yarn and goods exported from this country, and by a comparatively low taxation.

These are indeed formidable advantages in favour of our European rivals; but against these, if we shall have a free import of the raw material, I trust we may successfully contend.

But, my Lord and Gentlemen, what are we to say to the local advantages possessed by our far more formidable rivals on the other side of the Atlantic?—Men speaking our own language, who can mix with us in all our proceedings, commercial as well as political; who can easily induce our instructed workmen to facilitate their operations; who cannot be prevented from obtaining accurate drawings of every machine we employ; who have the raw materials at their doors; who have scarcely any taxation, and a constitution equally free with our own.

These are local advantages, my Lord, to which, even with every aid our Government can lend, I am sure, sooner or later, we must yield; but should our Government persevere in its present impolitic oppression of this trade, by still exacting duties on the importation of the raw material, I am equally sure that the period when we must yield to our more fortunate rivals is near at hand.

It has however been stated from high authority, that one of the leading members of the administration has said, "We have too much cotton trade in this country." I know it is also a prevailing sentiment among the most respectable part of the community, not personally interested in trade and commerce, that the cotton trade is highly injurious to the population of the

country, and, in consequence, they lament its introduction, and are not desirous of its increase.

I am not, my Lord, surprised at these sentiments. On the contrary, I should be surprised if they did not exist; and did I not firmly believe that events like these, which are beyond the control of individuals, have ultimate beneficial consequences, I should be inclined to draw the same conclusions, and to concur in the same wishes, because I know, from personal experience, that the labouring classes were much more happy in their agricultural pursuits, than they can be while engaged, as they now are, in most branches of the cotton manufacture. These lamentable results, however, can be known only by experience; and now the experience is acquired, it is too late to retrace our steps. Were we inclined, we cannot now return to our former state; for without the cotton trade, our increased population cannot be supported, the interest of the national debt paid, nor the expenses of our fleets and armies defrayed. Our existence as an independent power now, I regret to say, depends on the continuance of this trade, because no other can be substituted in its place. True indeed it is, that the main pillar and prop of the political greatness and prosperity of our country, is a manufacture which, as it is now carried on, is destructive of the health, morals, and social comforts of the mass of the people engaged in it.

Such, my Lord, is the real state of the case; and I am anxious we should look it full in the face, that, if possible, timely measures may be devised to remove the evil and prevent the lamentable consequences which must ensue to the state itself, if a remedy cannot be found and applied.

Such, my Lord, is the present situation of our country. It possesses a manufacture which gives bread, directly or indirectly, to more than three millions of its inhabitants, and supplies the Government with a large proportion of its necessary expenses. This manufacture, however, is one which essentially injures the health, morals and happiness of the majority of those engaged in it; yet, in consequence of the peculiar qualities of the raw material of this manufacture, no substitute is likely to be found to supersede it.

But cannot the evils be remedied, the trade sustained, and the country supported? I trust and hope they may; and to this point every friend to his country, every friend to humanity, will now direct his attention.

I know there are those who have not thought on the subject, and others who, if they are well off themselves, care little about the sufferings of those around them. To these, if there are any such present, I do not now address myself: I wish rather to fix the attention of those who can look beyond the passing hour, who can accurately trace future consequences from existing causes; those who feel an extended interest in the welfare of their species; who have discovered that wealth is not happiness, and that an apparent greatness founded on the miseries of the people, is not permanent and substantial power.

To relieve us from the dangerous and critical situation in which we are now placed, we must devise effectual measures to ameliorate the condition of the millions employed in this manufacture, which has already changed almost all the good habits of our ancestors.

It is only since the introduction of the cotton trade, that children at an age before they had acquired strength of body or mental instruction have been forced into cotton-mills—those receptacles, in too many instances, for living human skeletons—almost disrobed of intellect, where, as the business is often now conducted, they linger out a few years of miserable existence, acquiring every bad habit, which they disseminate throughout society. It is only since the introduction of this trade, that children, and even grown people, were required to labour more than twelve hours in the day, including the time allotted for meals. It is only since the introduction of this trade, that the sole recreation of the labourer is to be found in the pot-house or gin-shop. It is only since the introduction of this baneful trade, that poverty, crime, and misery, have made rapid and fearful strides throughout the community.

Shall we then go unblushingly, and ask the Legislators of our country to pass legislative acts to sanction and increase this trade, to sign the death-warrant of the strength, morals, and happiness, of thousands of our fellow-creatures, and not attempt to propose correctives for the evils which it creates?

If such shall be your determination, I, for one, will not join in the application; nay, I will, with all the faculties I possess, oppose every attempt to extend a trade, that, except in name, is more injurious to those employed in it, than is the slavery in the West Indies to the poor African negroes. For, deeply as I am interested in the cotton manufacture, highly as I value the extended political power of my country, yet, knowing as I do, from long experience both here and in England, the miseries which this trade, as it is now conducted, inflicts on those to whom it gives employment, I do not hesitate to say,—perish the cotton trade, perish even the political superiority of our country, (if it depends on the cotton trade,) rather than they shall be upheld by the sacrifice of everything valuable in life by those who are the means of supporting them.

The measure which appears to me alone calculated to remove the evils which I have stated, is to endeavour to procure an Act of Parliament—

First, To prevent children from being employed in cotton or other mills of machinery, until they are twelve years old. (At present they are put in at seven years old, and upwards,—sometimes even at six.)

Secondly, That the hours of work in mills of machinery, including one hour and a-half for meals and recreation, shall not exceed twelve per day. (In most mills, the time of working, for children, as well as adults, is fourteen hours per day; and in many cases they are dismissed during that period only for one hour, usually from twelve till one o'clock.)

And lastly, That, after a period to be fixed, no child shall be received in a mill of machinery until he shall have been taught to read, to write a legible hand, and to understand the first four rules of arithmetic; and girls also taught to sew their common garments of clothing. (At admission they are now often, most frequently indeed, destitute of all useful instruction.)

This instruction, I propose, shall be given to the children of the working classes by the country which gives them birth and to which they are afterwards to lend their aid and support.

By those who have not reflected on these subjects, or who have given them a mere passing thought, or by the recluse in his closet, I may be told that what I propose is impracticable, or, if practicable, that it would not be productive of benefits equal to other evils or inconveniencies which these measures may create.

Against these, I am prepared to bring both argument and experience.

I do not, however, wish to take the meeting by surprise, nor will I now ask it to agree to any resolution on subjects so deeply affecting the interest of the cotton trade and of the country.

I now hold in my hand the rough outlines of a Bill for the general amelioration of the poor and lower orders, which, I believe, on inspection, will be found deserving the approbation and support of those who have the most attentively considered the subject.

To give the gentlemen present, and those who are interested, time for considering what I have now advanced, I mean to propose that this meeting shall adjourn to this day week, or any other time more convenient to the Gentlemen present; before which period, if such proposition shall be approved, I will procure some hundred copies of this paper, and deposit them in the Coffee Room and elsewhere, for distribution to those who may interest themselves on the subject; and at such meeting, if the adjournment shall be acceded to, I pledge myself to prove that the measures which I have now proposed will be advantageous to all the individuals engaged in the cotton trade to the best interests of our country, and to the cause of humanity.

I therefore now move that this meeting do adjourn, and that it shall meet again in the same place, this day-week, at twelve o'clock.

A P P E N D I X .

B

Report presented to the Committee of the Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and Labouring Poor,—and by them referred to a Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Laws, as published in the London daily Papers of July—1817, and afterwards separately, by LONGMAN'S, &c.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

Having been requested by you to draw up a detailed Report of a Plan for the general Relief of the Manufacturing and Labouring Poor, I have the honour to submit the following.—

In order to do justice to this interesting subject, it is necessary to trace the operation of those leading causes, to which the distress now existing to an unprecedented extent in this country, and in other countries in no very slight degree, is to be ascribed: the evil will be found to flow from a state of things to which society has given birth: a development of this will, therefore, suggest the means of counteracting it.

The immediate cause of the present distress is the depreciation of human labour; and which has been occasioned by the general introduction of mechanism into the manufactures of Europe and America, but principally into those of Britain, where the change was greatly accelerated by the inventions of Arkwright and Watt.

The introduction of mechanism into the manufacture of objects of desire in society reduced their price; the reduction of price increased the demand for them, and generally to so great an extent as to occasion more human labour to be employed after the introduction of machinery than had been employed before.

The first effects of these new mechanical combinations were to increase individual wealth, and to give a new stimulus to further inventions.

Thus one mechanical improvement gave rise to another in rapid succession; and in a few years they were not only generally introduced into the manufactures of these kingdoms, but were eagerly adopted by other nations of Europe, and by America.

Individual wealth soon advanced to national prosperity, as that term is generally understood; and the country, during a war of twenty-five years, demanding exertion and an amount of expenditure unknown at any former period, attained to a height of political power which confounded its foes and astonished its friends: both were alike unable to assign the real cause. So steadily, yet rapidly, did our country advance to this envied state, that there appeared to be no limit to its acquirement of riches, and the kind of power which wealth creates. The war itself, when it had extended its ravages over Europe, to Asia, and to America, seemed but a new stimulus to draw forth our exhaustless resources, and in its effects the war did so operate. The destruction of human life in its prime, which it

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caused throughout the world, and the waste of all the materials necessary for war on so large a scale—perhaps unparalleled in ancient or modern times—created a demand for various productions, which the overstrained industry of British manufactures, aided by all the mechanism they could invent and bring into action, was hardly competent to supply.

But peace at length followed, and found Great Britain in possession of a new power in constant action, which, it may be safely stated, exceeded the labour of one hundred millions of the most industrious human beings, in the full strength of manhood.

(To give an instance of this power, there is machinery at work in one establishment in this country, aided by a population not exceeding 2,500 souls, which produces as much as the existing population of Scotland could manufacture after the mode in common practice fifty years ago ! And Great Britain contains several such establishments !)

Thus our country possessed, at the conclusion of the war, a productive power, which operated to the same effect as if her population had been actually increased fifteen or twenty fold ; and this had been chiefly created within the preceding twenty-five years. The rapid progress made by Great Britain, during the war, in wealth and political influence, can therefore no longer astonish : the cause was quite adequate to the effect.

Now, however, new circumstances have arisen. The war demand for the productions of labour having ceased, markets could no longer be found for them ; and the revenues of the world were inadequate to purchase that which a power so enormous in its effects did produce : a diminished demand consequently followed. When, therefore, it became necessary to contract the sources of supply, it soon proved that mechanical power was much cheaper than human labour ; the former, in consequence, was continued at work, while the latter was superseded ; and human labour may now be obtained at a price far less than is absolutely necessary for the subsistence of the individual in ordinary comfort.

(Human labour, hitherto the great source of wealth in nations, being thus diminished in value, at the rate of not less than from two to three millions sterling per week in Great Britain alone, that sum, or whatever more or less it may be, has consequently been withdrawn from the circulation of the country, and this has necessarily been the means by which the farmer, tradesman, manufacturer, and merchant, have been so greatly impoverished.)

A little reflection will show, that the working classes have now no adequate means of contending with mechanical power : one of three results must therefore ensue :—

1. The use of mechanism must be greatly diminished ; or,
2. Millions of human beings must be starved, to permit its existence to the present extent ; or,
3. Advantageous occupation must be found for the poor and unemployed working classes, to whose labour mechanism must be rendered subservient, instead of being applied, as at present, to supersede it.

But, under the existing commercial system, mechanical power

could not in one country be discontinued, and in others remain in action, without ruin to that country in which it should be discontinued. No one nation, therefore, will discontinue it ; and although such an act were possible, it would be a sure sign of barbarism in those who should make the attempt. It would, however, be a far more evident sign of barbarism, and an act of gross tyranny, were any government to permit mechanical power to starve millions of human beings. The thought will not admit of one moment's contemplation ; it would inevitably create unheard-of misery to all ranks. The last result therefore alone deserves to be considered, which is, "that advantageous occupation must be found for the unemployed working classes, to whose labour mechanism must be rendered subservient, instead of being applied, as at present, to supersede it."

To conduct a change so important, and of such vital necessity to our well-being, demands a comprehensive view and an accurate knowledge of the real state of society.

The measure should be well considered, with respect to its present bearings and connexions, and its consequences traced by minds uninfluenced by prejudices of party or of class.

The circumstances of the times render a change in our internal policy respecting the poor and working classes, absolutely necessary ; and the first question to be decided by every man of all ranks is, shall the alteration be made under the guidance of moderation and wisdom, foreseeing and gradually preparing each step, one regularly after another, thereby preventing a single premature advance—or shall the change be effected by ignorance and prejudice, under the baneful influence of the angry and violent passions ? Should these prevail, then will the truly disinterested, those whose ardent wish is to ameliorate the condition of mankind, withdraw from the contest, and society be involved in confusion. But, surely, the experience of past ages, and particularly of the last twenty-five years, will have taught men wisdom, and prepared the minds of all for a calm and dispassionate inquiry—how the evils which at present afflict society can best be remedied.

I proceed, therefore, with the subject, and shall endeavour to show in what manner advantageous employment can be found for all the poor and working classes, under an arrangement which will permit mechanical improvements to be carried to any extent.

Under the existing laws, the unemployed working classes are maintained by, and consume part of, the property and produce of the wealthy and industrious, while their powers of body and mind remain unproductive. They frequently acquire the bad habits which ignorance and idleness never fail to produce ; they amalgamate with the regular poor, and become a nuisance to society.

Most of the poor have received bad and vicious habits from their parents ; and so long as their present treatment continues, those bad and vicious habits will be transmitted to their children, and, through them, to succeeding generations.

Any plan, then, to ameliorate their condition, must prevent bad and vicious habits from being taught to their children, and provide the means by which only good and useful ones may be given to them.

The labour of some individuals is far more valuable than that of others ; and this arises principally from the training and instruction they receive.

Means should therefore be devised to give the most useful training and instruction to the children of the poor.

The same quantity and quality of labour, under one direction, will produce a much more valuable result than under another.

It is necessary, then, that the labour of the poor should be exerted under the best.

One mode of management as to their expenditure will create many more advantages and comforts than another.

Such arrangements should, therefore, be made in this department, as would produce the largest benefits at the smallest expense.

Most of the vices and misery of the poor arise from their being placed under circumstances in which their apparent interest and their apparent duty are opposed to each other, and in consequence of their being surrounded by unnecessary temptations which they had not been trained to overcome.

It would, therefore, be a material improvement in the management of the poor, to place them under such circumstances as would obviously unite their real interest and duty, and remove them from unnecessary temptation.

Under this view of the subject, any plan for the amelioration of the poor should combine means to prevent their children from acquiring bad habits, and to give them good ones—to provide useful training and instruction for them—to provide proper labour for the adults—to direct their labour and expenditure so as to provide the greatest benefit to themselves and to society ; and to place them under such circumstances as shall remove them from unnecessary temptations, and closely unite their interest and duty.

These advantages cannot be given either to individuals or to families, separately, or to large congregated numbers.

They can be effectually introduced into practice only under arrangements that would unite in one establishment a population of from 500 to 1,500 persons, averaging about 1,000.

I now submit to the Committee the following plan, founded on the foregoing principles, which, it is presumed, will combine all the advantages that have been enumerated, and, in progress of time, lead to many others of equal importance.

As the seeming novelty of the plan might possibly induce a hasty or premature decision respecting it, on the part of those who have not had much practical experience among the poor, or who may be under the influence of some favourite theory of political economy, to which it might appear to be opposed, I beg to submit it as the result of daily experience among the poor and working classes, on an extensive scale, for twenty-five years ; and during which the most unceasing attention has been directed to discover the primary causes of their poverty and misery, and the best means of providing a remedy for both.

A casual or superficial consideration of the plan now proposed cannot be expected to impart a sufficient knowledge of the various

beneficial results of such a combination, or to form the ground of a reasonable opinion as to its practicability.

I now beg leave to solicit the attention of the Committee to the Drawings and explanations which accompany this Report.

(Or the funds may be raised by borrowing of individuals, who have now a surplus capital unemployed; by borrowing from the Sinking Fund; or by any other financial arrangement that may be deemed preferable. The establishments rapidly increasing in value, by the labour of the individuals on the land, will soon become a sufficient security for a large proportion of the money that may be expended in this purchase.)

There are several modes by which this plan may be effected.

It may be accomplished by individuals, by parishes, by counties, by districts, &c., comprising more counties than one, and by the nation at large, through its Government. Some may prefer one mode, some another; and it would be advantageous certainly to have the experience of the greatest variety of particular modes, in order that the plan which such diversified practice should prove to be the best, might afterwards be generally adopted. It may therefore be put into execution by any parties, according to their own localities and views.

The first thing necessary is, to raise a sum of money adequate to purchase the land (or it may be rented)—to build the square, manufactories, farm-houses, and their appendages—to stock the farm, and provide every thing to put the whole in motion.

Proper persons must be procured to superintend the various departments, until others should be trained in the establishment to supply their places.

The labour of the persons admitted may then be applied to procure a comfortable support for themselves and their children, and to repay, as might be required, the capital expended on their establishment.

When their labour shall be thus properly and temperately directed, under an intelligent system, easy of practice, it will soon be found to be more than sufficient to supply every reasonable want of man. How vain and useless to acknowledge the truth of the principle that men may be trained to produce more than they will consume, unless the means shall be devised by which the principle may be carried into practice! The period is arrived when it may be most advantageously put into practice. And the period is also arrived when the state of society imperiously requires the adoption of some measures to relieve the wealthy and industrious from the increasing burdens of the poor's rate, and the poor from their increasing misery and degradation.

It is impossible to find language sufficiently strong to express the inconsistency, as well as the injustice, of our present proceedings towards the poor and working classes. They are left in gross ignorance; they are permitted to be trained up in habits of vice, and in the commission of crimes; and, as if purposely to keep them in ignorance and vice, and goad them on to commit criminal acts, they are perpetually surrounded with temptations which cannot fail to produce all those effects.

The system, or rather want of system, which exists with regard to the management of the poor, has been emphatically condemned by a long and painful experience.

The immense sums annually raised for their relief are lavished in utter disregard of every principle of public justice or economy. They offer greater rewards for idleness and vice than for industry and virtue; and thus directly operate to increase the degradation and misery of the classes whom they are designed to serve. No sum, however enormous, administered after this manner, could be productive of any other result: rather will pauperism and wretchedness increase along with the increase of an expenditure thus applied.

The poor and unemployed working classes, however, cannot, must not, be abandoned to their fate, lest the consequences entail misfortune on us all. Instead of being left, as they now are, to the dominion of ignorance, and to the influence of circumstances which are fatal to their industry and morals—a situation in which it is easy to perceive the inefficacy, or rather the injuriousness, of granting them a provision in a mere pecuniary shape—they should, on the contrary, be afforded the means of procuring a certain and comfortable subsistence by their labour, under a system which will not only direct that labour and its earnings to the best advantage, but, at the same time, place them under circumstances the most favourable to the growth of morals and of happiness. In short, instead of allowing their habits to proceed under the worst influence possible, or rather, as it were, to be left to chance, thus producing unintentionally crimes that render necessary the severities of our penal code, let a system for the prevention of pauperism and of crimes be adopted, and the operation of our penal code will soon be restricted to very narrow limits.

The outlines of such a plan, it is presumed, have been, however imperfectly, suggested and sketched in this Report.

It may be hoped, that the Government of this country is now sufficiently alive to the necessity of abandoning the principle on which all our legislative measures on this subject have hitherto proceeded; for nothing short of this can place the Empire in permanent safety. Until the preventive principle shall become the basis of legislative proceedings, it will be vain to look for any measures beyond partial temporary expedients, which will leave society unimproved, or involve it in a much worse state.

If such should be the conviction of Government, the change proposed in the management of the poor and unemployed working classes will be much better directed nationally than privately.

In fact, many of the benefits to be derived to society at large will not be realised until the plan becomes national.

Should the practical outline which is now submitted be approved, and engage the attention of Parliament, the next consideration would be, in what manner it may be carried into effect with the least loss of time, and without immediate or future injury to the resources of the country.

The money necessary for founding establishments on the principle of the plan now proposed, may be obtained by consolidating

the funds of some of the public charities ; by equalising the poor rates and borrowing on their security. The poor, including those, belonging to public charities, should be made national.

The drawing exhibits, in the foreground, an establishment, with its appendages and appropriate quantity of land ; and at due distances, other villages of a similar description.

Squares of buildings are here represented sufficient to accommodate about 1200 persons each ; and surrounded by a quantity of land, from 1000 to 1500 acres.

Within the squares are public buildings, which divide them into parallelograms.

The central building contains a public kitchen, mess-rooms, and all the accommodation necessary to economical and comfortable cooking and eating.

To the right of this is a building, of which the ground-floor will form the infant school, and the other a lecture-room and a place of worship.

The building to the left contains a school for the elder children, and a committee-room on the ground floor ; above a library, and a room for adults.

In the vacant space within the squares, are enclosed grounds for exercise and recreation : these enclosures are supposed to have trees planted in them.

It is intended that three sides of each square shall be lodging houses, chiefly for the married, consisting of four rooms in each ; each room to be sufficiently large to accommodate a man, his wife, and two children.

The fourth side is designed for dormitories for all the children exceeding two in a family, or above three years of age.

In the centre of this side of the squares are apartments for those who superintend the dormitories : at one extremity of it the infirmary ; and at the other a building for the accommodation of strangers who may come from a distance to see their friends and relatives.

In the centres of two sides of the squares are apartments for general superintendents, clergyman, schoolmasters, surgeon, &c. ; and in the third are store-rooms for all the articles required for the use of the establishment.

On the outside, and at the back of the houses around the squares, are gardens, bounded by roads.

Immediately beyond these, on one side, are buildings for mechanical and manufacturing purposes. The slaughter-house, stabling, &c., to be separated from the establishment by plantations.

At the other side are offices for washing, bleaching, &c. ; and at a still greater distance from the squares, are some of the farming establishments, with conveniences for malting, brewing, and corn-mills, &c. : around these are cultivated enclosures, pasture-land, &c., the hedge-rows of which are planted with fruit-trees.

Each lodging-room within the squares is to accommodate a man, his wife, and two children under three years of age ; and to be such as will permit them to have much more comforts than the dwellings of the poor usually afford.

It is intended that the children above three years of age should attend the school, eat in the mess-room, and sleep in the dormitories ; the parents

being of course permitted to see and converse with them at meals and all other proper times :—that before they leave school they shall be well-instructed in all necessary and useful knowledge ;—that every possible means should be adopted to prevent the acquirement of bad habits from their parents or otherwise ;—that no pains shall be spared to impress upon them such habits and dispositions as may be most conducive to their happiness through life, as well as render them useful and valuable members of the community to which they belong.

It is proposed that the women should be employed,—

1st.—In the care of their infants, and in keeping their dwellings in the best order.

2ndly.—In cultivating the gardens to raise vegetables for the supply of the public kitchen.

3rdly.—In attending to such of the branches of the various manufactures as women can well undertake ; but not to be employed in them more than four or five hours in the day.

4thly.—In making up clothing for the inmates of the establishment.

5thly.—In attending occasionally, and in rotation, in the public kitchen, mess-rooms, and dormitories ; and, when properly instructed, in superintending some parts of the education of the children in the schools.

It is proposed that the elder children should be trained to assist in gardening and manufacturing for a portion of the day, according to their strength ; and that the men should be employed, all of them, in agriculture, and also in manufactures, or some other occupation for the benefit of the establishment.

SCHEDULE of EXPENSES for forming an Establishment for

TWELVE HUNDRED MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN.

If the land be purchased,

1,200 acres of land, at 30 <i>l.</i> per acre	£36,000
Lodging apartments for 1,200 persons	17,000
Three public buildings within the square	11,000
Manufactory, slaughter-house, and washing-house	8,000
Furnishing 300 lodging-rooms, at 8 <i>l.</i> each	2,400
Furnishing kitchen, schools, and dormitories	3,000
Two farming establishments, with corn-mill, malting, and brewing appendages	5,000
Making the interior of the square and roads	3,000
Stock for the farm under spade cultivation	4,000
Contingencies and extras	6,600
	<hr/>
	£96,000

which sum, being divided by 1,200, gives a capital to be advanced of 80*l.* per head ; or, at 5 per cent. per annum, 4*l.* each per year.

Thus, at so small an expense as a rental of 4*l.* per head, may the unemployed poor be put in a condition to maintain themselves ; and, as may be easily conceived, quickly to repay the capital advanced, if thought necessary.

But, if the land be rented, only 60,000*l.* capital would be required.

Hence will arise a superabundance of funds and labour.

The country should be surveyed, and the best situations for these agricultural and manufacturing establishments be ascertained.

Such as can be the most easily procured, in various parts of the kingdom, should be fairly valued, and purchased by the nation, on perpetual lease, or otherwise, and be properly laid out by competent persons for the purposes required. The labour of the poor and unemployed may be most advantageously applied to the execution of every part of this work, under the direction of proper persons appointed to superintend the various departments.

Nothing new would be required; all that could be wanted is in daily practice all over the kingdom.

The land and houses would not only possess their original worth, but, as the plan advanced, both would materially increase in value; and all the districts in the neighbourhood of these communities would partake of the general amelioration which they could not fail to introduce in a very extensive degree.

When these arrangements shall be adopted and carried into execution—and sooner or later they must be—in order to permanently relieve the national distresses, new and extraordinary consequences will follow. The real value of the land and labour will rise, while all the productions of land and labour will fall; mechanism will be of more extensive worth and benefit to society; every encouragement may be given to its extension; and its extension will go on *ad infinitum*, but only in aid of, and not in competition with, human labour.

A summary of the advantages to be derived from the execution of such a plan may be presented under the following heads:—

1. Expensive as such a system for the unemployed poor may appear to a superficial observer, it will be found, on mature investigation by those who understand all the consequences of such a combination, to be by far the most economical that has yet been devised.

2. Many of the unemployed poor are now in a state of gross ignorance, and have been trained in bad habits; evils which, under the present system, are likely to continue for endless generations. The arrangements proposed offer the most certain means, in a manner gratifying to all the parties interested, and to every liberal mind, of overcoming both their ignorance and their bad habits in one generation.

3. The greatest evils in society arise from mankind being trained in principles of disunion. The proposed measures offer to unite men in the pursuit of common objects for their mutual benefit, by presenting an easy practicable plan for gradually withdrawing the causes of difference among individuals, and making their interest and duty very generally the same.

4. This system will also afford the most simple and effectual means of giving the best habits and sentiments to all the children of the unemployed poor, according as society shall be able to determine what habits and sentiments, or what character, ought to be given to them.

5. It will likewise offer the most powerful means of improving the habits and general conduct of the present unemployed adult poor, who have been grossly neglected by society from their infancy.

6. Owing to the peculiar arrangement of the plan, it will give to the poor, in return for their labour, more valuable, substantial, and permanent comfort, than they have ever yet been able to obtain.

7. In one generation, it will supersede the necessity for poor-rates, or any pecuniary gifts of charity, by preventing any one from being poor, or subject to such unnecessary degradation.

8. It will offer the means of gradually increasing the population in unpopulous districts of Europe and America in which such increase may be deemed necessary, and of enabling a much greater population to subsist in comfort on a given spot, if requisite, than existed before ; in short, of increasing the strength and political power of the country in which it shall be adopted, more than tenfold.

9. It is so easy, that it may be put into practice with less ability and exertion than are necessary to establish a new manufacture in a new situation. Many individuals of ordinary talent have formed establishments which possess combinations much more complex. In fact, there would not be anything required which is not daily performed in common society, and which, under the proposed arrangement, might not be much more easily accomplished.

10. It will effectually relieve the manufacturing and labouring poor from their present deep distress, without violently or prematurely interfering with the existing institutions of society.

11. It will permit mechanical inventions and improvements to be carried to any extent ; for by the proposed arrangement, every improvement in mechanism would be rendered subservient to, and in aid of human labour.

12. And lastly, every part of society would be essentially benefited by this change in the condition of the poor. Some plan, founded on such principles as have been developed herein, appears absolutely necessary, to secure the well-being of society, as well as to prevent the afflicting spectacle of thousands pining in want and amidst a superabundance of means to well-train, educate, employ, and support in comfort, a population of at least four times the present numbers.

ROBERT OWEN.

APPENDIX.

C.

A further development of the Plan contained in the Report to the Committee of the Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and Labouring Poor; with answers to objections;—being a supposed Examination of Mr. Owen. With an account of the Effects produced on the Female Prisoners in Newgate by the Application in Practice of these Principles, carried into Execution by Mrs. Fry and other benevolent Individuals of the Society of Friends. And a Personal Sketch. As published in the London daily Papers of July 30, 1817. And afterwards separately, by LONGMAN, CADELL, HATCHARD, and MURRAY.

LONDON, JULY 25, 1817.

MR. EDITOR,

SIR,—As a meeting is intended shortly to be held, to take into consideration a plan which I have proposed to relieve and remoralise the poor and the unemployed of the working classes, I feel it incumbent on me, previously, to put the public in possession of a greater development of the principles on which it is founded, in order that the details may be afterwards more fully comprehended. An early insertion, therefore, of the following, will promote the object of,

Sir, your obliged,

R. OWEN.

49, Charlotte Street, Portland Place.

It is generally known and acknowledged, that from obvious causes greater distress exists among the poor and working classes than they have experienced at any former time. The country, however, possesses the most ample means to relieve their distress, and a plan has been proposed by me to enable either the Government, parishes, or individuals, to put those means into practice. The plan has been also generally circulated, and many objections, as it was anticipated, have been made to it by those who are theorists only, or who are wholly unacquainted with the kind of practice requisite to give them any useful knowledge on the subject. Many misconceptions also exist respecting the details, which some of lively, and others of gloomy imagination, have fancied belong of necessity to the plan. To meet the objections of the first in the most direct manner, and to obviate the misconceptions of the last, I have arranged the subject in the form of questions and answers.

The principles and plan are now more fully before the public. If the former contain error, or the latter be impracticable, it becomes the duty of many to expose either. If, however, the plan shall prove, on investigation, to be correct in principle, to be easy of practice, and that it can relieve the poor and unemployed of the working

classes from the grievous distresses and degradation under which they suffer, it becomes equally the duty of all who profess to desire the amelioration of the lower orders, to exert themselves without farther delay to carry it into execution, in order that another year of extensive and unnecessary suffering and demoralisation, from the want of a sufficiency of wholesome food and proper training and instruction, may not uselessly pass away.

Q. Are you the principal proprietor of the works and village of New Lanark, and have you the sole direction and superintendence of them?—*A.* Yes.

Q. How long have you had the management of that establishment?—*A.* Eighteen years in August next.

Q. Of what description is the population of New Lanark?—*A.* Of manufacturers of cotton thread chiefly; but also of iron and brass founders, iron and tin smiths, millwrights, turners in wood and metals, sawyers, carpenters, masons, tilers, painters, glaziers, tailors, shoemakers, butchers, bakers, shopkeepers, farmers, labourers, surgeons, ministers of religion, instructors of youth, male and female superintendents of various departments, clerks, and policemen; forming a mixed society of trades and workpeople.

Q. Had you any experience among the working classes before you undertook the management of the works at New Lanark?—*A.* Yes; I superintended large manufacturing establishments in Manchester and its neighbourhood for about eight years preceding, in which great numbers of men, women, and children were employed.

Q. What has been the chief object of your attention during the number of years that you have had so many persons under your care and superintendence?—*A.* To discover the means by which the condition of the poor and working classes could be ameliorated, and with benefit to their employers.

Q. To what conclusions have you now come upon this subject?—*A.* That the situation of these classes may be easily greatly improved; and that their natural powers may be far more beneficially directed, for themselves, and for society at large, without creating injury of any kind, to any class, or to any individual.

Q. Have you generally succeeded in improving the condition and moral habits of those who have been under your care?—*A.* Yes, and with even fewer exceptions than I anticipated, considering the obstacles I had to encounter, with the nature of the influence that I possessed to enable me to overcome them.

Q. What are those obstacles?—*A.* The ignorance and ill-training of the people, which had given them the habits of drunkenness, theft, falsehood, and want of cleanliness; with opposition to each others interests, sectarian feelings, strong national prejudices, both political and religious, against all attempts on the part of a stranger to improve their condition; to which may be added the unhealthy nature of their employment.

Q. On what leading principles did you act, so as to remove those obstacles?—*A.* On the principle of prevention solely. Instead of wasting time and talent in considering an endless variety of individual effects, I patiently studied the causes producing those effects.

exerting myself to remove them ; and by thus acting, it appeared that the same time and talent, when employed under the system of prevention, could produce results very much greater than under the system of coercion and punishment. For instance, in the case of habitual drunkenness, it appeared to me useless to apply to the individuals who had been taught to acquire the practice of intoxication, to desist from it, while they remained surrounded by the circumstances that perpetually tempted them to continue the habit. The first step adopted in that case, was to convince the parties when sober, of the advantages they would derive from having the temptation removed ; which, when attempted in a mild and proper spirit, was never difficult to accomplish. The next step was to remove the temptation ; and then the evil itself, with all its endless injurious consequences, ceased altogether. The whole process, when completely understood, is simplicity itself, and may be easily carried into practice to the fullest extent, by those who possess the usual ordinary talents ; and society would rapidly improve without any retrogression. But while the notions which have influenced the conduct of mankind up to the present period shall prevail and be acted upon, society cannot substantially and permanently improve. Those notions confine the attention to effects, and, from want of useful inquiry, lead to the conclusion that the causes from which they really proceed, however injurious, cannot be altered or controlled by man. Under such notions the world is now governed. Facts, however, prove, that the reverse of these notions is true : let men, therefore, attend to facts, and to facts only, and it will be obvious that they can, with ease, remove the real causes which create bad habits, errors, and crimes : and, without difficulty, replace them with other causes, the certain effects of which would be to establish generally throughout society, good habits, correct sentiments, and a kind, charitable, and virtuous conduct, free from the prejudices that would create unkind feelings, and thence render them unjust to those who had been taught to differ from them in opinion. It must, therefore, absolutely follow, that to attempt to improve mankind on any other principle whatever, than by a close, accurate, and undeviating attention to facts, is as absurd and as unavailing as to expect that the most barren soil and sterile climate shall spontaneously produce abundance ;—as to expect that a full and steady light shall issue from the darkest abyss ; or that man, immersed in ignorance, surrounded by every vicious temptation, shall be better, wiser, and happier, than when trained to be intelligent and active, amidst circumstances only which would perpetually unite his interests, his duty, and his feelings. While, then, we permit the causes to remain that must leave mankind in ignorance, that must create in them intemperance, idleness, uncharitableness, vice, crime, and every evil passion, and, at the same time, expect or wish them to become the reverse,—there is precisely as much wisdom in such expectation, as to imagine, contrary to all the experience of the world, that effects shall no longer continue to follow their natural causes. To inflict, therefore, upon men, pains and penalties for having vicious qualities (more unfortunate for themselves than others) which are produced in them

by the existing circumstances, is to act upon notions devoid of every pretension to sound judgment and rationality.

Q. Has all your practice been founded upon these principles?—

A. Yes; and the results have not once disappointed my expectations; on the contrary, in every instance, they have exceeded my most sanguine hopes. It is not, as it appears to me, to any natural superiority of mind, or early-acquired advantages (for I possess none), that my success in these endeavours can be attributed; but solely to the accidental circumstance of being enabled, early in life, to see, in part, the important benefits that would result to society from the adoption of the system of prevention; and acting uniformly upon the well-known fact “that human character is always formed for, and not by, the individual.”

Q. How many complaints have been brought before you by the inhabitants of New Lanark, in your capacity of a magistrate for the county?—*A.* Not one, for many years past.

Q. Having turned your attention to the subject, to what causes do you attribute the distress existing among the poor and working classes?—*A.* To a misapplication of the existing powers of production in the country, both natural and artificial, when compared to the wants and demands for those productions. Much of our natural power, consisting of the physical and intellectual faculties of human beings, is now not only altogether unproductive, but a heavy burden to the country; under a system, too, which is rapidly demoralising it; while a very large part of our artificial or mechanical agency is employed to produce that which is of little real value to society, and which, in its act of production, entails innumerable evils of the most afflicting kind, at the present time, upon the producers, as well as upon a very large part of society; and, through them, upon the whole of our population.

Q. Does your experience enable you to suggest a more advantageous application of these productive powers?—*A.* It induces me to say, that they may be applied more advantageously, for society, and for the individuals; that they may, with ease, be so directed as to remove speedily the present distress of the labouring poor, and gradually to carry the prosperity of the country to a point much higher than it has ever yet attained.

Q. How can this be done?—*A.* By forming well-digested arrangements to occupy the apparent surplus of the labouring poor, who are competent to work, in productive employment, in order that they may maintain themselves first, and afterwards contribute to bear their proportion of the expenses of the State.

Q. Do the means exist by which employment could be given to the unoccupied of the working classes?—It appears to me that the country possesses the most ample means to attain this object, if they were called into action. Those means consist of land unemployed; land imperfectly cultivated; money employed unprofitably; manual powers of labour idle, demoralising, and consequently generating every kind of evil in society; artificial or mechanical agency almost unlimited, and which might be made available for the most important purposes. These are the means, which, if properly combined,

and put into action, would soon relieve the country from poverty and its attendant evils.

Q. How can they be put into action?—*A.* By bringing them all into useful and profitable combinations, so as to create limited communities of individuals, on the principle of united labour and expenditure, having their basis in agriculture, and in which all should have mutual and common interests.

Q. What are your reasons for recommending such a combination of human powers?—*A.* The knowledge that I possess of the very superior advantages which each person could derive by this means, beyond any application of his own exertions for his own exclusive purposes.

Q. What are those superior advantages?—*A.* Communities of 500 to 1,500 persons, founded on the principle of united labour and expenditure, and having their basis in agriculture, might be arranged so as to give the following advantages to the labouring poor, and through them to all the other classes; for every real benefit to the latter must come from the former.

All the labour of the individuals under this system would be naturally and advantageously directed; first to procure for themselves abundance of all that was necessary for their comfortable subsistence; next, they would obtain the means to enable them to unlearn many, almost all indeed, of the bad habits which the present defective arrangements of society have forced upon them; then, to give only the best habits and dispositions to the rising generation, and thus withdraw those circumstances from society which separate man from man, and introduce others, whose entire tendency shall be to unite them in one general interest, that shall be clearly understood by each. They will afterwards be enabled to cultivate the far more valuable, the intellectual part of their nature; that part which, when properly directed, will discover how much may yet be put into practice to promote human happiness.

They will then proceed to create that surplus which will be necessary to repay the interest of the capital expended in the purchase of the establishment, including all its appendages; or, in other words, the rent of it. And lastly, to contribute their full share to the exigencies of the State, in proportion to the value of their property. By these arrangements, they will add a new strength to the political power of the country, that few are yet able to estimate.

Q. Should the arrangements you describe be practicable; many objections have been urged against the plan?—*A.* Inexperienced as the world is in regard to the combinations here contemplated, I am aware that many difficulties and doubts will arise in most minds; but if the objections be separately stated, they may be removed; and an experience of nearly thirty years, added to an unceasing, honest, and I hope unbiassed attention to the subject, assures me beforehand that they may,

Q. For instance—can the poor and working classes be associated together to act cordially in any general measures, considering what is everywhere evinced in the state of the workhouses and houses of industry?—*A.* Trained as the poor have been, and arranged as even the

best of these establishments now are, such unfavourable results must follow. The poor exist previously in a state of extreme ignorance; and when they are brought together under one roof, they are perpetually in contact with each other, but without a single principle of union which they can understand. Owing to the bad habits they have acquired, and a want of proper instruction, they cannot discover the mutual interest they have in each other's happiness; and as these houses are now constituted, no effective arrangements can be made to overcome the one, or to impart the other. Workhouses and houses of industry have originated with those who had but a limited knowledge of human nature, and who were also unacquainted with the true principles of political economy. But very different results may be made to ensue from the establishment of these agricultural and manufacturing villages; most of the causes of opposition among the individuals thus associated will be removed, and others tending to unite them in good offices and in one interest will be introduced.

Q. But will men in a community of mutual and combined interests, be as industrious as when employed for their individual gain?

—**A.** The supposition that they will not, I apprehend to be a common prejudice, and not at all founded on fact. Wherever the experiment has been tried, the labour of each has been exerted cheerfully. It is found, that when men work together for a common interest, each performs his part more advantageously for himself and for society, than when employed for others at daily wages, or than when working by the piece. When employed by the day, they feel no interest in their occupation, beyond the receipt of their wages; when they work by the piece, they feel too much interest, and frequently overwork themselves, and occasion disease, premature old age, and death. When employed with others in a community of interests, both these extremes are avoided, the labour becomes temperate, but effective, and may be easily regulated and superintended. Besides, the principles and practices are now quite obvious, by which any inclinations, from the most indolent to the most industrious, may be given to the rising generation.

Q. But will not the parties dispute perpetually about the division and possession of the property?—**A.** Certainly not. The labour and expenditure of individuals are now applied so ignorantly, wastefully, and under so many disadvantages, that the mass of mankind cannot procure sufficient to support themselves in ordinary comfort, without great exertion and anxiety; they therefore acquire, under the influence of a strong necessity, a tenacious love of that property which costs them so much to procure; thus making the feeling itself appear, to a superficial observer, as one implanted by nature in the constitution. No conclusion can, however, be more erroneous; for if men were placed in a situation, where, by moderate occupation, without care or agitation of mind, they could procure the necessaries and comforts of life in abundance, they might be trained to dispute as little about the division of them as they now do about the commonly attainable products of nature—such as water; neither would they have a desire to accumulate an unnecessary quantity of the one, any more than they now wish an

excess of the other. I might add, that under this plan, each individual would soon discover that he possessed more for his own enjoyment without any anxiety, than he could have acquired under the existing system amongst the poor, with all the cares and troubles they now experience.

Q. But can these establishments be well managed, unless by men of great talents and benevolence, such men not being very numerous?—*A.* Here also I may be permitted to say, that a mistake exists, in consequence of the principles upon which this plan is founded and ought to be conducted, not being as yet sufficiently understood. In the management of workhouses, &c., there is no unity of action; each part is so placed as to feel an interest at variance with the others; they are, in fact, a compound of the same errors that pervade common society, where all are so circumstanced as to counteract each other's intentions, and thus render even extraordinary energies and talents of no avail, which, under another combination, would produce the most extensive and beneficial effects. From my own experience, however, I can aver that such means and regulations may be adopted for the management of these villages, as would enable any one possessing fair talents, so to manage them as to give entire satisfaction to all the parties under his direction and care, with the greatest pleasure to himself, and with unspeakable advantage to the country. Numbers may be found who would soon be competent to such management, and who would be satisfied with the living and comforts these villages would offer, without desiring compensation of any kind; and the annual expense of such living would not amount to £20 in value.

Q. Is it not to be feared that such arrangements as you contemplate would produce a dull uniformity of character, repress genius, and leave the world without hope of future improvements?—*A.* It appears to me that quite the reverse of all this will follow; that the means provided in these establishments will give every stimulus to bring forth and to perfect the best parts only of every character, by furnishing the inhabitants with such valuable instruction as they could not acquire by any other means, and by affording sufficient leisure and freedom from anxiety to promote the natural direction of their powers; when thus prepared by early-imbibed temperate habits, by an accurate knowledge of facts, and by a full conviction that their efforts are directed for the benefit of mankind, it is not easy to imagine, with our present ideas, what may be accomplished by human beings so trained and so circumstanced.

As for the probability of a dull uniformity of character being produced, let us for a moment imagine individuals placed as the inhabitants of these villages will be, and contemplate the characters that must be formed solely by the circumstances that will surround them:—from the hour they are born, treated with uniform kindness, directed by reason, and not mere caprice, weakness, and imbecility; not one habit acquired to be again unlearned; the physical powers trained and cultivated to attain their natural strength and health; the mental faculties furnished with accurate data, by all the useful

facts that the ingenuity and experience of the world have acquired and demonstrated, aided by the power of minds trained to draw only just and consistent conclusions, and each left to declare freely those conclusions, compare them with others, and thus in the most easy and rapid manner to correct any errors that might otherwise arise;—children so trained, men so circumstanced, would soon become, not a dull uniform race, but beings full of health, activity, and energy; endowed by means of instruction with the most kind and amiable dispositions, and who, being trained free from the motives, could not form one *exclusive* wish for themselves.

It is only when the obscurities by which society is now enveloped are in some degree removed, that the benefit of these new villages can be even in part appreciated.

So far from genius being depressed, it will receive every aid to enable it to exert itself with unrestrained delight, and with the highest benefit to mankind. In short, experience will prove that no objection against the "New View of Society" will be found more futile than that which supposes it not competent, nor calculated, to train men to attain the utmost improvement, in arts, sciences, and every kind of knowledge.

Q. Will not these establishments be expensive, and require a large expenditure in the outset; and can such a capital be easily obtained? — A. The expenditure will prove the greatest possible economy, and the capital may be had, without difficulty, as rapidly as it would be required. A large and anticipated revenue, occasioned by the war expenditure in this and other countries, having ceased, distress of the most grievous nature has ensued: the only remedy that can be found will be a greatly increased expenditure applied to labour that will be productive, equal, at least, to the interest of the capital invested, and to the remuneration of the labour employed, both physical and mental. These establishments offer means for the investment of capital on security that ought to be considered of the highest value to the country. Every shilling thus expended would be national gain, create national improvement, find ample support for, and remoralise the population employed, and return five per cent. interest for the capital expended, leaving the property annually and rapidly increasing in intrinsic value.

Did the situation of the country admit of such a slow progress. I should be satisfied to see a few of these villages set on foot by way of national experiment; well knowing that their manifold advantages, and superiority over every other plan for the employing of the labouring classes, would be obvious to every capacity; but I know that the peculiar circumstances of this country, and of Europe, will not admit of this slow proceeding. Value must be restored to manual labour, and this cannot be done except by employment on land. When the mode of effecting this shall be fairly and fully before the public, they will readily discover that there are no means within our present knowledge competent to give to individuals and to the country the innumerable advantages that this will accomplish for both. With this conviction before them, the public will feel

the strong necessity for, and naturally require, a liberal expenditure, in order that a rapid progress may be made in forming these asylums for the health, comfort, improvement, and happiness, of the working classes and the rising population.

Q. But should many of these villages be founded, will they not increase the products of agricultural and manufacturing labour, which are already too abundant, until no market can be found for them, and thus injure the present agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of the country?—A. This is a part of the subject that requires to be understood better than, at present, it appears to be by any party. Is it possible that there can be too many productions desirable and useful to society? and is it not to the interest of all, that they should be produced with the least expense and labour, and with the smallest degree of misery and moral degradation to the working classes; and, of course, in the greatest abundance to the higher classes, in return for their wealth? It is surely to the interest of all, that everything should be produced with the least expense of labour, and so as to realise the largest portion of comfort to the producing classes: and there are no means of effecting these desirable ends that will bear any comparison with the combined agricultural and manufacturing villages, colleges of industry, county or district establishments for the poor and industrious, or by whatsoever name they may be called. It is true, that as they increase in number, they may come into competition with the existing agricultural and manufacturing systems, if society shall permit them so to do; otherwise, they can restrain them to the amount of their own immediate wants; and, constituted as they will be, they can have no motives to produce an unnecessary surplus. When society shall, however, discover its true interests, it will permit these new establishments gradually to supersede the others; inasmuch as the latter are wretchedly degrading, and directly opposed to the improvement and well-being of those employed either in agriculture or manufactures, and consequently are equally hostile to the welfare and happiness of all the higher classes. We know full well the misery and vice in which the manufacturing population is involved; we know also the ignorance and degradation to which the agricultural labourer is reduced; and it is only by such a re-arrangement of this part of society that these enormous evils can ever be removed.

Q. But will not these establishments tend to increase population, beyond the means of subsistence, too rapidly for the well-being of society?—A. I have no apprehension whatever on this ground: every agriculturist knows that each labourer now employed in agriculture can produce five or six times more food than he can eat; and therefore, even if no other facilities were given to him than those he now possesses, there is no necessity in nature for "population to press against subsistence," until the earth is fully cultivated.

There can be no doubt that it is the artificial law of supply and demand, arising from the principles of individual gain in opposition to the general well-being of society, which has hitherto compelled population to press upon subsistence. The certain effects of acting

on the principle of individual gain is, ever to limit the supply of food, in an average season, to a sufficiency, according to the customs of the times, for the existing inhabitants of the earth ; consequently, in a favourable season, and in proportion as the season may be favourable, there will be abundance of food, and it will be cheap ; and, in an unfavourable season, in proportion as the season may be unfavourable, food will be scarce and dear, and famines will ensue. And yet, no one who understands any thing practically on the subject, can for a moment doubt that, at the period immediately preceding the most grievous famine ever known, the means existed, in ample profusion, to have enabled the population, under proper arrangements, had they possessed the knowledge to form them, to produce a stock of food amounting even to an excessive superabundance. Whatever may have been imagined by intelligent individuals, who have written and thought upon the subject, the annual increase of population is really one by one ; we know its utmost limit—it is only, it can be only, an arithmetical increase ; whereas, each individual brings into the world with him the means, aided by the existing knowledge of science, and under proper directions, sufficient to enable him to produce food equal to more than ten times his consumption. The fear, then, of any evil to arise from an excess of population, until such time as the whole earth shall become a highly-cultivated garden, will, on due and accurate investigation, prove a mere phantom of the imagination, calculated solely to keep the world in unnecessary ignorance, vice, and crime, and to prevent society from becoming what it ought to be, well-trained, and instructed, and, under an intelligent system of mutual good-will and kindness, active, virtuous, and happy ; a system which might easily be created, so as to pervade the whole of society, and extend through all its ramifications.

Q. By thus altering the general habits and existing arrangements of the lower orders, would it not give an increased value to manual labour?—*A.* My intention was to combine the means of accomplishing objects, which appear to me to be inevitably required by the existing state of the country ; and to prevent the violent derangement of society, arising from the distress and extreme demoralisation which is hourly advancing, and must go on till effectual and counteracting measures shall be adopted. I saw the poor and working classes surrounded by circumstances that necessarily entailed misery on them and their posterity ; that if they were allowed to continue and proceed much longer, they would further demoralise, and violently subvert the whole social system. To prevent this catastrophe, it becomes absolutely indispensable that their habits be changed ; and this cannot be done without altering the existing arrangements with regard to them and to the rising generation.

If the plan proposed shall be found to be much, nay, infinitely, more complete, in all its parts, and in its entire combination, than any hitherto suggested, and if it can be immediately and gradually introduced, without causing the least shock to society, or prematurely disturbing existing institutions, then is the proper time arrived—then are the circumstances duly prepared, for its reception ;

✱ and I feel a perfect confidence in saying, that however, through mistaken private interests, it may be attempted to retard it, it will be inevitably introduced, and firmly established, even against all opposition. It is, indeed, of that nature, that opposition will but hasten its adoption, and fix the principles more generally and deeply in and through society. The circumstances that have been silently, for nearly twenty years past, preparing for this end, are so far completed, as to answer all the purposes intended; and the future welfare of mankind, in this and also in other countries may be considered secure, beyond the power of accident. Combined labour and expenditure, for a common object, among the working classes, with proper training and instruction for their offspring, and surrounded by the circumstances devised for the whole, will create and secure the present safety of society, the present and future comfort and happiness of the individuals, and the ultimate well-being of all. I may, therefore, confidently believe, that no combination of human powers can now be formed to prevent its permanent adoption.

After having made this statement, it is necessary for me to add, that the knowledge I have acquired on this subject has been forced upon me by a long and extensive experience; which, under similar circumstances, would have been acquired by the generality of mankind. None, I believe not one, of the principles, have the least claim to originality; they have been repeatedly advocated and recommended by superior minds, from the earliest period of history. I have no claim even to priority in regard to the combinations of these principles in theory; this belongs, as far as I know, to John Bellers, who published them, and most ably recommended them to be adopted in practice, in the year 1696. Without any aid from actual experience, he has most distinctly shown how they might be applied to the improvement of society, according to the facts then known to exist; thus evincing that his mind had the power to contemplate a point extended 120 years beyond his contemporaries. His work appeared to be so curious and valuable, that on discovering it, I have had it reprinted, verbatim, in order to bind up with the papers I have written on the same subject.

Whatever merit can be due to an individual for the original discovery of a plan that, in its consequences, is calculated to effect more substantial and permanent benefit to mankind than any ever yet perhaps contemplated by the human mind, it all belongs exclusively to John Bellers.

Q. Is it then your decided opinion, that land, labour, and capital, may be employed under a new combination, so as to produce more valuable results to all parties than they do at present?—A. If I have derived any distinct knowledge by my long experience and extensive practice, I am enabled to say, with a confidence that fears no refutation, that any given quantity of land, labour, and capital, may be so combined as to support at least four times the present number of human beings, and in tenfold comfort that the same is maintained at present, under the existing practices in this country; and, of course, that the intrinsic value of land, labour, and capital, may be increased

in the same proportion : that, consequently, we possess the most ample means to carry now, without loss of time, the prosperity of the country to a point it has not before attained—to a height that no country has ever yet experienced. If any parties suppose these to be mere assertions without sound foundation, or to be a visionary scheme derived from the regions of fancy, they will be mistaken; for they are the result of a patient and unwearied attention to discover accurate and practical data, and to try an endless variety of experiments, to enable me to draw correct conclusions, and thus bring the theories of learned men in their closets to the only test of truth. By thus proceeding, I have been more and more satisfied of the errors of mere theories, and of the little real value they have hitherto been to mankind. I have no wish, however, that any more confidence should be placed in what I say, than to induce the public to give a fair trial to the plan. If I am in error, the loss and inconvenience, compared with the object, will be small; but if I am right, the public and the world will be gainers indeed! I ask nothing for myself; and, except good-will and the interchange of kind and friendly offices, I will not accept any thing from any party. I merely ask to be permitted to relieve the poor and working classes from their present distress, and to render an essential service to the wealthy, and to all the higher classes. I am, therefore, desirous that competent persons of business should be named, to investigate all the details which I have to propose; knowing, as I do from experience, that this is the only practical measure that can be adopted, to enable the public to comprehend a subject so extensive and important as this will ultimately prove to be.

Q. On the supposition than the plan may be unexceptionable in all its parts, how can it be carried into execution, as far as relates to the poor who receive parochial aid?—A. First, by passing an Act of Parliament to nationalize the poor. Secondly, by borrowing, from time to time, on the national security, sufficient sums to build these villages, and to prepare the land for cultivation; the Government holding security upon these establishments until both interest and capital shall be paid; by which means the whole process would be straightforward, equitable, and just, to all the parties; and the country would enable the Government to carry it into execution, without opposition from any interested party.

July 26.

After closing the above on Thursday morning, the 24th inst., I little expected that, before it was ready for publication, two events were to arise, sufficiently important to render a narrative of the one useful, and an explanation of the other necessary. Such events, however, have occurred. That which is useful, is so valuable and interesting, that I lose not a moment in making it known. Fortunately, it admits not of a difference of opinion; it comprises simple matter of fact, that may be seen and investigated by every one who will devote time to visit the principal prison in the metropolis.

Having heard, from various quarters, what highly beneficial effects had been produced by Mrs. Fry, of St. Mildred's-court, Poultry, among the female prisoners in Newgate, I yesterday, by previous

appointment, accompanied that Lady, and was conducted by her through all the apartments of the prison, occupied by the unfortunate females of every description. I shall not easily, if ever, forget the impressions I experienced; they were of a mixed and very opposite nature. In passing from room to room, we were met in every instance, (there was not one exception,) with kind looks, and the most evident feelings of affection in every prisoner towards Mrs. Fry. Not a feature in the countenance of any, however hardened they might have been on entering the prison, that did not evince, in stronger expression than language can define, their love and admiration for what she had done for them. With an alacrity and pleasure that would be commended in the best-trained children in attending to parental requests, they were ready and willing to comply with her advice. It was evidently a heartfelt consolation to these poor creatures to know her wishes, that they might show their gratitude by an immediate compliance with them. She spoke in manner and voice, the language of confidence, kindness, and commiseration, to each; and she was replied to in such accordant feelings as are, and ever will be, produced in human beings, whenever they shall be spoken to and treated thus rationally. On quitting the prison the eyes of all were directed towards her, until she was no longer in their sight. The apartments and the persons of the prisoners were clean and neat; order, regularity, decency, and almost cheerful content, pervaded the whole of these heretofore miserable and degraded wretches! With the constant habit, for years, of reading the mind in the countenance among the lower classes, I could not discover, throughout the numerous apartments we visited, one line of feature that denoted any inclination to resist, in the slightest degree, Mrs. Fry's wishes; but, on the contrary, the looks and manner of each female prisoner strongly indicated a full acquiescence in this new government of well-directed kindness. The only regret I heard expressed was by those who were unemployed, "that they had no work." All who had something to do were far more cheerful than I had previously supposed human beings could be in the situation, with the accommodation and under the circumstances here described. We next proceeded to the female school; and, on our entering, every eye was fixed on their benefactress. The little girls, children of the prisoners and convicts, looked on her as human creatures might be imagined to look upon beings of a superior, intelligent, and beneficent nature. They were all clean and neat; and some of their countenances very interesting. The school was in excellent order, and appeared to be under good management. I could not avoid contrasting the present with the former situation of all these poor unfortunates. What a change must they have experienced! from filth, bad habits, vice, crime—from the depth of degradation and wretchedness—to cleanliness, good habits, and comparative comfort and cheerfulness! Had not experience long made known to me the simplicity and certain effects of the principles which had here been carried into practice, I might have been led to inquire what profound statesman had been here? what large sums had been expended? how many years of active and

steady perseverance had been necessary to accomplish this extraordinary improvement, which has foiled even the British Government and Legislature to effect during the centuries they have existed. And what would have been my astonishment at the simple narrative which was told me? that this change, from the depth of misery to the state described, was effected by Mrs. Fry, and a few benevolent individuals of the Society of Friends, in three months, without any increased expense, and with feelings of high gratification to herself! We left the female side of the prison, and passed on to the rooms, courts, &c., occupied by the males. We went first to the boys' court, and found the school, which was formed at Mrs. Fry's request, had been just dismissed. The person acting as master asked if he should muster the boys; to which she consented, and it was instantly done. What a melancholy sight did they offer! A collection of boys and youths, with scarcely the appearance of human beings in their countenances; the most evident sign that the Government to which they belong had not performed any part of its duty towards them. For instance; there was one boy, only sixteen years of age, double-ironed! Here a great crime has been committed, and a severe punishment has been inflicted, which, under a system of proper training and prevention, would not have taken place.

My Lord Sidmouth will forgive me, for he knows I intend no personal offence. His dispositions are known to be mild and amiable; but the Chief Civil Magistrate of the country, in such case, is far more guilty than the boy; and, in strict justice, if a system of coercion and punishment be rational and necessary, he ought rather to have been double-ironed, and in the place of the boy. The Secretary of State for the Home Department has long had the power, and ought to have used it, to give that boy, and every other boy in the empire, better habits, and to place them under circumstances that would train them to become moral. We left these boys, and visited the men who were yet to be tried, those who had been tried, and others under sentence of death. Everything on this side of the prison was most revolting to common sense and human feelings; but it serves to exhibit the contrast between the practice that results, and ever will result, from acting upon rational and irrational principles. I wish the Members of Government would now investigate these extraordinary facts. If they were to inspect them, with this benevolent female, I am sure they would learn the principles which have guided her practice, and adopt them in all their future measures. They would then enjoy only the highest satisfaction.

It was admitted by the attendants of the prison, that a few months ago the women were more depraved than the men are now; they were both pronounced to be irreclaimable: but the state of the females has been entirely changed, and that in the short space of three months! Notwithstanding this fact, the men are still pronounced to be irreclaimable! Blame, however, is by no means to be attached to any of the attendants of the prison, who appear inclined to do their duty as far as they have received instructions.

Let Ministers attend here, and they will discover that the most

powerful instruments of government have hitherto been dormant in their hands, and in those of their predecessors. If they will study the subject as it deserves to be studied, and afterwards make a proper use of their power, in legislating on the principle of prevention, under the influence of a persevering well-directed kindness, the distress of the country will be found to vanish—the ignorance, poverty, and misery of the lower classes to disappear, as though it were by a miracle; and they would then look in vain for disaffection, discontent, or opposition to any of their measures. The present period is, of all others, the best adapted to introduce the change, and every circumstance now imperiously calls for its commencement.

I would here rivet the attention of the world! It has been said that there are numerous difficulties in training children to good habits and right conduct, even previous to their having received any contrary bias; but here is a proof that the most deep-rooted and long-continued habits of depravity may be easily and speedily overcome by a system of kindness, which, when properly directed and persevered in, no human beings have ever yet been found long inclined to resist.

This principle, when it shall be well understood and rightly acted upon, will effect more for the substantial happiness of mankind, than all the moral and religious systems that have ever yet, at any period, or in any country, been forced upon the human mind.

Hitherto the world has been tormented by useless *talking*—by much speaking; all of which has proved to be of no avail. Henceforward, *acting* will render precepts unnecessary; and, in future, systems for the government of mankind will be estimated and valued by *their effects in practice only*.

I must now refer to that which is *necessary*. Immediately before and after the late meeting at the George and Vulture, I discovered that some secret emissaries were at work, to counteract my progress, by insinuations of various kinds, which evidently produced the effect intended on the minds of some who had previously expressed themselves favourable to my plan. All this was very natural. No ordinary individual could attack the errors and prejudices of mankind, as I have done, without encountering, at each step, opposition of every description. When the weapons used in this warfare, however unfair and illegitimate they may have been, were directed against the individual only, they were disregarded. I cared, and I do still care, as little for the individual as any of his opponents did or can. I make him, as they shall now be made, an instrument to forward measures for our mutual and the general benefit. He has been hitherto so employed, without regard to his vanity or self-consequence of any kind; and until the object shall be effectually secured, he shall continue to be so employed.

But as the absurd and ridiculous insinuations now set afloat are intended to retard the work I have undertaken, they must be met; and they have determined the next step that I shall adopt, and about which I was deliberating.

d

It is, that a Public Meeting shall be held at the City of London Tavern, on Thursday, the 14th day of August, to take into consideration a plan to be proposed to relieve the country from its present distress, to remoralize the poor, reduce the poor's-rate, and abolish pauperism and all its injurious consequences. At that meeting I invite those parties, and any others whom they can enlist in their cause, to come forward and make every thing they have to say against me publicly known. I wish to gratify them to the utmost of their desires; and as they may not possess all the requisites for the purpose, I will give them the clue by which they may pursue and discover all the errors of my past life.

I was born in Newtown, Montgomeryshire; left it, and came to London, when about ten years of age; soon after went to Mr. James M'Guffog, of Stamford in Lincolnshire; where I remained upwards of three years; returned to town, and was a short time with Messrs. Flint and Palmer, London Bridge. I went afterwards to Manchester, and was some time with Mr. John Sattersfield, whom I left, while yet a boy, to commence business on a limited scale in making machinery and spinning cotton, part of the time in partnership with Mr. Jones, and part on my own account; afterwards I undertook to manage the spinning establishments of the late Mr. Drinkwater of Manchester, at the latter place and at Northwich in Cheshire, in which occupation I remained three or four years. I then formed a partnership to carry on a cotton-spinning business with Messrs. Moulson and Scarth of Manchester; built the Chorlton Mills, and commenced a new firm, under the designation of the Chorlton Twist Company, along with Messrs. Borradaile and Atkinson, of London, and Messrs. H. and J. Barton and Co., of Manchester. Some time afterwards we purchased the mills and establishments at New Lanark, where I have been before the public for eighteen years past; and I am now forty-six years old. Here is a clue to my whole life, for any parties who may wish to make use of it; not because the conduct of the individual, whether it has been the best or the worst, can alter one tittle of the truth or falsehood of the principles and practices for which I contend; these stand solely on their own foundation, and will ultimately resist the shock of ages; nor because he has acted better, or with more wisdom, than the average of persons at the same time of life, and under the same circumstances; for he has never, in a single instance, set any value on himself, or on any of his actions;—but because I wish that every thing which can be said against *the individual* may be urged by those who are desirous so to do, in order to have done with these trifling and insignificant personalities, and that I may proceed onward to the accomplishment of that which is of real practical utility. Let them, therefore, at such public meeting, bring forward every saying and action of mine that has displeased them: I only ask that the attack shall be fair, open, and direct; it shall then be met, and it shall be overcome. In the meantime, I ask no favour; let them be industrious, and be prepared to secure all the success at which they aim. I shall not ask for, or accept, any quarter. My purposes have been long fixed; and my determination is, not to give any quarter to the

errors and evils of the existing systems, civil, political, and religious, until they shall become so obvious, that their removal shall be desired by all parties, even by those who now feel the strongest interest in, and inclination to support them. The Rubicon is passed, and the public will soon experience the beneficial consequences.

ROBERT OWEN.

P.S. A more complete view of the Plan, accompanied by perspective drawings, and a full detail of all its practical advantages, will be shortly submitted to the public.

APPENDIX.

D.

A Sketch of some of the Errors and Evils arising from the Past and Present State of Society, with an Explanation of some of the peculiar advantages to be derived from the Arrangement of the Unemployed Working Classes into "Agricultural and Manufacturing Villages of Unity and Mutual Co-operation," limited to a Population of from 500 to 1,500 Persons. As published in the London Daily Papers of August 9th, 1817; and afterwards separately, by LONGMAN, CADELL, HATCHARD, and MURRAY.

August 7th, 1817.

MR. EDITOR,

SIR,—Strict justice to the public renders it necessary that my sentiments and views should be fully and fairly before it, prior to the Meeting to be held at the City of London Tavern, at Twelve o'Clock, on Thursday next, the 14th instant. Your early insertion, therefore, of the following, will confer a favour on,

Sir, your obliged,

49, Charlotte Street, Portland Place.

R. OWEN.

To enable the public more easily to comprehend the subject, it is necessary to begin with first principles.

The object of all human exertions is to be happy.

Happiness cannot be attained, enjoyed, and secured, unless all men possess health, real knowledge, and wealth.

Hitherto health and real knowledge have been neglected for the attainment of wealth, and other exclusive individual objects; but which, when acquired, even in the greatest profusion, have been, and ever will be, found to destroy happiness.

The world is now saturated with wealth—with inexhaustible means of still increasing it—and yet misery abounds! Such at this moment is the actual state of human society. No arrangement, proceeding from a defined intention to attain an object of desire, could be worse devised than that which is now in practice, throughout all the nations of the

earth. Immense, invaluable energies, competent with ease to procure everything beneficial to humanity, lie waste, or are so misdirected as to defeat the object of all their wishes.

The world, however, is now amply supplied with the means to stop the current of human folly ; to call those dormant powers into action, and to give a right straightforward direction to all the energies of man.

The means are wanted to give health, real knowledge, and wealth, to all men.

The means surround us, are at our instant disposal, and exist in a superfluity of abundance ; yet the great mass of the world is in the depth of ignorance, without the comforts of life ; a large proportion of them are in want of a sufficiency of food, subject to every privation, and are to be found at this hour in the midst of almost inconceivable distress and wretchedness.

Is the change then from the one state to the other difficult ? Are there any insurmountable obstacles in the way, to prevent the accomplishment of that which is so desirable ?

On the contrary, extraordinary as it may seem, the change will be most easy. No difficulty or obstacle of magnitude will be found in the whole progress. **THE WORLD KNOWS AND FEELS THE EXISTING EVIL: IT WILL LOOK AT THE NEW ORDER OF THINGS PROPOSED—APPROVE—WILL THE CHANGE—AND IT IS DONE.**

Who, or what, shall now prevent man from being well-trained, instructed, and productively employed ? Who, or what, shall now prevent him from being so trained, instructed, and employed, amidst every comfort and enjoyment, when it shall be proved, even to demonstration, that all, *without a single exception*, shall be essentially benefited by the change ?

To proceed systematically in the subject, it is necessary here to state what man is by nature ; what he has been made by the previous circumstances which have surrounded him ; and afterwards to show what he may be made, by surrounding him with new circumstances, all of which are now at the control of society.

Man, then, is born with combined propensities and qualities, differing in degree of power and in combination, sufficient to create, through life, individuality and distinctness of person and character.

But however much the power and combination of these propensities and qualities may differ in individuals at birth, they may be all so directed, by subsequent circumstances, as to be made to form general characters ; and these characters to be of any, of the most opposite nature—even to be made entirely *irrational* or *rational*.

The progress shall now be slightly traced, as well as the means, by which the first has been completely effected : and a hasty sketch shall also be given, by which the last may, with equal certainty, be accomplished.

In every known region of the earth, up to the present hour, man has been compelled, from infancy, to acquire the peculiar notions of some sect, some class, some party, and of some country. In consequence, each individual has been surrounded by four dense atmospheres of error and prejudice, and through which he must look at every object around him. These mental atmospheres vary materially in different countries ; but in all they are so dense, that (as every object must be observed

through them) each object becomes distorted, or indistinct; none of them, in any country, or by a single individual, can yet be seen in their just proportions; and, in consequence, nature has hitherto been hidden from man.

Throughout all past ages, a limited number of individuals, on various spots of the earth, have been surrounded with atmospheres, the shades of which have been more or less differently combined; and each of these combinations has presented to the individual within its influence a particular distortion of all the objects of nature peculiar to itself. When individuals, thus differently surrounded, happen to meet and converse together, they soon discover that they do not see objects alike; and, wholly unconscious of the real cause of difference between them, an opposition of *feeling*, as well as of seeing, is created; extending from a slight degree of dislike, to anger, hatred, revenge, death, and destruction in every form and shape. Hence, from differences of opinion on notions of sect, arise the evils and miseries of human life, which, more than all the other atmospheres, of class, party, and of country, has in every age separated man from man, and made him a wretched and degraded being.

The several atmospheres of class have also created various feelings of strong separation among men, and have essentially tended to increase their irrationality and their misery.

The atmospheres of party and of country have been equally injurious: they have, even until now, compelled man to remain a stranger to his fellows.

A combination of every conceivable degree of ignorance, weakness, and inconsistency, has been the natural consequence of men's actions during such a state of existence.

All the past and present institutions of the world are a proof of the ever-changing insanity with which the human mind has been enveloped.

The result of each change, under these circumstances, has disappointed the fondest hopes, and the most sanguine expectations; and while the circumstances are permitted to remain, folly alone will expect any other result, from any change whatever, except their entire removal.

Happiness is not one jot nearer the grasp of a single individual *now*, than it was at the period when we have the first records of man. Born in ignorance, he imagined first, and he has ever since been systematically taught, that he himself created the motives for his own actions: his mind has been formed on this base; it has been, and is now, the very foundation of his thoughts; it has been combined into all the associations of his ideas; and only doubt, disorder, and confusion of intellect could follow!

It was truly said, that before man could be wise and happy, his mind "must be born again"—that is, it must be discharged of all the inconsistent associations which have been formed within it; the foundation must be laid anew, and a superstructure raised of just and useful proportions, consistent in each and in all its parts, and such as shall please, gratify, and delight the eye of all beholders; that shall bear the test of the most scientific investigations; and through all future ages shall satisfy each mind as it advances, well trained and formed, to maturity, that it is the abode of happiness proceeding from correct conduct, under the guidance of the best intelligence and the soundest wisdom!

Man is born in ignorance, and from his birth he is surrounded with

the errors of some sect, some class, frequently of some party, and always of some country.

He is consequently rendered ignorant of himself, of his fellow creatures, and of nature.

The seeds of disunion and separation are deeply and extensively sown during infancy and childhood.

He is individualised, and made openly or covertly, to oppose every other human being.

His natural wishes are to press onward towards happiness ; but he is strongly and successfully opposed by the multitudes around him, and by the ignorantly devised institutions of society.

As he advances to youth and manhood, the soil into which the seeds of disunion and separation have been put, is cultivated with the greatest care, and every conceivable means are adopted to cherish the plants, ensure their growth, and secure a plentiful crop.

Such care and culture cannot fail of success ; opposition to his natural feelings, and to all his exertions to attain happiness, brings forth in due time an abundant harvest of discontent, dislikes, and displeasure, envy, hatred, revenge, and all the evil passions ; and at length he becomes intimately involved in all the irrationality which must inevitably arise from such a mode of training and culture !

He is compelled to be insincere ; and this circumstance alone will destroy human happiness ! Were any individual to speak the truth within either of these deranging atmospheres of the human intellect, he would at once be termed a fool and a madman !

His finest feelings, his highest intellectual powers, and his best energies, must lie waste, or be so misdirected as to produce evil continually.

Such is a just and accurate outline of man as he has been made—as he is made—under all the past and present systems.

Were I now to descend to particulars ; to give a faithful representation in detail of the errors, inconsistencies, and of the miseries which arise from the existing arrangements of society throughout all its parts, the public mind would be too suddenly enlightened for its own good : ignorant and untrained as it yet is, it would not retain the requisite patience to allow the change to be *gradually* effected ; to proceed only as speedily as practical measures will admit ; it would too eagerly press forward to seize the good which in due time shall be certainly placed within its grasp ; and by such over-haste it would injure and destroy many in its course. In effecting this change—and where is the existing mind that can yet comprehend its magnitude ?—it is my most ardent wish, my anxious desire, that the least possible irritation should be created ; that it should be accomplished without any real injury to a human being ! Those who possess comprehension of mind, and some practical knowledge of the existing state of society, will understand the purport of this language, and will of course act accordingly.

Yes, my friends, full of folly, inconsistency, and wretchedness, as all the existing systems are, *they must not be touched by ill-informed and rude hands.* A single premature or ill-advised step, were it now to be taken, might retard our best-founded hopes, and deprive some generations yet to come of that happiness which otherwise we and our children shall surely enjoy in no inconsiderable degree.

Allay, therefore, your present irritations—do not urge forward any ill-digested, or rather undigested, plans of premature reform; yet attend, with all your powers of earnestness, to the proceedings which are about to commence; and in the shortest possible time for your own good and for the benefit of posterity, you shall be relieved from the existing miseries—you shall be put in possession of all the comfort and enjoyment that can be advantageous to human beings.

To accomplish, however, this great end, without injury to any one, it is absolutely necessary that all the existing institutions should be supported, for a time, as they are; to enable them to protect, and beneficially to direct and controul, the mighty change which is coming rapidly upon us and upon all nations; from which it is utterly impossible for us to escape; and from which, when it shall be properly understood, not one of us shall desire to escape; on the contrary, one and all of us will hail it as the harbinger of whatever is good for individual man, and advantageous for him in his social capacity.

When right principles are acted upon, it is, and ever will be, unnecessary to deceive the public: the truth may be told for or against any national impressions with advantage to every just cause; and this course shall be now adopted.

The present governing Powers of Europe and America, with a few unimportant exceptions, are not in reality opposed to the practical improvement of society: they wish its advance; and, when they shall fully understand how this can be effected, they will not withhold their active assistance.

The Ministers of this country—and I know them well—do not possess sufficient energies and practical knowledge to lead the public mind as it now ought to be led; and their political opponents possess still less useful, practical, knowledge. *Statesmen in all countries have yet to learn the principles of the science that will enable them to govern States so as to make themselves and the people happy.*

But our Ministers possess kind and amiable dispositions, and a real desire to ameliorate the condition of all ranks. I have for five years put their patience, their tempers, and their inclinations, to a test which cannot deceive me; and although it is correctly true, that they do not possess the requisites to lead the national mind into new and untried, but absolutely necessary, improvement—for this they leave to others—yet it is my belief that many of them are sincerely willing and desirous to go with and accompany the public in that course, whenever the public shall be duly prepared and provided for the journey. They are now as conscious as any other class in society, that the way in which they find themselves fast advancing *is the high road to confusion and misery.*

And here, as I am anxious that not one of my motives should be misunderstood, it is necessary to say, that when, in a preceding publication, I stated that it would be more just for the Secretary of State for the Home Department to be double-ironed and in Newgate, rather than the poor boy, sixteen years of age, who from his birth had been neglected by society; although this statement was then, as it is now, the genuine expression of my feelings and judgment, yet it was not in any degree intended to wound the feelings of my Lord Sidmouth. Some part of the public, it seems, has supposed otherwise, although his Lordship could not mistake my meaning. I have received number-

less marks of kindness and attention from him ; I have at this moment a lively impression of the urbanity of his manners : and it is but justice to him to say, that he readily gave his assistance to Mrs. Fry, to enable her to proceed with her good work among the female prisoners in Newgate. Still, however, the Secretary of State for the Home Department is pursuing, and for some time to come I fear must pursue, a course which creates, in its consequences, more cruelty and injustice than may be obvious to him and many others : and therefore, notwithstanding I feel a real regard for the individual, I must oppose, with all my powers, the errors of the system under which he acts ; and I hope the time is not far distant, when he also will lend his utmost ministerial aid to introduce a better.

Of the existing systems I trust it is unnecessary for me now to say more, than that I consider them wretched indeed ! but, bad as they are, they must be protected until a better shall be actually in practice.

We will now view man under the new circumstances in which he is about to be placed.

In the new, as under the old, he will be born in ignorance.

He will be trained from earliest infancy to acquire only kind and benevolent dispositions.

He will be taught facts only. These will enable him very early in life to understand clearly how his own character and the character of his fellow-creatures have been formed and are forming. He will thus be secured from being enveloped by any of the evil and demoralising atmospheres with which every man yet born has been surrounded.

No circumstances will exist to compel him to acquire feelings of disunion and separation from any other human being. On the contrary, his heart will be open to receive, and his hand ready to assist, each of his fellow creatures, whatever may be his sect, his class, his party, his country, or his colour. Anger, hatred, and revenge, will have no place on which to rest : the pabulum on which all the evil passions fed, will no longer exist : unity and mutual co-operation, to any extent, will become easy of execution, and the common practice of all.

Men will soon read their past history, only to retain a remembrance of the errors and inconsistencies from whence they emerged ; and to compare the happiness around them with the misery of former times.

Look now at the drawing exhibited, and compare the scenes, which it but faintly represents, with the situation of the existing poor and working classes in the manufacturing towns ; and yet the expense and trouble of the latter are tenfold those of the one represented.

We will very hastily and slightly sketch the contrast.

In the Manufacturing Towns,—the poor and working classes now usually live in garrets or cellars, within narrow lanes or confined courts.

In the Proposed Villages,—the poor and working classes will live in dwellings formed into a large square, rendered in every way convenient, and usefully ornamented.

In the Manufacturing Towns,—they are surrounded with dirt, enveloped in smoke, and have seldom a pleasant object on which to fix their eye.

In the Proposed Villages,—they will be surrounded by gardens, have abundance of space in all directions to keep the air healthy and

pleasant: they will have walks and plantations before them, within the square, and well-cultivated grounds, kept in good order around, as far as the eye can reach.

In the Manufacturing Towns, parents are oppressed with anxiety to secure the means of subsistence for themselves and children.

In the Proposed Villages, in consequence of the principle of mutual co-operation being understood and practised to its full extent, the necessities and comforts of life are enjoyed by all in abundance.

In the Manufacturing Towns, each family has the care and trouble of going to market to supply their individual wants, and under every disadvantage.

In the Proposed Villages, the same trouble will provide for 1000 as is now required for one family; and all articles will be procured on the best terms.

In the Manufacturing Towns, each family must have domestic arrangements for cooking, &c., and one person must be wholly occupied in preparing provisions, &c., for a family of ordinary numbers.

In the Proposed Villages, the best provisions will be cooked in the best manner, under arrangements that will enable five or six individuals to prepare provisions for 1000.

In the Manufacturing Towns, the parents must toil from ten to sixteen hours in the day, to procure the wretched subsistence which they obtain for themselves and children, and very often under circumstances the most unfavourable to health and natural enjoyments.

In the Proposed Villages, the parents will be healthfully and pleasantly occupied not more than eight hours in the day.

In the Manufacturing Towns, in bad times, and which frequently occur, the parties experience a distress not easily to be described.

In the Proposed Villages, no bad time can occur from a change of markets, or from any commercial uncertainties, as the parties will always have a plentiful stock of all things necessary.

In the Manufacturing Towns, in cases of sickness, every evil takes place among these individualised beings.

In the Proposed Villages, in the event of sickness, the utmost attention and care will be experienced: every one, both from principle and interest, will be active and have pleasure in rendering the situation of the invalid as comfortable as possible.

In the Manufacturing Towns, the early death of parents leaves the children orphans, and subject to every evil.

In the Proposed Villages, the early death of parents leaves the children in all respects well provided for and protected.

In the Manufacturing Towns, the children are usually sickly, and, as well as their parents, ill-clothed.

In the Proposed Villages, the children will be ruddy and healthy, and, as well as their parents, neat, clean, and properly clothed.

In the Manufacturing Towns, the young children are much neglected, and hourly acquire bad habits.

In the Proposed Villages, the children will be well looked after, prevented from acquiring bad, and taught good, habits.

In the Manufacturing Towns, the education of the children neglected.

In the Proposed Villages, the children all well trained and well informed.

In the Manufacturing Towns, the children sent early in life to some one trade or manufacture, usually of a very unhealthy nature, and at which they must attend from ten to sixteen hours per day.

In the Proposed Villages, the children gradually instructed in gardening, agriculture, and some trade or manufacture, and only employed according to age and strength.

In the Manufacturing Towns, the children trained under ignorant persons, possessing many bad habits.

In the Proposed Villages, the children will be trained by intelligent persons, possessing only good habits.

In the Manufacturing Towns, scolding, coercion, and punishments, are the usual instruments of training.

In the Proposed Villages, kindness and good sense will be the only instruments of training.

To proceed with the contrast would be endless; the mind of the reader will easily supply the remainder: suffice it therefore to say—

That the Manufacturing Towns, are the abode of poverty, vice, crime, and misery.

While the Proposed Villages, will ever be the abode of abundance, active intelligence, correct conduct, and happiness.

APPENDIX

E.

Address delivered at the City of London Tavern, on Thursday, August 14th, 1817. As published in the London daily Papers of August 15th, 1817, and afterwards separately by LONGMAN, &c.

In consequence of the following Advertisement; namely,

“A Public Meeting will be held at the City of London Tavern, on Thursday, 14th of August next, when those interested in the subject will consider a Plan to relieve the Country from its present Distress, to remoralise the Lower Orders, reduce the Poor's-rate, and gradually abolish Pauperism, with all its degrading and injurious consequences;” a Meeting was accordingly held, at which Mr. Owen delivered the following Address:—

It is not to gratify a weak and useless vanity that I am here to day. I appear before you to perform a solemn and most important duty. Popularity and future fame I value not; neither of them appear to me of any estimation whatever. The only personal motive that influences my conduct, is a desire, which disease and death alone can overcome—to see you, and my fellow creatures everywhere, in the actual enjoyment of the happiness, which, in the utmost profusion, Nature has prepared for our acceptance.

Had wisdom been given to the world, it would have perceived long ago, during all the ages which have passed, that this ever-sought-for boon, this gift,—beyond the means and power of wealth to pur-

chase, has ever been at the world's disposal, even for the least regarded of all the human beings who have lived. But, in whatever profusion the means of happiness have been shed around us, ignorance has veiled them from our sight; enveloped them securely within an atmosphere of the grossest errors, so dense and well guarded from every bold adventurer, that even the experience of time itself could not heretofore penetrate through all its shades.

This dominion of thick darkness, however protected as it was by myriads of hydras of every appalling shape and aspect, has at length been passed.

Experience laid her plans deep in former ages, persevered in her righteous course, without fatigue, misgiving, or one moment's relaxation; proceeded while her opponents slept, and silently crept on when they were inattentive to her movements. Difficult, intricate, and dangerous as was each step in advance, she at length, to the astonishment and confusion of her foes, attained the outward barriers. All the powers of darkness were instantly in portentous movement, and preparing to inflict vengeance on this audacious intruder.

Experience, however, the parent of true wisdom and real knowledge, therefore wise and determined in all her measures, having till now hidden her might and majesty from their sight, suddenly displayed her all-efficient mirror of truth, burnished to such divine brilliancy, that when beheld by the whole host of darkness, they shrunk astounded from its piercing light, which instantly struck them to the heart; they fled, overwhelmed with despair; and are even now rapidly hastening, in every direction, to quit our abodes for ever, and leave us in the full enjoyment of perfect unity, real virtue, permanent peace, and substantial happiness.

It is, my friends, under the banners of this successful leader, Experience, that I this day wish to enlist you. Be not alarmed at this proposal. I shall even now proceed one step farther, having been previously tutored by this unerring instructress; and I now say to you, that on this day, which will be stamped indelibly on the memory of future time, you shall be *compelled* to join the standard of Experience; and hereafter you will be unable to swerve from your allegiance to it. The rule and sway of this leader will prove to you so just and equitable, that no oppression shall be known; no cries of hunger and distress shall be heard in her streets; the prisons raised by ignorance and superstition shall have their doors always open; and their instruments of punishment shall be reserved as her legitimate trophies of victory. Under the unerring laws of Experience, you shall make such physical and intellectual advances, you shall all be so well-trained, instructed, and employed, usefully, pleasantly, and advantageously, for yourselves and others, that no motive will be left within you to desert her righteous cause; nay, each of you will, ere long, rather suffer any death whatever, than be forced for a moment from her all-attractive and ever-delightful service. And, by thus acting, the world will speedily be relieved from the overwhelming mental slavery in which it has heretofore been held fast bound.

We will now quit the language of metaphor, and attend closely and accurately to what facts may say; and they will speak a language so interesting to each, and so important to all, that they will merit your most fixed and earnest attention. Listen to what they say of our distress and misery, and of the practicable means by which only that distress and misery may be removed. They say—and whenever doubts exist, they are always ready to advance proof—

That the Empire of Great Britain and Ireland is now in greater misery, distress, and wretchedness, than, in reality, it has been known to be for centuries past;

That, whatever specious appearance of improvement may at this moment exist, the real distress and demoralisation of the country is going on, and will rapidly proceed, until the causes which create both shall be removed, and until they shall be replaced by other causes of a quite opposite nature.

That the United Empire of Great Britain and Ireland never in any former period possessed such an excess of superabundant means to relieve the whole of the population from this misery, degradation, and danger.

That, from the Governing Powers of the country, no rational means have ever yet been proposed, to give a permanent and substantial relief to the thousands who are now pining in want, and whose dwellings are the unnecessary abode of every species of afflicting wretchedness.

That without other aid, they do not possess sufficient power and practical knowledge of the subject, to enable them to make a proper use of the means with which the country super-abounds, to relieve its inhabitants from their ignorance and vice, whence all the existing evils have arisen.

That this aid, of power and practical knowledge, can alone be given by the public voice, expressed distinctly and clearly, by the reflecting, most intelligent, and best-cultivated part of the community, in their several local districts."

And Facts also prove, that the public voice should declare to the following effect:—

1. That a country can never be beneficially wealthy, while it supports a large portion of the working classes in idle poverty, or in useless occupation.

2. That partial information and poverty, without any training but the worst that can be imagined, must demoralise the inhabitants of any country.

3. That such population, when surrounded by gin-shops, low pot-houses, and every temptation to public gambling, must necessarily become either imbecile and useless, or vicious, criminal, and dangerous.

4. That strong coercion, and severe, cruel, and unjust punishment, must necessarily follow.

5. That discontent, disaffection, and every kind of opposition to the governing powers, must consequently ensue.

6. That while these incentives to every thing vile, criminal, and wicked, shall be permitted and encouraged by the Government, it is downright mockery of common sense to talk about religion, and

of improving the condition and morals of the poor and working classes.

7. That to talk and act thus, is a weak and silly attempt to deceive the public—that the public is not now deceived by it—and that hereafter such inconsistent and unmeaning jargon will not deceive any one.

(But, my friends, be not angry with these proceedings ; rather endeavour with me to remove the existence of those circumstances which could produce such perverted intellects. Pity the individuals who have been thus injured : aid them, and do them good.)

8. That, to expect any national improvement, while these and similar circumstances are permitted to remain, exhibits as much wisdom and foreknowledge, as to wait for the drying of the ocean, while all the rivers of the earth are continually pouring their streams into its waters.

9. That to remove these evils, and to introduce good habits, valuable intellect, and permanent happiness,—the large accumulated masses of poverty, vice, crime, misery, and pernicious habits, must be gradually separated, divided into manageable portions, and distributed over the country.

10. That to succeed in ameliorating the condition of the lower orders, and of society generally, it is absolutely requisite that means should be devised to well-train, instruct, and advantageously employ, every child that shall be born among the working classes, and to give them all the necessaries and beneficial comforts of life.

11. That such arrangements should be formed as would enable the working classes to attain all these blessings by their own labour, temperately exerted under the government of mild and equitable laws, that would admit an increase of freedom, in proportion to the improved moral conduct and intellectual acquirements of the great body of the people.

12. That the experience and means now exist, to form those arrangements, without creating one particle of injury to a single individual ; but, on the contrary, each one, from the most-oppressed and degraded of the human race, to the highest ruler of States, shall be essentially and permanently benefited by the change.

And *facts* farther declare, that the learned, inexperienced men, of the present times, are wrong, when they imagine that pauperism will be created, increased, and perpetuated by the plans now to be submitted to the public, for the abolition of poverty, vice, and crime.

I feel myself, however, greatly indebted to these gentlemen, for bringing before the public every objection that acute and intelligent minds can suggest. My wish is, that the whole subject should be so investigated and scrutinised, that not one of its immediate effects, or most remote consequences, should be hidden from the world. *It shall withstand the full blaze of the most intense and steady light, or I shall not be found its defender.*

I say it, however, with a confidence fearless of any opposition, having a distinct and accurate knowledge of all parts of this extensively combined subject before me, that it will bear the test of this trial : that after each proof to which it can be put, even by its most

powerful opposers, it will be more and more purified from the misconceptions of ignorance ; and will present itself, as future ages will find it, consistent and complete for all the purposes for which it was devised.

I would here beg leave to ask these gentlemen,—

If to train a child carefully and well, from earliest infancy, be a likely means to create, increase, and perpetuate pauperism ?

If to instruct a child in an accurate and correct knowledge of facts, be a likely means to create, increase, and perpetuate pauperism ?

If to give a child health, kind and benevolent dispositions, other good habits, and an active cheerful industry, be a likely means to create, increase, and perpetuate pauperism ?

If, among the working classes, to instruct each male in the practice and knowledge of gardening, of agriculture, and in at least some one other trade, manufacture, or occupation—if to instruct each female in the best method of treating infants and training children, in all the usual domestic arrangements, to make themselves and others comfortable,—in the practice and knowledge of gardening, and in some one useful, light, and healthy manufacture ;—I ask, if all or any of these parts of the plan be a likely means to create, increase, and perpetuate pauperism ?

If to remove the causes of ignorance, anger, revenge, and every evil passion, be a likely means to create, increase, and perpetuate pauperism ?

If to train the whole population of a country, to be temperate, industrious, and moral, be a likely means to create, increase, and perpetuate pauperism ?

If to unite in cordial union and mutual co-operation, without one feeling of distrust on the part of any, be a likely means to create, increase, and perpetuate pauperism ?

If to increase the wealth of the world four-fold—perhaps ten-fold, not improbably a hundred-fold—be a likely means to create, increase, and perpetuate pauperism ?

But I might proceed to ask these gentlemen many other questions, and to which, perhaps, they would not make so ready a reply as to those now put : one, however, shall suffice.

How do they propose to relieve the people from the ignorance, distress, and immorality, with which the country abounds ; and which, if not speedily checked, must soon overwhelm all ranks in one general scene of confusion, disorder, and ruin ?

I know they have no reply to make, founded on any sound practical knowledge of the subject. I should have been delighted beyond anything which I can now find language to express, to discover that the Government, the Legislature, or any Parties in the country, had possessed the requisite knowledge and practical experience, to remove the physical and mental evils under which we and other nations are now suffering. I, patiently and calmly, for years, sought for this knowledge, among the most intelligent, enlightened, and experienced, of all classes, sects, and parties, in the State. I neglected no source whatever, from whence it appeared to me possi-

ble to derive the information required. While thousands of my fellow-creatures were most unnecessarily pining in want, and their offspring hourly wasting away before their eyes, I anxiously attended to the proceedings of both Committees of Parliament, to learn if help was near. Soon, however, to my mortification, I discovered that the knowledge and experience necessary to enable them to comprehend this subject, in its various parts, and in its entire connexion, did not in any degree exist among them. They speedily involved themselves in a heterogeneous mass of particulars, admirably calculated to confound their intellects, and to disappoint every hope of the country. My duty now compels me to say, that were they to proceed thus for a century, they would continue in the dark, and remain incompetent to pass one rational legislative act on this vital subject to the well-being of the Empire. With such knowledge before me, and as distinctly before my mental vision as you are now to my sight, could I remain a quiet, inactive observer? Ought I to have held my tongue, and been mute, in deference to unmeaning forms and customs? Nay, with the knowledge permitted me to acquire, should I not have been the most criminal of all human beings, if, regarding any personal considerations whatever, I had not attempted to make the still small voice of truth heard among my fellow-men. It has gone forth, like the dove from the ark, never more to return.

This truth will not rest in its progress, until it has visited and pervaded all parts of the earth; and its influence will dispel and destroy every pestilential vapour, and whatever is noxious and evil; and, my friends, it will thus render our country, and all countries, a fit abode for rational beings. But, my friends, before this period can arrive (and I now speak to you as a plain practical man, long and intimately acquainted with the transactions of men,) you have much to unlearn—much to learn. This change in your proceedings is not, cannot, be created by magic. It can be effected only gradually, by individual steps—by correct principles being carried into actual practice—by imperfect attempts at first, until Experience shall point out that which is better, and more beneficial.

I have been long aware—I have so stated it some years ago—that when you should have the new order of things distinctly placed before your minds, so as to enable you to compare it with those which have passed, and which exist, you would become too impatient for the change; that you would be inclined to destroy your old habitation, before the new one could be erected, and made ready for your reception. To feel thus is natural; but so to act would be most unwise. From this day forward I shall have no occasion to urge you to adopt in practice the plans proposed. Your wishes and inclinations to be in the actual possession of the happiness which they cannot fail to give you and your children, to endless generations, will greatly exceed the present power of human beings to prepare the means to put the plans into execution. These considerations, however, should not prevent us from making all the practical preparation possible to relieve us from the existing evils and distress, and to replace them with the least loss of time, by those new circumstances, which, with-

out a shadow of doubt, must produce a happiness that the world has not yet experienced, and of which, none of you can now form a clear and distinct estimate.

There are various modes by which the measures now proposed can be carried into practice: and should this Meeting approve of the outlines of the plans which I have submitted so generally to public notice, it is next to consider which, if any, of the following modes deserve the most commendation; or whether any other that may be proposed from some other quarter, should be recommended, if equally good. The adoption of the latter would please me infinitely more than to see any of my own preferred. You know not, my friends, how I shall rejoice when we shall sink the individual, and unite him cordially with his fellows.

The practical modes that have hitherto suggested themselves to me, or have been mentioned to me by others, are the following:—

The first plan I shall mention, and it is an admirable one, has been sent to me by a Mr. James Johnson, Chelsea. I have not the pleasure of knowing this gentleman; but whoever he is and whatever he may be, the letter he has sent to me, and which, with your permission, I will now read, evinces a clear understanding, a sound judgment, and much practical knowledge. It is as follows:—

“Chelsea, Aug. 4th, 1817.

“SIR,—I have taken the liberty of addressing you, in consequence of reading your very able and judicious Plan for the amelioration and Employment of the Poor, which has appeared in the Public Papers, and which does appear to be the best calculated for the general happiness and prosperity of the nation which can be possibly adopted. No doubt, like all great undertakings, many improvements may suggest themselves from time to time, in the course of its progress, but none but what may be easily introduced without the slightest impediment to the original design. It wants nothing but the support and protection of Government, to enable it to be the most efficient national establishment in the kingdom; and it would be the means of drawing forth the prayers and gratitude of the poor, and would also meet the general approbation of every good individual in the country. It would soon change the feelings of many thousands of the present unhappy and discontented class of the community, into gratitude and respect towards their superiors, and obedience to the laws of the country. It is distress that first produces indifference, and that leads imperceptibly, from time to time, to depravity and desperation; and then general misery gets established throughout the country.

“Open once a prospect to future comfort, there will not be found any want of patience to wait for the enjoyment of it.—My motive for addressing this is, merely to suggest a simple plan for raising the means for the accomplishment. I will suppose, by way of foundation, £100,000 will be sufficient, either for one establishment, or to be divided into smaller ones, as may be deemed expedient: the common interest upon this will be £5,000. There will be but little difficulty, I should imagine, to find one hundred Gentlemen, who

would most willingly give every encouragement to promote any undertaking that will add comfort to the Poor. We have proof, and proof sufficient in every benevolent establishment throughout the kingdom, to evince there never has been any want of liberal feeling, when it has been required.

“ If one hundred persons of sufficient property will undertake the promotion of the plan, it can easily be accomplished in this way : — If Government will advance, in the first instance, the £100,000, and each of the one hundred persons will consider himself as a kind of Trustee to the Establishment, subject to the payment of an annual sum of £50 to Government—this will discharge the interest. The Trustees, in proportion as they can, to employ on the Establishment the present unemployed Poor, which will give considerable relief to the Poor Rates. The Trustees then shall have a power to receive a reduced rate from the parishes accordingly, as the unemployed Poor get off the parish books. This will lessen the claim upon the private property of the Trustees upon the interest which they have to pay to Government. If I understand correctly, the Establishment, ultimately, is to produce profit. If so, the present Trustees, or their Assigns, shall have a power to discharge the original advance of the £100,000 by Government ; but not to have power to make alterations in what has once been established, but as the wisdom of Government see proper ; otherwise, for the sake of profit, it might become a kind of speculative concern, and occasion its own destruction. It does appear strongly to my view, that Government giving protection to it, will give it strength and security, not to be obtained by any other means. The Trustees, and not Government, shall possess the power of executing the arrangements, but not the power to alter the Plan once laid down, without the consent of Government. I hope this rough outline will not be considered impertinent ; and I most sincerely wish every success may attend your truly benevolent effort.

“ I am, Sir, with the highest respect,

“ Your very obedient servant,

“ JAMES JOHNSON.”

“ Robert Owen, Esq.”

This plan appears to me very unexceptionable. But other modes may be asked for, and others offer themselves. Individuals possessing £100 each, and the means of support for one year, may unite on this plan, and carry it most successfully into execution. Extensive parishes, in which the poor are numerous, and the annual expenditure large, may put the plan into almost immediate execution ; or, several parishes, according to their number of poor and annual expenditure, may unite under the Gilbert Act, and carry the plan into practice, most advantageously for themselves and the poor.

Or, one or more wealthy individuals, who may be desirous of ameliorating the condition of the ignorant, the ill-taught, the vicious, and the miserable of their own dependants, or others, may form such establishments as the proposed, and effect thereby the greatest

possible good to their fellow-creatures—most certainly increase their revenue, and add a new zest and pleasure to every hour of their lives. But before either or any of these plans can be put into execution, I have still other duties to perform. I must direct a complete model to be made of the whole arrangements proposed; and draw up rules and regulations, by which the population within these villages can be *alone* governed, to enable them to attain all these promised benefits, and never to recede, or be stationary in their progress of improvement.

These I will yet do; and at all times, while my health, strength, and other circumstances will admit, I will render all the personal aid in my power, to put any establishments, on the plan now advocated, into execution: or, if I can be of any real service in aiding any superior plan, devised by, and proceeding from any party whatever, I shall have equal, nay, and I speak from my genuine feelings, I shall have more real pleasure in giving such aid, than I could derive from giving support to any plans of my own.

But now, permit me to say, that, opposed by the ignorance and folly of the world, I have devoted nearly thirty years to deep research and active experiment, in order that the plans before us might be well matured. In thus acting, and in bringing the principles on which they are founded prominently before the public, I have expended sums that would have stayed an ordinary or short-sighted prudence in its course. I have not,—up to this hour, I do not, regret one moment of this time or one shilling of the money which has been so spent and expended. I ask for no return—none is due to me: I have simply performed my duty. The great leading object of my life, from my youth upwards, is this day accomplished; the principles and plan are even now so fixed and permanent, that hereafter the combined power of the world will be found utterly incompetent to extract them from the public mind. It will from this hour go on, with an increasing celerity. “Silence will not retard its course, and opposition will give increased celerity to its movements.” It may now be said, my great task is done; I resign it with unspeakable pleasure into the hands and unto the guidance of others. When death approaches, he will not, he cannot now be to me an unwelcome visitor. I shall receive him, come when he may, as he will, with a satisfaction, of which none of you, perhaps, can now form any just conception.

I should rejoice, however, to see these delightful associations of unity and mutual co-operation flourishing in this country, and in others; and should my life be longer spared, the utmost bounds of my ambition is to become an undistinguished member of one of these happy villages; and in which my personal expenses would not exceed £20 a year.

I ought to apologise for having spoken so much of myself; but it appeared to me somewhat *necessary*, in order that no part of the subject might be misunderstood.

It now becomes an important question, to consider what resolutions ought to be proposed to this meeting. Many offer themselves, and probably a material advance might now be made towards carry-

ing the plan proposed into immediate execution, and in several places. But I am most anxious that not one premature step should be taken in this business.

By the observations of several public writers, and public men, I perceive the subject is *not understood*. They have hitherto caught a few only of the parts, as I contemplate them; and have mixed them, in an incongruous manner, with various notions of their own, which have no connexion whatever with the plan I recommend. Many sensible and intelligent individuals, whose minds had not been previously directed to such subjects, are so confounded and astonished at this new and extraordinary combination of human powers, that they very naturally conclude the proposer must be either mad, a visionary, or an enthusiast; not in the least suspecting the truth, that I have ever been a plodding, practical, persevering, matter-of-fact man, who has been engaged, for thirty-five years, in all the common, and in extensive transactions of business. Under all these considerations, and as I do not wish to take any party by surprise, it appeared to me to be due to the subject, due to the country, and due to the individuals who are desirous of promoting the plan, if it should be found to possess the advantages I have stated, that it should undergo the most severe scrutiny, in its details separately, and, as a whole combined, proper for a great national and universal system, to relieve mankind from the ignorance, vice, poverty, crime, and misery, with which the whole earth is now degraded and oppressed, to the deep hurt and injury of all ranks and descriptions of men, none of whom can be happy under the fundamentally erroneous notions on which society has been hitherto constituted.

And that this high and important duty—a task worthy the present age and period—shall be committed to the calm and mature investigation and deliberation of a sufficient number of the most respectable characters in this kingdom, for rank, intellect, practical experience, and active benevolence; and without distinction of parties, sect, or class; that they should form a National Committee, in order that strict justice may be done to the plan proposed, to the country, and to the world. By this procedure, every part of this interesting and important subject would be well and effectually sifted to its lowest foundation, and through all its extensive and multiplied ramifications, and thus prove, by a full and fair examination, all its defects and advantages; and whether it will be proved, as I have stated, to possess that high claim to public notice, and universal adoption.

It is for the Meeting to decide what encouragement shall be now given to an immediate experiment of the Plan, in one, or in more instances.

In conformity with these views, I beg leave first to read the following Resolutions, as they stand in connection; and afterwards to propose them separately for your opinion and decision.

1. That many of the poor and working classes, in Great Britain and Ireland, cannot now procure employment to enable them to earn a proper subsistence.

2. That in Great Britain and Ireland, the poor, the unemployed,

and the inefficiently employed, are now supported at a ruinous expense to many parishes, and by extensive and injurious private charities.

3. That under these circumstances, the poor and working classes generally experience privations and distress to a greater extent, probably, than they have suffered at any former period in the history of this country.

4. That this arises from manual labour being of less value now, compared with the price of provisions and the habits of the people generally, than it has been at any former known period.

5. That it is not probable manual labour can regain its proper and necessary value under circumstances beneficial to the country, unless other arrangements shall be formed by society, purposely devised to give productive employment to all who are competent and willing to labour.

6. That it is the highest practical point in political economy, as it most essentially involves the well-being and happiness of all ranks, to attain the means by which the labour of any country can be the most advantageously employed.

7. To reduce the Poor's Rate, and to gradually abolish Pauperism, with all its degrading and injurious consequences.

8. That,—as a solemn and grave judgment ought not to be given hastily, on a subject in which the vital interests of this Empire and other countries are involved,—the plan now proposed shall be submitted to the scrutiny and investigation of a Committee, composed of many of the leading, most intelligent, and best disposed, from among all ranks, who, by their previous acquirements may be competent to give a useful opinion upon the subject. For something must be done.

9. That the Committee of General Investigation be composed of the following Noblemen and Gentlemen, or such of them as may be inclined to perform this high and important duty, for themselves, their country, and for posterity. The Committee to have power to add from time to time to their number, and to be a quorum.

10. That this Committee shall report the result of their investigations and labours, to a General Meeting to be called for that purpose, early in May next year, or sooner, if they shall so determine.

11. That the Proposer of the Plan shall give, from time to time, to the Committee, all the information in his power, that they may ask or require.

It was not my intention to have proceeded further at present; but a most benevolent and public-spirited Gentlemen, whose name I am not at liberty yet to mention, called upon me last night, and, in the most liberal manner, made me an unlimited offer of about 1,500 acres of land, proper in all respects to try one experiment upon, and of at least £50,000 in value, which I might use for such purpose, at any time after October next. I cannot, therefore, refrain from proposing the following additional Resolutions:—

12. That it is now most desirable that one or more experiments should be tried with the least possible loss of time.

13. That for this purpose a subscription be now opened, and that

whenever £100,000 in money or land shall be subscribed, one experiment shall be commenced forthwith, and a second when £200,000 shall be subscribed; and so on, as each following £100,000 shall be subscribed.

14. That the following Gentlemen, or such of them as may be inclined to act, shall be a Select Acting Committee, to direct and superintend such experiments, assisted by the proposer of the plan.

15. That the most warm and cordial thanks of this meeting be given to the Gentleman who has so nobly stepped forward to offer his Land to the Country, for the use of an experiment, at the moment it was wanted.

APPENDIX.

F.

Letter published in all the London Daily Newspapers, August 17, 1817.

LONDON, AUGUST 16.

MR. EDITOR,

As the adjourned Public Meeting to consider "A Plan to relieve the country from its present distress," &c., is to be held on Thursday next, at the City of London Tavern, it is important that the public should be put in possession of the following, with the least possible delay. Your early insertion of it, therefore, will confer another favour on,

Sir, your obliged,

R. OWEN.

46, Charlotte Street, Portland Place.

The First Public Meeting, to consider *A Plan of amelioration, and reformation without revolution*, has passed, under circumstances peculiarly interesting. An unaided individual, directly opposed to all the existing errors and prejudices of every sect, party, and class in the State—I called that meeting. I was anxious to discover the real tendency of the public mind, when left unfettered by the influence of name or authority. I therefore purposely went unattended by any one, except Mr. Rowcroft and Mr. Carter. The former had more experience in public meetings within the City of London, than perhaps any other individual: the latter was the Secretary to the Committee of the Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and Labouring Poor, (in which Committee my public proceedings on this subject originated); and therefore, as he already possessed greater knowledge in these matters than any other gentleman, his services were truly desirable, in aid of the measures about to commence. With these two gentlemen I entered the room, having previously determined to leave the choice of the Chairman really to the Meeting, for to *me* it was truly indifferent who was named. Mr. Rowcroft requested the company present (which then

appeared to be as numerous as the room could contain) to appoint their own Chairman. His name was immediately called out by many voices, and no other was put into competition with it. He declined, and gave the best reasons for so doing—"that the state of his health made it imprudent for him to fill the situation." It, therefore, had not been in his contemplation, for a moment, to accept that office; although, if an honest devotion to the cause of the poor, long experience, and very strong rational powers of mind, though greatly tried by severe exertions, rendered any individual (partially acquainted with the subject to come before the meeting) proper to fill that place, Mr. R. was certainly entitled to it. After an ineffectual resistance he acquiesced in the wishes of the meeting; and, without knowing one sentence that I was going to utter, or one resolution that I was going to propose, at length took the chair, read the advertisement, and stated what I had prepared for the meeting. I may here mention, that in consequence of the incessant and numerous applications, by letter and personally, made to me for some days previous to the meeting, I could not finish my preparations for it in time even to read over a fair copy of them, as it was not ready when I left home at eleven o'clock in the morning. Under these circumstances the business of the day commenced. I knew then, however, as I did before, and as I know now, that the subject would carry me through; and it will continue to do so, whatever obstacles, trivial or important, may intervene.

Those who opposed the principles and plan that I advocated, were some of the younger disciples of the much-dreaded notions respecting the evils of a too rapid population; the advocates of reform, not founded on previous training, instruction, and productive employment of the people; and some of the opposers of all the measures of Government.

A knowledge of the extent of land in this empire and the world, advantageous for cultivation, but now waste and useless, with the known practice of every farmer in the kingdom, whose servants raise ten times the food they could eat, would suggest sufficient to enable every thinking mind to discover, that no position can be more fallacious than the one which states that "population has a tendency to increase geometrically, while food can be increased only arithmetically."

A reform of any of our great national institutions, without preparing and putting into practice means to well-train, instruct, and advantageously employ, the great mass of the people, would inevitably create immediate revolution, and give new and extensive stimulus to every bad passion: violence would follow; every party, whether more or less virtuous, ignorant, or intelligent, would equally suffer in their turn; and in a short period, this empire, and all Europe and the Americas, would be plunged in one general scene of anarchy and dreadful confusion, of which the late French Revolution will give but a faint anticipation.

Such must be the consequences of any premature national reform. Unless the people are first made temperate and intelligent, and unless productive employment and useful occupation be pro-

vided, sudden and ill-prepared reform is greatly to be dreaded, and cannot be too much guarded against. All, every one, the poor and the rich, reformers and opposers, would be severe sufferers by the change. All such ill-digested and short-sighted proceedings, in any party whatever, ought to be firmly opposed by every reflecting individual.

The remaining opposition was on the part of those who have long been in the habit of systematically opposing the measures of the existing Administration; supposing, as I have no doubt they do sincerely, that they could direct matters, under the existing circumstances, better than they are now managed: but hitherto, nothing really beneficial, that is practical, has been advanced by them. I have for years, very coolly and dispassionately, observed both these parties, and put their professions and practices to the test. There are some exceptions on both sides to the following conclusions; but, as parties, and acting as a body, I cannot, after so many years' intimate experience of the conduct of both, be now mistaken. These conclusions are: That the present Ministers are thoroughly satisfied that the principles on which, from previously existing circumstances, they have been hitherto compelled to act, are erroneous, and that the system they support is full of error, and productive of many serious and grievous evils: that they heartily and sincerely wish to remove the latter, if they know how; but they do not, as a Ministry, possess sufficient practical knowledge to enable them to carry their wishes and inclinations into execution. They are in search of it; and ultimately they will find it, among individuals who combine science and practice, and who are sufficiently intelligent and independent not to be influenced by any party or interested motives;—and thus may the country and its inhabitants be safely and rapidly improved.

The Opposition have involved themselves in a maze of false intelligence; somewhat gratifying to discourse about, because it possesses the appearance of much learning; but when examined accurately, it possesses no substance, it cannot be rendered of any practical use whatever; and were they to be placed in power tomorrow, they would be found, with the exception of Lord Grenville and a few others, to be mere theorists, and quite inadequate to the task of removing the distress of the country.

There is, however, a far greater portion of genuine good intention and disposition among all parties, even among the premature Reformists, than is in any degree conjectured by their opponents. I know many of them well; and, as men and friends, I respect and love many among all the parties. I only wish I could now dispel the atmosphere of separation and distortion that has been formed around the mind of each, that they might be permitted to see each other without prejudice; and I trust the time is not far distant when this will be accomplished.

The particular objections brought forward at the meeting, by the several speakers who advocated them, were so little to the purpose, so futile and contrary to daily experience, and evinced so much real ignorance of the subject before them, that the Chairman restrained

me, on account of the exhausted state of the meeting, from making more than a general reply; and to which I the more readily acceded, inasmuch as a complete answer to their objections, and to many others, was contained in the printed papers distributed at the meeting, and which I recommend to the calm and deliberate consideration of every individual, who has sincerely at heart the safety of his country, the improvement of the condition of the poor and working classes, and the well-being of all, without any exception whatever.

At the next meeting, now that the more preliminary but necessary part of the subject has appeared, I will give the minute details of the plan; with which I learn many present were wholly unacquainted, as they had not seen the Report and papers previously published. I mean also to ask for a general, that is, a numerous and highly-intelligent Committee of severe scrutiny and investigation, to report on the plan, both as a limited, and as a general National measure. My impression, nay, my cool dispassionate conviction is, that it will be found highly beneficial for both, and perfectly safe and advantageous for all countries, and for each individual.

At the last meeting, I was satisfied to discover, that while the business proceeded regularly, the impression was most unequivocally and decidedly in favour of the measures I had recommended; and to the last, the majority was against the amendments that were opposed to my Resolutions. For a considerable time I noticed, with interest, the proceedings of those who wished to defeat the objects of the meeting. The parties were all new to me. I wished to discover the depth of their minds, and the peculiar atmosphere by which each was enveloped: this was very soon done. Afterwards, when the adverse parties (if adverse they ought to be called, who have done the cause great and important service) proceeded to excite tumult, I looked upon the scene before me with precisely the same feelings with which I should have noticed so many individuals in a very ill-managed lunatic asylum. Yet, they must not be left thus,—they really merit our sympathy; and we must, at least, endeavour to do them service, even in opposition to their present prejudices and their consequent feelings.

ROBERT OWEN.

APPENDIX.

G.

Address delivered at the City of London Tavern, on Thursday, August 21st, 1817. As published in all the London Daily Newspapers, August 22, 1817; and afterwards separately, by LONGMAN, &c.

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The last Meeting terminated under circumstances of some disorder, but I trust and look forward with hope that these assemblages will be in future conducted with more order and decorum. I was not prepared to find, as I then discovered, so very little practical knowledge among some of the prominent speakers of the day; they have yet to acquire all the elements of the system of political economy. I had indeed abundant proof at the last Meeting, that they have not made one step in advance in the right course, to enable them to arrive at one useful practical result. I hope, therefore, all the supporters of premature reform who are here, will listen to what I am going to say, as they would attend to any one in whom they have full confidence that their welfare alone was the object of the discourse. You say that you wish to improve the condition of the poor and working classes, by giving them more freedom, and by reducing the taxes and expenses of Government. We will suppose both these apparently important objects gained; that the most ignorant and licentious had full liberty to act as they pleased, and that the expenses of Government and the taxes were diminished ten millions a-year;—would you, do you think, be better off than you are now? You would not;—but the reverse would be soon experienced. The ten millions now raised by the Government, and which they expend again in some particular channel for labour, would be withdrawn, and all those labourers would be thrown upon the parishes, and would thereby create new sources of misery and degradation. It is true, the ten millions raised and expended by Government, if not so raised, would be expended by individuals in another channel; but not one labourer more would, or could, be employed in the latter case than at present, although much distress would inevitably arise from the change of employment from one set of labourers to another. Should greater liberty be now given than the British Constitution can with safety afford to all its subjects, the lives and properties of the well-disposed, and the safety of the State, would be put to imminent hazard; and until better training, more useful knowledge, and productive constant employment shall be given to the poor and working classes, no really intelligent person could venture to give more freedom to such a population as our's has gradually become, than the British Constitution in its ordinary state now admits. It is a mistake to suppose the existing Government possesses power independent of the genuine voice of the public. It has been for several years past

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solely governed by that voice, and my present proceedings are the most unequivocal proof of the truth of this statement. If you wish really to improve the Government, the only beneficial *practical* step you can take is, to increase the knowledge and improve the conduct of the public, and then both your objects would be safely and effectually obtained. The Government of this country cannot now resist the influence of the public voice, whether it be right or wrong: it becomes therefore of the highest importance, both to the Government and to the people, that the public should not be superficially trained or instructed, but that it should be substantially well-informed, and that effective means should be devised to train it as human beings, intended to be rational, ought to be trained. Believe me, my friends, that after you have in vain searched in every possible direction to attain your object by any of the childish, impracticable, and futile schemes, which have been hitherto proposed for your relief and improvement, you will at last discover that the only road in which it can be found is through productive employment for all the working classes, connected with good instruction. Now let me request you to consider all I have said calmly, at your leisure, when at home, after every feeling of anger has subsided;—for while these exist in any degree, you cannot be in a situation to use your judgment to any rational purpose. Act in this manner, and I am sure the time is not far distant when you will agree with me in all that I have stated.

I must now proceed to other matters, important for you and all present to understand thoroughly and well. It has been stated by me, that a gradual alteration in the arrangement of the working classes is absolutely necessary, owing to the new circumstances in which the country has been placed. It may be useful for me to make my ideas on this part of the subject better understood by the public.

At the commencement of the late war, all the products of Great Britain and Ireland were produced by about *five millions and a-half* of the working classes, aided by a comparatively limited proportion of mechanical agency. The war created a large demand for men in the prime of life for all the purposes of war, and it also created a demand for all the materials of war, in such a manner as to give a most extraordinary stimulus to the rapid extension of mechanism. The result of these combined proceedings was to leave this country at the commencement of peace with a working population of about *six millions*, and an increased mechanical agency, which is now daily at work, that effects as much as could be accomplished by the united labour of *one hundred and fifty millions more*; and without consuming either food or raiment, and requiring but a few of other articles of manufacture. The certain results of this unnoticed change in the manner of supplying the wants of this and other countries, was to add in a most extraordinary manner to the amount of annual products, without increasing the power of consumption in the same proportion. The one, therefore, greatly outran the other, and a very material diminution of products became necessary. Individual interest immediately made the calcu-

lation, and found mechanism to be a cheaper agency than manual labour; human beings were therefore dismissed from employment, their labour in consequence rapidly fell in value, and with it fell almost every other article of commerce, and misery at once and most extensively followed. This is the grand cause that is constantly operating every hour to grind you to misery; and while it continues, without other arrangements being made to give a right direction to this magic power hitherto unknown to the world, you must be subjected not only to the misery that now exists, but to much greater. Were every shilling of your national debt and taxes removed to-morrow, and were the Government wholly unpaid for all its services,—in a very few years either this or some other country must suffer more than you now experience. Mechanism, which may be made the greatest of blessings to humanity, is, under the existing arrangements, its greatest curse. Those who direct the affairs of men ought to make themselves masters of this subject, and thoroughly to understand all its mighty influence and consequences. They are overwhelmed with the labour of picking useless straws, while they ought to be engaged in gathering the most precious and valuable of all products; and which they might collect in unlimited quantities, with only the labour they now bestow in collecting the veriest trash. Investigate this subject now, or ere long dire necessity will compel you to give due attention to it. We, and all countries, are already so placed by it, that a very large portion of human beings are thrown idle greatly against their will, and they must be supported or starve, or be so placed as to be enabled to create their own subsistence. *Something, therefore, must be done for them, and done soon, or society will speedily be in a confusion of which the human mind can previously form but inadequate conceptions. That something must be employment on land. There is no alternative.*

The question then is,—How are men to be most advantageously employed on land to create their own subsistence, and well supply their own wants? Is there a single individual in existence who has been placed in a situation to enable him to understand this subject even partially? If one exists, let him now be named, and brought forward to instruct us in the practice of what ought to be, what can be, done. For five years I have in vain sought for one, and if I had found such, I would have given to him all the knowledge and experience which, through nearly forty years of active inquiry and practice, I have collected, with the sole view of benefiting my fellow men of every rank and description, of every country and colour; and I would have remained secluded and unknown to the public to the latest day of my existence;—and when such individual shall appear, and will advocate this most interesting subject so as to make it practical to the world and give its endless benefits to man, I will again retire to the shade and rejoice; for, whether you believe me or not, it is a *fact*, that with the sentiments and feelings I possess, the full blaze of popularity would give me far more pain than pleasure.—A rational being will not, never can, derive gratification from the ignorance and imbecility of his fellows; and there is no other source whatever from whence popularity or fame can proceed.

In the absence of such individual as I have asked for, I will now give you the result of the practical knowledge that experience has given me. It is solely for your use and benefit, and I give it you at the hazard of all that is usually valued by man. The question is: How can men be most advantageously employed to create their own subsistence, and supply their own wants? I answer,

First,—*Not* by any of the existing arrangements in society; *they have now been fully proved to be quite inadequate to the purpose.*

Secondly,—*Not* by any arrangements that it is possible to make by individualising man in his proceedings, either in a cottage or in a palace; for, while his character shall be so formed, and while the circumstances around him shall be, as they then must be, in unison with that character, he cannot but be an enemy to all men, and all men must be in enmity and opposed to him; nay, more, while this arrangement of society shall continue, the best parts, the only valuable parts, of Christianity, can never be brought into action. You may as well attempt to unite oil and water; individualised man, and all that is truly valuable in Christianity, are so separated as to be utterly incapable of union through all eternity. Let those who are interested for the universal adoption of Christianity, endeavour to understand this, and discover that which for nearly two thousand years has rendered it impossible to unite their theory with the practice of the world.

Thirdly,—I admit that to purchase a cottage, and let it to a labourer with land sufficient to support an industrious family, would do much to relieve and improve society; but when all the details of such arrangements shall be known, it will be found very difficult of execution, very expensive, and very defective in all the results which are now required to remoralise and improve the working classes. As we advance in this interesting inquiry, it will be discovered that a limited knowledge only of our physical and intellectual powers could induce any parties to recommend this mode in preference to united labour, expenditure, and instruction, in conformity to a practical plan suggested 120 years ago by John Bellers, in complete unison with the soundest principles of political economy. Let us now contrast this plan, only somewhat enlarged, with the separate individualised cottage system, which is beyond all comparison the best that the existing arrangements of society now offer.

In the first place,—Under the Cottage system there must be a separate dwelling and all the usual appendages for each family, which will be at first greatly more expensive and far more incomplete than the arrangement proposed in the plans lately submitted to the public; and all the domestic labour to produce usual comfort would be double at least.

In the second place,—One half more land would be required to feed the parties on the Cottage system, than on the new plan; and of course one half more labour would be necessary in cultivation.

In the third place,—the Cottage system would not admit, without greater expense and inconvenience, of an effective system to well-train and instruct the children of such parents as we now find profoundly ignorant under that system.

While under the new, the best possible arrangements are made, not only to prevent the acquirement of bad habits, but to give good ones, and the soundest and best instruction, and all this will be given more under the eye of their parents, than in any way in which this important object can now be attained, except under constant family tuition, and this in many respects will be found greatly inferior to it.

In the fourth place,—the Cottage system offers no obvious advantageous mode to employ the children, so as to render them afterwards so valuable to themselves, to their neighbours, or to their country, as the plan proposed.

Under the Cottage system, they become stupid, ignorant, and brutally selfish.

In the plan now advocated, they will be made lively, intelligent, and rationally selfish—that is, truly disinterested and benevolent.

Under the Cottage system, the parents are subjected to all the restraints to which ignorance and brutal selfishness must ever be liable.

Under the other now proposed, such injurious restraints may be gradually withdrawn, and in the second generation punishment of every kind will not only be unnecessary, but the reason why punishment is pernicious will be evident to all. Under this system, kindness, properly directed, will easily and shortly accomplish that which punishment, if permitted to try its power, could not effect through all the ages of time. For punishment is the instrument of ignorance and barbarism only.

While the working classes shall remain individualised, the world will be liable to famine from unfavourable seasons. It never can be the interest of the growers of food, on this system, to raise more than sufficient for the consumption of the year in an average season; and the Cottage system will be subject also to this evil.

The new arrangements will easily admit of granaries, and to have always on hand at least twelve months stock for each village, in readiness to prevent the melancholy effects of a season of scarcity. The new villages would combine within them all the advantages of the largest town, without one of its innumerable evils and inconveniences; and with all the benefits of the country, without any of the numerous disadvantages that secluded residences now present.

In fact, the entire labour of the country, by the proposed arrangements, would be directed under all the advantages that science and experience could give; while now it is wasted in the most useless efforts, and generally exerted under the grossest ignorance. This difference in the application of human powers will soon produce an advantageous result in favour of the new system, far exceeding the annual amount in value of all the taxes and Government expenditure. *But who is yet prepared to understand this kind of political arithmetic?*

The Cottage system renders each individual of every family subject to those evils which all have witnessed and experienced, or are hourly liable to experience:—the husband suddenly deprived of his wife, the wife of her husband—parents bereft of their children, children deprived of their parents. The ties of endearment are sepa-

rated in a moment, and, under your system, what remains to the survivors? A wreck and desolation of all that before made life desirable; often anguish not to be described or imagined, for the irreparable loss of the only loved object in existence; no friend remaining that feels, or can feel, one particle of interest in all those nameless associations which had been formed by and with the departed object; and at the same time liable to insult, poverty, and every kind of oppression, and no one inclined to help or relieve. All are individualised, cold, and forbidding; each being compelled to take an hundred-fold more care of himself than would be otherwise necessary; because the ignorance of society has placed him in direct opposition to the thousands around him.

Under the proposed system, what a reverse will take place in practice when any of these dispensations of life occur! In these happy villages of unity, when disease or death assail their victim, every aid is near; all the assistance that skill, kindness, and sincere affection can invent, aided by every convenience and comfort, are at hand. The intelligent resigned sufferer waits the result with cheerful patience, and thus most effectually parries every assault of disease, when unaccompanied by his fell companion, death; and, when death attacks him, he submits to a conqueror who he knew from childhood was irresistible, and whom for a moment he never feared! He is gone! The survivors lose an intelligent, a sincere and a truly-valued friend; a beloved child; they feel their loss, and human nature ever must regret it;—but the survivors were not unprepared, or unprovided, for this natural event. They have, it is true, lost one endeared and beloved object; and endeared and beloved in proportion as it was intelligent and excellent; but they have consolation in the certain knowledge that within their own immediate circle they have many, many others remaining; and around them on all sides, as far as the eye can reach, or imagination extend, thousands on thousands, in strict, intimate, and close union, are ready and willing to offer them aid and consolation. No orphan left without protectors; no insult or oppression can take place, nor any evil result whatever, beyond the loss of one endeared friend or object from among thousands who remain, dear to us as ourselves. Here may it be truly said, “O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?”

It may now be asked, “If the new arrangements proposed really possess all the advantages that have been stated, why have they not been adopted in universal practice during all the ages which have passed?”—

“Why should so many countless millions of our fellow-creatures, through each successive generation, have been the victims of ignorance, of superstition, of mental degradation, and of wretchedness?”

My friends, a more important question has never yet been put to the sons of men! Who *can* answer it? who *dare* answer it,—but with his life in his hand; a ready and willing victim to truth, and to the emancipation of the world from its long bondage of disunion, error, crime, and misery?

Behold that victim! On this day—in this hour—even now—shall those bonds be burst asunder, never more to reunite while the world shall last. What the consequences of this daring deed shall be to myself, I am as indifferent about as whether it shall rain or be fair to-morrow. Whatever may be the consequences, I will now perform my duty to you, and to the world; and should it be the last act of my life, I shall be well content, and know that I have lived for an important purpose.

Then, my friends, I tell you, that hitherto you have been prevented from even knowing what happiness really is, solely in consequence of the errors—gross errors—that have been combined with the fundamental notions of every religion that has hitherto been taught to men. And, in consequence, they have made man the most inconsistent, and the most miserable being in existence. By the errors of these systems, he has been made a weak, imbecile animal; a furious bigot and fanatic; or a miserable hypocrite; and should these qualities be carried, not only into the projected villages, but *into Paradise itself, a Paradise would be no longer found.*

In all the religions which have been hitherto forced on the minds of men, deep, dangerous, and lamentable principles of disunion, division, and separation, have been fast entwined with all their fundamental notions; and the certain consequences have been, all the dire effects which religious animosities have, through all the past periods of the world, inflicted with such unrelenting stern severity, or mad and furious zeal!

If, therefore, my friends, you should carry with you, into these proposed villages of intended unity and unlimited mutual co-operation, one single particle of *religious intolerance*, or sectarian feelings of *division* and *separation*,—maniacs only would go there to look for harmony and happiness; or *elsewhere*, as long as such insane errors shall be found to exist!

I am not going to ask impossibilities from you—I know what you *can* do; and I know also what you *cannot* do. Consider again on what grounds each man in existence has a full right to the enjoyment of the most unlimited liberty of conscience. I am not of your religion, nor of any religion yet taught in the world!—to me they all appear united with much—yes, with very much—error!

Am I to blame for thinking thus? Those who possess any real knowledge of human nature know that I cannot think otherwise—that it is not in my power, of myself, to change the thoughts and ideas which appear to me to be true. Ignorance, bigotry, and superstition, may again, as they have so often done before, attempt to force belief against conviction—and thus carry the correct-minded conscientious victim to the stake; or *make a human being wretchedly insincere!*

Therefore, unless the world is now prepared to dismiss all its erroneous religious notions, and to feel the justice and necessity of publicly acknowledging the most unlimited religious freedom, it will be futile to erect villages of union and mutual co-operation; for it will be vain to look on this earth for inhabitants to occupy them, *who can understand how to live in the bond of peace and unity; or who*

can love their neighbour as themselves, whether he be Jew or Gentile, Mahomedan or Pagan, Infidel or Christian. Any religion that creates one particle of feeling short of this, is *false*; and must prove a curse to the whole human race!

And now, my friends,—for such I will consider you to the last moment of my existence, although each of you were now armed for my immediate destruction—such, my friends, and no other, is the change that must take place in your hearts and minds, and in all your conduct, before you can enter into these abodes of peace and harmony. You must be attired in proper garments before you can partake of all the comforts and blessings with which they will abound.

Such are my thoughts and conclusions; and I know that you will hereafter ponder them well in your minds, and TRUTH WILL PREVAIL!

When you shall be thus prepared, if life be spared to me, I will be ready to accompany you, and to assist with all my power in every particular step that may be necessary to secure your immediate happiness and future well-being.

Now, my friends, I am content that you call me an infidel; that you esteem me the most worthless and wicked of all the human beings who have yet been born: still, however, even this will not make what I say one jot less true.

No name can make falsehood truth. How can any name whatever make truth more true? Of what use then can names be, except to give a false validity to gross error?

No one here is implicated in the slightest degree in these sentiments. I do not wish to pledge any one beyond the most severe scrutiny and investigation, only to approve of what may appear practically beneficial, and to reject all that may be proved wrong in principle, or any ways injurious in practice.

The interest of those who govern has ever appeared to be, and under the present systems ever will appear to be, opposed to the interest of those whom they govern. Law and taxation, as these are now necessarily administered, are evils of the greatest magnitude: they are a curse to every part of society. *But while man remains individualised they must continue*, and both must unavoidably still increase in magnitude of evil.

Under the system proposed, both these scourges of society will gradually diminish; and the diminution will be in exact proportion as men are made rational, moral, and intelligent.

Each village will ultimately be governed by a committee of all its own members, from forty to fifty years of age; or, should this number be too numerous, it may be composed of all from forty-five to fifty years of age; which would form a permanent, experienced, local government, never opposed to, but always in closest union with each individual governed.

This Committee, through its oldest member, might communicate direct with the Government; and the utmost harmony be thus established between the executive, the legislature, and the people.

No change whatever in our national institutions need take place



for many years, except among the working classes: nor at any period, until the benefits of the arrangements proposed shall become fully evident to all parties.

Every great national change hitherto proposed, has rendered it necessary to sacrifice the interests of some parties, by which only, the proposers imagined, the welfare of the others could be attained. But, my friends, the improvement I now advocate will remove many evils from all, and not introduce one to any. The change contemplated has no tendency, even in the slightest degree, to remove those who enjoy any supposed advantages in eminent stations to which they have attained. No one will envy them their privileges, whatever they may be; and every hair of their heads will be securely guarded by the rapidly improving condition of the great mass of the people.

This gradual and well prepared change now advocated, has no tendency whatever to drag down from their stations those whom a course of events, far, far beyond their control, has placed there. It has solely for its object to raise from abject poverty, misery, and degradation, those whom the same course of events has now sunk to the very depths of wretchedness. If the principles for which I contend be true, then there can be no permanent and beneficial change in human society that does not enable every one of the working classes to produce his own subsistence, to improve his bodily and mental powers, and to secure to himself the natural comforts of life; and which by his own labour, properly directed, will be very easily attainable.

I hastily notice these particulars, in order that you may understand that *a mere change of sufferers, whether it be from one part of a class to another—from one entire class to another—or from one nation to the other—is no remedy for the great and increasing evils which the world now suffers.* But this is the dilemma to which the systems that have hitherto regulated the conduct of men has reduced them; and while their principles shall be acted upon, a choice of severe evils only lies before them. Every intelligent mind will comprehend, that to give the British population now, in its present state, greater freedom than the constitution has heretofore admitted, would put to hazard the safety of the state. The contending and selfish passions of mankind, irritated, goaded, and aggravated, by the hitherto unperceived operation of the new and irresistible power of mechanism, if let loose before ameliorating circumstances could be introduced, would expose all that is valuable in the country to certain destruction. But not a moment should be lost in applying the proper remedies to relieve the country at the present alarming crisis. The plan proposed will effectually accomplish this object, in a manner most advantageous to each, and not injurious to any. The objections made against it proceed from a gross misconception of each of its parts separately, and a total want of knowledge of its effects when combined. The poor will not be required to go into these villages appropriated for them, when they can do better, or remain in them one hour longer than they wish.

But I have no idea that these villages will be occupied by the

present poor only; for they will be found to afford the most desirable arrangements for all the present surplus working population, who cannot procure a comfortable support in their present situations.

I will, as I promised at the last meeting, give directions for a model to be made, and draw up the regulations necessary for the government and arrangement of these villages, on the principles that have been stated, and on which alone they can be successfully conducted.

In the meantime, however, it is highly necessary for the well-being of society, that the whole of this important subject should be immediately submitted to a Committee, composed of the most intelligent, scientific, and practically-experienced individuals the country affords. A few of the most prominent names from among all ranks and parties are selected—not that many others, equally entitled to this high trust might not be still named; but as it is proposed that power be given to the Committee to increase the number, these may be afterwards added.

I will not now offer to the consideration and adoption of this meeting the Resolutions which were read to the last, but which were not proceeded on to a vote upon them. The discussions in a Committee will best prepare them for further consideration on a future day.

## APPENDIX.

### H.

*Farther Development of the Plan for the Relief of the Poor, and the Emancipation of Mankind. As published in the London daily Newspapers, September 10th, 1817, and afterwards separately by LONGMAN, &c.*

The adjourned or second public meeting, to consider the plan I have proposed, has passed; and from its commencement to the end, it far more than satisfied all my wishes. Each prominent figure moved correctly to the wire that was touched for the purpose. The opposition to the measures recommended to these meetings for their concurrence, has well accomplished the part assigned to it, and has thereby forwarded all my views, and brought the adoption of the plan in its whole extent some years nearer than otherwise could have been possible. My chief apprehension previous to the meeting was, that there would not be a sufficiently decisive stand made by its opponents, to elicit all the arguments which could be urged against it; for I was anxious the public should discover all their fatuity and weakness.

I, therefore, put forth in the newspapers that were published, and very extensively distributed, during the two or three weeks preceding, as much stimulus to all the parties, as, without creating personal animosity, would call into action all the opposition they could offer: and my object was attained. I thus distinctly discovered its quality and amount; and was astonished to find both so inefficient.

It was, indeed, far beyond my most sanguine expectations, to find the plan opposed only by the remnant of a party, who cannot discern that the first step of their own success would inevitably secure their own destruction. I have long known that the utmost resistance which could be made, in its greatest aggregate amount, would not ultimately be more than a feather opposed to a whirlwind; but to experience so little opposition at the outset of my progress, is a sure proof that society is abundantly ripe for all the important improvements about to take place.

The gentlemen who opposed the plan at the public meetings, (for whom, however, I do not entertain one unsocial feeling), did not surely imagine I wished to have the opinions of the ill-trained and uninformed on any of the measures intended for their relief and amelioration. No! On such subjects, until they shall be instructed in better habits, and made rationally intelligent, their advice can be of no value.

I called the meetings to discover the best practical means to effect those objects for them, in the shortest possible time. The first was convened simply to ascertain whether it would be prudent to proceed in my long determined measures with a greater rapidity towards their execution than I had intended when I left home early in the year; for, on my arrival in town, I found public inquiry and anxiety for the practical part of the plan beginning to out-strip my most sanguine hopes, as well as my preparations to carry it into immediate execution.

This first experiment upon public opinion satisfied me that the most intelligent and uninfluenced part of the meeting was much farther advanced than I had calculated upon; and this knowledge, combined with my previous personal communications among all ranks and classes, convinces me, that seven out of ten of the reflecting part of society are *in heart* already prepared to go with me; and that while the supporters of the old errors and evils are considering how to defend that which is indefensible, two of the remaining three will come over to the *New View*, and the third will be paralysed.

The second meeting now became absolutely necessary to enable me to advance; for I could not proceed another step until I had ascertained whether the hour was come when FREEDOM OF OPINION, *the natural right of all human beings*, could be obtained for the world. Two modes presented themselves by which this object might be accomplished:—one was, to go to a Committee of the best disposed, best informed, and most intelligent, from among all parties, and to claim, from their united wisdom, *perfect freedom of opinion*, as the first necessary step to ameliorate the condition of mankind. The other mode was to put public feeling at once to the test, and to ascertain, at every personal risk, what was the real state of the public mind on this most interesting subject. I determined to attempt both modes, that if one failed the other might be resorted to. The appeal to public feeling, therefore, formed part of my address; and when it was delivered, the instantaneous burst of genuine heartfelt approbation that followed, told me in language I could not misunderstand, that the world was delivered from mental slavery—that the shackles of ignorance, superstition, and hypocrisy, were burst asunder for ever—that the road was fairly opened for the introduction of those principles which would, in practice, withdraw

all uncharitableness between man and man, and remove every other cause of disunion and separation from among human beings.

Happiness never can be attained or secured while men shall be trained to hate and to be wholly ignorant of each other.

Having by this means ascertained the real progress of intellect, I gained all the purposes I wished by the meeting. Those who remained at seven o'clock, could only be of service to my object by carrying some amendment that would prevent the appointment of a committee. For, had the committee been appointed, the discordant principles of which it would have been composed, (highly useful on that account for the purpose originally intended), could not have failed to retard all my subsequent movements, by its necessary forms, and consequently slow procedure. Such is the peculiar nature of my operations that I cannot yet derive useful aid from Class, Sect, or Party.

The popular leaders among the Livery, and others, and their well-trained followers, fortunately came to their assistance, and an amendment being at length carried, I was relieved from the only difficulty that presented itself to my mind, and again set at liberty to put in train the most vigorous and decisive measures for carrying the plan into extensive execution.

No time shall now be unnecessarily lost; but the public must be guarded against precipitancy of expectation. It is folly to draw conclusions without data; and it is equally unwise to suppose that practice can proceed with the rapidity of thought. The greatest change which the world has ever yet experienced, cannot be effected in a few days. It is now but one month, from the time I am now writing, since that change was publicly announced; and already, in the minds of all, the existing order of things has no secure spot on which to rest; beneath it, all is slippery and unsound. Where are its defenders? *Has one come forward who possesses any real knowledge of human society, or of mankind?* Not one—nor will any such appear to defend that which *they* know to be indefensible. Silence in them is true wisdom. Soon they will acquire courage to support that which *THEY* know to be *alone* true, and which in practice can and will give more happiness than has yet been promised. In a little time, the new order of things shall penetrate the hearts and understandings of the intelligent, and be established for ever on an immovable foundation. A little time longer only shall men have eyes, and see not; ears, and hear not; understandings, and understand not. Is there not room, and are there not means, *now*, to make many thousand millions more of human beings happy than exist at this day on earth? *Universal practical knowledge, derived from experience*, replies, Yes; and all men, except a few whom a melancholy theory benights, assent to the dictates of experience.

Vociferators for freedom—while subjected to the lowest mental slavery, chained to the earth by the most violent and injurious passions, bound hand and foot by the worst habits and most degrading ignorance, and existing amidst intellectual and physical wretchedness—cry out to their deliverers not to touch their bonds, and beseech them to leave them in possession of *all* the liberty they enjoy! Mistaken helpless beings! They must not, they shall not, be left thus! Their deliverance is near at hand, and they shall enjoy *true liberty, both of body and mind.*

Were I *now* to proceed to ALL the details of the plan which shall be in due time completed ; to throw full light, and exhibit to them in native brilliancy that which ere long they shall possess ; their present existence would become loathsome ; they would not longer abide these dens of poverty, of crime, and of torment ; and their sight would be destroyed by the intensity of the day that is beginning to dawn upon them. Suffice it to say, to those who are in some degree prepared to understand the change, that the following arrangements have been made to enable society to pass from the OLD to the NEW State without inconvenience, and in order that not one of the prejudices with which men have been afflicted shall be prematurely or ignorantly attacked, or opposed in any way so as unnecessarily to hurt the feelings of a single individual. Under a proper treatment, those prejudices will all gradually and imperceptibly die away, until the knowledge of their existence shall be obliterated from memory.

The first Villages of Unity and Mutual co-operation may each be occupied by those only who have been trained in the same class, sectarian notions, and party feelings ; by which means many of the most unpleasant counteractions experienced in ordinary society will be at once avoided, and many important advantages will be gained.

The *cause* of disunion of feelings on account of *Class*, of differences respecting *Religious Notions*, or of *Political Parties* will be removed ; and should any individual, after the trial of a residence in the village he first selected, have his mind changed on the subject of *Class*, *Sect*, or *Party*, he may, at any period, remove into another, in which the occupiers of it will agree with him in all these respects ; or he may retire with his property into common society.

A large part of mankind will be immediately, and ESSENTIALLY, benefitted by quitting the OLD state of society, and forming themselves under the NEW.

THE FIRST CLASS will be from the PARISH PAUPERS, &c., and may be arranged in the following order :—

1. *The Parish Poor*, properly so-called, that is, *the infirm and aged who cannot now help themselves in any way, and for whom everything must be done.*

In future, (under the new order of things,) such helplessness will not be created. The first business of Society is to provide for these sufferers, and if, as will be the case, *much more comfort* under the new order of things can be given to these miserable beings, with less trouble and expense than they require at present, a substantial practical good will be at once obtained.

2. *The Children of the Poor, whom the parishes are now compelled to support, and which in general they accomplish at a great expense, and with little or no benefit either to the children or to society.*

No one can doubt that under the new arrangements *these children may be better trained, instructed, employed, and associated*, than they are at present ; and at a *much less expense.*

3. *Those who can labour, are willing to work, but who cannot procure employment ; and whom, therefore, the parishes must support.*

Under the new order of things, these may be made to create all their own subsistence, and to repay the interest of all the capital invested in the outfit of the establishment formed to give activity to their industry.

These three descriptions of poor, who must of course be under parish direction, may be advantageously combined, in certain proportions, into each "Parish Employment Settlement." And the payers of the poor's rate will soon discover it to be their interest to establish these settlements with the least possible delay, and those who permit next year to pass without creating the change, will suffer materially in many respects for their neglect.

*But it will not be necessary to FORCE any one to go into these parish establishments, or to retain them there for an hour against their inclination.* These establishments should be known as the *only* mode by which parish relief will be administered; and as it will be a very improved mode, compared with the present system, no applicant for such relief ought to receive it from any other parochial source. Over the pauper establishment properly instructed superintendents and assistants must be placed, to direct them under regulations duly prepared for their easy and regular government, *which will be formed throughout on consistent principles for the Prevention of Evil.*

THE SECOND, or WORKING CLASS, will be composed of those who are WITHOUT PROPERTY, and must be employed in and for the voluntary and independent associations of the 4th class.

THE THIRD, or WORKING CLASS, will be composed of the present LABOURERS, ARTISANS, AND TRADESMEN, WITH PROPERTY from £100 to £2,000 each. THESE *will form twelve voluntary associations, or divisions.*

The 1st division of this class will consist of members who possess £100 each, whether men, women, or children, who can for one year, or until the village residences be prepared, continue to maintain themselves, provided the adults are likely, from their age and strength, to perform a reasonable day's work for five years to come. This class can from the first have much better accommodations than those described in my report to the Committees of the Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and Labouring Poor, and of the House of Commons on the Poor Law.

The divisions of this class from the 2nd to the 12th inclusive, will be composed of individuals and families, who besides maintaining themselves until the new residences shall be ready, can advance from £200 to £2,000 each person; and who, on joining their respective divisions, are willing to enter upon the regular employment of the establishment; it being understood that all their occupations will be as healthy, pleasant, and productive, as it is possible to make them, under arrangements in which MECHANISM AND SCIENCE *will be extensively introduced, to execute all the work that is over-laborious, disagreeable, or in any way injurious to human nature.* And their accommodations of all kinds will be in proportion to the capital they can at first advance, or may hereafter acquire; and ultimately they cannot fail *all* to attain the highest division of the voluntary associations, and to render MECHANISM AND SCIENCE *the only slaves or servants of men.*

The members of these associations will be all upon an equality, and governed by a general committee, chosen at first by themselves; which will select sub-committees of—1. Health. 2. Instruction. 3. Agriculture. 4. Manufactures. 5. Merchandise. 6. Do-

mestic Economy. 7. External Communication, including the Government of the Empire. Each of these sub-committees to choose a head, who will be the executive of each department, and the remainder will form his council or assistant associates, and the several departments mentioned will be directed by their respective committees. In a few years, when all shall be properly trained and instructed, the general committee will be formed of all from forty to fifty years of age, with power in the majority to add particular talents of any age to their number.

THE FOURTH CLASS OF VOLUNTARY INDEPENDENT ASSOCIATIONS, will be composed of persons unwilling or unable to be productively occupied, possessing from £1,000 to £20,000 each, and who by their capital will employ the 2nd class; and they may be divided into associations, in proportion to the amount of their property.

The associations of this class will each be governed by a general committee, and seven sub-committees (same as 3rd class). The persons of the 2nd class employed therein will not be eligible to be elected or to elect to the general committee for the government of the establishment; but this 2nd, or working class, employed in each of these voluntary independent associations, shall elect seven out of their own number, who, with one appointed out of each of the sub-committees, shall form another sub-committee, which shall choose a head among themselves by ballot, and which committee, so chosen, shall superintend all the arrangements and transactions between the employer and the employed. It being understood that the employed shall be well provided with all the necessaries of life, and have a reasonable proportion of recreation, during seven years; at the termination of which each adult who has attained the age of twenty-five years, shall have the option to receive £100 from the community, to become a member of the 1st division of the 3rd or working class, with property; or to remain five years longer, and then to receive £200, to enable him to become a member of the 2nd division of the 3rd class; or, at his option, to go into the old society, and provide for himself, or to serve the very wealthy or higher ranks, while they continue to prefer their present mode of life.

I conclude, however, that every class in society, below the very wealthy and the highest ranks, will give a decided preference to physical and intellectual liberty—over bodily and mental slavery; to temperance, health, and rational enjoyment, over intemperance, disease, and suffering; and to have thousands and tens of thousands of well-disposed, well-informed, and sincere friends around them, on all sides, all acting for each other in one bond of love and interest,—rather than exist among the folly, insincerity, and counteraction of society as it is now constituted; and more especially *when the same property and care will produce them MORE THAN TEN-FOLD advantages beyond what any of the existing arrangements can afford.* In short, when the time shall arrive when it will be prudent to develop the whole plan in its more minute detail and general combination, it will be obvious to the meanest capacity, that the OLD state of society will not bear one moment's comparison with the NEW; and that *the only real practical difficulty will be to restrain men from rushing too precipitately from one to the other.*

By the adoption of the plan proposed for the PAROCHIAL POOR, the parishes of England and Wales will soon materially diminish their

poor's rate, and gradually reduce them, until they shall be extinguished. They will also essentially benefit and improve the poor, and render a service of the highest magnitude to their country and mankind. I therefore take it for granted, that as soon as they understand the plan, so as to be capable of putting it into execution, they will be eager to adopt it.—To enable them to adopt it, *the first step necessary is, that several parishes combine together*, in order to carry the plan into execution. *The second step will be to form arrangements to enable them to borrow a capital on the revenue of one-third, or half, of their average poor's rate for the last three years.* The interest of the sum so borrowed to be paid out of the annual rate, which, owing to the reduced number and expenditure of their poor, will gradually diminish after the first year from the present amount down to entire extinction. By the time the parishes shall have accomplished these arrangements, the model of the establishment, and its appendages, with the regulations for its government, will be ready, and then the execution of the plan may commence and proceed without loss of time.

It may be useful here to remark, that the plan developed in my Report to the Committees of the Association for the relief of the Manufacturing and Labouring Poor, and of the House of Commons on the Poor Laws, was intended for the parish poor *only*; and of course no part of society will long continue in a worse condition than the individuals within such proposed establishments. Under these arrangements the parish poor will soon lose their ignorant and vulgar habits, and acquire such an improved character as the new circumstances will imperceptibly and speedily give them. When these results irresistibly force themselves on the minds of all, the meanest and most miserable beings now in society will thus become the envy of the rich and indolent, under the existing arrangements. The change from the OLD system to the NEW must become universal. To resist the introduction of this plan, in any part of the world, will *now* be as vain and useless, as for man by his puny efforts to endeavour to preclude from the earth the vivifying rays of the sun.

Such as has been described must be the beneficial change that will be created among the existing paupers, and at a greatly reduced expenditure. But, under proper arrangements, the effective and independent members of society may, in a short time, be surrounded by circumstances that will afford them all they can desire, all that can be of real service, or add permanently to their happiness.

The first class of the voluntary and independent Associations will possess benefits and be surrounded by advantages of which no one can yet form an adequate idea. *No part of their powers will be wasted*—all will be employed to the greatest benefit for the individual, who, although not individualized, will enjoy far more than the most successful of his class have yet experienced.

The members of this class will soon be instructed to conduct the affairs of their own village, with ease, order, and success. They may come in, or sell out, whenever they choose; they may acquire all the endless advantages to be gained from such an association; and should they ever feel inclined to try a change, and wish to return to old society, they will experience every facility for the purpose. But I do not contemplate that such a wish will ever arise, or exist in any one, after they



shall have experienced and shall comprehend all the advantages which the new societies will produce. Shortly they will have no inducements, no motive, to commit crime, or to be immoral; but they will have every motive to be active, cheerful, and humane. They will rapidly acquire such useful knowledge as will make them ardent in their endeavours to improve the condition of all around them. Each will acquire such irresistible energy in this cause, as no one now comprehends, but which will perpetually keep these societies in the most delightful activity, and afford full scope for all the physical and intellectual powers of our nature; and both will be directed in the right course only. But these valuable qualities will not be confined to their own villages or associations. Persons, when properly trained for the purpose, will be sent from time to time to travel, in order to collect and communicate knowledge, to benefit and harmonize the world by their superior wisdom and conduct, and thereby to cement and extend more and more the bond of union, good will, and mutual co-operation among all mankind.

By these improved characters, prejudices of every kind will be overlooked; they will know how to draw forth the best qualities of the heads and hearts of all men, and to allow the worst and inferior ones to lie dormant; and they will *act* upon their knowledge. They will go forth to do good; and the happiness they will derive from such conduct will *alone* compensate them for their absence from their own abodes of health, intelligence, activity, and happiness. And thus the change from insanity to rationality will take place with the least possible inconvenience to society.

It is to prepare the way for this change, that the combinations are made so numerous, in order that those who have till now existed within one kind of atmosphere, may not be opposed by those who have been subjected to another.

And, to accomplish this important object, in the best way, and to the greatest practicable extent that the existing arrangements of society will admit, I have composed tables which at one view exhibit the most general combination of minds in the British Empire, as they have been formed by the present and preceding generation.

The tables show,—First, the various classes into which old society may be conveniently and naturally arranged in the new order of things. Secondly, the more general sects and parties which now prevail. Thirdly, the various combinations of sect and party, which are, or may be, united with each class.

*These tables have been arranged in compassion to the weakness, prejudice, and error which have been gradually created for the existing race of men; who have been so afflicted, in consequence of a chain of causes, which may be easily traced beyond their present powers of mind to comprehend. These Tables have been formed to enable all men more readily to understand their real situation in society—to discover how the minds of others have been filled with impressions which hitherto they have not understood, and to show the gross folly of being angry or displeased with those who have been thus forced to differ from us in the association of their ideas or sentiments, and consequently also in their conscientious feeling of what appears to them right or wrong.*

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# TABLES,

Shewing the various Combinations of CLASS, SECT, and PARTY.

## CLASSES,

Specified according to the Arrangements of the *Proposed Villages*.

1.—*Parish Pauper Class*, consisting of the infirm and aged, children of the poor, and those who can labour and are willing to work, but who cannot procure employment.

2.—*Working Class*, without Property, employed by 4th Class.

3.—*Working Class, or Voluntary Association*, from the present Labourers, Artisans, and Tradesmen, with property from £100 to £2,000 each, to be productively occupied in Agriculture and Manufactures.

| Divisions of 3rd Class. |          |          |           |           |           |
|-------------------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1st<br>£                | 2nd<br>£ | 3rd<br>£ | 4th<br>£  | 5th<br>£  | 6th<br>£  |
| 100                     | 200      | 300      | 400       | 500       | 650       |
| 7th<br>£                | 8th<br>£ | 9th<br>£ | 10th<br>£ | 11th<br>£ | 12th<br>£ |
| 800                     | 1,000    | 1,200    | 1,300     | 1,800     | 2,000     |

4.—*Voluntary and Independent Class, or Association*, with Property from £1,000 to £20,000 each Person, who, by their capital, will employ 2nd, or *Working Class*.

| Divisions of 4th Class. |          |          |           |           |           |
|-------------------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1st<br>£                | 2nd<br>£ | 3rd<br>£ | 4th<br>£  | 5th<br>£  | 6th<br>£  |
| 1,000                   | 2,000    | 3,000    | 4,000     | 5,000     | 6,500     |
| 7th<br>£                | 8th<br>£ | 9th<br>£ | 10th<br>£ | 11th<br>£ | 12th<br>£ |
| 8,000                   | 10,000   | 12,000   | 15,000    | 18,000    | 20,000    |

Five Hundred of either of the *Classes*, or of the *Voluntary and Independent Associations*, may form a Community to commence ONE VILLAGE.

\* \* Every Individual, from the lowest to the highest, will enjoy the greatest possible advantages of Instruction, Health, Comfort, Liberty and Recreation; and all their accommodations will be in proportion to the Capital they at first advance, or may hereafter acquire.

# SECTS AND PARTIES,

*As they now chiefly prevail in the British Empire.*

## POLITICAL PARTIES.

*Violent Ministerialists*

*Moderate Ministerialists*

*Violent Whigs*

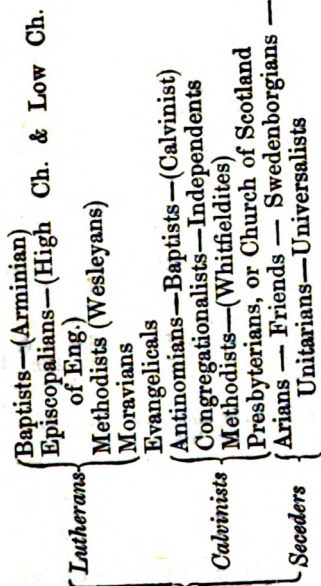
*Moderate Whigs*

*Violent Reformists*

*Moderate Reformists*

*Independent, or of No Party.*

## RELIGIOUS SECTS.



CHRISTIANS { CATHOLICS  
PROTESTANTS

JEWS { PORTUGUESE  
GERMAN

BRAMINS

CONFUCIANS

MAHOMEDANS

PAGANS

| RELIGIOUS SECT and POLITICAL PARTY in their various Combinations. |                                      |                                       |                                      |                                      |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1<br>Armin. Meth.<br>& Violent Min.                               | 16<br>Antinomians<br>& Viol. Min.    | 31<br>Calv. Method.<br>& Mod. Whigs.  | 46<br>Armin. Bap.<br>& of no party.  | 61<br>Armin. Meth.<br>& Vio. Whigs.  |
| 2<br>Seceders & of<br>no party.                                   | 17<br>Low Ch. Eng.<br>& Mod. Refor.  | 32<br>Catholics &<br>Mod. Ref.        | 47<br>Presbyterians<br>& Vio. Whigs. | 62<br>Friends &<br>Mod. Ref.         |
| 3<br>Evangelicals &<br>Violent Min.                               | 18<br>Baptists & of<br>no party.     | 33<br>Presbyterians<br>& Mod. Min.    | 48<br>Independents<br>& Mod. Min.    | 63<br>Antinomians<br>& Mod. Min.     |
| 4<br>Arm. Bap. &<br>Viol. Whigs.                                  | 19<br>Arm. Baptists<br>& Mod. Min.   | 34<br>Calv. Baptists<br>& Mod. Whigs. | 49<br>Unitarians &<br>of no party.   | 64<br>Moravians &<br>Vio. Whigs.     |
| 5<br>Jews & Mode-<br>rate Whigs.                                  | 20<br>Presbyterians<br>& Mod. Whigs. | 35<br>Friends &<br>Vio. Min.          | 50<br>Jews &<br>Mod. Ref.            | 65<br>Seceders &<br>Mod. Min.        |
| 6<br>Presbyterians<br>& of no party.                              | 21<br>Congregation.<br>& Viol. Ref.  | 36<br>Antinomians<br>& Mod. Whigs.    | 51<br>Moravians &<br>Mod. Min.       | 66<br>Calv. Bap. &<br>Mod. Ref.      |
| 7<br>Calv. Method.<br>& Mod. Min.                                 | 22<br>Unitarians &<br>Mod. Whigs.    | 37<br>High Ch. Eng.<br>& Vio. Min.    | 52<br>High Ch. Eng.<br>& Mod. Min.   | 67<br>Universalists<br>& Mod. Whigs. |
| 8<br>Jews & Viol.<br>Whigs.                                       | 23<br>Calv. Method.<br>& Viol. Min.  | 38<br>Arians &<br>Vio. Ref.           | 53<br>Catholics &<br>Mod. Min.       | 68<br>Universalists<br>& Mod. Ref.   |
| 9<br>Friends &<br>Viol. Whigs.                                    | 24<br>Jews & Vio.<br>Reformists.     | 39<br>Independents<br>& Mod. Whigs.   | 54<br>Jews &<br>Vio. Min.            | 69<br>Unitarians &<br>Mod. Ref.      |
| 10<br>Arians & Mod.<br>Ministerial.                               | 25<br>Evangelicals<br>& Mod. Ref.    | 40<br>Armin. Meth.<br>& of no party.  | 55<br>Armin. Bap.<br>& Mod. Ref.     | 70<br>High Ch. Eng.<br>& Mod. Ref.   |
| 11<br>Swedenborg.<br>& of no party.                               | 26<br>Moravians &<br>of no party.    | 41<br>Antinomians<br>& Vio. Whigs.    | 56<br>Friends &<br>Vio. Ref.         | 71<br>Low Ch. Eng.<br>& of no party. |
| 12<br>Unitarians &<br>Violent Min.                                | 27<br>Seceders &<br>Vio. Min.        | 42<br>Calv. Bap. &<br>Vio. Min.       | 57<br>Calv. Meth. &<br>Vio. Ref.     | 72<br>Antinomians<br>& Vio. Ref.     |
| 13<br>High Ch. Eng.<br>& of no party.                             | 28<br>Unitarians &<br>Mod. Min.      | 43<br>Evangelicals<br>& of no party.  | 58<br>Congregation.<br>& Mod. Whigs. | 73<br>Independents<br>& of no party. |
| 14<br>Catholics &<br>Violent Min.                                 | 29<br>Swedenborg.<br>& Vio. Whigs.   | 44<br>Seceders &<br>Mod. Ref.         | 59<br>Independents<br>& Mod. Ref.    | 74<br>Evangelicals<br>& Vio. Whigs.  |
| 15<br>Arians & of<br>no party.                                    | 30<br>Independents<br>& Vio. Whigs.  | 45<br>Moravians &<br>Vio. Min.        | 60<br>Calv. Bap. &<br>Vio. Whigs.    | 75<br>Arians &<br>Vio. Min.          |

RELIGIOUS SECT and POLITICAL PARTY in their various Combinations—  
*Continued.*

|                                             |                                              |                                            |                                               |                                              |
|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 76<br>Presbyterians<br>& <i>Vio. Ref.</i>   | 89<br>Calvin. Meth.<br>& <i>Mod. Ref.</i>    | 102<br>Moravians &<br><i>Mod. Ref.</i>     | 115<br>Swedenborg.<br>& <i>Mod. Min.</i>      | 128<br>Moravians &<br><i>Vio. Ref.</i>       |
| 77<br>Evangelicals<br>& <i>Mod. Whigs.</i>  | 90<br>Catholics &<br><i>Vio. Ref.</i>        | 103<br>Calv. Bap. &<br><i>Vio. Ref.</i>    | 116<br>Presbyterians<br>& <i>Vio. Min.</i>    | 129<br>Antinomians<br>& <i>of no party.</i>  |
| 78<br>Calv. Meth. &<br><i>Vio. Whigs.</i>   | 91<br>Universalists<br>& <i>Mod. Whigs.</i>  | 104<br>Antinomians<br>& <i>Mod. Ref.</i>   | 117<br>Universalists<br>& <i>Vio. Min.</i>    | 130<br>Armin. Bap.<br>& <i>Mod. Whigs.</i>   |
| 79<br>Low Ch. Eng.<br>& <i>Mod. Whigs.</i>  | 92<br>Low Ch. Eng.<br>& <i>Vio. Ref.</i>     | 105<br>Evangelicals<br>& <i>Mod. Min.</i>  | 118<br>Arians &<br><i>Vio. Whigs.</i>         | 131<br>Universalists<br>& <i>Vio. Ref.</i>   |
| 80<br>Friends &<br><i>Mod. Min.</i>         | 93<br>Friends &<br><i>of no party.</i>       | 106<br>Arians &<br><i>Mod. Ref.</i>        | 119<br>Congregation.<br>& <i>Mod. Ref.</i>    | 132<br>Low Ch. Eng.<br>& <i>Vio. Min.</i>    |
| 81<br>Unitarians &<br><i>Vio. Whigs.</i>    | 94<br>High Ch. Eng.<br>& <i>Vio. Ref.</i>    | 107<br>Congregation.<br>& <i>Vio. Min.</i> | 120<br>Unitarians &<br><i>Vio. Ref.</i>       | 133<br>Jews &<br><i>Mod. Min.</i>            |
| 82<br>Swedenborg.<br>& <i>Mod. Ref.</i>     | 95<br>Armin. Bap.<br>& <i>Vio. Ref.</i>      | 108<br>Catholics &<br><i>Mod. Whigs.</i>   | 121<br>Seceders &<br><i>Mod. Whigs.</i>       | 134<br>Seceders &<br><i>Vio. Whigs.</i>      |
| 83<br>Catholics &<br><i>Vio. Whigs.</i>     | 96<br>Congregation.<br>& <i>Mod. Min.</i>    | 109<br>Independents<br>& <i>Vio. Min.</i>  | 122<br>Congregation.<br>& <i>of no party.</i> | 135<br>Swedenborg.<br>& <i>Vio. Ref.</i>     |
| 84<br>Armin. Meth.<br>& <i>Vio. Ref.</i>    | 97<br>Armin. Meth.<br>& <i>Mod. Whigs.</i>   | 110<br>Arians &<br><i>Mod. Whigs.</i>      | 123<br>High Ch. Eng.<br>& <i>Mod. Whigs.</i>  | 136<br>Armin. Meth.<br>& <i>Mod. Min.</i>    |
| 85<br>Friends &<br><i>Mod. Whigs.</i>       | 98<br>Jews &<br><i>of no party.</i>          | 111<br>Low Ch. Eng.<br>& <i>Mod. Min.</i>  | 124<br>Calv. Meth. &<br><i>of no party.</i>   | 137<br>Swedenborg.<br>& <i>of no party.</i>  |
| 86<br>Low Ch. Eng.<br>& <i>Vio. Whigs.</i>  | 99<br>Moravians &<br><i>Mod. Whigs.</i>      | 112<br>Presbyterians<br>& <i>Mod. Ref.</i> | 125<br>Armin. Meth.<br>& <i>Mod. Ref.</i>     | 138<br>Universalists<br>& <i>Vio. Whigs.</i> |
| 87<br>Armin. Bap.<br>& <i>Vio. Min.</i>     | 100<br>Congregation.<br>& <i>Vio. Whigs.</i> | 113<br>Calv. Bap. &<br><i>Mod. Min.</i>    | 126<br>Evangelicals<br>& <i>Vio. Ref.</i>     | 139<br>Swedenborg.<br>& <i>Vio. Min.</i>     |
| 88<br>High Ch. Eng.<br>& <i>Vio. Whigs.</i> | 101<br>Seceders &<br><i>Vio. Ref.</i>        | 114<br>Independents<br>& <i>Vio. Ref.</i>  | 127<br>Catholics &<br><i>of no party.</i>     | 140<br>Universalists<br>& <i>Mod. Min.</i>   |

*There are numberless other minute combinations of mind now formed in the British empire ; but to descend to every varied shade of Class, Sect, and Party, would be endless, and would turn the subject, of all others the most serious to humanity, into one fit only for jest and ridicule.*

N. B.—Those who shall be solely governed by the RELIGION OF CHARITY, can, and will, unite with all, or any, of the above Sects and Parties.

Offices shall speedily be opened in London, and in other places over the kingdom, where books will be kept, and *any person wishing to join either of these new Associations may call and state his wish to become an inhabitant or member of one of the NEW VILLAGES,—of (suppose) CLASS No. 2, 3, or 4—and DIVISION in that Class, 1, 2, 3 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, or 12,—and to be associated with SECT and PARTY No. in the table of Sect and Party.* His name will be entered in the proper column, to designate his Class, Sect, and Party, to which he will affix his signature and address, paying a small charge to cover the expense of registry, &c. *And as soon as there shall be a sufficient number, say 500, of any of these Associates entered in the book, then the operations for one of the establishments may commence; and afterwards, as each 500 shall be entered, others may follow in rotation; or many may commence at once and together, as soon as the preparations for one shall be completed.*

To enter further into details would be to create a desire for the attainment of the object that would be injurious to its sound and beneficial progress. The change cannot be effected in a week, or a month,—although much, very much, may be put into action next year; so much, indeed, as with ease to relieve the country from the most grievous evils of poverty. And it will be done. Should it be asked, on what principle is this assertion made? the reply is, on the well known principle of self-interest, which compels all men to prefer their happiness, when easily attainable, to a continuance in wretchedness and misery.

The multitude, the uninformed part of the public,—those, in short, whose field of vision is confined within the circle of ordinary localities, could form no conjecture why I disclaimed connexion with the errors of all existing systems, political and religious. They could not know that, to secure to them solid, substantial, and permanent good, my course must be such as they have seen. The declaration made at the last meeting was a step absolutely necessary then to take. To oppose myself to all the most inveterate, and hitherto unconquerable prejudices with which the human intellect has been afflicted, could not have been a premature and hasty measure on my part. I long knew that to deliver from abject slavery of intellect—from the grossest ignorance—from the vilest passions—from crime, from poverty, and from every species of wretchedness,—I must, for a time, offend all mankind, and create, in many, feelings of disgust and horror, at this apparent temerity of conduct, which, without a new understanding—a new heart—and a new mind, they could never comprehend; but these, in due time, shall now be given to them. Ere long there shall be but one nation, one language, and one people. Even now the time is near at hand—almost arrived—when swords shall be turned into ploughshares, and spears into pruning hooks—when every man shall sit under his own vine, and his own fig-tree, and none shall make him afraid. But, what is still more marvellous, the time is also at hand, when your respect, esteem, and love, for those who oppose all your prejudices, will be much greater than for those who now defend them; because you will discover that the instructions of the latter tend only to perpetuate endless evils throughout society.

Yes, my friends, in the day, and hour, when I disclaimed all con-

nexion with the errors and prejudices of the old system—a day to be remembered with joy and gladness henceforward throughout all future ages—the Dominion of FAITH ceased; its reign of terror, of disunion, of separation, and of irrationality, was broken to pieces like a potter's vessel. The folly and madness of its votaries became instantly conspicuous to the world. When the benighted intellects of humanity were opened, and it was clearly perceived that *any* faith, however horrible and absurd, could be given to all of the sons of men,—it was in the same hour made known, that, therefore, Faith could be of no practical value whatever; but that its longer Dominion on earth must be productive of error and misery; and if permitted to remain that its continuance among the children of light would produce only evil continually.

Now, from henceforth CHARITY presides over the destinies of the world. Its reign, deep-rooted in principles of DEMONSTRABLE TRUTH, is permanently founded; and against it, hell and destruction shall not prevail.

Yes, on this day, the most glorious the world has seen, the RELIGION OF CHARITY, UNCONNECTED WITH FAITH, is established for ever. *Mental liberty for man is secured; and hereafter he will become a reasonable, and consequently a superior being.*

What is the character of this NEW RELIGION?

It is throughout consistent with all facts, and therefore TRUE. It suffereth long and is kind; envieth not; vaunteth not itself; is not puffed up; doth not behave itself unseemly; seeketh not its own; is not easily provoked; thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth. Beareth all things; believeth all things (WHEN DEMONSTRATED BY FACTS,—BUT NOTHING THAT IS DISTINCTLY OPPOSED TO THE EVIDENCE OF OUR SENSES.)

What is the power of Charity?

It never faileth. But whether there be prophesies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be (FALSE) knowledge, it shall vanish away.

What has been foretold of Charity?

That it has been known only in part, and prophesied of in part; but when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things. For now we see through a glass darkly, but when CHARITY REIGNETH ALONE, we shall see face to face. Now I know in part; but then shall I know even also as I am known.

THE GREATEST OF ALL THINGS IS CHARITY.

What are the signs of the last days of misery on earth? "*And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon earth, distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth; for the powers of heaven shall be shaken.*" "*And then shall they see the son of man (or TRUTH) coming in a cloud with power and glory. And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up and lift up your heads, for your redemption (FROM CRIME AND MISERY) draweth nigh.*" "THIS GENERATION SHALL NOT PASS AWAY UNTIL ALL SHALL BE FULFILLED."

What immediate and permanent consequences will follow from the Religion of Charity alone, unconnected with Faith?

PEACE ON EARTH AND GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN.

What will be its conduct to those irrational persons who for a time must oppose it?

Commiseration for their mental infirmities; but an unceasing kindness will be continually exerted to benefit them; and thus evil shall be overcome of good, until its nature shall be changed, and its injurious propensities shall disappear from among the children of men. "Then shall the wolf dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

What overwhelming power has done this? Where is the arm that has crushed the mighty ones of the earth, and made them afraid? Who has said, Let there be light, and there was light, and all men saw it?

This marvellous change, which all the armies of the earth could not effect through all the ages that have passed, has been accomplished, (without an evil thought or desire toward a being with life or sensation), by the invincible and irresistible power of TRUTH alone; and for the deed done, *no human being can claim a particle of merit or consideration.* That, hitherto, Undefined, Incomprehensible Power, which directs the atom, and controls the aggregate of nature, has in this era of creation made the world to wonder at itself.

The nations of the earth will be astonished! Their heretofore esteemed sacred institutions—their far-famed complex political arrangements—and their varied domestic manners, habits, and languages—will be no longer esteemed among men—"Old things shall pass away, and all shall become new." (See the 58th and 59th chap. of Isaiah, for the *calamities of ignorance*, and the *requisite changes therein described*; and the 65th chap. on the OMNIPOTENCE OF TRUTH, and the *changes to take place in the fulness of time.*)

I may now be asked,—What are the characteristic differences between Old and New Society?

They are decisive and manifold.

Old society has supposed, contrary to every fact that has been observed from the earliest period of known time to this hour, that MAN FORMS HIS OWN CHARACTER!! *and all the transactions of mankind have been governed by this absurd notion!!*

New society will be instructed, by close and accurate attention to all existing and provable facts, THAT THE CHILD DOES NOT FASHION ITSELF IN THE WOMB; OR DIRECT THE LANGUAGE, MANNERS, HABITS, SENTIMENTS, AND ASSOCIATIONS, WHICH SHALL BE AFTERWARDS IMPRESSED UPON ITS NATURAL PHYSICAL AND INTELLECTUAL POWERS; and that the whole character of man is a compound of these combined circumstances. Old society, therefore, from the hour the child was born, began a system of conduct diametrically contrary to fact, and Nature was counteracted by all the efforts of Ignorance. Nature however, continually opposed Ignorance, and all the force and violence of the latter could not keep the former in subjection. Ignorance then called in



Superstition and Hypocrisy to its aid ; and together they invented all the faiths or creeds in the world ;—a horrid crew, armed with every torture both for body and mind. A dreadful conflict ensued ; Nature was overcome, and compelled for a long season to receive laws from her conquerors, and to be the slave of Ignorance and Superstition. Nature was then treated with indescribable severity ; and would have been put to death if she had not been immortal, and possessed powers capable of gradual reaction, equal, and superior, to any force that could be permanently exerted against her. As time advanced, the appalling terrors of Ignorance and Superstition, Faith and Hypocrisy, imperceptibly diminished. Experience united herself to Nature, and produced Real Knowledge and Demonstrable Truth. These grew up together ; and, in close bond of union with their parents, they became strong, felt conscious of their strength, and were soon eager for attack. But Nature and Experience knowing the wiles and power of their opponents, restrained their ardour, but inured them to continual opposition and severe contest, until Knowledge and Truth became assured that their united efforts would be irresistible. War was then openly declared against Ignorance, Superstition, Faith, Hypocrisy, and all their dire associates. The latter instantly sounded the alarm, collected their forces, and began to prepare for battle. To their utter dismay, however, Charity, who till now had been compelled by force, contrary to her nature and inclinations, to be their ally, and to appear in their front ranks, escaped their toils, and declared she would henceforward unite herself solely with Nature, Experience, Real Knowledge, and Demonstrable Truth ; but, to prevent all future devastation and misery, she would use her mediation and obtain the best possible terms for the weakened and now disheartened enemies of Nature and her invincible allies. This offer, seeing all resistance vain and hopeless, was readily accepted, and Truth and Charity dictated the terms, which, in consequence, were kind and benevolent, evincing that they were not influenced by anger, revenge, or any evil motive whatever. Ignorance, Superstition, Faith, and Hypocrisy, were permitted to retain all their possessions ;—to remain free and unmolested in the conquered country. But they were to leave it solely to the government of Nature, aided by Experience and Real Knowledge, as counsellors. And Charity assisted by Demonstrable Truth and Sincerity were to preside as the active agents over the whole dominions of the New State of Society. Their first care was to make a new code for the government of the people, *in unison with all Nature's laws*. They decreed it to be just, *that as Nature was always passive before birth—in infancy, childhood, and youth—and was made beneficially or injuriously active by the treatment she had previously experienced—NATURE COULD DO NO WRONG, and, therefore, could never become a proper subject for punishment : that the cause of all her errors proceeded from the powers that acted upon her in her passive state ; and that if these were consistent and proper, NATURE WOULD BECOME ACTIVELY GOOD, and in consequence UNIVERSALLY BELOVED ; but if they were irrational and improper, NATURE WOULD BECOME DISGUSTING AND WICKED, and in consequence DISLIKED AND HATED BY ALL*. Charity, Truth, and Sincerity, therefore, decreed, that NOT ONE CHILD OF NATURE OUGHT TO BE NEGLECTED OR IMPROPERLY TREATED ;

that all should be trained, instructed, associated, and occupied, and placed amidst circumstances most congenial to the genuine feelings of Nature, and which were to be arranged by the twin sisters SCIENCE and PRACTICE, who were to unite their efforts in the execution of everything that was to be accomplished.—Every minor regulation was in strict unison with these general laws; and Truth was ever watchful to mark the least deviation from her favourite rule, “*THAT INCONSISTENCY IS ERROR*,” and therefore *inconsistency* must never be admitted into any transactions within the dominions of the New State of Society.

Such as have now been described are the fundamental differences between man in the OLD, and a man in the NEW state of society. In the first he has been a wretched, credulous, superstitious, hypocrite:—in the last he must become rational, intelligent, wise, sincere, and good. In the OLD, the earth has been the residence of poverty, luxury, vice, crime, and misery;—in the NEW, it will become the abode of health, temperance, wisdom, virtue, and happiness. The change from the one to the other, however, must not be too hasty. All I ask is,—*let it be gradual*, and conducted in the true spirit of benevolence; and let no one be injured in mind, body, or estate.

We have, therefore, my friends, a most important duty now to perform. The institutions of our forefathers, erroneous as they are, must not be handled with violence, or rudely touched. No: they must be still preserved with care, supported, and protected, until the new state of society shall be far advanced in quiet practice,—until it has proved its numberless important benefits to mankind, even to the conviction of the most unbelieving.

None must suffer in person, property, or comfort; all will be soon reconciled to the change, and lend a helping hand.

The instructors of the endless, varied, existing creeds or faiths, which have deluged the world with blood, and rendered it a curse and desolation, will all become the unresisting teachers of Charity. Benevolence will pervade all their language and all their conduct; and an evident and substantial success will crown every step of their future progress. They will no longer say, “we piped unto you, and ye have not danced,” or, “we preached in rain.”

The whole frame of society may remain as it is. The British Constitution will readily admit of every improvement requisite to ensure the interest and happiness of the empire. A CHANGE of the most extensive magnitude the world ever contemplated, will be accomplished without violence or confusion, or any very apparent opposition. *The feelings and the interests of mankind imperiously demand this change*; THE WORLD APPROVES—AND NONE CAN RESIST.

THUS, IN THE FULNESS OF TIME, ERE ITS COMMENCEMENT WAS WELL KNOWN, IS THE GREAT WORK ACCOMPLISHED.

THE CHANGE HAS COME UPON THE WORLD LIKE A THIEF IN THE NIGHT!

NO MAN KNOWS WHENCE IT COMETH, NOR WHITHER IT GOETH!

ROBERT OWEN.

September 6, 1817.

## APPENDIX.

## I

*Measures for the Immediate Relief of the Poor. As published in the London daily Papers,—September, 1817. And separately.*

The urgent applications which are hourly made to me, from those who suffer in almost every conceivable manner from the effects of the present wretched system, render it an imperative duty on my part to state such practical measures as are in progress to give the relief so anxiously sought for.

The evils experienced are both mental and bodily; but those which affect the body require removal with the least possible delay; and every individual who can feel for the afflictions of others, is called upon to give his earnest attention to the means devised for the purpose. Whatever inexperienced or theoretic men may write or say on the subject, it will now be discovered that no other measures than those I have proposed possess, in their ultimate results, any practical value. I therefore again call upon the public to do its duty to itself—to strive to overcome its prejudice, its weakness, and its errors. These, I well know, cannot be conquered in a day or a week, and time must be allowed for them to disappear gradually and almost imperceptibly—but the measures devised and recommended need not interfere with those diseases of the mind from which separation between man and man proceeds.

The practical means of relief for your suffering and degraded population are before you. They may be easily adopted, and united to all your various creeds, and acted upon without much inconvenience, until your minds shall attain sound health and enable you to discover and secure the good things which so abundantly surround you, and until you acquire the power to discern the manifold advantages of demonstrable truth, over the evils which perpetually arise from pursuing systems, founded on and involving the most palpable inconsistencies.

Many of various classes, sects, and parties, enter with a hearty sincerity into all these practical measures, with a determination to do their duty to their fellow creatures, and yet retain the integrity of those religious notions in which they have been instructed—nor have I any wish or desire that they should act otherwise. It is no part of my plan to form a sect, or to induce individuals to change one creed for another—my practice has ever been otherwise; it has always been to encourage the utmost liberty of conscience—the only true freedom of mind, and source of truth and wisdom.

I know that all mankind, ere long, will think as I now do, respecting the formation of human character, and the inutility and grievous evils of faith; for with me this subject has long been known as a science which at pleasure I can force upon the world; and in due time it shall be so developed, that is, when the minds of men shall be prepared to receive it without injury to themselves or their fellow creatures. But let me not be misunderstood. I wish not that the world should change old names for a new one, or be subjected to any false influence. I came not among you to establish a name, but to relieve you from the errors and evils of all names. Ponder well on that which I shall now state, and consider all its important consequences to yourselves and to posterity.

*I have not the smallest desire to leave a name to be remembered by men for an hour after my death, although I know I shall afterwards retain existence through all eternity. I would not now give one straw for the homage or even worship of all mankind. All such vain wishes and desires appear to me, and soon will appear to others, to be weakness itself, and of less value than I can find present language to express.*

**THE SOLE OBJECT OF ALL MY EFFORTS IS TO DO YOU GOOD—TO RELIEVE YOU FROM THE MOST WRETCHED MENTAL AND BODILY SLAVERY AND MISERY; and the time is fast approaching when you can no longer doubt these sayings.**

To procure that good for you in the best way, and in the shortest time that practice will admit, an Office is to be immediately opened in Temple Chambers, Fleet Street, under the superintendence of a gentleman who in all respects is well qualified and most willing to give every explanation of the practical part of the system to those of all ranks and descriptions, from the highest to the lowest, who may be sincerely desirous of acquiring such information. And such knowledge cannot fail to make the means obvious by which the poor and working classes may be, advantageously to all, relieved from their present distress, and the country saved from all the evils of poor's-rates and pauperism,—by which also health, temperance, affectionate association, cheerful industry, and increasing intelligence and happiness, will take place of disease, intemperance, severe labour, counteraction, ignorance, and misery; by which, in short, mankind will be benefited in the most simple manner, and to the greatest extent that the present knowledge and experience of the world will admit.

I am, however, most anxious to guard against precipitancy of expectation in those who are now prevented from employing their talents to benefit themselves or others. Of the full distress of their situation I am well aware, and it is a correct knowledge of their sufferings that stimulates my exertions to attain for them the most speedy relief.

The first Village of unity and mutual co-operation that shall be erected, will be in part a model for all others in this country, and over the world. It should, therefore, possess all the advantages that modern science can give, to exhibit in practice the extraordinary difference of results, between human faculties blindly moved to action by ignorance, individualised, and when they are governed in all their operations and transactions by the combined intelligence and experience of all past times. This will soon be proved by practice to be almost as infinity is to unity. When these results shall be rendered obvious to common minds, truly has it been said, "that the world will wonder at itself."—"Yes! it will become at once conscious of the intensity of the darkness in which it heretofore existed."

But to complete a scientific arrangement like this, which involves the comfort, well-being, and happiness of the present and all future generations, will require much calm consideration, and the co-operation of various minds, the best versed in each minute part, in order that the most weak and helpless should have common justice, and to prove that we are really actuated solely by motives of pure and undefiled religion—of charity—of genuine love to our brothers, unmixed with any motives that would give to self what they would not freely bestow on others.

Such arrangements as these cannot be completed before the beginning of next year ; but I hope they may be in forwardness to enable as many parties as may be prepared to act upon them, to commence the foundation of Villages and all their appendages, early in the ensuing spring.

And that the public mind may keep pace with this important work, a Paper, entitled the "**MIRROR OF TRUTH**," will be published twice a month, in which every objection to the New State of Society shall be candidly answered, and all doubts of its truth and happy results removed. The light shall be made to appear, so as that no one shall remain in darkness.

In the "**Mirror of Truth**" the supporters of the Old and the New System will be *equally* admitted ; strict impartiality to the candid representations of every class, sect, and party, will mark all its proceedings ; and, as *Truth alone* is the object in view, the most intelligent opposition is earnestly solicited. The Prospectus to this Paper will soon be advertised and published.

In the meantime, after the first of next month, all inquiries on the subject connected with the New State of Society, are to be made, in person, or by letter, *post paid*, addressed to Dr. Wilkes, New State of Society Enrolment Office, Temple Chambers, Fleet Street, London.

Immediate and patient attention will be given to every inquiry, in person, or by correspondence dictated by a spirit of benevolence ; and all information that may be of practical use in this undertaking will be thankfully received.

It may be useful to add, that until the Office is opened in Temple Chambers, Books of Enrolment continue at Lindsell's, Wimpole Street ; Longman and Co., Paternoster Row ; Cadell and Davies, Strand ; Hatchard, Piccadilly ; and Archs', Cornhill.

R. OWEN.

49, Charlotte Street, Portland Place.

September 19th, 1817.