

PART IV  
OF  
THE NEW EXISTENCE  
OF  
MAN UPON THE EARTH.  
IN WHICH IS CONTINUED  
THE OUTLINE OF MR. OWEN'S LIFE,  
WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING  
REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS IN DUBLIN  
IN 1823.

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BY  
ROBERT OWEN.

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# NEW EXISTENCE

## OF

### MAN UPON THE EARTH.

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THERE is no other mode under Heaven by which the human race can be permanently and universally made to become good, wise, united, and happy, than by the creation of efficient conditions, devised, on principles in accordance with the laws of nature, to form a new character for man, and to reconstruct society in accordance with those principles and laws.

By these means the evils of society as now existing may be overcome, and in future entirely prevented.

And by these means, now easy of practice, more good may be effected for the human race in five years, than all the religions and governments of the past and present have accomplished in unnumbered thousands of years.

The character of man and the construction of society having been based on what has now become a palpable and grossly ignorant falsehood, a continuous progress of increasing error in both has been unavoidable; and in consequence society is now more demoralised over the world than at any former period.

Before one step can be taken to make man or society moral and rational, this error in principle must be openly abandoned, the true principle on which to form character and base society must be adopted, and new conditions must be made for the human race in accordance with this true principle. Then a paradise on earth may be gradually created, to supersede the present pandemonium.

But it will be said that this change of principle and practice will create an entire revolution in all human affairs.

This is admitted; and without this revolution no permanent good can be effected for man, who now requires to be regenerated before and from birth.

The great object to be attained is, to conduct this change in such manner that it shall be a revolution of permanent good to every one, without inflicting injury on any individual.

Let us now calmly, and as far as practicable, see the whole extent of this hitherto dreaded revolution,—dreaded solely from ignorance.

We will begin from its commencement, and proceed to its final accomplishment; for it is only by taking this full view of the subject that it can be understood, or its immense benefits to the human race appreciated.

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THE GREAT REVOLUTION, OR NEW VIEW OF SOCIETY, AS  
GIVEN TO ROBERT OWEN BY SPIRITUAL AID.

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*The Universe, Eternity, and Creation.*

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There is but one universe, which includes all that exists.

As something could never be produced from nothing, and as something exists, something must eternally exist.

This eternal something is the element of the universe, which fills it, and of which all things existing are composed.

This element contains inherent, unchanging, eternal qualities, which constitute the body and mind of the universe, and are by man called the laws of nature.

The aggregate essence of these qualities constitutes the supreme mind and power of the universe, or the godhead and soul of nature, or the deity of all people.

The element, its qualities, and their united essence, or God, together constitute nature,—or the separate yet indivisible Trinity of the universe, or the Eternal Uncreated First Cause of All Things.

The element, its qualities, and their combined essence, or power, or godhead, are unchangeable; and from this element and its qualities the godhead makes the infinite compounds which have existed, now exist, and ever will exist.

This essence of the qualities of the element of the universe, or God, possesses the aggregate of all the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness within the universe; and by these attributes creates, uncreates, and recreates all things created.

The element of the universe is the outward form or body of nature. Its qualities are the unchanging laws of nature. And the aggregate of these qualities is God or the spirit of nature.

All things partake, more or less, of the *body* and *spirit* of nature. God therefore produces all things created from itself, and unites in its own existence the male and female productive power of the universe, in accordance with the laws of nature.

Thus God pervades and governs the universe, knows and directs all things, and is the cause of all motion, life, and mind, and exists in all things.

*Man's Relation to God and Nature.*

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Man is created by God of the elements of the universe, and possesses the qualities which God and nature give him.

All created existences are subject to the eternal unchanging laws of nature, which God cannot change.

These creations are progressive, as rapidly as the laws of nature will permit, towards the universal harmony of the universe; which is the ultimate object of these creations.

When human nature shall have been so far made to progress, as to understand and to act in accordance with the laws of nature,—then will man attain individual and general happiness upon earth, and be competent and willing to promote to the extent of his created powers the happiness and harmony of all other living earthly existences. He is God's or nature's progressive agent, to harmonise all that has life upon this globe.

This is his destiny, which he will attain when he is made to progress so far as to acquire the knowledge of, and the power to act in accordance with, the laws of his nature.

Why man, of all upon the earth, should not know, or have power to act in accordance with, the laws of his nature, to the present time, is not for us yet to know; although there must be an efficient and necessary cause for this anomaly.

That which man now requires, to harmonise himself and society with his nature, is to be taught to know the laws of his nature, and to have devised and executed for him conditions in which to place him, which will force him to act in accordance with those laws, from seeing their wisdom and goodness.

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*The Practical Mode by which this Great Revolution to create Permanent Peace and Goodwill upon Earth, is to be accomplished.*

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The human race must be considered as one humanity, which it is; for it requires all the individuals who have lived, who now live, or who may hereafter live, to constitute humanity, or to produce the full nature of man.

The race must be considered as one, and that which is best for one is best for all; and the practical arrangements which will be the best for one, will be the best for all.

The present arrangements of human-made conditions over the world are individual or pandemonium arrangements, which have emanated from the false principle respecting human nature, and are directly calculated to disunite men, produce discord, and create crime and misery.

But these individual conditions universally exist, and must not be violently destroyed or prematurely disturbed. They have been the creation of man in his ignorant or undeveloped state, while he has been progressing towards a period when his rational faculties can be, according to the laws of his nature, so developed, as to enable him to know good from evil, and to have power to adopt the good and to abandon the evil.

Evil is that which produces misery :—Good is that which produces happiness :—and there is no other morality.

The period for man to be thus developed, to enable him to know good from evil, and when he will adopt the former and abandon the latter, is near at hand.

For the knowledge that God and society create the character of each, and not the individual, is fast spreading through the more advanced among the nations of the world.

And this knowledge will create the spirit of charity which is required to guide this great revolution from irrationality to rationality throughout society.

The creation of this spirit of charity and love for humanity, making full allowance for every class and every variety of individual character, is the first step in practice to prepare for this change.

Necessary to prepare the public mind to permit the present irrational and evil system quietly and peaceably to proceed, until it dies its natural death by being gradually superseded by the new arrangements, based on the true principle of humanity and in perfect accordance with the laws of nature.

During this change, therefore, no one will be displaced from his position in present society, until he shall discover how he can remove himself into new conditions far more desirable than those which he now occupies.

The best conditions ever yet formed under the present irrational state of human existence are those formed and forming under the direction of the Crystal Palace Company at Sydenham, and these conditions are a wonderful effort made by men trained from their birth in irrational principles and within most irrational conditions.

With a certain amount of labour and capital these gentlemen have created conditions to give some instruction and some pleasure, with some trouble and expense, for short periods, to the public who can attend to experience those advantages,—and they are considerable in the present stage of society.

But with the view of doing the greatest permanent good to



society with that amount of labour, skill, and capital, it is unscientific in principle, and is a random arrangement of conditions, and for such object as stated is a failure. Yet will this failure lead rapidly to the attainment of the great revolution for humanity, when the whole labour, skill, and capital of the world, will be actively engaged in creating good and superior conditions only.

This is the "Good Time Coming," when the will of God will be done on earth as it is in Heaven.

See the labour, energy, skill, and capital, now employed in this war with Russia, to destroy wealth, prevent its production, destroy life, desolate districts, demoralise populations, and create incalculable misery! And for what object? Is it to benefit the people engaged in these contests? No. But to gratify the ambition of a few persons, made by their education and position to become thoroughly irrational in mind and practice.

Now a small proportion of this labour, energy, skill, and capital, thus so insanelly applied to destroy the rational faculties of humanity and the happiness of millions, would in practice, if wisely applied, as they now might be, effect this great revolution for the human race, terminate the evils of society, and insure perpetually increasing prosperity and progress, physical and mental, to all nations and peoples.

But how can this mighty work of regeneration of the human race be effected, amidst this violence and bloodshed—this madness of the human passions, and absence of the spirit of charity, peace, and love, or, in fact, of any apparent approach to the first dictates of common sense, in the governments of the world?

Simply by the people being aroused to think and reflect upon their present condition, and upon the ample means now at their disposal to change evil into good, and, in comparatively a short period, to make this pandemonium into an earthly paradise.

Being aroused to discover, that, to effect this change, all that is requisite to accomplish it is to abandon a falsehood, adopt a truth, and commence to make good and superior conditions around humanity, instead of evil and inferior conditions.

That is,—to form new conditions, especially devised to insure a good physical, intellectual, moral, spiritual, and practical character for every one from birth, and to rationally occupy every one through life, according to age and capacity;—and all to be so occupied during a part of their time, in such manner that superior wealth shall always abound beyond the wants of all or the desires of any.

And it only requires the public mind to will it, and the change will be easily accomplished.

It is greatly for the interest of the governments of the most advanced nations, to unite, and, by anticipating the public mind,

to lead it peaceably and rationally to the accomplishment of these results; and it is to be hoped, for the lasting advantages of governors and governed, that this course of action will be adopted, in order that this great revolution may be effected in peace, with foresight, and with sound practical wisdom.

It may now be asked of the writer—"If you have so long known the truth of these principles, their value for practice, and their immense importance for the permanent benefit of the human race,—what have you done to convince the population of the world of its errors, and to induce it to commence this great revolution in principle and practice?"

In reply, the writer states that when in early life he had been enabled to discover the cause of error and misery among men, and to ascertain the true principle of nature on which the human character should be based and matured, and the practice which would necessarily follow from the adoption of that principle, he took the first opportunity in his power to try the application of the principle to practice, on the largest scale he could command,—first, for about ten years, at Manchester, in Lancashire, on a population of *five hundred* men, women, and children, and afterwards at New Lanark, in Lanarkshire, Scotland, for nearly thirty years, with a population increasing from *thirteen hundred* to *two thousand five hundred*; nor did he give one sentence to the public on this subject until he had tried the result of these unique experiments for more than twenty years.

Finding the experiments to succeed beyond his most sanguine anticipations, he said to the public—"Come and see, and judge for yourselves; because you cannot believe the results thus produced, except you see them with your own eyes, and have full liberty to investigate the facts for yourselves." The public came year by year for thirty years to New Lanark, in continually increasing numbers, and from all parts of the civilised world. Emperors, Kings, Princes, the aristocracy of this and other countries, Philanthropists, Statesmen, Political Economists, Members of Parliament, of the Congress of the United States, of the French Chambers, learned men from all countries, and not a few of the working classes, who were perhaps as much interested as any others with this new view of society among their own class. Among those who visited this establishment at New Lanark may be mentioned the present Emperor of Russia, accompanied by about a dozen of his noblemen, and by his physician, who was a Statesman afterwards—Sir Alexander ———; the Duke of Holstein Oldenburgh and brother; Princes John and Maximilian of Austria; with English and Irish Bishops and Clergymen innumerable, and many foreign Ambassadors. Among those interested who did not visit the establishment, may be mentioned the late King of Prussia, who informed the writer, by an autograph, that he had, on the writer's recommendation

in a work sent to His Majesty through Baron Jacobi, his ambassador in this country, determined on the establishment of a national system of education for the Prussian population; and it was commenced the same year.

The late King of Saxony was induced by the report of his ambassador, Baron Just, who came to New Lanark and made a report of what he saw, to send the writer, with very complimentary letters from his prime minister, a large gold medal, with the likeness of the king, and with a commendatory inscription on the reverse.

All the sovereigns who met at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, and their confidential attending ministers; the Duchess of Oldenburgh, afterwards Queen of Wirtemberg, who invited the writer to visit her in England; Prince Metternich, and Prince Esterhazy, with whom the writer had interesting personal communications in London and Vienna; the Duke of Orleans, afterwards King Louis Philip, to whom the writer was introduced by His Royal Highness the late Duke of Kent, and with whom he had a long and very interesting interview in Paris, in 1818; the Presidents of the United States of North America, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, General Jackson, and Martin Van Buren,—with all of whom the writer had important proceedings, and the first five were his personal friends, and were deeply interested in the success of his mission to reform the world;—but it would be endless to enumerate the leading men and women who came to visit his establishment, or whom he was invited on his travels to visit, or those whom he interested in his mission by his writings.

He may, however, mention, as being most interested in the great mission in which he was engaged, in addition to those previously named, M. Pictet of Geneva; who came twice from Switzerland to New Lanark, and who returned with the writer to Paris, Switzerland, and Germany, and especially introduced him to Cuvier, Laplace, and Baron Alexander Von Humbolt;—from the latter of whom, when the writer was some years afterwards in Berlin, he received especial acts of attention and kindness.

From almost all those parties, including our Prime Ministers, Lords Liverpool, Melbourne, and the Duke of Wellington, and several of their cabinet ministers, the writer had strong expressions of approval of his practical measures, and more or less approbation, according to the greater or less capacity and moral courage of the parties, of the principles from which alone those practices could permanently and steadily proceed.

The writer, however, was occasionally amused with some of the clergy, and of the less independent of the official laymen, who would say, as in duty bound—"We very highly commend

your practice, but we abominate your principles ;"—as if such practices could ever emanate from any other principles than a knowledge of the true formation of the human character.

In opening the establishment at New Lanark to the public, native and foreign, the writer enabled them to see, among other new results, the superior effects produced by instructing young humanity by the eye, rather than by words ; for the system which he introduced there was to teach by exhibiting sensible signs, or the objects of instruction, and by familiar conversation between the teachers and taught ; which will be found to be nature's law of instruction. Here also was seen the first rational infant school, based on these principles, and conducted without punishment, in the spirit of true charity, kindness, and love ; as all schools ought to be conducted, but which can arise only by a thorough knowledge of the true formation of character from birth. (See more respecting the experiment at New Lanark in Part 5.)

While exhibiting to the world this unique experiment of reforming the adults of a demoralized population and giving a new character to their children, totally different from their parents, and without punishment, he has given every aid and encouragement in his power to promote everything in the outer world that had the name or semblance of education,—a word which the public as little understand as "religion."

After thus sowing the seeds of this great revolution in mind and practice, and by his public writings in this country, and his travels in France, Switzerland, and Germany, the writer, in 1828, crossed the channel to Ireland, when it was in a pitiable and very disturbed state.

He wished to ascertain the cause of its poverty, disunion, and general misery ; and for that purpose made the tour of the island from north to south, being invited to spend some days with the leading members of the Irish aristocracy at their residences, and with many of the most liberal and influential families on his route ; and he had with him, during the greater part of these visits, Captain Macdonald, of the Engineers, now the brother-in-law of the Earl of Panmure, with an experienced agriculturist and a secretary.

Among the parties then visited were the Lord-Lieutenant, Marquis of Wellesley, the Duke of Leinster, Marquis of Downshire, Earls of Carberry, Carrick, Listowel, and Clare, Lord Cloncurry, Lord Milton, Lady O'Brien, almost all the Protestant Bishops, and many of the Roman Catholic Bishops ; from all of whom he received the fullest information respecting the state of their respective localities, with much attention and great hospitality.

Even at Maynooth, the writer's accidental visit led to subsequent very interesting proceedings. While upon one of his visits to the Duke of Leinster, he was one morning riding out

with His Grace, and came upon Maynooth, which is on or near the duke's estate of Carton. His Grace asked the writer if he had any objection to be introduced to the principal, Dr. Crotty: the writer replied—"By no means; it would give him pleasure to meet one so well known for his learning and knowledge of the world." His Grace then introduced him to Dr. Crotty and after viewing part of the establishment, the Doctor engaged the writer in earnest conversation, on the subject of the writer's mission to Ireland, which now much occupied the public mind. After about an hour's close attention to the subject, the President appeared to be deeply interested, and asked the writer if he had any objection to meet twelve or fourteen of the most learned of his party, and to give him time to collect them. The writer said he was engaged to return to Carton in two or three weeks, and enquired if that time would be sufficient and convenient, for if so he would have great pleasure in such conference,—for his great desire upon all occasions was to have a fair and full discussion of all the principles and practices which he advocated. Dr. Crotty thought the time mentioned would be sufficient and convenient, and the day was then fixed when the conference should take place.

At the time appointed, when the writer arrived the Doctor had with him about fifteen of the most learned priests that he could collect, and a formal meeting immediately took place, the Doctor presiding. The writer was asked to state his first principles, which he commenced to do, when some one, apparently the youngest and least experienced, began to combat them. The Doctor saw at once that his friends were getting into difficulties; and, looking round upon the circle with an expression which they seemed to understand, he said—"Do you not think we had better ask Mr. Owen to give us a full explanation of the principles and practices which he recommends, and then we shall have a more just view of the whole subject?" The party assented; and the writer for about two hours explained his new views, without hesitation or any mystification; at the conclusion of which time the Doctor again looked around his audience, and said—"Gentlemen, I think you will agree with me that we are much indebted to Mr. Owen, for the very full explanation which he has given us of his views;"—and, again looking round the circle, he added—"I think we may promise him that he shall not be again opposed by us at his public meetings." Previously the writer had been on some occasions, while holding public meetings in Ireland, opposed by the Catholics; but he was not opposed by them in a single instance after this conference.

When the conference was over, a cold collation had been provided, and the writer spent some very satisfactory and pleasant hours in this so much discussed establishment.

Whether in consequence of this conference or not, the writer

cannot say,—but some years afterwards one of Madame Toussaud's sons came to the writer, and strongly solicited him to sit to an artist for his bust, that it might be prepared for the exhibition in Baker Street. The writer consented to sit to an eminent artist, a friend of his,—the best likeness of him that had been taken was completed ;—and the writer's tailor was applied to, to make a usual suit of clothes with which to dress the figure. The clothes were made, and the figure dressed ; when the artist informed the writer that the likeness, after the expense thus incurred, could not appear in the exhibition. The writer, not being interested in the proceedings, made no enquiry into the cause, and gave no thought about it. But when several years had passed, the writer's tailor, Mr. Turner, one day said to him, " Do you recollect sitting to Mr. Samuel Josephs, the Sculptor, for your bust for Madame Tussaud ? " Yes. " I have been tailor to their establishment ever since, and I accidentally learned from one of the sons the cause why the likeness has not appeared in the exhibition. Madame Tussaud was under the immediate influence of the Catholic priests, who were Jesuits ; and when they heard that your likeness was in preparation for the exhibition, they said it could not be admitted there on any account whatever.—'Why,' said the son,—' we have all kinds of characters,—even the worst that we could pick out of society ? ' ' That matters not,' was the reply of the ever commanding Jesuits ; ' you may have any character there, dead or alive, except Robert Owen.' "

From the Conference held at Maynooth the Catholics were in possession of the writer's new views in principle and practice, and he concludes that they, like all other parties opposed to those views, deem silence respecting them to be the only means to retard their universal acceptance by the thinking part of the population of the world. But in his earliest works the writer stated, that " silence would not retard their progress, and opposition would give celerity to their movements." And so it has proved. Society is to-day full of the desire for unity and co-operation ; it appears everywhere among those who observe and reflect upon the past and present condition of the human race. All who have eyes to see, faculties to think, and hearts to feel, know that competition and its consequent tyranny and slavery cannot be much longer maintained. They must give place to universal union and co-operation, as soon as the only principle which can create union among men shall be understood and acted upon ; for co-operation in material things can never generally and permanently succeed, until the spirit of union, charity, and love, can be made to pervade the mind ; and this is the true cause why the aspirations of the best and most advanced of the human race could never be introduced into successful practice. The evil principle of repulsion and discord has, through error respecting our nature, been immediately from birth implanted in the minds

of all ; and hence the contests, wars, and violence of the past ; hence the insane European war of the present day ; hence the absurd speeches at the present day, made in the British Parliament and the Congress of the United States ; hence the government of the most powerful and advanced nations of Europe by half a dozen families, who have been taught from their birth to govern only by force, falsehood, fear, and fraud, and who have been, from the same error, made blind to the superior principles of governing by truth, knowledge, justice, and sound practical wisdom.

Hence the vain attempt of the more advanced population of the American United States to be governed by an elective republic. When has a republic ever well-governed any population,—or even tolerably well, except for a short period ?

For the world to be well-governed, its population must first adopt the principle which can alone produce unity of feeling and interest and the co-operation of equality and justice in practice. And then more will be attained, to insure the future prosperity and permanent happiness of mankind, in one year, than the present system of ignorance, falsehood, contest, and misery, can accomplish to the end of time. That is,—one year of truth, right, and justice, will effect far more for the permanent good of the human race in one year, than can be attained in an eternity of falsehood, wrong, and injustice—the true characteristics of the present system.

In pursuance of the writer's ever abiding desire to prepare the population of the world for the " New Existence of Man on the Earth," after visiting Ireland from north to south, and collecting the most detailed information respecting the state of the country, the causes of its distress and disunion, and its natural resources,—he held public meetings in the Rotunda at Dublin, which were attended by the highest nobility in the island, and by the most advanced of all parties, and which were so over-crowded, that ladies fainted in the middle of the audience, which was so dense that in that state they were obliged to be hoisted up in chairs through the skylight. These meetings were said to have created a greater sensation at the time than any public meetings ever held in Dublin. They were duly narrated in the public newspapers of the day, and after the writer, with his official friends whom he had brought over with him to assist in his agricultural investigation and public meetings, had returned to England, he was much surprised to receive a large edition of his public proceedings in Dublin, in the form of the Report given in the Appendix to the present publication. They had been forwarded to London to the care of William Allen, the celebrated Quaker, the writer's then partner in the New Lanark establishment, (see in Part 5 remarks on a very erroneous life published of William Allen), and at whose house of business they remained for some time, as the writer had at this period returned to Scotland, passed

over to the United States, and did not visit London for some time. But from that day to this the writer is unconscious who got up the report and made him a present of so much real value; for the report is most accurate in its outline and details, and served an important purpose; for copies of it were distributed freely over Europe and America. Had the recommendation contained in this report been at the time acted upon, the island would soon have been rich and prosperous in all its classes,—the population would have been made intelligent and moral,—the famine could not have taken place,—two millions of lives would have been preserved,—and at least a *hundred millions* of more capital would have been *created*, and *many millions* saved that have been squandered and ill-applied.

The writer in future parts of this work will state what he did in eight visits to the United States after this period,—in Mexico,—in the West Indies,—and on the continent of Europe,—to prepare these populations for the “New Existence of Man on the Earth.” But in this number it will be useful to state what is doing by Mr. Atkins, Civil Engineer, at Oxford, to promote this object. Mr. Atkins had long been a disciple of these New Views of Society, even from the time they were first fully given to the public; but being an honest ardent disciple, and a thorough practical man, with large ideas and a most conscientious mind, he studied hard to make himself master of all the useful practical sciences; and discovering the utter worthlessness of all superstitions and political assumptions to benefit mankind by preaching words and talking political economy, he saw what all intelligent practical men must see as soon as their eyes can observe facts, and their minds can apprehend and accurately compare one fact with another, and comprehend the *true* and *only criterion of truth*, namely,—that whatever is true is, throughout, ever consistent with itself, and in perfect accordance with every fact known or that can be known.

Having attained this invaluable knowledge, he clearly perceived that there was but one practicable mode to make the population of the world permanently good, and wise, united, and happy, and that was, by devising efficient arrangements to well train and educate all from birth, physically, intellectually, morally, spiritually, and practically, and to well occupy every one through life, in the manner most beneficial for the individual and for the whole of society.

And when the writer had seen what Mr. Atkins had himself worked out to forward these views, without other aid than that which he had obtained from the publications of the writer and his own personal observations, the writer was greatly surprised and highly pleased with these extraordinary unaided attempts,—unaided with funds or other assistance from any quarter. Mr. Atkins had directed to be painted, on a large and expensive scale,



what he considered the best practical conditions for forming character and creating wealth on the principle of union and attraction, and under the most scientific combination of arrangements.

To say that this, his first attempt to improve the condition of the population of the world, is immensely in advance of all attempts in old society to educate and employ all from birth, is saying but little. It is a wonderful attempt of a self-taught and self-supported man, by his own means and efforts to work out such a new combination of conditions for humanity as he is now getting executed at Oxford, to exhibit shortly to the public, that it may be instructed, in the natural and therefore easy manner, by the eye and ear, in that which the mass of mankind would never comprehend by mere words without the sensible signs.

It is true, that although his new combinations are most scientifically arranged, so as to be complete for training the population of the world out of its present degraded and contending conditions to a very advanced and very superior mode of life, yet the state of the New Existence of Man upon the Earth had to be added to that which had been done, to make it complete, in order to exhibit the high and superior conditions in which all, after one generation of training, may be placed, without contest or competition. And this has been connected with the former or preliminary training states for the working classes of the present generation, to whom the superior conditions, except by due preparation for their use and enjoyment, would be such a punishment as to place at once a beggar to inhabit a splendid palace.

Before this year terminates, this unique panorama of the New Existence of Man on the earth will be prepared for exhibiting to the public, and for converting man to a rational understanding of his destiny and future earthly existence, and to enable him to discover how easily and speedily this new state of high intelligence, goodness, wisdom, and happiness, may be attained.

It is a common saying among statesmen, that Ireland is the great difficulty of every British administration; so much so, as to break up one after another; and they now see no end to such untoward proceedings.

Is it not yet evident that Ireland can never be long governed in peace with three contending and opposing supposed divine religions, creating envy, hatred, and malice, in the mind of the partizans of each superstition?

The writer, in his second great meeting in the City of London Tavern in 1817, when advocating unity and mutual co-operation, said—"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 re-unite 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!”

Every event which has occurred from that day to this, proves the divine truth of those sayings.

ROBERT OWEN.

Sevenoaks, July, 1854.

END OF PART IV.



## APPENDIX.

*Report of Proceedings in Dublin, in March, April, and May, 1823.  
With a Narrative of a Visit to New Lanark in August, 1822.*

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*Letter to the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Inhabitants of Ireland.*

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The most authentic documents informed me that Ireland was overwhelmed with poverty, divisions, and distress. It appeared to me that these evils could not exist in any part of the British empire, with the power it now possesses, except from some fundamental error in the *arrangements* of society. I came among you with the sole desire of discovering the cause of these evils, and, if possible, of removing them.

I have now seen much of the island, and, aided by intelligent assistants, have obtained a sufficient knowledge of its localities and of the inhabitants, to enable me distinctly to ascertain the error and the remedy. It is now my duty to declare both.

During my journeys through the country, I saw many living under circumstances so wretched, that, had I not been an eye witness of their sufferings, I should have doubted whether human nature could support life under the privations which they experienced. I saw a large majority of the peasantry without capital or the means to exert their industry to any really useful purpose. I saw the towns occupied by crowds, whose poverty is hourly increasing, while they live amidst dirt and disease, and are subject to almost every discomfort and disadvantage, both for producing and consuming. I saw the merchants and manufacturers living upon hope and the remains of their former gains; while I knew that their expectations of relief, from the sources whence they looked for it, must terminate in disappointment, and, in many cases, in ruin. I saw the landed proprietor and the landholder, after they had employed their capital and exerted their industry with skill and ability, frequently, by these means, bring more speedy distress upon themselves and their families; and I heard them often express strong fears that the time was at hand, when their tenantry would be unable to pay rent. I heard the clergy in many districts declare, that the poverty of the farmers was so rapidly increasing that they knew not how hereafter the tithes could be collected. I saw many females in the higher ranks of life, who had devoted almost all their time, and all their surplus means, to relieve the sufferings of the poor around them, nearly in despair, because they found distress increasing, in many instances, apparently in proportion to their efforts to

remove it. I saw thousands of full-grown females most anxious to be employed, that they might in a long day of hard work earn **TWOPENCE**; and strong, active men, equally desirous that they might be permitted to labour fourteen hours in an unhealthy, disagreeable, and useless employment, to obtain **EIGHTPENCE**. I saw multitudes of both sexes who could not procure either the one or the other. I saw a nobility and gentry really desirous of ameliorating the condition of those around them, and making sacrifices of time and money in various attempts to accomplish their wishes; and yet, so unsuccessful were their efforts, that they deemed it necessary to barricade the houses which they occupied, as though a powerful enemy surrounded their dwellings and threatened a nightly attack. In short, I saw human nature, through all its gradations, opposed to itself, perplexed, confounded, and conscious of the error in which it was involved, without having any conception of the means by which the error could be removed and relief obtained.

These were the sufferings which were more or less conspicuous throughout the whole of my tour.

In opposition to these, however, I saw a soil fertile beyond any previous conception I had formed of it—a climate well suited to the soil—rivers, harbours, and coasts, presenting great natural advantages;—a country, in short, possessing resources which, whenever they shall be properly called into action, will be found to be more than sufficient to support, in high comfort, upwards of *fifty millions* of inhabitants, while at present the island contains only *seven millions*; yet these *seven millions*, if their industry were properly directed, could, with ease and pleasure to themselves, create abundance of all the necessaries, comforts, and beneficial luxuries of life, for a population of, at least, four times their number.

Such are the striking contrasts which this island, at this moment, presents. Why, then, are not its invaluable natural advantages applied for the benefit of its inhabitants? Why are its proprietors compelled to seek peace and enjoyment in other countries, or to remain at home to witness poverty and discontent around them, and feel no security in their situations? Who is to blame? Who inflicts this misery upon the entire population of Ireland? I am now enabled to reply, with confidence,—**NO ONE**. The existing distress and suffering are the natural and necessary consequences of modern inventions, under a system which cannot derive benefit from them—a system which is not calculated for, and is not compatible with, permanent prosperity. In consequence, Ireland suffers in proportion to the amount of its natural advantages; it is overwhelmed with surplus produce, or abundance, which it knows not how to use to its advantage, and is compelled to experience all the evils attendant upon *poverty*, because it can so easily create *riches*.

It is true, all parties in Ireland blame each other for the misery with which it is afflicted. But this proceeds from error—from all parties being really ignorant of the cause of the distress, and of the only means of relieving it.

The first step to permanent improvement is the forbearance of all parties; I might say, the sincere reconciliation of all parties, from

a newly acquired conviction, that all have been compelled to err by the error of the system in which all are equally involved. It is the interest of all now to be reconciled, for their mutual benefit. It is absolutely necessary, for the future peace and well-being of society, that the upper and lower classes should now immediately unite, to prevent the greatest evils; and to secure benefits for each individual of all classes, far exceeding those possessed by the most favoured of any class at present.

These assertions, strange as they may now appear, shall speedily be so explained, that all shall fully comprehend my meaning, and clearly understand, and assent to, the truth of what I assert.

To afford an opportunity for this explanation, a meeting of the Nobility, Gentry, Professions, Merchants, and Master Manufacturers, will be held at the ROTUNDA, on Tuesday, the 18th of March, when I will explain the means by which a reconciliation of all parties may be effected, without injury to any; by which the poverty and distress which pervades the island shall be speedily removed; and by which the religion of all parties shall be left free, and fully and equally protected. I therefore now invite those parties, in the spirit of peace, to the meeting, at which it is intended that the most useful and important information shall be given. My sole intention is to benefit Ireland, and through Ireland, Great Britain, and other countries. In my views for this purpose I must be entirely wrong or right. If wrong, I trust I shall be opposed in argument by the most powerful and enlightened minds in Ireland; for I am deeply anxious that no error should find a resting place in my own mind; and still more, that I should not be the instrument of recommending errors to the world. But if I can demonstrate the undeviating consistency of the principles which now appear to me to be true, with all the facts in nature, and that the practice which will arise throughout all society from the knowledge of those principles shall produce permanent invaluable benefits to mankind, then I do anticipate that I shall have every Irish heart and mind cordially with me, and that THE EIGHTEENTH OF MARCH will be known and remembered hereafter as the commencement of a new era, in which the jarring interests of Ireland were at length harmonised, and the inhabitants of the Island allowed to enjoy all its incalculable local advantages.

ROBERT OWEN.

*Dublin, March 1, 1823.*

*First Meeting at the Rotunda. March 18, 1823.*

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A most numerous and highly respectable meeting of the Nobility and Gentry took place on TUESDAY, the 18th of MARCH, 1823, at the ROTUNDA, for the purpose of hearing Mr. OWEN's proposed Plan for Improving the various Classes of Society.

From an early hour in the day, equipages blocked up the different entrances to the Rotunda, and the Round Room was as crowded as we have ever seen it on any former occasion, with Ladies and Gentlemen. Among the company were—the Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Meath, Lord Cloncurry, the Most Rev. Drs. Troy and Murray, the Surgeon-General, the Duchess of Leinster, Lady Rossmore, &c. &c. A great portion of the room was railed in for the accommodation of Ladies, but this space was found inadequate to contain the number present, and some of the remote benches consequently vied in brilliancy with the selected spot.

At a quarter-past twelve o'clock, the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor took the Chair, amid loud applause.

Mr. Owen then presented himself to the meeting, and was received with acclamation. He first read the letter convening the present meeting, after which the applause was renewed. When silence was obtained, Mr. Owen read the following statement from a written paper.

The business of this day is too important to allow the time of the meeting to be wasted in any unnecessary preliminary matter.

In the paper which has just been read, the distress of the inhabitants has been described, and contrasted with the great natural resources which Ireland possesses. It has also been stated, that it cannot be justly imputed to any individuals or party, that they have caused the existing embarrassments, or that it is through their means that the local capabilities of the country have been productive of evil instead of good; but that the real cause which prevents us from enjoying the benefit of the incalculable advantages which on all sides surround us, is the general system which has hitherto prevailed throughout society. And I now add, that the only remedy to be found, which can permanently ameliorate the condition of the poor and ignorant and wretched inhabitants of this country, and of others, must arise from an entire change of this system. I say, an entire change of this system; and I confidently expect, that before we separate I shall be enabled to present to the understanding of every one now present, such facts and deductions from them, as will induce, I was going to say compel, one and all, whatever may be the opposing sentiments and impressions which they have previously received, to feel, and also to confess, that this is a truth so irresistibly true, that we shall all become of one heart and one mind respecting it, and, in consequence, that we shall be enabled to remove the afflictions of our fellow-creatures, and our own sufferings,



too, within a period so short, that, were I now to mention it, you could not, in the state in which your minds now are, give the slightest credence to the assertion. Allow me then to request from each of you, a quiet, steady, and fixed attention to that which I am going to state; for a subject so important has never yet been submitted to the consideration of any earthly assembly, or to any portion of the human race. Your future misery or happiness, and the misery or happiness of the present and of all future generations, will be found to be deeply involved in it.

I have said that the misery of Ireland proceeds from the errors of the system under which the world has been hitherto governed; and I have now to prove that all the ignorance, poverty, vice, and wretchedness, which pervade this island, necessarily emanate from that source alone. To prevent misunderstanding, I will first explain what I mean to express by the term, system of society; for, up to this hour, there has been but one system in the world of which we have any knowledge. There is but one system that now prevails over every part of the earth, and that system is founded solely on the notion that each human being forms his own character; that is, that he makes himself what he is—that he is the author of his own will, thoughts, feelings, and actions, and that he possesses the power to direct them to the best or the worst purposes. All the languages of the world attest the prevalence of this notion and these sentiments; and thence are derived all the expressions of praise and blame, merit and demerit—the practice of reward and punishment, and the theory of all the laws and religions which have ever existed. The object of this system has been to improve human nature—to make each individual of our species good, wise, and happy in this world, and to prepare him to enjoy much greater happiness in a future state of existence.

History informs us of the almost endless variety of schemes, which, under the influence of this fundamental notion, men have, in ancient and modern times, adopted to attain the great object of their wishes; and now, at the termination of six thousand years, the existing state of Ireland demonstrates the wisdom of the notion, and the success of the practice!

Are you, my friends, satisfied with this state of existence? Do you, without anxiety, enjoy the necessaries and comforts of life? Are the means of support, as human nature might now be provided for, secured to you and your families? Are there any now around you, or in your island, who are ignorant, vicious, in poverty, and in wretchedness, and who might have been well-trained and instructed, and by their own industry enabled to provide themselves with abundance, and to be virtuous and happy? Are you, in this city, and in this island, living as brethren of one family, having but one interest and one object? Does charity for the opinions which others have been taught as you have been instructed in yours, prevail universally among you? Are you all really kind and affectionate, seeking each others welfare and happiness? Have the irrational feelings of irritation and anger been removed from your CONSTITUTIONS? If these results have been attained, then your present system ought to

remain sacred and untouched ; but if they have not been realised—and in this case facts speak loudly and irresistibly for themselves—then ought the cause of existing evils now to be probed to its very foundation, that we may ascertain why virtue, intelligence, and happiness have not been, ages ago, permanently secured for the whole human race.

I will now disclose to you a secret, which, till now, has been hidden from mankind. It is, that the fundamental notion, on which the whole fabric of society has been raised, is an error—a lamentable error—one which pervades all the proceedings of men. And while that notion shall be taught to the rising generations, it will be impossible to produce results in any degree more beneficial than those which have been realised in past times, or which are now experienced around us. And, what may at first seem the more extraordinary, it is not the interest of man, woman, or child, in this or any other country, whatever may be their rank, station, condition, or fortune, that that notion should be longer permitted to irrationalise the human mind and conduct. No, my friends, when this subject shall be fully developed to you, it will be found that every human being now in existence, or that shall hereafter be born, has an inconceivably great, a direct individual interest, that this wretchedly degrading system should now terminate for ever ;—that the violence, contention, vice, and misery which it alone generates—of which it is the sole author—should not, if possible, be allowed to torment the human species for one day longer.

We all profess a desire to promote the happiness of our fellow-creatures, that they should have good, and not bad dispositions,—beneficial, and not injurious habits ;—that they should acquire knowledge, and not be compelled to remain in ignorance ;—that they should not be vicious, but moral ;—that they should be usefully active, and not indolent ;—that they should not be afflicted with poverty, but enjoy abundance ;—that they should have kind, charitable, and affectionate feelings for all their fellow-creatures, instead of those which incite to anger, revenge, and violence. If we indeed desire to bring about this happy state of existence, then must we, one and all, heartily unite in *practical measures* to attain the object. It is utterly vain and fruitless to expect an improvement without using the only means which can accomplish it. To change the character and conduct of mankind, the causes which create in them what is evil must be removed, and other circumstances be introduced, which will produce in them the effects so much to be desired, and so necessary to their happiness.

The primary cause of evil in all our fellow-creatures is, that fundamental error which governs their minds and conduct—necessarily rendering the former wholly irrational, and the latter injurious to the individual and to society.

This knowledge is derived from the facts which history supplies, and from those which exist around us, and are open to hourly examination. From this evidence, which admits no doubt or exception, we learn that the infant comes into the world unknown to himself, as any of the other productions of Nature ; and that, like

these, he is afterwards modified by the localities of his birth, acting upon his individual nature, which differs more or less in all; and that he uniformly becomes what these make him.

In China, the localities which there surround human nature form each individual into a Chinese, his mind being filled with the ideas which prevail in that portion of the world, and his habits and character being formed accordingly. He is continually impressed from infancy with the belief in the vast superiority of Chinese notions and habits over those which obtain in all the other districts of the earth; and is taught to believe that those who live beyond the boundaries of his native empire are ignorant, superstitious barbarians, who are greatly inferior to him in all respects. Such notions may be easily given to the whole of mankind, and, up to this hour, similar impressions have been made upon every human being that has come into existence; and it is upon this principle that the character of man has ever been, and ever must be, formed. Whether it shall be well or ill-formed by nature, or by the localities of birth, does not, never did, or will depend upon the individual, but upon the power which forms the infant, and the parties who direct the localities. This is now too obvious a truth to admit longer dispute.

The human character, therefore, is formed, not *by* but *for* the individual; and the difference between the practice resulting from the one view of human nature, and that which would result from the other, is no less than the difference between vice and virtue, ignorance and intelligence, poverty and abundance, anxiety and peace of mind, perplexing confusion of ideas and clear conceptions—between anger and mildness, violence and kindness, brutality and humanity—between alarming fears and the most delightful security—between war and peace—between irrationality and the character of a reasonable being,—and, in consequence, between misery and happiness. Behold, then, the cause of your present sufferings. It is the illusion under which mankind have existed respecting the formation of character, that has generated error and prejudice through at least six thousand years; and it is this overwhelming accumulation of error and prejudice which now presses so heavily on you, on this island, and upon all mankind. Let but this source of our imbecilities of mind, on the one hand, and of our divisions and violences on the other, be once closed, and human nature will immediately be seen under a new aspect. It will acquire a new character, and commence a new existence, so greatly excelling, in all respects, that which we have hitherto known, that we shall be inclined to consider it as a new human nature, duly prepared to enter upon and to enjoy that happy period when brethren shall dwell together in unity and peace—when wars shall cease—when there shall be but one language and one people—when every man shall sit under his own vine and his own fig-tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid. Such are the joys which await us—which are immediately at hand—and which, I trust, and fondly hope, will be, in part at least, experienced by every one now present.

As soon as we can dismiss the error, that the character is formed

by the individual, with the consequent varied systems of reward and punishment, and notions of merit and demerit, which now irrationalise the world and fill it with all the crimes and vices hitherto known, these evils will gradually diminish in the *present*, and be unknown, except as matter of history, to all *future* generations.

The character is formed *for* the individual at birth, solely by the power which creates him. It is formed differently in each child, but that difference is not his own—it is created *for* him. The rank of life, the character of the parents, the qualifications of the instructors, and the habits, tempers, and dispositions of those who surround the individual from infancy and childhood, are circumstances wholly beyond his control; yet these determine his language, his habits, his dispositions, his mental powers, his propensities, feelings, and sentiments, his religion, and his conduct. He cannot, therefore, have merit or demerit for any of these; and, in consequence, he never can be deemed, in a rational state of society, a proper subject for individual reward or punishment. By the attainment of this knowledge of what man is *not* and what he *is*, we acquire an accurate understanding of the means by which his character, in all respects, may be rendered very far superior to what it is, or has been through the past ages of his existence. Knowing, by all past and present experience, the overwhelming influence which circumstances have over human nature, and knowing now how to combine and regulate those circumstances which, with unerring certainty, will produce ignorance, poverty, vice, crime, disunion, violence, and misery, and those which, as certainly, will produce intelligence, abundance, good habits and dispositions, peace and harmony, virtue and happiness, throughout society, we cannot doubt that the period has arrived, when old things must pass away, and all shall become new;—when the old system of the world, with all the corruptions which appertain to it, shall gradually disappear, and be superseded by another system, founded on principles fundamentally different, and through which all the present jarring interests of mankind shall be set at rest;—when divisions among men shall be no more heard—when the terms of party, class, sect, or nation, will not be used, and the evils which they have inflicted on the world will cease for ever. These extraordinary results, and many more, must necessarily follow from the attainment of the knowledge, that the character is formed *for* the individual. This is the little grain of mustard seed which will speedily overshadow the whole earth and replenish it;—which will secure to future generations the intelligence and happiness that have in vain been sought for by our predecessors during all the past. The knowledge of this principle will at once develop to those who understand its full import, the science of the formation of character, and make evident the controlling influence of circumstances over all who are born. Then will the mind become conscious of all the errors which have been committed in society, of the injustice which human nature has hitherto experienced, and of the easy practicability of removing those evils which now threaten to overwhelm the nations of the earth, and more particularly and immediately the

inhabitants of this heretofore unhappy island. Under this new view of human nature, if it is desired to give good habits to children, then those circumstances which experience has proved to generate bad ones will be withdrawn, and other circumstances will be introduced which are known to create good habits. In like manner, if we desire to cultivate kind and amiable dispositions in children—to give them knowledge, the power to be active, and the inclination to apply their industry beneficially for themselves and society—the proper circumstances will be arranged to effect all this without any chance of disappointment. And if we would give health to human nature, improve the intellectual faculties, form the best society for all, and supply each individual with abundance of whatever can be really useful, then will the arrangements be made which can in the best manner effect these important purposes. Nothing, in short, which concerns the well-training, the well-being, or the happiness of mankind, will, under this knowledge of human nature, be left to chance. It will indeed be the characteristic difference between the old and the new arrangements of society, that the former never have produced the effects desired to *any*, while the latter, being founded on the science of the influence of circumstances, present the certain means by which every beneficial object can be permanently secured for *all*.

Such is the general theory of the new system. We now come to the practice to be deduced from the principles which have been stated.

It is, or it ought to be, the object of society, to improve the human character, physically and mentally, to the uttermost, to create a full supply of wealth for all, and to secure to all the largest portion of happiness. Under a knowledge that the character is formed *for* the individual, these results may be easily attained; but they cannot be attained, except through arrangements embracing a new combination of circumstances, differing widely from any which has been hitherto known to exist, at any period, in any part of the world—arrangements proceeding from an accurate knowledge of human nature. And this brings us to a very interesting and important part of our subject.

From the period when I discovered that society, from the commencement of historical time to the present, had been founded on an error that was productive of every kind of evil to mankind, it was my most earnest desire that the change which appeared to me to be necessary to relieve the world from those evils, should be effected, if possible, without occasioning loss, or even inconvenience, to any individual. It is this consideration which has occupied the chief part of my thoughts and time for many years past. Were it practicable, I would combine the new with the old system, to render the proposed change more palatable to existing errors and prejudices; but it appears to me, under every view which I can take of the subject, that they cannot be united—that, like oil and water, they must repel each other. The character of man is formed, either *by* him, or *for* him; and these opposite conclusions lead to arrangements from the birth to the death of the individual, so

totally dissimilar in all respects, that those who may be placed under the one system will appear to belong to a race of beings altogether different from those who may be trained under the other.

I am, therefore, now compelled to present myself to you and to the world in the character of an architect, who feels a sincere desire to repair an old house belonging to friends with whom he has been long acquainted; and who, after having examined the foundation and principal timbers of the building, is conscientiously obliged to report that the foundation is unsound, the main beams are decayed, and the whole structure hangs so loosely together as to be in danger of falling during every storm that may assail it; that it is impracticable to repair it, or even long to retain any part of the building; the utmost he can do is to apprise the inhabitants of their danger, and prevail upon them to support it with the best props that can be obtained, until he can erect, in a new situation, on a rock, a new habitation, possessing far superior accommodations, and uniting every useful modern improvement.

I am aware, if I may be allowed to pursue the simile, that many other architects have been employed with a view to repair and improve this edifice: but none of their plans appear to be calculated to effect any permanent benefit; but rather to loosen, and the more endanger, the superstructure. Other inexperienced projectors have, unsolicited, turned their attention to the examination of the out-works and exterior of the building; and observing the sandy foundation upon which it rests, and its general appearance of decay, have rashly proposed at once to level it to the ground; forgetting that, by such a proceeding, they would expose all its inhabitants to the inclemency of the season, and subject many of them to perish in the storms that may arise, and against which they would be left without shelter or protection.

But to speak without metaphor, it appears to me that the whole system of human society as at present constituted is founded on error, and that it inflicts a large amount of unnecessary misery on prince and peasant, and on every rank and condition;—that it is most decidedly the interest of all to bring it to the most speedy termination, consistent with the welfare of each;—that this change is to be brought about, not by violence of any kind, but by well-devised arrangements, formed for the self-evident improvement of the unoccupied poor and working classes, on the principles stated in the previous part of this address, and by which they will immediately be placed under such circumstances and training, as cannot fail to give them virtuous and industrious habits, and to render them useful and happy members of society.

This open and direct mode of proceeding is recommended as being the best calculated to inspire confidence among all parties, and to unite them in the support of Government, when it is discovered that no deception is intended. Government will then no longer have the disagreeable task of defending that which it knows, and which every one knows, to be erroneous and indefensible. It may openly acknowledge all the errors which time has accumulated in our theories and practice, and defend, with perfect consistency,

the continuance of existing institutions, until better arrangements, founded on correct principles, can be carried into general adoption.

The errors in practice which immediate measures are required to remove, are those which relate to the forming of the character of the subjects of the British empire, and more particularly of the natives of this island, and those which prevail respecting the creation and distribution of wealth. It is the direct interest of the Government of the country, and of every individual in it, that the character of each child born within the utmost bounds of the British dominions, should be so formed as to render him the most valuable subject, in intellect and conduct, that his natural faculties will admit. It is also the direct interest of the Government, and of every individual in the country, that each child among the working classes should be so trained, educated, and placed, as to produce the largest amount of real wealth for society, consistent with the health, comfort, and well-being of the individual. Viewing the present practices of society, we might be led to conclude that all the Governments in the world had formed arrangements purposely contrived to counteract the attainment of these results; and that they had been singularly successful. But the measures which have been pursued are alone to be attributed to the errors in which all society has been involved, by the notion hitherto taught to human nature, and acted upon, as a fundamental principle,—“that the character of man is formed *by*, and not *for* him.” This mist being dispelled, men will no longer see through a glass darkly; but they will acquire clear and distinct ideas regarding the whole economy of human life. That which, as now viewed through the medium of prejudice and error, appears visionary, contrary to nature, and of impossible attainment, will then be discovered to be easily practicable, and immediately within our reach. I have said that one of the errors in practice which immediate measures are required to remove, is that which relates to forming of the character of the subjects of the British empire, and more particularly of the natives of this island. The arrangements which now exist for this purpose form the character which we see, and they can form none other; and there is just as much wisdom in complaining of this character, while the present arrangements continue, as there would be in complaining that the streets of Dublin were wet, while the clouds continued to descend in rain; or that a good soil, while under the most defective and slovenly mode of culture, produced abundance of weeds, and only a very small portion of useful grain. Whatever is now done by the Government, or by individuals, for the formation of a good character in the subjects of this empire, proceeds from erroneous views; and consequently, only an inferior and a very defective character is universally formed. It is true that in common parlance we use the words, excellent, good, indifferent, or bad, as applied to character; but these terms denote merely different degrees of what is defective and inferior. If I am not altogether deceived, the existing arrangements of society can create only irrational characters, and so defective, that they cannot perceive in themselves, and in others similarly trained and taught, incongruities which to every

one who happens to have been placed within a different circle of arrangements, appear most obvious and glaring ; while, on the other hand, the former are equally alive to the absurd inconsistencies and irrationality of their foreign neighbours.

The first practical step towards the improvement of this or any other country, is to remove the prevailing errors respecting the formation of character. When the public mind can be made to perceive what human nature really is, and how easily a universally virtuous character can be formed in society, all, I anticipate, will willingly relinquish their present erroneous notions, and give their utmost aid to measures for the introduction of those arrangements which will secure with certainty all the great objects of human life, by placing each child under the circumstances that shall of necessity train him to habits of virtue only, and render him essentially valuable to the community. It is of the utmost consequence that the principle should be distinctly understood, which can alone direct us to the attainment of this all-important result.

To every one who reflects, it is evident with how much ease circumstances are now arranged to form in the same town and neighbourhood, in Great Britain and Ireland, Quakers, Jews, Unitarians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Catholics, Episcopalians, and many more varieties of this description ;—and in other countries, Mahomedans, worshippers of Juggernaut, and disciples of Fo and Confucius, with all the peculiar ideas and conduct resulting from the influence of these respective systems upon the individuals who have been trained under them.

It is now, however, equally within the power of society to introduce arrangements by which the most really intelligent, virtuous, and happy characters may be universally formed ; and, which is also a very gratifying consideration, such arrangements can now be combined with much less trouble, and far less expense, than any of those which they are designed to supersede. In fact, the forming and conducting of the proposed arrangements will constitute the most delightful exercise and recreation, both for body and mind. Every advance which we make will produce increased satisfaction and new pleasures ; and the wretched state of existence that is at present experienced, in the palace as well as in the cottage, will, from a universal conviction of its folly and absurdity, be made to give way to another, which shall, without delay, place society under circumstances conferring infinitely greater advantage upon *all*, than it has been hitherto permitted to *any* portion of mankind to enjoy.

Society must commence this good work by forming arrangements to improve the condition of the poor and working classes, by a proper direction of their faculties and powers, and not through any of the usual modes of giving relief by what is commonly called charity, which, in all cases, directly tend to injure and degrade human nature. It is a very common mistake, arising from the confusion of ideas inseparable from the present erroneous system of society, to believe that the rich provide for the poor and working classes ; while, in fact, the poor and working classes create all the wealth which the rich possess. The working classes can provide



abundance for themselves, and be independent of any other class ; but the rich, without the working classes, would be the most helpless of human beings. The rich, so far from aiding the working classes, actually prevent them from creating a supply of wealth that would be sufficient to preclude all from becoming poor ; they prevent the working classes from producing far more wealth for the rich, than the rich now possess. In fact, wealth is now made an object of contest, and a fertile source of crimes throughout society ; when it may be demonstrated that, by the most simple arrangements, highly advantageous to all classes, real wealth might be created, or annually made to grow—if I may be allowed the expression—far more abundantly and luxuriantly than can be useful to, or desired by, any portion of mankind.

Wealth is that which is necessary and useful to man ; and that which is the most intrinsically valuable is the most necessary and the most beneficial. The wealth is created, either by the bounty of nature, from which are derived light, heat, air, and, in most places, water in a superfluous abundance for all ; or by the intelligence and industry of man, through which are obtained, food, raiment, dwellings, furniture, implements, books, instruments of science, &c. &c. ; and without intelligence and industry, none of this latter class of objects can be produced, except those natural fruits and roots which suffice only for a limited portion of the present inhabitants of the world.

Wealth then may be created in proportion to the intelligence and industry of each individual in society ; and under this view of our subject it becomes at once the evident interest of all, that each child should, in these respects, be rendered the most effective for society, consistently at the same time with his own well-being and happiness. If these premises be correct, it is an obvious conclusion, that while human beings, by their intelligence and industry, and the aid of science, can create more than they consume, every addition to the population of the world, whenever justice shall be done to individuals from birth, will be a real gain and advantage to those previously existing. It is equally evident that society errs whenever it permits a human being to come into the world without arranging the means to secure to him the best training and instruction, that he may be industrious, well-disposed, and intelligent ; and to surround him with circumstances which are calculated to give the most valuable effect to his intelligence and industry. And is not this error at the present moment most glaring in this Island ? The poor and working classes are now neglected from birth ; they continue surrounded by almost every circumstance that directly tends to injure the individuals and society ; and the loss of wealth, intelligence, and happiness, to all parties, is, in consequence, incalculable. The wealth which is thus lost is probably not less than would be sufficient to support, in high comfort, a population far exceeding that which Ireland now contains. In short, the old system of the world appears as irrational, in its views and proceedings regarding the wealth, as in those which relate to the forming of character, and to the arrangements necessary to the well-being and happiness of society.

As soon as the subject of wealth shall be understood, combined with the science of the formation of character, wealth will cease to be an object of contest; its creation beyond the desires of every individual will be found to be so easy and pleasant, that all will be eager to engage in producing it; and, in consequence, there will be a vast surplus of all things constantly in store, and more than sufficient to protect society against a succession of bad seasons, or accidents of any kind.

At present, the production of wealth is limited by the want of markets, and markets are limited by the want of a convenient circulating medium to represent the products of labour as soon as they are created, and to effect their ready exchange; or, in other words, the industry of society is restrained by the existing artificial monied system. Arrangements are now required to call into activity the physical and mental powers of all for the benefit of each, and to withdraw the restraints which check industry, or give it a useless or pernicious direction. As this cannot be effected under our present circumstances, society is not making an advantageous use of one hundredth part of the means which it may immediately command and put into activity for the general benefit. Every invention and improvement, too, so long as the old arrangements continue, will only tend to aggravate our poverty and difficulties, because every such improvement or invention will add to the supply, and diminish the quantity of labour. This is the direct object of the projector of every improvement, whether in mechanism or chemistry, or in any other science or art or practice. And in proportion as the supply is increased, and the value of labour is reduced, the demand will diminish, and the general distress of the mass of the population will become greater.

It is evident, therefore, that the time is arrived when all things are prepared and fully ripe for an entire change of our whole system; not a mere alteration for the benefit of one class, or of one portion of the population; but a change which shall essentially improve human nature; that shall give decided advantages to every human being, of whatever rank or station of life he may be; a change, in short, which shall secure to every one better dispositions, superior knowledge, an increase of health, and the means of enjoying whatever can contribute to the happiness of an individual trained to be a rational creature.

It is very practicable for the government and the people immediately to commence the change proposed; and it is so much the interest of both to effect it, that I trust a union of all parties will now be formed to give to Ireland the full benefit of her invaluable localities.

Why should she longer be degraded, and compelled to be wretched, when she may be immediately elevated to the first rank among nations, and her sons and daughters enabled to attain an excellence and to enjoy a happiness not hitherto seen or experienced in any part of the world? Whose interest stands in the way of this improvement? What individual can suffer in mind, body, or estate, by the change which I propose? I confidently answer, no

one. Let us, then, my friends, dismiss from our minds all fears and alarms for our individual interests and present situations, for they are groundless. No one will be required to give up anything whatever on which he sets any value, or to remove from his present situation, until he can obtain another which he will greatly prefer. But why are you alarmed for a change? Is your situation so much to your satisfaction that you desire no improvement? Are the millions of inhabitants of the Irish cabins in the state in which a rational system of society would place them? Are the higher classes secure in their possessions, while on every side so much wretchedness surrounds them? Are you alarmed for the morals of the people, and do you fear that any change may disturb the kindness and good will which prevail among all ranks and descriptions of the population of this Island; or that the union on the subject of religion may be weakened, and the harmony which it produces among all classes be turned into acrimony and violence?

Be assured, my friends, I do not mean to propose any change which, when understood, shall be found to have the smallest tendency to weaken one moral feeling, or to disturb one particle of religion that is not directly opposed to truth and the well-being and happiness of the human race. I know how delicate a subject this is to touch upon, because all men, by the errors which have prevailed upon it, have been necessarily rendered irrational, and, in consequence, when it is discussed, only irrational feelings and ideas are brought into action.

Is the time arrived when, for the benefit of our suffering fellow-creatures, we can take a calm and dispassionate view of the most interesting of all subjects? If it is not, then the wickedness and wretchedness of the world must go on unchecked, and imbecility and violence continue to govern the affairs of mankind.

May I now implore you for your own good, for the sake of those who inhabit this Island, and for the permanent benefit of your fellow men on every part of the globe who suffer from religious errors, to listen to me for a few moments, while I place this subject in what appears to me a rational point of view? If I be in error, I earnestly call upon my friends here, and upon those who at this moment may suppose themselves my enemies, but who, I trust, before we separate, will feel cause sufficient to make *them* also my friends, to explain to this meeting the fallacy of my conceptions, and the cause of them; for I declare, with all the sincerity which can belong to human nature, that, above all things, I desire not to remain in error. Convince me that you are right and that I am in error, and from that hour I shall, if possible, use double diligence to remove any misconceptions which my previous proceedings may have created in the public mind,—and I shall willingly devote the remainder of my life to bring into effectual practice those truths which are now hidden from me. Inform my judgment, and you shall have all my services, heart and soul, to the utmost extent of my mental and physical powers. Unless, however, you can do this, and you are now justly called upon to do it, you ought not to expect me to say that I think as you have been taught to believe. Could

I speak thus, and be honest?—could I accede to your wishes, without becoming insincere? Surely you do not wish me thus to act.

Then I request from my religious friends an answer to the following questions. I ask not the reply now, when they may be taken by surprise, but after they shall have had full time well to consider the subject; for it is proposed that another opportunity shall be afforded to them, and to all the opponents of what I may now recommend, when they may come fully prepared with every objection that may occur to them. I will then satisfactorily meet those objections, or yield to their superior facts and deductions. I am, however, above all things, most desirous that this discussion, whether now, or at an adjourned meeting, should be entered upon and continued in a spirit of real charity and good will, and be carried on, not for victory, but solely with a view to elicit truths of the deepest importance to the future well-being of mankind.

The questions I wish to ask are these:—

Are the inhabitants of the world agreed, or divided, upon the subject of religion?

Are the divisions on the subject of religion created by nature, or by instruction?

Do children very generally imbibe the religious notions which are taught to them?

With exceptions not deserving of notice, do the countless millions born within the circle of China, become Chinese in language, habits, sentiments, religion, and general character?

With similar exceptions, do the inhabitants born within the circle of Mahomedanism, and who are trained and educated by Mahomedans, become followers of Mahomed?

With the like exceptions, do not the remaining hundreds of millions who occupy other portions of this earth, derive their language, habits, sentiments, religion, feelings, and general conduct and character, from the circumstances of their respective countries, and the persons who surround and instruct them?

Is it the individual, then, who gives himself his language—his habits—his manners—his religion—his sentiments—his notions of right and wrong—or his thoughts and character?

Does any infant create himself, or in any manner interfere in combining his mental or physical powers?

Are any two children born alike, physically or mentally?

Is this difference the work of the infants, or of the Power that creates them?

Is not the character of every human being a compound of his natural faculties and propensities, physical and mental, modified by the circumstances which have surrounded him from birth?

Is there any rationality in being angry with those who have been taught languages, habits, sentiments, religions, feelings, and manners, altogether different from those which have been given to ourselves?

Is there any justice in being displeased with others to whom the Great Creating Power has given a natural character differing from our own?

Is it a law of human nature that it believes or disbelieves at pleasure?—or is it in all cases, without a single exception, compelled to believe according to that which has made the strongest impression on the mind?

Can rationality and anger, or anger and real charity, for our fellow-creatures, ever, in a single instance, be united in the same individual?

Is it more rational to talk about religion and morality, allowing all those circumstances to remain which create in the human character vice, crime, and misery; or to cease talking upon these subjects, and to become active in removing the causes of these evils, and in combining those circumstances which are certain to exclude ignorance, bad habits, vice, crime, and misery, from society?

Is it better that human beings should unite to produce positive good, or to divide to produce certain misery?

Seeing how religious opinions are formed, and knowing that individuals cannot of themselves alter them, must we not deem it unjust, because it is unnatural, to inflict pains and penalties on those who have been made to differ from us?

Have not all men a right freely to express the opinions which have been made to appear to them to be true?

When men are punished for opinions, or are in any manner prevented from expressing their thoughts conscientiously, are they not forced to be insincere, and is not insincerity productive of much evil in society?

As the circumstances which now exist have compelled men to receive conscientiously different opinions,—is it not just that each should have charity for the sentiments of others, and that each should be equally allowed, in a spirit of truth and kindness, to explain the reasons which force his belief?

Since it cannot be expected that all men can become of one opinion until error shall be removed, (a period, however, which it is to be hoped cannot now be far distant), will it not be wisdom in mankind to endeavour to find some great and generally acknowledged principle, upon which all can cordially unite in practice for the certain benefit of society?

Is it not obvious to every mind accustomed to reflect, that circumstances do most essentially influence character;—that their influence, indeed, is sufficiently powerful to transform men into Cannibals or into Quakers,—into Princes or Paupers,—into moral or immoral beings?

If this be true, and since society may have a control over all the circumstances which are calculated to form the best or the worst characters from infancy, cannot we now all agree in devising measures which shall gradually remove all vicious circumstances from around us, and introduce those which shall surely influence to virtue and happiness?

Here, my friends, is a solid foundation for a superstructure of peace and concord among men; a foundation on which to rest, as upon a rock, and of which the hourly evidence of our senses will form the corner stone. Having this principle for our bond of

union and our guide, we shall be enabled to withdraw, and for ever exclude from society, all jarring, strifes, and divisions, ignorance, poverty, vice, crime, and misery. The road is open before us, and when we have once entered upon it, it will be impossible to mistake or to deviate from the proper direction. We can go straight forward to our object, and by this path the excellence and happiness of human nature are certain to be attained and secured. Even the present generation may yet be made to partake of many of the blessings which are now presented to our view. An amelioration, upon this principle, may be effected over this Island in less than a year, and, if conducted with firmness and vigour, I am prepared to say that no necessity will exist for a single regiment to remain beyond that period to preserve the peace of the country. No individual among the working classes would be unoccupied or inefficiently employed; and active measures might be in progress to produce, in less than two years, a state of morality throughout the whole Island, such as is not to be found at this day in any part of the globe.

This is the branch of the subject in which all of you, from the highest to the lowest, have the deepest stake—in which each of you, individually, has an immediate interest, paramount to every other consideration that can be brought before you.

You may at your pleasure have industry, have wealth in any superfluity you can desire. You may have good habits, good dispositions, good manners, intelligence, unlimited charity, benevolence, and kindness, from one extremity of the Isle to the other. You may with ease force the sister Island to do you justice, and thereby essentially to benefit herself. You may, in less than two years, change this scene of poverty, ignorance, and wretchedness, into one in which the fear of poverty shall be unknown,—ignorance shall speedily vanish,—the cause of difference shall cease to exist,—in which an active, cheerful industry, well-directed, shall make plenty smile around, and in which one and all, the rich man and the labourer, shall highly enjoy the altered state of their condition.

But, I repeat, under the existing system this happy state of society can never be attained. The best of our present modes of education, arising from a total ignorance of the science of the formation of character, are directly calculated to create imbecility, and some of the worst feelings and passions that can be implanted in human nature. Our arrangements for the formation of character are all founded in error, and, in consequence, they generally produce the worst, instead of the best dispositions. Nor are our proceedings in regard to the creation of wealth in any degree better calculated to attain the end proposed.

In short, when the present arrangements of society shall be examined, with a view to the attainment of general and permanent happiness, increasing through every succeeding generation—the real object of human existence—we shall find that they have been admirably fitted to produce the opposite result; that they have inflicted misery rather than conferred happiness. And for this fact I may refer to the existing state of this Island—to the feelings and

condition of the population of this country. Do harmony and abundance prevail in it? And yet how easily, under another system, might both be attained and rendered permanent!

I will now explain from documents derived from the facts which have been ascertained by a very intelligent practical Agriculturist, who accompanied me in a great part of my late tour, in what manner wealth may be easily created in Ireland.

By these documents, which were submitted to several leading practical agriculturists during our journey, and approved by them, it appears that the soil and other localities of Ireland are such, that, under the new moral arrangements which I mean to propose for the working classes, one thousand persons, (including men, women, and children of all ages, and in the usual proportions,) may, with ease and pleasure to themselves, create as much wealth from the soil, and by manufactures, as will support their number in a manner greatly superior, in all respects, to that in which the working classes now live in any part of the world, and create a surplus sufficient to support in equal comfort two thousand more; or sufficient to enable the first thousand to pay a full rent for the land which they would occupy, interest of the capital required to build and furnish their houses, stock their farm, &c. &c., to pay tithes and taxes, and to leave a surplus more than adequate to the redemption of the capital in twelve years. In these calculations everything has been charged to the disadvantage of the proposed arrangements; and I have no hesitation in saying that, after the lapse of a few years, much more favourable results would be realised than those which appear in these statements.

If, then, one thousand of the inhabitants of Ireland can create so much wealth for themselves and others, and if wealth be so much desired by all parties and by the state, why are not arrangements formed to employ the capital of the United Kingdom, in giving this right direction to the industry of the population, when, from the absence of such encouragement at home, the monied interests are induced to risk their capital in the wilds of South America, or among the contending parties in Spain? It is evident there is something fundamentally wrong in the constitution of society, when that state which is acknowledged to be the most enlightened of modern times, knows not how to give a useful direction to the labour of its subjects, and suffers their invaluable powers, physical and mental, to remain dormant and unprofitable.

It is impossible that this useful direction can be given to the industry of the people under the existing system of the world, which, as long as it shall be permitted to continue, will inflict grievous evils on the inhabitants of this island, and upon all nations.

It is not then the petty considerations of party, or class, or sect, against which I now contend; but, as a human being, feeling deeply for the cause of humanity, and willing to run all risks, and to make any individual sacrifice to relieve this and future generations from the errors and evils which so heavily afflict my fellow-creatures, I appear here this day for the sole purpose of declaring to you, and to all those to whom my language may be afterwards conveyed, that

the whole past proceedings of the world have originated in an error, and an error, too, so grievous and lamentable, that it has been the sole cause of all the crimes and sufferings which have been experienced through the past period of human existence. It has rendered the human intellect irrational, and deranged the understandings of all men. It has caused all the governments of the world at all times to act in direct opposition to their own interest, and to the well-being and happiness of each individual whom they governed. It is at this moment the cause of all the poverty, imbecility, and violence, which pervade all nations. It is the sole cause of all the errors which have been combined with the thousand varied religions which at various times have bowed the human intellect to the earth, and rendered man often lower than the lowest of the animal creation, and by filling his mind with dread and alarms, made him the most ignorant and miserable being in existence. It is this error which is combined with all the ever varying religions which *now* perplex the understandings of mankind, and divide them into herds of infuriated madmen, who, like the Greeks and Turks, are ardently desirous of destroying each other; that which renders that which is intended to produce good will among all men, and kind affectionate feelings in each individual towards every other, the source of ten thousand bitter feelings which would otherwise never exist.

Were your minds, my friends, not saturated with this error, irrationalised, and overwhelmed by it, you would see, clearly as at noon-day, that it is the immediate cause of all your present divisions and afflictions, of every one of the evils which you now individually suffer, and if it shall be allowed to reign paramount, it will, in a similar manner, devote your children, and your children's children, through all succeeding generations, to the same grievous sufferings, and, in like manner, to be made the unresisting victims of this gross deception upon the human understanding.

In short, this error is the sole cause of all the irritation, all the anger, and all the violences which now prevail in this island, and over the world. It is at this moment the sole bar to the entire harmony of this meeting, to a sincere and lasting reconciliation among Catholics and Protestants, Orangemen and Whiteboys, and between all the contending interests and feelings which lacerate and torment your country, and which, as soon as this root of all evil shall be extracted from it, cannot fail to become, in a period so short as to appear almost a miracle to you, one of the happiest abodes on the face of the earth. And I trust that the day is arrived, when you will all join heart and hand with me in this good work; that we shall, even in this hour, lay the axe to the root of this tree of evil, and thereby render to all our fellow-creatures the most important and the most permanent benefits.

What possible motive can I have for coming among you, except to perform for you a service, the extent of which no man can at this present moment estimate? Your whole system can offer me no temptation to act as you have witnessed; its most brilliant honours, combined with the wealth of the British empire, to me appear without value; and the highest offices which this wretched system of



yours can afford, are, in my estimation, merely stations of degradation and slavery. Neither do I set more value upon present or future fame; they are baubles, not worth a moment's consideration in the mind of a rational being; and the principle for the truth of which I this day contend, and on which I propose that an entirely new system of society should be erected, destroys, at the root, every desire for personal aggrandisement or consideration. You therefore see an individual uninfluenced by any of the motives of your old world, who has devoted the whole of a very active life to the sole object of enabling him to enjoy the unspeakable delight of knowing that human nature, through all future generations, will be relieved from the evils which it has suffered during the past.

Let us then now, with one accord, put an end for ever to the irritation arising from the petty differences about party, sect, and class—differences which never produce any good, but always evil, and which have no other tendency whatever than to prevent or disturb the harmony of society, and to irrationalise the human mind. And let us set ourselves fairly to work to understand what human nature really is—whether its character is formed *by* or *for* the individual. This is the subject which ought now to occupy the almost undivided attention of all whose first wish is, to improve the condition of the wretched inhabitants of this country. Because all the circumstances which produce their wretchedness, immediately proceed from the notion that the character is formed *by* the individual; and that wretchedness can never be removed until the cause which perpetually generates the circumstances that create it shall be withdrawn. And when you become conscious that this is an error, and an error, too, from which all the vice of mankind has originated, then shall you have explained to you, in full detail, the new circumstances which are to supersede the present; for, by this change of a fundamental principle, old things must pass away, and all will become new; the minds of all men will literally be born again, and man will be regenerated; he will know himself and his fellow-men, and clearly understand whatever concerns his happiness, both here and hereafter.

The knowledge of the regenerating principle of the world, that the character is, in all cases, formed *for* the individual, will at once make it evident, to the comprehension of every little child, that all feelings of anger, or even of slight irritation, do not belong to a rational being. Wars and strifes of all kinds will therefore immediately cease between man and man, and between nation and nation. All will understand that war prevents creation of wealth, and destroys that which has been created; while it is the direct interest of every human being that neither of these results should take place. Wars immediately demoralise all who are engaged in them; while it is the interest of all that no immorality should be found in any part of the world. It will become evident to the public mind, that practical measures may be immediately adopted, to remove poverty from the British Isles in less than twelve months, and over the whole extent of the British empire in less than two years; and the other nations of Europe and of the world may also, within the same period, derive

incalculable advantages from the application of this principle to their respective localities. For hereafter the petty jealousies of the commercial spirit, and the rivalry of nations, will entirely cease.

The time is therefore at hand, when our artisans and artificers will indeed be occupied in beating swords into plough-shares, and spears into pruning hooks—when there shall be no complaining in our streets, but every countenance shall beam with joy and gladness.

This, my friends, is a view of the subject for which you cannot be prepared,—which you have had no means of considering; it would, therefore, be unreasonable to urge you *now* to the discussion of it; and while you are thus unprepared, it would also be prejudicial to the full understanding by the public, of that glorious cause, for which I have been created and trained to be the unworthy means through whose instrumentality it has now been made known to the world. Created, however, and trained and placed under circumstances which, unknown to myself, have gradually forced me forward in this course, until I found myself necessitated to advocate this great cause of humanity on this day, before this assembly. I am at this moment quite unconscious of what the result may be to myself as an individual, and am equally regardless of it; because I have a conviction which gives certainty to my feelings on the subject, that whatever may arise to the individual, the cause of truth, the practice of virtue, and the future happiness of the world are from this hour secured.

I have now placed before you as much of the outline of the principles and the practices of the system I propose for the amelioration of this island as can, perhaps, be received into the mind with advantage at one time. If I am right, from what has been said it is evident that society has gradually grown from the darkest ages to be what it is under the notion that each individual forms his own character. That this notion may now be demonstrated to be an error, because it is directly opposed to the facts narrated through all history, and to all those which exist at this day. That this notion is the sole cause of all the crimes that have ever taken place in human society. That it is the immediate cause of all the ignorance, poverty, and divisions, which now afflict this and every other country. That the withdrawing of this notion from the minds of men, will at once produce a change in all human affairs, such as no man is at present prepared fully to comprehend.

That the detection of the error that the character is formed by the individual, opens to us the knowledge that the character is formed *for* the individual, and the means by which it has been hitherto ill-formed, and those by which, without a single exception, through all future generations, it may be well-formed. That this knowledge will, in the first place, destroy all anger in the human constitution, and make men, for the first time in the history of their species, rational beings, who will be always contributing to their own improvement and happiness, and to the improvement and happiness of all their fellow-creatures, particularly of those who immediately surround them. That as long as any portion of mankind shall be

taught and made to entertain the notion that the character of each person is formed *by* himself, it will be contrary to the undeviating laws of nature, that they should be competent to think or to act rationally, and it will be unreasonable to expect from them either the one or the other. That those who are permitted to attain a distinct knowledge of this error, and to perceive clearly in what manner human character has ever been and ever must be formed, will no longer contend with the irrationality of the world, but will endeavour, by patience and kindness without limit, to soothe the irritable feelings and angry passions of all, and at proper intervals calmly place before those minds which have been so abused, the real cause of the sufferings which they have been made to experience; and this conduct cannot fail in a short time, to prepare society for the happy change which awaits us and our children.

That this change may, even now, be made in this manner, without creating any irritation in society, or the smallest injury to any individual of any class. That the change may be also made without interfering with the conscience of any one; it may be made to provide the most convenient places of worship for all sects, and ample support for the ministers of all persuasions.

That the change will be made without disturbing the existing arrangements of society, until all parties shall earnestly desire their removal.

That to effect the change, no advance of *capital* will be necessary, but a credit easy and beneficial for the Government to create, for the general advantage of all classes in society.

That the change may indeed be made under *improved* commercial and monied arrangements, which will withdraw the present highly injurious and impolitic restraints on industry, and, through a proper direction of the powers now at the control of society, produce an abundant supply for all. But that the former mode,—as it would be the most speedy, and would tend immediately to unite the higher and lower ranks, the Government and the people, in a general measure for the benefit of all,—is the most to be desired.

That the political and religious circumstances of this country render this change absolutely necessary, and the religious and political circumstances of all nations now demand it, and the force of these circumstances will render the change irresistible.

That the circumstances which now exist in this Island, to form the character of the lower orders, are the worst and most immoral that can be devised, and, if continued, must speedily produce disorder among all ranks.

That such moral, virtuous, and industrious circumstances may be immediately arranged for all the working classes, as will, with the certainty of a law of nature, change their condition from being the most wretched and degraded population in Europe, to become the most kind-hearted, cleanly, industrious, temperate, healthy, and happy people to be found in the world.

And now, my friends, as there is not one material for this purpose deficient in this Island, what good reason is there that we should not immediately set to work, one and all, to produce this happy change?

The delivery of this address occupied about three hours, and in many passages the benevolent Speaker was warmly greeted with the applause of the numerous and respectable assembly.

Mr. Owen, having concluded the reading of his address, observed that he was fully aware that the subject he had introduced was perfectly new to the gentlemen who might be inclined to oppose him. He conceived that it would be doing great injustice to those gentlemen to take them unawares, and, as he felt most anxious, if he was in error, that it should be made apparent, he would therefore move, though personally it would be inconvenient to him, that the meeting should adjourn to a future day that would be convenient to the persons interested in the subject. Many of the learned gentlemen were then absent on Circuit; the meeting, he would suggest, might adjourn to a period when they should have returned to Dublin. He should be glad then to hear the arguments of those gentlemen who might differ in opinion with him. He had no feeling whatever of anxiety to obtain a victory; his only wish was, that that which was true should be firmly established in society.

Mr. Owen then moved, that the meeting should adjourn to the 7th of April.

On this motion having been seconded,

The Rev. Mr. Dunne presented himself to the meeting.

When a plan had been proposed for the good of mankind, he gave full credit to the pure and benevolent motives of him with whom it originated; and it was with reluctance he felt himself obliged to come forward and oppose it. The system recommended by Mr. Owen was a forced and unnatural system, whether as applied to man in his three-fold character of a social, an individual, or a religious being. He would have been more disposed to have listened to those arguments twenty or thirty years ago—when the philosophers of that time, in their writings, recommended a peace and happiness independent of religion. It was, however, his (Mr. Dunne's) good fortune to be reared by Christian parents, and he considered those principles but as faithless phantoms which "only fly to lure them to their doom." Mr. Owen's system was in truth, so meagre—so bald, that it resembled but the skeleton of Rousseau's, or St. Pierre's, which had at one time dazzled his better judgment. It might be said that Mr. Owen's system was practicable, because it had been already realised by Mr. Owen—but what had been accomplished by a private individual could never be made applicable on the immense scale proposed. His (Mr. Dunn's) objection to the system would be found in the work of Dr. Chalmers. They must suppose that the system so strongly recommended was to work upon mind as well as matter; and that men might be considered as so many blocks, until, hammered into different shapes by this machine, they became useful, virtuous, and happy citizens. He (Mr. Dunne) would prefer seeing the peasantry residing in their own cottages, than in barracks; and it should be recollected that crimes were invariably increased where persons have been congregated. The gentleman seemed so visionary in his ideas, that at times he appeared not to consider himself as a mortal of this world, and sometimes he seemed scarcely to think that he would be immortal in

another—(Loud and continued disapprobation). He considered the disapprobation expressed towards him but as coming from a flock of geese—(Continued disapprobation and much noise). The system recommended by Mr. Owen would go to cut the sacred tie between landlord and tenant, and dissolve the distinctions between rich and poor. The gentleman must be but little acquainted with human nature, or the sacred sympathies of the word “home,” when he recommended that system. He (Mr. Dunne) would much rather see the poor peasant mending the thatch of his cottage with straw, than see him roaming through the wide and stuccoed apartment of Mr. Owen’s workhouse, or partaking of a common meal in a common hall. He objected to the proposed plan particularly on the ground that it would destroy the tie between landlord and tenant. So far the system was unnatural. There was too great a tendency in the present day to live in a high style; the common artisan lived like a gentleman, and the farmer like a prince. He looked with much jealousy on modern reformers, some of whom resembled children, who having found a watch, with the works and mechanism of which they were unacquainted, wound it until they broke the spring, and then felt wonder and delight at its rapid movement and whirring sound, until it became silent and was left to rest—(Applause). The system proposed, however, was calculated to leave at least one great man in the person of Mr. Owen, who, like him of France, might go round from barrack to barrack, and give his orders for the men to turn out and see that the walls were white-washed. His object appeared to be to render the Christian religion nugatory; perhaps he might allow a church to ornament one of the wings of his building, unless he conceived a Mahomedan temple more picturesque. Reduced to this system, man would be little better than living in a savage state, without money or traffic; they might be looked on as Hottentots, or as beasts of the field, who herd together from mere instinct. According to this plan, the use of money might be dispensed with; but John Wesley had said, that the love of money was the cause of evil, but that it was not an evil in itself.

Mr. Dunne concluded by moving as an amendment, that the meeting should adjourn *sine die*.

Mr. Talbot Glascock seconded the amendment, in a speech which met much disapprobation.

Mr. Eneas M'Donnell next addressed the meeting. He felt considerable regret that when good was meant to Ireland, the name of religion was introduced, as if to divide them. Gentlemen turned round to discuss points that were in no way connected with the object of the meeting. He (Mr. M'Donnell) came to the meeting to hear one question debated. The benevolent gentlemen who proposed the system, came to the country anxious to do good to those who stood grievously in need of it. When a proposition was about to be made to relieve the peasantry, they were to be told that they were not to accept of it, and the gentleman was to be asked, “Have you got your catechism?”—(Loud applause). The gentleman who opposed Mr. Owen met him not by argument, but he was to be told, “in the name of God we denounce you as a man who must not do good!”—(Great applause). For himself, he (Mr. M'Donnell)

did not think it possible to reduce that system to practice ; and if it was possible, he would not wish to see it adopted, as he looked on it as a system of degradation—(Applause). He would rather see, as the Rev. gentleman had said, the peasant in his little hut, or by his fire-side, than the modelled being of this moral mechanical system. Such a plan might be practicable in a small sphere, but he did not conceive it could be reduced to practice on an extended scale. The gentleman should not, however, be met by the taunt of fanaticism. Certainly he would not thus be greeted by the peasantry. No, they would on the contrary make him the most valuable return they could ; they would give to him the grateful tribute of their Irish gratitude—(Hear, hear). His object appeared to be to prosecute the system laid down by the Sovereign—to aid the Marquis of Wellesley in—(Order, order). He (Mr. McDonnell) was not out of order, he hoped, for saying they should aid the government in an endeavour to relieve the distresses of the country. He conceived that by supporting the Sovereign and the government they would adopt the most likely mode of making the country happy, and the King invincible.

The Rev. Mr. Daly next addressed the meeting. This gentleman opposed Mr. Owen on the ground that his system would strike at the root of revealed religion ; it would be setting up the opinion of one fallible man against the revealed Word of God. Mr. Daly took occasion, in the course of his speech, to read some extracts from a pamphlet entitled “ The Progress of Human Knowledge,” the sentiments of which he attributed to Mr. Owen, but this gentleman disclaimed any knowledge of the pamphlet.

The Rev. Mr. Singer next addressed the meeting. This gentleman commenced by bearing testimony to the moral character of Mr. Owen, and his excellent private life. The system proposed by that gentleman, he said, was not new ; every school and every college acted on it. That the formation of character was produced by means of circumstances, had been long since recognised, and they were not now to be told, in the nineteenth century, that it was a discovery of Mr. Owen's. In the time of Lycurgus and his Spartan Republic, such was the principle acted on throughout society. He (Mr. Singer) would ask, if there were not to be found in the same family, subject to the same discipline, characters differing materially in genius and morality ? The system proposed was as old as the days of Horace ; he commented on it,—Solomon commented on it,—and it should be recollected, that of Adam's two children, one was Cain, and one was Abel.—(Applause). He had used the term Architect, but he (Mr. Singer) thought his superstructure was rotten, for its foundation was fatalism. It was a principle that went to deprive man of virtue, and God of justice. They were to be told that the day would come when the reign of Faith should cease, and that of Reason commence ; but that was one of the oft refuted sophisms of Helvetius, Godwin, and Hobbes, which is now used only “ to point a moral or adorn a tale.” Man, he says, is a creature whose character is formed for him ; it would be as fair in Mr. Owen to say, that the dagger is equally culpable with the hand of the assassin. By thus moving responsibility from the actions of man, instead of rearing philanthropists, like Mr. Owen, they should erect more prisons and

gibbets than already disgrace the country. One of those philosophers who represents man as a machine, says, that a tree is but a machine; and this writer goes on to say, that he would have no objection to become a tree.—(Laughter). For his own part, he (Mr. Singer) would rather live here in the hope of a better life hereafter, than become the machine of Mr. Owen, or the tree of Helvetius.—(Applause). Mr. Owen merely stated that he had a system, but he did not state what that system was. He could not think that a man would become thoroughly acquainted with the state of a country by travelling along its roads for five or six months, and feasting with its nobles. The gentleman's metaphysical principles were erroneous—they were made up of bad metaphysics and worse theology. Instead of looking on him as a benefactor of mankind, he called on them to turn with indignation from Mr. Owen. It was not a question between Protestant and Catholic, but between the Christian and Mr. Owen. He (Mr. Singer) called on them not to sacrifice their Bible to Mr. Owen's pamphlet, nor their Redeemer to Mr. Owen's metaphysics.—(Applause, mixed with some disapprobation.)

Mr. Owen here came forward, amid mingled disapprobation and applause. Circumstances had fallen out, he said, exactly as he had anticipated. Gentlemen did not reply to his arguments, but to phantasms of their own creation. He did not say that children were born alike—on the contrary, he said that they were possessed of different faculties. If in their infancy any of themselves had been conveyed to a distant part of the world, they would be altogether different beings from what they were. There never was a greater boon to man than the knowledge of the influence of circumstances on his habits and manners. When that knowledge was sufficiently understood—and, whatever difference of opinion there might be then on the subject, he thought that time was near at hand—he might then speak, not to the theologian, but to the practical man. He had no wish to claim originality with him—it was not worth a thought. If the system had been attempted in the days of Lycurgus, the attempt was then found to be insufficient. By the errors of the present system they were losing fifty millions a year, and to produce that sum, it was not necessary that any individual should advance capital—it was a capital that could be created. It was necessary that the system should be fully considered. He was aware that he was contending against the errors and prejudices of six thousand years. He came to this country, not with a view to create divisions of any kind, but to promote union. He did not seek to force his religious opinions upon any one. He lived in the midst of the most religious people in the world, and he never had any difference with them on the subject of religion. He had no wish individually to gratify. He was prepared to meet them on the 7th of April, if they should think proper, or he was perfectly satisfied to adjourn *sine die* if they should so determine.

Mr. Talbot Glascock here endeavoured, in vain, to obtain a hearing. Admiral Oliver opposed Mr. Owen in a few observations.

The question was then put on the amendment, and on a show of hands, the Chairman declared that it was carried.

The meeting then adjourned *sine die*.

*Letter to the Nobility, Gentry, Professions, Bankers, Merchants, and  
Master Manufacturers of Ireland.*

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Your country is torn by dissensions and factions, to the essential injury of yourselves and the rising generation.

At the public meeting held at the *Rotunda* on the 18th inst., I explained the cause from whence all those divisions arose,—the great fundamental error to which the intellect and happiness of the inhabitants of Ireland, and of all other countries, have been, for so many ages, sacrificed; and I expressed my conviction that that error, both in theory and practice, might now be immediately withdrawn from society.

Knowing that this Exposition could not be made without arousing all the prejudices which the old errors of the world had created, I was desirous to adjourn to another day the debate respecting the principle, upon which the practical measures I had to propose for the relief and removal of your distresses were necessarily grounded. I desired this adjournment, that time might be allowed for any momentary irritation to subside, and that all parties might have leisure to consider the subject, and return prepared with all the objections which could occur to the most acute and enlightened individuals, trained under the influence of the present system.

Some very able, intelligent, and good men of the old world, proposed, however, at this meeting, that the consideration of the truth or falsehood of the notion on which society has been hitherto governed, should be postponed *sine die*. This was perhaps the happiest expedient that could have been resorted to, to save time and prevent the excitement of any more of those party or sectarian feelings which have been so long the bane of humanity. These intelligent men must have been aware that all the facts of which we really know anything, could be brought forward to demonstrate the truth of the principle, “that the character is formed *for* the individual;” and that, in consequence, the whole system of the old world is one grand combination of error, admirably calculated to produce vice and misery, and to present the most formidable obstacles to virtue, charity, and happiness.

They therefore wisely postponed, *sine die*, any further consideration of that which, it must now be obvious to every reflecting mind, is an error of the most lamentable character. The whole history of the human species is one closely connected chain of circumstances, not a single link of which is defective, demonstrating that the character of every human being is formed *for* him. Indeed, my friend Mr. Singer was too intelligent not to discover at once, that the error of the whole world was indefensible, and that it would be the height of folly and absurdity to attempt to deny this now self-evident fact.

The *truth* regarding human nature being fairly and fully admitted, further discussion on this point is unnecessary;—and happy is it



for the world that this glorious period is at length arrived ; for this alone was wanting to clear the foundation for an entirely new super-structure of society, in all respects so greatly surpassing the old fabric, that they will scarcely be recognised as the work of the same species.

It must, therefore, be admitted,—

That the great creating power of the universe gives each infant, at birth, his natural character, yet that no two infants are born alike, mentally or physically ;—that these separate, individual, natural characters are materially influenced, from birth to death, by all the local circumstances which surround the human being, but most essentially by those which act upon the infant, child, and youth ;—that all these circumstances are of a moral, of an immoral, or of a neutral character ;—and that they produce happiness or misery accordingly.

That the moral and immoral, or the favourable and unfavourable—the most important of these circumstances—are now at the control of society.

That it is the interest of every one, whatever may be his rank or condition, that not a single immoral or unfavourable circumstance should be permitted to act upon any individual from birth to death.

That it is now practicable to create new moral arrangements for society, to the entire exclusion of those innumerable circumstances, having a decided and acknowledged immoral tendency, which are now most irrationally permitted to destroy whatever is really good and excellent in human nature.

That the great and paramount business of society ought to be, to make preparations immediately to commence, upon a large scale, decisive measures to withdraw from around every population all those circumstances which tend to demoralise it, and to introduce, in their place, others which have an effective, undeviating, moral power over the character and conduct of every human being.

To begin this good work, I invite you to meet me again at the *Rotunda*, on Saturday, the 12th of April. It is my intention then to explain, in detail, the practical measures by which the condition of the poor and working classes may be rapidly and essentially improved, and by which the rising generation shall be surrounded, from the hour of birth to death, by such circumstances only as shall conduce to industry, morality, virtue, health, and happiness. And I assert, without fear of contradiction from any really intelligent *practical* person, that, through these measures, the present wretched state of human existence, in which so large a portion of the whole population of the world are born only to be ignorant, poor, vicious, and miserable, shall, without force, or any evil or inconvenience to any one, and apparently without any great effort, be so changed, that all shall necessarily become, by the very improved circumstances in which they will be placed, rational, healthy, active, virtuous, and happy.

I will also endeavour so to bring down the knowledge of this practice to the common understanding of mankind, that even mere theorists, who at present do not know what is or what is not prac-

licable, shall no longer feel inclined to call measures visionary, because they happen to have originated in principles and experience too comprehensive for the limited localities under which alone they have been instructed.

ROBERT OWEN.

*Morisson's Hotel, March 21, 1823.*

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*Second Meeting at the Rotunda. April 12, 1823.*

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On Saturday, the 12th of April, 1823, a General Meeting of the Nobility, Gentry, Professions, Bankers, Merchants, and Master Manufacturers, was held in the Round Room of the *Rotunda*, for the purpose of hearing the development of the practical arrangements proposed by Mr. Owen for the relief of Ireland.

So early as eleven o'clock, A.M., the Round Room of the *Rotunda*, which had been fitted up as an Amphitheatre, was nearly filled by persons of respectability. Among the company present were the Earl of Llandaff, Lord and Lady Cloncurry, the Hon. Colonel Gore, the Surgeon-General, and an immense number of scientific, literary, and professional Gentlemen.

A great number of Ladies were present, and from the beauty and fashion which met the eye in every direction, the *coup d'œil* was brilliant in the extreme. A handsome painting, descriptive of one of Mr. Owen's villages, was suspended above the orchestra.

At twelve o'clock Mr. Owen entered. He was received with loud and general applause. When silence was obtained, he read from a manuscript paper as follows :—

At the close of the meeting which was held here on the 18th of last month, a resolution was proposed, that it should adjourn *sine die*, and the Lord Mayor put the question ; but there was a good deal of noise at the time, and some confusion, and the words "*sine die*" were scarcely heard ten paces from his Lordship. In consequence, the motion appeared to him to be carried, and he so declared it to be.

I was afterwards informed that almost all who were present understood that the motion, supposed to have been carried, was in favour of an adjournment to the 7th of April, and that such was decidedly the general sense of the meeting. This was my own impression ; but as the object of my visit to this country was to unite, and not to divide, I allowed the meeting to terminate without expressing even a wish to carry the question against the Gentlemen, who, on that day, thought it their duty to oppose my proceedings.

The Lord Mayor, however, having so decided the result of that meeting, afterwards, upon reflection, perceived that to take the

Chair on the present occasion would imply some inconsistency of conduct ; he has, therefore, declined presiding here to-day, regretting, at the same time, that he cannot attend as a private individual.

It appeared to me that no other leading individual could take the Chair, in this city, on the present occasion, without giving a certain tinge of party to the character of the meeting—a circumstance which I was most anxious to avoid, for the cause I advocate disclaims all connection with the exclusive views of class, sect, or party. Having then no personal object to carry—nothing that I wished to urge in opposition to the calmed feelings and good sense of the intelligent and well-disposed of all parties, I concluded that, under these circumstances, the office of Chairman might be dispensed with, without prejudice to the object which I had in view ; and, in consequence, I now appear before you, to give you the promised explanation of the system by which I propose to benefit your country.

Yet there is one other subject upon which I desire to say a few words, before commencing the regular business of the day.

It has been supposed by a part of the public, that the Gentlemen who opposed me on the 18th of March, did not exhibit towards me the kindness and urbanity so conspicuous in their conduct at all other times. I regret that such an impression should have been made on a single individual ; for, knowing the circumstances which influence their thoughts, and how deeply their minds are imbued with the importance of those particular views which they have been led to entertain on the subject of human nature, I am well aware they could not conscientiously have acted otherwise than as they did, believing, as they then believed, that I was come with an intent to set aside all which they considered to appertain to the eternal welfare of man. They conceived that they had an all-important duty to perform, and they did perform it, with as little, nay with less hostility to their opponent, as they imagined I was, than has ever been witnessed, under similar circumstances, upon any former occasion. So far, therefore, from being displeased with the manner or the expressions of any of these Gentlemen, I was, I own, surprised and gratified that they could so well perform what appeared to them to be a duty paramount to every other consideration, and yet so far command their feelings and their language, (to which it is not possible at such meetings to do justice in a report), as to express themselves as they did, with kindness and even affection for the individual. To lament and reprobate his supposed errors, was, with their views, an imperative, although I am sure it was an unpleasant duty ; and if they had not thus come forward, I should esteem and respect them far less than I now do.

The time is coming when these Gentlemen will discover that my real object is, not to injure a single individual in mind, body, or estate, but to improve all, to render them better, wiser, and happier than they have yet been, or than it is possible they ever can be while the present wretched circumstances are allowed to continue. And when they shall have received this conviction, I know their zeal and ardour will be exerted much more to aid all my views, than

they have yet been to oppose them. I am intimately acquainted with the class of persons to which these Gentlemen belong. I live in the midst of them; and among them are many relatives and friends whom I highly value and esteem. While I am compelled to believe that their views of human nature are limited, very incorrect, and highly demoralising and mischievous in their practical effects on society, I am equally sure that many, very many of them, possess kind hearts and the best intentions.

It is, therefore, that whatever unfavourable impressions may have been produced in any quarter, to the disadvantage of these Gentlemen, they will be no longer entertained. Until men can differ in opinion without any personal feelings of hostility, it is evident that they must remain ignorant of human nature; but while such error continues, it is equally certain that they cannot love one another as brethren of the same family.

It is also necessary for me to state, that since I last met you here I have suffered from the influenza that has been so prevalent in this quarter, the effects of which are not yet so far removed as to allow me to do justice to the duties of this day, and I shall hardly, I fear, enable all to hear me, for my voice will not, without too much exertion, extend to the extremities of the room; but in order to allow as many to hear as possible, may I request that all parties will endeavour to prevent any unnecessary noise and movements?

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Before proceeding to the practical development of a new system of social arrangements, it appeared to me to be indispensable that I should explain to the public those views of human nature, without a full understanding of which, the plans I had to propose might be considered as impracticable and visionary, and as having no solid basis in facts or experience. I was naturally desirous, at the outset, to submit to your examination and scrutiny the data upon which those plans were founded; for, if our first principles are erroneous, it is impossible that we can arrive at correct or safe conclusions, or attain beneficial results in practice.

The address which I delivered to the meeting assembled here on the 18th of March, had, therefore, two main objects in view,—1st. To withdraw from the public mind that fundamental error respecting the formation of character, which has rendered utterly abortive all former attempts to improve, in any considerable degree, the condition of humanity;—and 2ndly, To place distinctly before you that principle, or great law of our nature, which is established by all the facts that history records or the evidence of our senses brings under our cognizance, and which, alone, can unerringly guide us to those happy results we have so long sought for in vain.

Nothing could be more foreign to my own feelings, than to make any declaration which should inflict the slightest pain on the feelings of any of my fellow-creatures; and if there be any among you to whom the truths which I deemed it an imperative duty to make known to you may seem to compromise vital interests, I would

entreat them to reflect that *the supreme interest* of mankind consists in *truth*,—that to no higher object than this can man aspire. How fruitless were the efforts which mankind directed to the advancement of physical science, when, neglecting the path of experimental investigation, they travelled into the regions of wild imagination and conjecture! Has not society hitherto existed under a similar illusion with regard to the most precious of all the sciences—the science of human nature? And so long as man shall be imagined to be a being different from that which experience unequivocally proclaims him to be, is it rational to expect that arrangements founded upon such a notion can give a beneficial direction to the powers and capacities with which nature has endowed him?

Surely you will now admit, that had I pursued a different course—had I refrained from declaring to you what human nature really is, your minds could not have been duly prepared to enter with me into the consideration of the all important question,—What are those social arrangements which are the most congenial to the nature of a being constituted as we find man to be, and which are consequently the best calculated to render him intelligent, charitable, virtuous, and happy?

It has been demonstrated, then, (for not a single fact has been, or can be, adduced against the proposition),—“that the character of man is formed, not *by*, but *for* him; and that it is formed for him *naturally*, or at birth, by the Great Creating Power of the universe, and *artificially*, by the circumstances which are permitted to surround him from birth to death, and to act upon or modify those faculties and propensities, physical and mental, which form his individual natural character.”

The knowledge of this truth, however, does not come from ourselves. For the most important purposes it has been forced, at this particular period, into the human mind by ages of experience—the source from whence all truths proceed. It will enable and induce the *adult* man to prepare such a combination of improved circumstances with which to surround the *infant* man, that his future artificial character must become altogether different from the past. And to so great an extent will be the change, that the *new* man, in physical and mental powers, in dispositions, manners, countenance, feelings, and conduct, will scarcely be recognised in life or in future history as being the offspring of the *old* man.

To ensure this change from error and misery to truth and happiness, in the shortest possible time, I feel confident that nothing more is necessary than to convey to the public mind a full and distinct view of the new circumstances which are required to introduce it; for they involve no sacrifice or inconvenience to Church or State,—or to any individual, of whatever profession, rank, or condition. And when I consider the great and acknowledged evils existing in this country, where extreme wretchedness and frightful insubordination call loudly for instant measures of amelioration, I cannot doubt your willingness to give all the attention to the subject which its importance demands.

In pursuing our interesting inquiry, not a single step should be

made without bearing in mind the real nature of man, and the influence which circumstances have over him; for these are the only lights given to us, by which to discover how the desired objects of life can be attained and secured. But, to make man happy, which ought to be the sole object of human proceedings, he must be placed under circumstances that are in unison with his nature, and are therefore calculated to produce the result at which we aim; or disappointment will continue to be experienced in every succeeding age.

That man has not been made happy, hitherto, is but too evident from his past history and his present state; and the misery in which he has existed is a most decisive proof that his nature and the means of properly directing it have been misunderstood. In order to explain this subject in a practical manner to the public, who at present seem altogether unacquainted with the details and general combination of a natural system of social arrangements, I propose to show, in the first place, what is necessary for the happiness of human life, and secondly, how that which is necessary may be obtained and permanently secured.

It is necessary, then, for human happiness, that the individual should possess health, strength, and activity, with a constitution as little as possible influenced by climate and seasons; that he should have abundance and a variety of wholesome food, a full supply of clothing of the best form and material, and a convenient and comfortable dwelling, with pleasant external appendages.

That he should have at all times the means of healthy, useful, pleasant, and diversified occupation, without being forced to attend to any employment when it becomes a task or in any way disagreeable or unsatisfactory; that he should possess good dispositions, habits and manners, and have a mind well stored with knowledge, all of which shall be in accordance with existing facts, or, in other words, that all the ideas within the mind shall be in unison one with another, and prove their truth by their uniform consistency.

That he should enjoy the untold and hitherto unexperienced satisfaction of always speaking the truth, or of being sincere, without the fear or possibility of giving offence to any one. That it should be in his power at all times to associate with those whose minds and feelings are the most congenial to his own.

That he should be placed under circumstances in which the requisite arrangements are at hand, to give to all his children, from earliest infancy, the best education, physical, moral, and intellectual;—and in which he may enjoy as much of their society as a due regard to this imperative duty can admit.

That, to obtain equal support and comfort, young persons of either sex should not, as at present, be reduced to the necessity of emigrating to different distant parts of the world, and be obliged, contrary to their inclinations, to leave their parents and early friends, for many years, or for life; but that every individual should know, that by his regular and delightful daily occupations he would be at all times fully supplied with whatever could contribute to his real well-being and happiness, and through his own improved situation he would acquire the means

to place his children throughout their lives in circumstances even more favourable than his own, for the attainment of knowledge and the enjoyment of happiness, without the slightest commercial or any other kind of rivalry or contest with their associates and fellow creatures.

It is also necessary for human happiness, that individuals should be enabled at all times, as their inclinations may lead them, to enjoy a comfortable retirement, or the best society.

That they should possess the means and opportunity of travelling with the least possible inconvenience.

That they should not entertain even a remote fear of being in want of any of those things which are requisite for their well-being.

That they should know that the most effective measures will be immediately adopted to give all their fellow-creatures the same advantages which they possess themselves, and that, at no distant period, ignorance, poverty, and misery will be banished from the earth.

That they should feel an assurance that the time is near at hand, when not a human being will suffer punishment, when no one will imagine, that to make men good, wise, and happy, it is necessary to force them to believe that an Almighty and good Being had formed his plans, from the beginning of time, to punish beings whom he himself created, knowing, before he brought them into existence, all they would or could do.

Lastly, it is necessary to human happiness, that individuals should enjoy perfect liberty of conscience, and unlimited freedom in the expression of opinions, and in the exercise of religious worship.

All the objects which have been enumerated are necessary to be secured to man, before he can be in a state of existence to enjoy happiness. But they cannot be attained through any arrangements arising from the notion that man forms his own character ; for this view of human nature excites feelings at once opposed to charity and good will, and gives a wrong direction to our whole proceedings. By diverting the attention of society from the circumstances in which the individual is placed, and which really determine whether his character shall be well or ill formed, it leads us—not to adopt measures of effectual prevention—but rather to permit the crime, and afterwards punish the victim, who had been urged to the commission of it by circumstances over which he had no control, but which society might have removed from around him. It leads us to approach our fellow-creatures with a disposition to regard their characters, opinions, and conduct,—not as resulting from the causes which do really and necessarily make them what they are, but as attributable to themselves individually, as if they were beings independent of motives—as if they could act without a cause for acting—as if, in fact, they not only created themselves at birth, but had individually a power to pre-arrange all the circumstances which should afterwards surround them. It fills the mind, therefore, with all those notions which create feelings of displeasure, anger, and hatred, between man and man. It is, in consequence, the source of all the divisions, the party animosities, and the separate and con-

tending interests, which afflict our species. It opposes, at every step, all attempts at conciliation and improvement. The means which it prompts men to employ to attain the objects which they seek, tend but to estrange them the more from each other, inasmuch as, while under its influence, they address their fellow-creatures, not in the accents and in the genuine spirit of charity and kindness, but in the language of indignant censure, of idle abuse and ridicule, of haughty intolerance and unmerciful condemnation. Means such as these may exasperate, but they never can conciliate. They may keep society in a ferment of passion and prejudice, and effectually prevent it from seeing in what its true interests consist, and how they may be substantially promoted. They may aggravate the violence of that spirit which repels man from man, and which defeats every measure that is proposed for his improvement. But they never can produce that which, in all countries, it is so eminently the interest of each individual, of every class, sect, and party, to desire to see immediately effected—a general and cordial union in *practical* measures for the relief and extirpation of human wretchedness.

I think you will acknowledge, that in directing your attention to a different view of human nature from that of which we have been tracing the effects, I have been advocating an important *practical* principle, and not trespassing upon your time by a disquisition on any mere abstract, speculative, or metaphysical topic. And I trust you will also soon discover that this principle must necessarily lead to other arrangements for the formation of character and the conduct and happiness of man : that those arrangements must be essentially different from any which exist at present in society, or which have ever yet existed in any part of the world : that, to obtain the results which I have endeavoured to describe as being necessary to human happiness, each part of the plan must be specially devised with reference to each class of the objects which we have in view : and that, to render each part effective, the whole must be combined in one general system, moving in continual harmony, for the entire economy of human life and happiness.

Before we proceed further, you may naturally inquire whether society possesses all the materials requisite to complete arrangements intended to produce such singular and extraordinary results.

The materials required are land, capital, labour, skill, industry, mechanism, and a knowledge of chemistry and of the other sciences and arts.

No one will suppose that, for many centuries, there can be any want of land to grow whatever can contribute to the enjoyment of man : or that, as long as the individual can create much more than he wishes to consume, there can be any real want of capital : or that, while so many millions of human beings are so uselessly occupied as most of the labouring classes now are, or partially or entirely unemployed as so many are, there can be any want of labour : or that, considering the advanced state of the Arts and Sciences, and when all shall have the benefit of a scientific and useful practical education, there is any likelihood of a want of skill and knowledge in



mechanism, chemistry, or any of the Sciences or Arts: or that, when all shall be trained to enjoy active pursuits, and to derive the full benefit of their own labours, aided by others, there can be any lack of industry.

But the new power which has been latterly obtained from mechanism and science, which is hourly increasing, and which may be extended without limit, may be so applied as to render any severe or disagreeable manual labour altogether unnecessary; for a proportion of physical exertion on the part of the working classes, not greater than is requisite to give them good health and spirits, will be more than sufficient, combined with scientific power properly directed, for all the purposes of society.

Fortunately, then, society super-abounds in all the materials which can be desired to give advantages to every human being, such as no one has yet enjoyed. Nothing more is now wanting than a knowledge of the means by which those materials can be combined and applied for the interest of all. And I am now to show how land, capital, skill, and industry, are capable of receiving this beneficial direction.

Land, as every one knows, may be at all times rented, or purchased, at the market price of the day; and all landed proprietors must be desirous of having their estates cultivated in a superior manner, their rents well paid, and their tenantry industrious, intelligent, temperate, and well conducted in all respects. There can therefore be no difficulty in procuring land for the purposes required. With respect to capital, it is created solely by the industry of the working classes properly directed; and whenever their industry shall be applied in the best manner for themselves and for society, it will be found that *new* capital can be produced now, far more rapidly than at any former period, or than it can be required. Never was there a greater mistake than that which exists in the minds of many on the subject of capital. There is at present so great a surplus of it in Great Britain, that were it not for the rumours of war, or of some real or fancied calamity, the monied interest would not know how to employ it so as to obtain a revenue from it; and it is well known that since the termination of the war, British and Irish skill and industry have been seeking occupation in every part of the world, while each of the individuals possessing them ought to have been considered as a mine of wealth, from which could be annually obtained such a surplus, beyond his own consumption, as would suffice for five or six others. That surplus would have been real capital gained to this country.

Taking these general principles for my data, I have, by much study and anxious thought on the subject, formed a combination of all the circumstances necessary to give in the first place to the working classes and those who are now poor and unemployed, the advantages which have been mentioned.

These arrangements have been devised with a view both to the present, and to a future highly improved state of society; and they may be considered as belonging to an intermediate stage of existence, in which, although a part of the old errors and prejudices of this portion of the globe are still retained, the influence of the new

circumstances that are combined with them will be sufficiently powerful to counteract many of the evils in practice, which the former would continue to produce.

To that class of the population to which it is proposed immediately to extend the benefits of the new system, inferior accommodations are, in the first instance, allotted, because they have been accustomed to others very much worse in all respects, and because it is necessary, until society shall become conscious of its unlimited powers for the creation of wealth, to have regard to economy. It will consequently be understood, that these arrangements are not such as would be necessary or advantageous to adopt when society shall have been emancipated from existing prejudices and errors, and when the individuals who are to occupy them shall have acquired the superior dispositions, habits, manners, knowledge, and the wealth which, in a few years, these preliminary arrangements are calculated to create in any population that may be placed within them.

In forming this new combination, my first object was to ascertain, with a view to give to each individual the largest amount of advantages, what number of persons, or what extent of population, should be united in one interest or community, or domestic or family association, as we may also term it, and thus constitute the nucleus of society. It was not until after a very laborious investigation that I could satisfy myself respecting this point, the consideration of which demanded a greater stretch of thought and expansion of mind than any other branch of that subject, to which I was led to devote myself as soon as it was made evident to me that the character of each individual was formed *for* him—a principle which I wish to impress upon your minds in the strongest manner in my power, as the corner-stone of the whole system. But, neither with regard to the problem in question, nor in any other parts of the system which I advocate, did I rest satisfied with the results of my own experience and researches only. I availed myself of the ample opportunities that were afforded me, of discussing the several points with the most intelligent individuals of every rank and profession, and of collecting, by this means, all the arguments which the leading minds in society had to urge in the way of approval or objection. I, therefore, now feel prepared to speak with some precision as to the number of persons which it is desirable should be united in one of these communities, and I should say that mankind will obtain far more advantages under an association of from 800 to 1,200 individuals, than when there are more or fewer; but that any number from 500 to 2,000 may unite and obtain much greater benefits than any individual has yet enjoyed under the existing arrangements.

It is proposed, then, by the new arrangements, that individual families, under this limitation as to numbers, should be enabled to unite in one common interest, and mutually co-operate for the attainment of those objects which it is utterly impossible they can possess in their present individualised state, and under the separate and opposing interests and the other unfavourable circumstances inseparable from such a system. A change that would

strengthen the bond of union between us and our fellow-creatures—that would place us under circumstances in which we should, from the *heart*, and not from the *lip* merely, acknowledge our neighbours and associates as brethren of the same family—surely must be deemed a desirable alteration in the condition of mankind, and certainly cannot be opposed to the dictates of that Gospel which teaches peace and good will, and above all has this commandment, “Love thy neighbour as thyself.” Parents cannot render their children a more substantial and permanent service, than by placing them in a situation where they would be trained from their earliest years to regard each of their fellows as a friend, to love him, and to seek to do him good—where no motives to envy, jealousy, and contention, would be instilled into their young minds—and, when they shall grow up to manhood, no clashing of interests could occur, to estrange them from each other, and to sever the friendships and attachments formed in their childhood and youth. Would not it be the highest proof of affection which parents could show for their offspring, to train and educate them upon these principles?—and can it be conceived that children would love their parents the less, who had bestowed upon them such a blessing? If it be desirable, and if it be our duty, to cultivate kind dispositions in children, then must we adopt measures to withdraw from around them all those circumstances which at present conspire to pervert their natural feelings, and which necessarily train them to become the irrational beings of passion and prejudice, of which society has been hitherto composed.

I do feel a conviction, amounting to certainty, that the miseries arising from divisions and the counteraction of individual and opposing interests, on the one hand, and the advantages to be derived from union and mutual co-operation on the other, will soon be presented to the human mind in a contrast so palpable and striking, that the change which I contemplate will be irresistible, because none can have any interest or desire to resist it. Man is, by nature, a social being. Society necessarily implies union to a certain extent; and whatever may be the amount of the advantages we actually possess—small as they undoubtedly are when compared with what they might be—yet to obtain even these, union of some kind was indispensable. I am quite sure, however, that at present we do not possess more than one part out of a hundred of the benefits which the principle of union, when it shall pervade the whole economy of human life, is calculated to produce. I ask then, since it is now in our power to obtain the whole sum of these benefits, why should we limit ourselves to the possession of this pitiful fraction?

It is true, the old customs and prejudice of the world, the accumulation of six thousand years, have not only reconciled us to the innumerable disadvantages of individual family associations, but have created in us habits and feelings in favour of this arrangement, which are supposed to be natural and unconquerable. I am, however, now thoroughly satisfied, that they are neither agreeable to nature, nor too inveterate to yield to the influence of a better

system; for it does not require a long or a difficult process of demonstration to prove that such individual and isolated arrangements are productive of far more evil than benefit to society, and that even those very results which are now imagined to be the *peculiar* advantages arising out of this state of society, will be greatly exceeded in the new villages of associated families, in which the permanent happiness of each will be increased in a greater ratio than the difference between the number in a family of five and of fifteen hundred. That the present notions and habits of society should produce a declaration of hostility to the proposed change, on its first announcement, is neither an extraordinary circumstance, nor is it one which goes at all to prove that the change would not be eminently beneficial to mankind. It is, indeed, nothing more than the result of the common and natural feeling which prompts human nature to resist at first any alteration of long established practices. But it is equally a law of nature, that when we have acquired a correct knowledge of that which has been proposed to us,—when we distinctly comprehend its real merits, and perceive its beneficial tendencies,—we relinquish our prejudices, and adopt the improvement. I may refer to the introduction of inoculation and vaccination, and, indeed, to all the improvements which have been at any time introduced and established in society.

Each family has now its own peculiar ideas, habits, and feelings, and these differ more or less from the ideas, habits, and feelings, which are received and acquired by other families; and in so far as this difference exists, it creates a little circle in opposition to all the other circles with which it comes into communication. And among individuals belonging to the same family, how often does it happen that, as they grow up and discover that, as their portions of this world's goods are all to come of the same limited stock, if one receives more, the others must obtain less, feelings of jealousy and rivalry are excited while the division continues uncertain, and when that point is decided by the death of the head of the family, a perpetual coolness or an entire estrangement is the result. Such feelings and such differences are the natural effects of such injudicious, and, I would say, immoral circumstances. Neither does any one family, however numerous, contain within itself the variety of talent and disposition requisite to bring forth the various capacities, and the good and amiable qualities, of the individuals who compose it,—or to afford the diversity of amusement and instruction which may be so easily obtained when greater numbers are associated together without any jarring interests intervening to excite contests and opposition. The circumstances in which all single families must exist, are, in truth, incompatible with the arrangements that are necessary to train children in the best habits and dispositions, and to convey to them, in the shortest time, the greatest amount of useful knowledge. Public seminaries, well arranged and conducted, are much better adapted for the training of children, particularly of boys, than the system of private tuition, as it is termed; but the scope of all such institutions is limited, and the means employed are more or less defective and injudicious. To form the character

of the human being, male and female, as it ought to be formed, requires arrangements far different from any which have yet been combined for this purpose. And a long experience leads me to conclude that education, in its enlarged and proper sense, may now be easily applied to make devils or angels of all mankind, yet that no two devils or angels can be made *alike*, under any system that human beings, with their present knowledge, are competent to devise.

Under the single family system, neither capital, time, nor talent, can be so advantageously employed as under a well organised economy which unites many families as one. £100 a-year, by this mode of co-operation, will give more than £1000 a-year can yield under our present practice, which makes a single individual family the basis or nucleus of the arrangements of society. Much valuable time is now wasted in petty disagreeable domestic matters, which injure the dispositions, physical powers, and mental capacities of all who are occupied in them. Under the co-operative system, on the other hand, every one who shall be properly instructed in the application of mechanical and chemical power, will, with ease and pleasure, perform as much as twenty menial miserable servants can do at present, and execute what they have to perform in a much superior manner. Nor will it be the least important effect resulting from such a change in domestic economy, that our children will be no longer surrounded by ignorance and inferior habits.

In short, when you come to discover the enormous sacrifices to which your prejudices in favour of the present arrangements subject you—the endless perplexity, trouble, disappointment, and misery, which they hourly occasion—and then turn to another view of human life, and to another system of social arrangements, of which the simplicity and their accordance with nature prove them to be alone calculated to produce the happiness which we all desire and seek, you will contemplate with the same feelings which I experience, the total want of foresight and of organisation—the entire neglect, or lavish misapplication, of the most valuable resources—the gross incongruity between the means employed and the objects to be attained, which characterizes the past and present proceedings of mankind. Looking upon the scene around you, you will observe men in all the departments of life eagerly grasping at the shadow, and neglecting the substance; you will see society actively and laboriously engaged, not in measures for the prevention of evil, but in the fruitless task of exercising its ingenuity in attempts to drain the great reservoir of misery, while it permits the source to remain open, from which a copious stream is continually flowing into it. We have societies for the suppression of vice—societies for the improvement of prison discipline—societies for the reformation of juvenile delinquents—bible societies, and tract societies—societies for the suppression of mendicity—societies for giving shelter to the houseless poor—benefit clubs, and friendly societies of all descriptions,—and, in addition to these, and to the liberal dispensations of private charity, England has her enormous poor rates. We have workhouses—foundling hospitals—asylums for the orphan and for the widow—alms-houses for the aged—hospitals for the

sick, female penitentiaries, and penitentiaries for both male and female, on a more imposing scale—we have prisons and hulks, and foreign plantations to which to transport, at a magnificent cost, our annual surplus of vice and crime,—and lastly we have a machine recently introduced for the reformation of our fellow-creatures, which, in the present advanced age of society, it is melancholy to observe, seems to be regarded as an important improvement in our system, and that machine for the further *degradation*, I would say, of our fellow-creatures, is the tread-mill!

This enumeration, though a very imperfect one, of the multiform and unsystematic, and, in many instances, highly demoralising, and in all, very inefficacious expedients, which are employed for the reformation of the vicious, and the relief of the poor and wretched, while it presents a melancholy picture of the state of society, attests, at the same time, the existence of much benevolence and philanthropy amongst us,—of much zeal in seeking to do good, joined to a willing and lavish expenditure of means, by which, if properly applied, all the objects we have in view might with ease and certainty be attained, and permanently secured. I feel assured, therefore, that when the measures which I have to propose shall be fully understood by the public, neither the disposition to support them, nor the means of carrying them into effect, will be found wanting.

The System, to the practical exposition of which I am now to call your attention, is founded entirely on the principle of *prevention*. In other words, its mode of operation being to withdraw the causes which create evil in society, it is essentially different from the practice of a System, which, as it permits those demoralising causes to exist, in vain endeavours by the most ingenious and complicated costly devices to counteract their *necessary* effects.

The painting before you is intended to exhibit, so far as such a representation can do, a new arrangement of circumstances for the working classes, which will gradually prepare every individual who may be placed within them, to receive all the advantages which in a former part of this Address have been enumerated as being necessary to give happiness to human nature.

The external and internal arrangement of the dwelling-houses—the public buildings,—the space within the square, and the gardens around it,—the domestic economy and arrangements, including the school, dormitories, &c.,—the extent of land,—the agricultural department and that of domestic manufactures—have all been so adapted and combined as to secure to every one who shall be trained under these circumstances, whatever is really necessary to his well-being, to his rapid improvement, mental, moral, and physical, and to his permanent happiness. And this combination is not a hasty measure, but the result of nearly thirty-five years of successful experience, upon a more extended scale, in many respects, than has perhaps fallen to the lot of any other individual—of one who knew at the time he was about to undertake the task, that no other human being had the same views which he had been led to entertain, and who had therefore to prepare himself to meet all the errors and prejudices of the previous ages of human life. You must not, there-

fore, expect that you can come to this subject without much study and reflection on the first principles of human nature, or without very extensive experience in combining and arranging practical measures, on a large scale, for the general well-being and happiness of the species. And it would be well if those who do not yet possess the qualifications for passing a rational judgment upon the plan proposed, would allow themselves the benefit of calm and attentive consideration, before they pronounce an opinion as to what is, or what is not, practicable. Before they knew that men could be carried many miles through the air, and descend unhurt, or that the vapour from water could be applied to move the heaviest machinery with regularity, or to propel vessels at the rate of ten miles an hour through the sea, they might have boldly asserted, and with quite as much reason as they may pronounce a similar opinion on the subject before us, that these things were impracticable; that, because they never had been done, that they were contrary to nature, and were therefore altogether visionary ideas. Listen patiently to what I am about to state, and I trust you will discover good cause to retract all such notions and expressions, and that you will be convinced that there is a reasonable prospect of measures being devised and generally adopted, well calculated to *prevent* the many evils of which society has so long complained, and that all of you will be essentially benefited by the immediate introduction of those measures into general practice.

By observing the painting, you will notice that its principal feature is a square, or parallelogram, which is the general form of the village in which the associated families are to reside, and which includes all their domestic arrangements. Some have attempted to make it a matter of amusement to the public, that by the "New System" the world must necessarily be divided into squares or parallelograms. Now if these persons can devise a better form for all the purposes of the economy of human life, and will now, or hereafter, explain it to the public, I, for one, shall consider myself extremely obliged by their suggestion. I am inclined, however, to imagine, that, when these gentlemen turn their attention to what is practical, one of their first discoveries will be, that in this instance their ridicule has been singularly misapplied. The practice of the world for ages past has been to prefer a square to a street, lane, court, or alley; and at this day, in London, Dublin, Edinburgh, and other large cities and towns, the squares, whether regular or irregular in their sides, are generally, I believe, considered the most agreeable residences. But the parallelogram before you presents advantages and attractions which, evidently, cannot belong to any of these. The atmospheres of the latter are more or less deteriorated in consequence of the crowded population in their immediate neighbourhood; nor can it add to the security, the comfort, or the desirableness of such situations, that so many of our fellow-creatures are near, who exist in poverty and wretchedness, and in whom the circumstances in which they are placed, necessarily beget a desire to possess themselves of the surplus wealth of their more affluent neighbours. On the contrary, the squares forming the proposed

villages, while they will be co-extensive with the largest in London, and well laid out in the interior, will have immediately around them pleasure gardens, and beyond these a demesne belonging to each village, of from 500 to 4,000 acres, under a garden cultivation, —every advantage being taken of inequality of surface, and of wood and water, to render the whole together a scene as varied and beautiful as it can be made, consistently with use and proper economy. Reminding you that this arrangement has been devised for the working classes only, I beg leave to ask in what part of the world can they now be placed, in which they will be surrounded by objects more congenial to the nature of man, or in which, at the same expense, they can command at all times such varied enjoyments, to conduce to health and permanent happiness? I trust, then, we shall hear no more little witticisms on the word parallelogram—at least until the persons who have indulged in them shall be prepared to explain to us a more convenient and agreeable disposition of arrangements for social life.

The form adopted for the new villages, admitting of the easy application of so many of the late valuable scientific improvements in the domestic economy of the inhabitants, they will possess advantages in their annual expenditure, so important as to enable them to enjoy this superior mode of life at a less annual charge than is required from those who occupy the lowest description of streets, lanes, courts, and alleys, in any of the large towns in the three kingdoms. These advantages will arise from the manner in which the necessaries and comforts of life will be produced and used—from the manner in which the children of these associations will be trained and educated from infancy, and instructed in all knowledge that can be of real utility to them and to society—and from the means which are provided to give at all times the most valuable employment to persons of all ages—thus placing them in the most favourable circumstances for creating, using, and enjoying property ; or, in other words, supposing the rental of the village to be £3,000, and that it will accommodate 300 families of four persons each, or 1,200 men, women, and children, they will obtain more advantages for ten pounds per family per annum, under the new arrangements, than those who live in the present streets, lanes, courts, and alleys, can procure for twenty pounds per family annually. The difference is £3,000 a year, being the whole amount of the rental of the New Establishment; but in this estimate I purposely under-rate the annual advantages of the parallelogram.

The private apartments to be allotted to each working family will consist of a bed and sitting-room, each about 12 feet by 15—the one looking towards the gardens and cultivated grounds, the other fronting the square. By an inspection of the plans or drawings which are now exhibited in the room, it would be seen that means are provided for heating, cooling, and ventilating these apartments in a superior manner, highly conducive to health, and from which there will also result a great economy of fuel and time. One person may with ease attend to all the fires for an establishment of 1,200 persons, in consequence of the advantages and facilities afforded under the



proposed arrangements. To heat in winter, to cool in summer, and to ventilate in both, all that will be necessary for each family to do, will be to draw or shut two or three slides, which may be accomplished in less than two minutes; and in summer, five or six fires will amply serve all the purposes of cooking, washing, and drying for the whole establishment—all of which will be performed according to scientific methods recently introduced into successful practice.

The lowest of the three stories of the centre building on which the highest spire is seen, is appropriated to the general kitchen and its appendages, which will comprise all that is most useful in the best arrangements society is yet acquainted with for culinary purposes. In the two upper stories, each of which is divided into three large well-lighted and airy apartments, are the mess rooms.—Members of the same family, or near relations and particular friends, may take their meals at a table appropriated to their party, and suitable to the number of which it may consist. Should any prefer to take their meals in their private apartments, they will of course do so, but it is very unlikely that such a choice will be made by any of the rising generation, who will be trained from infancy in the new habits. They will consider themselves truly as members of one family, and will enjoy the society of friends at meals, more than we now do, feasting in private parties, at the expense of much trouble, time, and money.

By this arrangement all will have a choice of a variety of the best and most wholesome dishes, well cooked, at an expense much below what a very ordinary meal now costs a private family; and in their dwelling-houses, all the dust, dirt, and inconvenience of cooking apparatus, will be avoided.

Washing will be performed by machinery, and the drying of clothes will be effected in a very simple and economical manner, by which means the expense and trouble of this department, for the whole village, will not much exceed what is often required for a single large family. Consequently, it will be very easy, (and this is a very desirable object,) to provide at all times a full supply of clean clothes for each individual.

The clothing for the establishment will generally be manufactured by its own members. With regard to dress, the rising generation may be brought up from infancy in the habit of wearing a costume of the best form and material that can be devised, for health, use, and appearance; and experience, which in this as well as in every practical measure ought to be our chief guide, will soon demonstrate the advantage and economy to be derived from this part of the arrangement. The attention which is now bestowed upon dress, will then rather be directed to the daily improvement of the mind and body,—and when these shall have justice done to them, the human being, male and female, will appear infinitely superior in their simple costumes, to the most gorgeously attired at present.—Were we to calculate the waste of capital, materials, and labour,—the loss of health, the deterioration of intellect, and the immorality, which the manufacture and use of perpetually changing fancy

dresses, occasion—the amount of the sacrifices which society thus incurs would appear incredible to the public mind, because the subject has never yet been brought under its consideration.

But the peculiar feature which distinguishes the New System, is its capability to afford the best means of training and educating the young. And I think that many of you cannot have followed me even thus far in its development, without perceiving that we have already prepared the ground upon which that important work may be auspiciously undertaken—that some of the great leading circumstances have been already traced, with which it is necessary to surround the rising generation, before we can hope to succeed in giving a uniformly beneficial direction to those infant powers and capacities, or to that natural character, however varied, which constitutes what is called human nature, at birth. Being aware of the prejudices and misconceptions which have so generally prevailed on this subject of human nature, I have endeavoured to place the views which I have been led to entertain respecting it, in as great a diversity of lights as possible, in order to render them the more easily intelligible to different minds. If, notwithstanding, there should be any who, because they have been unable to perceive their practical application, still regard these views as not being necessarily connected with the object of the present meeting, I have a confident hope that they too will not fail to retract such an opinion when the proposed arrangements shall have been fully explained to them and been allowed to receive a calm consideration.

Education, in the sense in which I understand it, constitutes the most essential part of the system before you. The science of education, however, is by no means yet understood by the public,—and to me, indeed, it seems to be every where yet in its infancy. It is a common expression, when the subject is mentioned, to say, “Yes—education may do much, but it cannot do every thing.” That it cannot do every thing I readily admit; but I am prepared to maintain that it can do far more than it has yet done. Fortunately, it cannot make human beings all alike, or even any two of them; yet, excepting cases of natural defects, such as idiotism, insanity, or madness, it can make all good, wise, and happy—and that is sufficient for all practical purposes.

To do full justice to human nature, provision for the education of the infant must be made before he comes into the world. The mother and the nurse must be previously instructed in a knowledge of the influence which surrounding circumstances have upon his health and disposition from the hour of birth, and more particularly with regard to the effect of their own looks, language, and conduct, when they may be in presence of the child. There are not yet any where, as it appears to me, proper circumstances formed to create the character that is wished for by the best and most intelligent part of society. It is not, however, that this character cannot be universally produced; but because, hitherto, the influence of circumstances has been imperfectly understood, and, as a science, been altogether unknown,—and consequently mankind have applied the power either at random, or under the limited views and prejudices

of party, class, sect, and country. Society may now take much higher ground. It may with ease arrange the whole combination of circumstances required to effect the desired result, and thus do far more justice to each human being than any, even the most favoured individual, has yet experienced.

But certain prejudices and errors, which at present stand in the way of this improvement, must first be overcome. Parents must not seek to give their children more indulgences than are given to those who surround them. The same general treatment should be applied to all,—one iota of partiality should never be perceived by any child,—individual reward should never once be hinted to him. On the other hand, he should never discover, from look, speech, or conduct, the least indication of any desire to injure or to think ill of him, or to be in any manner unkind to him; but he should be satisfied that those under whose care he is, feel a sincere wish to afford him every benefit which he can enjoy in union with his fellows.

The arrangements before you have been devised with reference to these views. Parents, properly instructed, will have the immediate charge and care of their infant children; but, for the benefit of both, it will be necessary that, at a certain age, all the children of each village should be placed under the same general circumstances and training, that they may be formed really to become children of one family, and truly, and indeed, to love one another as brethren. It is of no use to give the precept without putting them in a situation in which they can fulfil it. The children, therefore, from an early age, will associate together in all their pursuits and occupations. During the day they will attend the schools provided for the different ages, enjoy equal means of instruction and recreation, and assemble together at meals. At night they will lodge in dormitories suited to their respective periods of life, in which cleanliness and health will be particularly attended to, and in which each can be equally well accommodated in every respect. This latter object could not be so well attained, if they should sleep in the apartments appropriated to the parents and infant children, more especially in the case of a numerous family, who would thus be subjected to serious and unnecessary inconvenience.

But all this may be done without separating children from their parents as much as they are *necessarily* separated at present. On this part of our subject a most erroneous impression seems to be entertained by some individuals. The parents may themselves, whenever they wish it, put their own children to bed,—may see them whenever they shall find it convenient, while in school,—may have them with them in the pleasure grounds between or after school hours—at meals also, as well as in the evenings. The intercourse, in short, will be infinitely more beneficial, more affectionate and delightful on both sides, than it can possibly be under any of the existing arrangements, not only among the working classes, but among any class, however high in rank. Indeed the manner in which children in the highest ranks, in all countries, are at present obliged to be educated, is such as in almost all cases to render their

birthright a curse and not a blessing With the best intentions, almost every thing that is done to children of high birth, from the hour they are born, tends to deteriorate the human being—to render him dependent, full of passions, ignorant of himself and of his fellow-creatures, unhappy in his own person, and a powerful instrument for extending misery to others. There are, no doubt, exceptions to this observation; but so strong is the impression on my mind of the real injury that is done to a human being and his offspring by such supposed elevation, that I am always inclined to regret when any whom I know and respect are thus advanced into an artificial state of society, which is almost sure to produce much more real misery than happiness to them and their children.

For the correctness of these impressions, I appeal to the reflecting part of those who now fill these situations. They can tell you how little they possess beyond their fellows that adds to their real happiness. The time will, I trust, soon come, when *they* will greatly prefer to have their children trained without local prejudices, and educated to become rational and superior human beings. At present, they generally send them from home to receive a second education, after they have been already more than half spoiled by the first; but this second or public education is equally as injurious as the first—sometimes even more so.

The middle ranks suffer equally by the circumstances in which they are placed. The parents are often engaged from early to late in their profession or business, which, to enable them to support their family in the station which they wish to maintain in society, usually occupies the greater part of their time, and their almost undivided attention. The children are, therefore, consigned to tutors and governesses, or to public schools. All know how very little, and what useless experience the first can possess towards qualifying them to do justice to the training of human nature; and it is equally evident how very imperfect the whole arrangements of the best public schools in Europe are, for the proper training and educating of a human being who is intended to acquire a correct knowledge of himself and of his species, in order that he may contribute to the excellence and happiness of both, and attain some rational ideas of the almighty Power that creates, controls, and directs the universe. Can the prevailing modes of education form such a character in our children? Do they tend to implant in them real charity, a sincere love for their fellow-creatures, and an ardent desire to promote their welfare—more particularly the welfare of those who immediately surround them?

If we analyze the circumstances in which they are placed, we must acknowledge that, trained as they are, they necessarily imbibe feelings of violence and hostility towards a very large portion of their species, and are soon forced into such situations as compel them to act upon the principle that the interests of those around them are opposed to their own, and that they must therefore prepare themselves to counteract this opposition. In doing which they cannot avoid becoming, like their adversaries, insincere, and intent on all occasions to take every fair advantage, as it is called, of their fellow

creatures. The whole trading system of the world is at present, of necessity, one great combination of hostile interests, leading to endless ramifications of chicanery and fraud. Nor will truth permit me to say that the other departments of life which the children of this class are destined to fill, are less unfavourable to the development of character, or that they are a less fertile source of contention and unhappiness. They all of them tend to generate in those who are subjected to their influence, injustice, errors, and bad feelings, —and to overshadow the finest natural dispositions and understandings, rendering the best qualities of our nature useless, and creating a medium of prejudice around us, so dense that only some extraordinary and very singular concurrence of circumstances can emancipate a single individual from the slavery which is thus imposed upon his intellect, feelings, and actions.

The reflecting part of my hearers—those who have been at all accustomed to trace cause and effect—in contemplating the circumstances, character, and conduct of the various classes of which society is composed, will not be startled at the statement which I have felt it my duty to make.

If such be the evils arising from the circumstances in which the rising generation in the higher and middle ranks, in all countries, are now educated and settled in life,—how much more to be deplored are the circumstances which surround the poor man's child in this country, and the destiny which awaits his subsequent years?

From the hour of his birth he is trained amidst whatever can tend to depress—to deteriorate and demoralise human nature. Rendered by all that surrounds him the less capable of resisting temptations, he is placed in a situation in which temptations are increased around him a hundred fold. Where, if it be not a mockery to ask, are the advantages and comforts of the poor man's cabin? They exist, I fear, only in the lively imagination of a very worthy divine, who, in entertaining such an impression, may evince theoretical wisdom, but who certainly discovers no knowledge of the practice and realities of life. The child of the Irish peasant is effectually taught, by all he sees, hears, and feels, that every man's hand is against him, and that, to exist, he must acquire all the arts of the weak against the strong. Even in infancy his parents are often compelled to leave him to seek for food and fuel, and he is left amidst dirt and discomfort, liable to be burned, if enough of fire still remain in the cabin, or, in the winter, to be starved, should no more fuel be at hand than many suffice to boil their miserable meal of potatoes. His parents return, tired by their incessant and ill-directed labour, with feelings probably vexed and steeled by the hardships which they have experienced, and the contrast which they have witnessed between their own and the situations of others. The child, after passing six or seven years of his life under the influence of such circumstances, and receiving every unfavourable impression from them, has had all the best and finest feelings of his nature checked in every possible way. His character is now—for the valuable period for forming character is gone by—so fixed and hardened, as it were, that

it will generally require a very long counteraction of favourable circumstances to efface these early impressions, if they ever can be effaced, and to produce in him those delightful qualifications which, under other circumstances, might with so much ease have been given to this now poor outcast of nature. But is he, at this period of his existence, placed under such circumstances as may afford him some chance of becoming, what good men say they wish to make all men—intelligent, virtuous, and happy? No!—His lot is far different. Necessity often induces the parents to force him to beg, and, if unsuccessful, to steal something for immediate support. Or are they near to some wealthy proprietor, through whose exertions and capital a school has been established in the neighbourhood? The child goes half-fed and half-clothed to learn—what?—strange sounds, which convey no meaning to his mind. He receives, perhaps, some little instruction in writing and accounts. And this is esteemed a useful and a good education for a human being who has no book to read that he can comprehend, no paper or pens to use, and no use for such figures as he has been taught; for, without going to school for two or three years to have his faculties, not cultivated, but essentially injured, he would have acquired far more useful knowledge, and with much more pleasure to himself, from a week's conversation with an intelligent person, who should have walked with him, and shown and explained to him the various objects of art and nature with which it was necessary he should become acquainted to qualify him for the kind of life which he was afterwards to lead. Well, after being thus taught for a longer or a shorter time at school, he must look around for some employment to support his existence; but now, he is again as much at a loss what to do as ever. All employments are full. There is already a surplus of everything for those who can buy; and he seeks, day after day, and often month after month, and year after year, to obtain the most uncertain, degrading, and useless occupations, to save him from absolute starvation. Such is his lot; while he continually sees many around him, who, with perhaps little or no effort, or with not one tenth of the labour which he has exerted, or of the anxiety which he has suffered, are in the possession of a surplus of all things, which is at the same time so used and applied as to rob the possessor of his health and of all real enjoyment. Yet the poor man, to whom a very small part of the surplus would be of the greatest service, knows no how, with all his efforts, he can honestly obtain that small portion. The propensities which nature has bestowed for the preservation of the species being irresistible, he marries and has a family; but the want of employment leaves him without any honest means of supporting his wife and children. He is therefore driven to extremities. He takes from the apparent superfluity of others. His mind becomes irritated and disordered. He is seized, imprisoned for a time, and discharged. He again steals, or murders, and he is hanged.

Such is not an exaggerated representation of the delights of an Irish peasant's cabin, or of the effects of the circumstances which at this day are permitted to inflict their noxious and overwhelming influence on a great part of the population of this island, notwith-

standing all the knowledge and experience acquired by society during the lapse of 6,000 years. No one who has witnessed the scenes which the south of Ireland exhibits, can, I think, avoid coming to the conclusion, that there is nothing in such a state of society which it would not be desirable radically to change, and that no system whatever, that should supplant it, even if it emanated from the arch fiend himself, could possibly produce results more fatal to the happiness of the present, or to the prospects of the rising generation.

I gladly turn from contemplating the past and present proceedings of mankind, to the consideration of what they will be in future, when human nature shall be understood, and vicious circumstances shall no longer be permitted to counteract the developement of its excellent capabilities.

Before proceeding to describe the employments of the members of the proposed villages, I have yet a few words to add on the subject of training and educating the children. When the principle relating to the formation of character is known, the use of severity in any shape, as a means of conducting a child in the way in which we wish him to go, is clearly seen to be cruel and unjust, as well as highly injurious, and directly calculated to defeat every important object which we have in view. Notwithstanding the practice which has hitherto generally prevailed in society, I believe no instance can be adduced in which a system of well directed kindness has not effected infinitely more that severity and punishment could ever accomplish.

Every child, then, will always be treated kindly, whatever his natural character, physical or mental, may be. Should this be what in common language is called bad or inferior, it will only constitute an additional claim upon the sympathy and attention of those under whose superintendence he is placed—and increased care and attention, on their part, will tend to overcome, to the greatest possible extent, any natural defects. With regard to the instruction to be given at the schools, it is proposed that the mode of communicating knowledge by means of sensible signs and of conversations with the teacher, shall supersede for a considerable period the usual practice of learning from books, which, if commenced before the child can have acquired an adequate number of correct and useful ideas, is calculated not only to disgust him, but to fill his head with mere words, to which either no ideas, or very erroneous ones, are attached, and thus materially to injure his faculties, and retard or prevent his intellectual improvement. In short, in this case, as well as in every other, we must follow, not counteract, nature. A child in health, unless he be constitutionally defective, or have been spoiled by previous bad training, will be quite as eager to receive knowledge or instruction as we can be to impart it to him, for childhood is the period when curiosity is intense, because every thing which surrounds the human being at that age possesses the interest of novelty, and he is strongly excited to examine whatever object may be presented to his senses. But his mode of proceeding is that of nature. He will shun the tuition of an artificial system; or, if he be

constrained to it, the result will be a sacrifice both of intellect and good feeling. If, therefore, we fail in arresting his attention to the subjects which we bring before him, we may with certainty conclude, that either the matter or the manner of our instruction is defective, and instead of blaming or punishing him because he rejects what we offer, it is our duty to alter and amend our plan.

Experience has fully convinced me that if we act upon these principles, and give children a knowledge of facts, beginning with those which are the most simple and the most agreeable to them to learn, and proceeding gradually, as their minds strengthen and expand, to others of a more complex nature, they may at an early age become well informed as to all the general facts from which the present knowledge of the world is derived. Thus instructed, and trained as they will be under circumstances so favourable to moral and intellectual culture, and to health and happiness, they will be in no danger of falling into that lamentable error respecting human nature, which is the cause of all uncharitableness in thought, and of all unkindness, contention, and evil in practice.

The next important subject for consideration is the judicious employment of all the members of these Associations. The nature of this employment will depend, in some degree, on the localities of the situation. In some, the chief employment might be in agriculture; in others, agriculture and manufactures; in others, agriculture and fishing; in others, agriculture, fishing, and manufactures; and in others again, agriculture and employment in mines. It is proposed, however, that agriculture shall form the basis in all, and that in each it shall be carried on to an extent sufficient, on the average of seasons, to supply the whole of the inhabitants with a full quantity of the best food. And it is likewise intended that the clothing and general furniture which they may require, should be manufactured by themselves, that they may be at all times and seasons in possession of the necessities and comforts of life. But beyond the creation of food, clothes, and furniture, for their own consumption, there will be a large surplus of labour to be employed for the benefit of society, and this will be directed to the extension of agriculture, fisheries, manufactures, or mines—each person being well instructed in agriculture, and at least in some one other art, science, manufacture, or useful occupation. The object of these occupations, as well as of every part of the plan, being to give happiness to the whole population, the particular employments of each man, woman, and youth, will be such as may be best suited to their capacities and inclinations. On this principle, all will be taught agriculture and gardening, because these are the most necessary and the most healthy occupations that can be provided for human nature. But there are seasons and periods when employment in the fields and gardens would be useless and disagreeable. It is, therefore, desirable that the parties should be familiar with other kinds of work, which may be carried on at such times within doors; and in some of these they will be properly instructed. It has been generally supposed, that by teaching an individual more than one trade, art, manufacture, or occupation, his powers of production, and his utility



to himself and others, would be thereby diminished. A long experience has induced me to come to an opposite conclusion, and convinced me that Adam Smith's principle of the division and sub-division of intellect and labour has been long since carried far beyond the beneficial limit, and that the world for many years has suffered grievously from its errors in this respect. Under the proposed arrangements, every individual, male and female, will be so instructed, before he shall be twelve years of age, as to have a general knowledge of the earth, and of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms—of the useful sciences, and of human nature and its past history. There will, therefore, be no obstacle to prevent individuals from learning, if they should be so inclined, as much both of theory and practices in the arts and sciences, as will afford them full employment and agreeable recreation. On the contrary, facilities will be provided for these pursuits. They will have access to a well-selected library, containing scientific and useful works, and will possess the means of making experiments with a view to further improvements, in mechanism, chemistry, or any art, science, or manufacture. With such a solid foundation of knowledge, derived from actual facts, it may be expected that the human mind will make a greater advance in a year, than it has hitherto made in centuries, and that future inventions, improvements, and discoveries, will be commensurate with the improved and extended cultivation of the human faculties. In the present state of society, how very small—how insignificant a part of the intellect of the world is permitted to be called into action!

By the inexperienced it may be supposed, that there would be some difficulty in allotting the various occupations to suit the inclinations of the different parties. I would here remark, that human beings have been hitherto so circumstanced, that any cordial union among them has been impracticable. They have not been placed in a situation to co-operate in general measures with a view to obtain increased comforts and advantages for each. Some societies at present existing in the United States of America do, however, claim to be excepted; for, notwithstanding the many errors and absurdities which attach to their system, and greatly detract from their enjoyments, they present decisive proofs, not only of the practicability of what I recommend, but of the easy and rapid accumulation of wealth under an association of families united in one common interest. I have indeed no hesitation in saying, that the difficulty which has been alluded to will speedily vanish when we come to practice. The inhabitants of these villages will fully comprehend that they are occupied as members of a community, the whole arrangements of which are devised to give the greatest sum of good and happiness to each. Human nature under such circumstances will be ready to undertake willingly far more than it will be necessary at any time to require from any one.

The general rules and regulations under which these communities are proposed to be governed, may be found at the conclusion of the report of the British and Foreign Philanthropic Society, published by MILLIKEN; bound up with which may be had the particu-

lars of the calculations to show that 1,000 persons may with ease, in any part of Ireland, provide abundantly for 3,000.

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*Rules and Regulations of a Community.*

IT IS PROPOSED,

I. That each community shall consist of persons who have agreed to mutually co-operate with their labour and skill, in measures for producing, distributing, and enjoying, in the most advantageous manner, a full supply of the necessaries and comforts of life; and for securing, for their children, the best physical and intellectual education.

II. That, at the commencement, the number of persons shall not much exceed five hundred, including their families.

III. That, as it is of great importance that each community should produce within itself a full supply of the first necessities of life, there shall be attached to each establishment a sufficient extent of land to render it essentially agricultural.

IV. That a village, to be situate as near the centre of the land as local circumstances may permit, be built, according to the plan and elevations given in the annexed engravings.—In this village, the dwelling-houses, dormitories, &c. form the sides of a large square, in the centre of which are placed the requisite public buildings, surrounded by public walks and exercise grounds. This form has been adopted as giving superior accommodation to the dwelling-houses, and admitting the application, at the least expense, of scientific improvements in all the departments of domestic economy.

V. That the manufactories, workshops, granaries, stores, washing and drying houses, be placed at the most convenient distance beyond the gardens which surround the village, and that the farm offices be situate according to the localities of the land.

VI. That whenever the capital advanced by its own members shall have been repaid, and the education of all be sufficiently advanced, the management of the establishment shall be confided to a committee composed of all the members between certain ages; as, for example, between forty and fifty. But that until such period the committee shall consist of twelve persons to be elected at an annual general meeting; eight to be chosen from among those members who have advanced capital to the amount of £100 or upwards, and four from the other members. The committee to be empowered to elect the treasurers and secretaries.

VII. That the treasurers be empowered to receive all monies due to the community, and to pay its disbursements on orders signed by the secretary. That they balance and report their accounts every week to the committee, who shall appoint two of their number to examine and pass them under their signatures.

VIII. That the secretary be directed to keep a regular detailed daily statement of all the accounts and transactions of the community, and that such statement be presented weekly to the committee

and submitted to the examination of two of their number, who shall pass it under their signatures, with such observations as may occur to them.

IX. That the books of accounts and transactions of the society be open to the inspection of all its members.

X. That the business of the community be divided into the following departments :—

1. Agriculture and gardening.
  2. Manufactures and trade.
  3. Commercial transactions.
  4. Domestic economy ; comprehending the arrangements for heating, ventilating, lighting, cleansing, and keeping in repair, the dwelling-houses and public buildings of the village, —the arrangements connected with the public kitchens and dining halls,—those for the furnishing of clothes, linen, and furniture, and for washing and drying,—and the management of the dormitories.
  5. Health, or the medical superintendence of the sick, including arrangements to prevent contagion or sickness.
  6. Police ; including the lighting and cleansing the square, —the repairing of the roads and walks,—guarding against fire,—and the protection of the property of the community from external depredation.
  7. Education, or the formation of character from infancy.
- To this department will also belong the devising of the best means of recreation.

XI. That for the general superintendence of these departments, the committee appoint sub-committees from their own number or from the other members of the society. Each of the sub-committees shall lay a weekly report before the committee, to be examined and passed, with such observations as may be deemed necessary.

XII. That should there not be, at first, a sufficient number of persons in the community fully competent to the management of the different branches of industry which it may be desirable to establish, the committee be empowered to engage the assistance of skilful practical men from general society.

XIII. That in regulating the employments of the members according to their age, abilities, previous acquirements and situation in life, the committee pay every regard to the inclinations of each, consistent with the general good ; and that the employment be, if possible, so ordered as to permit every individual who may be so disposed to occupy part of his time in agriculture. Great facilities are afforded to agriculture by the power which the community will always possess of calling out an extra number of hands at those times and seasons when it is of the utmost importance to have additional aid.

XIV. That as under the proposed arrangements every invention for the abridgment of human labour will bring an increase of benefit to all, it be a primary object with the committee to introduce to the utmost practical extent all those modern scientific improvements, which, if rightly applied, are calculated to render manual labour only a healthy and agreeable exercise.

XV. That the first object of the community be to produce a full supply of the necessities and comforts of life for domestic consumption; and, as far as localities will permit, directly from their own land and labour.

XVI. That in regard to domestic consumption, each member of the community shall be fully supplied with the necessities and comforts of life.

XVII. That within the community all the members be equal in rights and privileges, according to their respective ages.

XVIII. That, to avoid the evils arising from a system of credit, the commercial transactions of the community be conducted for ready money only; that these transactions on the part of the community be always performed in good faith, and without the slightest attempt to deceive buyer or seller; and that, when any individuals with whom they deal show a disposition to impose upon the community, all dealings with such individuals shall from that time cease.

XIX. That the surplus proceeds of the united exertions of the community, which remain after discharging rent, interest, taxes, and other expenses, be regularly applied to the liquidation of the capital borrowed upon the establishment; and when this debt is cancelled, it is proposed that the future surplus be invested to form a fund for the establishment of a second community, should the increased population of the first require it.

XX. That in the domestic department the following arrangements and regulations be adopted :—

1. The heating, ventilating, and lighting, of the dwelling-houses and public buildings, shall be effected according to the most approved methods.

2. An ample supply of water shall be provided, and distributed to each building, for domestic purposes, and as a security against fire.

3. Provisions of the best quality only shall be cooked in the public kitchen; and it shall be a special object to those persons who have the direction of this department, to ascertain and put in practice the best and most economical means of preparing nutritious and agreeable food. Any parties being ill, or desirous of having their meals alone, may have them sent to their private apartments.

4. The furniture of the dwelling-houses, dormitories, and public buildings, (as far as the same be provided out of the public funds), shall be devised in reference to intrinsic use and comfort. A similar regulation will apply to the clothing of the community. Among the children, very essential improvements may be introduced, which will not only save much useless expense, but be the means of increasing, in a very high degree, the strength of the constitution.

5. The dormitories designed for the children above two years of age, and those for the youth of the community until the period of marriage, shall be divided into compartments, and furnished with the accommodations suited to the different ages.

XXI. That the employments of the female part of the community consist in preparing food and clothing; in the care of the dwelling houses, dormitories, and public buildings; in the management of the washing and drying houses; in the education (in part) of the children; and in other occupations suited to the female character. By the proposed domestic arrangements one female will, with great ease and comfort, perform as much as twenty menial servants can do at present; and instead of the wife of a working man with a family being a drudge and a slave, she will be engaged only in healthy and cleanly employments, acquire better manners, and have sufficient leisure for mental improvement and rational enjoyment.

XXII. That it be a general rule, that every part of the establishment be kept in the highest state of order and neatness, and that the utmost personal cleanliness be observed.

XXIII. That the following objects and regulations connected with the department of health be attended to and adopted.

1. That on the first appearance of indisposition in any of the members, immediate attention be given to it, and every possible care be taken of the patient till complete recovery; the prevention of serious complaints being always far more easy than to effect a cure after the disease has fixed itself in the constitution.

2. The complaint of indisposition by any individual shall place him or her on the invalid list, on which the patient will remain until the medical attendant pronounces his complete recovery.

3. The arrangements of the apartments for the sick shall be such as to afford every possible comfort to patients, and to provide much more effectual means of recovery than their private dwellings could admit.

4. Removal to the apartments for the sick shall be at the option of the individual.

5. As the health of the community may be materially improved or injured by the interior plan of the dwelling-houses—by their situation with respect to other buildings—by dress, food, employment, the temper and general state of the mind, and by various other circumstances—the attention of the sub-committee of this department shall be continually directed to these important considerations.

XXIV. That as the right education of the rising generation is, under Divine Providence, the base upon which the future prosperity and happiness of the community must be founded, the committee shall regard this as the most important of all the departments committed to their direction, and shall employ in its superintendence those individuals whose talents, attainments, and dispositions, render them best qualified for such a charge.

The children of the community will be educated together and as one family in the schools and exercise-grounds provided for them in the centre of the square, where they will, at all times, be under the eye and inspection of their parents.

By properly conducting their education, it will be easy to give to each child—

1. Good temper and habits ;—
2. As sound a constitution as air, exercise, and temperance can bestow ;—
3. A facility in reading, writing, and accounts ;—
4. The elements of the most useful sciences, including geography and natural history ;—
5. A practical knowledge of agriculture and domestic economy, with a knowledge of some one useful manufacture, trade, or occupation, so that his employment may be varied, for the improvement of his mental and physical powers ;—
6. And lastly, a knowledge of himself and of human nature, to form him into a rational being, and render him charitable, kind, and benevolent, to all his fellow creatures.

XXV. That when the youth of the community shall have attained their sixteenth year, they be permitted either to become members, or to go out into general society, with every advantage which the community can afford them.

XXVI. That intelligent and experienced matrons be appointed to instruct the young mothers in the best mode of treating and training children from birth until they are two years old—the age at which it is proposed to send them to the schools and dormitories—that their constitutions, habits, and dispositions, may not be injured during that period.

XXVII. That in winter and unfavourable weather a sufficient variety of amusements and recreations proper for the members of such a community, be prepared within doors, to afford beneficial relaxation from employment and study.

XXVIII. That, as liberty of conscience—religious and mental liberty, will be possessed by every member of the community, arrangements be made to accommodate all denominations with convenient places of worship ; and that each individual be strongly recommended to exhibit in his whole conduct the utmost forbearance, kindness, and charity, towards all who differ from him.

XXIX. That in advanced age, and in cases of disability from accident, natural infirmity, or any other cause, the individual shall be supported by the community, and receive every comfort which kindness can administer.

XXX. That on the death of parents, the children shall become the peculiar care of the community, and proper persons be appointed to take the more immediate charge of them, and, as far as possible, to supply the place of their natural parents.

XXXI. That the committee of management shall not be empowered to admit a new member without the consent of three-fourths of the members of the community, obtained at a general meeting.

XXXII. That, although at the period when all the members shall have been trained and educated under the proposed arrangements, any regulations against misconduct will probably be unnecessary,—and although it is anticipated that the influence of these new cir-

cumstances upon the character of the individuals whose habits and dispositions have been formed under a different system, will be sufficiently powerful to render any serious differences of rare occurrence amongst them,—yet, in order to provide against such, it shall be a law of the community, that when differences arise they be referred to the decision of arbitrators, to be elected by the society, who, after hearing the parties, shall decide upon the case.

XXXIII. That if the conduct of any individual be injurious to the well-being of the community, and it be so decided by three-fourths of the members assembled at a general meeting, the committee shall explain to him in what respect his conduct has been injurious, and at the same time intimate to him that, unless the cause of complaint be removed, they are instructed to expel him from the community.

XXXIV. That any member wishing to withdraw from the community be at full liberty to do so at any time; and the committee shall be authorised to allow any such gratuity as the circumstances of the case may require.

XXXV. That the committee form arrangements by which all the members shall enjoy equal opportunities of visiting their friends elsewhere, or of travelling for information or other objects.

XXXVI. That the committee appoint duly qualified persons to travel from time to time, to collect scientific and other information for the benefit of the community.

XXXVII. That, in order to extend the benefits of a system of union and co-operation, which is applicable to mankind in every part of the world, measures be adopted by the committee to disseminate the knowledge of the new principles and arrangements.

XXXVIII. That, as this system is directly opposed to secrecy and exclusion of any kind, every practicable facility shall be given to strangers, to enable them to become acquainted with the constitution, laws, and regulations of the community, and to examine the results which these have produced in practice.

XXXIX. That the committee be charged with the duty of communicating on all occasions to the Government of the country, an unreserved explanation of the views and proceedings of the community.

Mr. Owen resumed—

It is very probable, from the irresistible nature of truth, when derived immediately from facts, that the most intelligent practical men will now admit that the details which have been submitted are satisfactory, and that measures have been developed for giving healthy, pleasant, and economical domestic arrangements to a certain limited population,—for the well educating of their children,—for providing employment for all who are competent to work,—for excluding temptations to vicious, bad, or even vulgar habits,—for creating good dispositions,—for the introduction of kind and affectionate feelings among the members of the associations, the influence of which will extend to every class and persuasion around them,—and for producing in them a continual desire to benefit all their fellow-creatures to the utmost of their power.

But it may be said, "that these very improvements, for such they must be admitted to be—important as they are individually, will cause an increase of surplus produce, as well as of population, both of which we find from experience to be not only serious, but overwhelming evils ; and we require to be informed how these are to be met and to be overcome."

This question brings me to the consideration of the errors of the present system of political economy, and of the lamentable effects which they produce throughout society. But as it is a subject which demands a systematic development, time will not permit me to enter upon it now. I therefore propose to direct your attention to it on Wednesday next, when I shall be happy to hear, and shall endeavour to meet, every objection that may then be brought forward.

This meeting was afterwards postponed to Saturday.

During the business of the meeting, the large painting representing the village on Mr. Owen's system was lowered. Several plans of the different buildings were also exhibited. They were viewed with much interest, and appeared to give general satisfaction.

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*Third Meeting at the Rotunda. April 19, 1823.*

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On Saturday, the 19th April, the adjourned meeting was held in the great room of the Rotunda, for the purpose of hearing the concluding part of the development of the practical arrangements proposed by Mr. Owen for the relief of Ireland.

At an early hour crowds thronged towards the Rotunda, and in a few minutes after the doors were opened the round room was completely filled. A great number of ladies were present. The best possible arrangements had been previously made to afford general accommodation, but, from the immense concourse which pressed forward from the entrance, much inconvenience was sustained. Towards the close of the day, the heat and pressure were so great that several ladies fainted, and in two or three instances a momentary sensation of alarm was excited by a sudden rush from the doors. It was found necessary in one instance to convey a lady out through one of the windows.

A few minutes after twelve o'clock, Mr. Owen entered. He was received with loud applause. He then came forward, and read from a paper as follows:—

At the conclusion of my address at the meeting on Saturday last, I promised to explain the nature of the remedy which was required to meet an excess of production and an excess of population—the two great evils which afflict the world, and which now, in a peculiar manner, overwhelm this most unfortunate of all countries.

It seems that upon these two points the wisdom of the old system has been exerted in vain—that all its learning, knowledge, and



ingenuity, have been exerted to the very dregs. Its most experienced statesmen and profound political economists have deemed it a hopeless task to discover the real *cause* and the effective *cure* of a state of things, in which two evils of so anomalous a character apparently present an insurmountable barrier to the further improvement of mankind. The language of the general complaint is—"there is too much produced,—Europe is suffering under a succession of abundant harvests;" and, strange to say, to this complaint is added the following:—"there is a principle in human nature, by which population has a necessary tendency to increase faster than food can be obtained for its support, and, consequently, as population must always press upon subsistence, the world must ever continue in poverty, vice, and misery."

Such are the notions that influence society in the first empires of the world, and direct the destinies of human nature. At this hour they constitute the creed of the leading statesmen of Europe, and are inculcated in the most learned seminaries as the very essence of wisdom on the great subject of modern political economy. In fact, with regard to these points, as well as some others of much interest to mankind, it has been considered among the great luminaries of the age to be a kind of sacrilege to doubt the truth of principles which certain individuals have imagined to be true, but which facts and experience now prove to be false.

A man possessing only sound common sense would say—"let the excess of population consume, if they can, the excess of productions; but if they cannot make use of them, then diminish the labour of the producers in the proportion in which the quantity produced exceeds the wants of the people;—or, if you must have the people unnecessarily to work like slaves, to create what is not required, then set fire to the surplus of one year, to make room for the surplus of the next, that these slaves may never want employment."

This would be the language of a plain unlettered man of business; and he would not see much difficulty in his way. But obstacles do exist, arising from the errors of our present system, which must be removed before any portion of mankind can possess the advantages which human nature ought to enjoy; and a right understanding of the nature of these artificial checks to human happiness will at once disclose to us the cause why, in the nineteenth century, an excess of productions or of wealth should co-exist with a supposed excess of population and an almost universal complaint of poverty.

Political economists make such frequent use, in all their writings, of the terms "supply and demand," without giving their readers any definite notion of what they mean by these expressions, or, in many cases perhaps, without having in their own minds any distinct ideas attached to them, that it becomes necessary, before we adopt their language, to define the sense in which these terms are to be understood. "Supply and demand," then, are used in reference to the wants of man,—the one denoting the amount of those wants, and the other the extent of the means for satisfying them. But political economists have supposed that there exists a natural connection

between them, and that there can be no limits to either. Upon this point, they and I are at issue. The wants of man, and the means of supplying them, appear to me to have no necessary connection. The former, rightly understood, consist of all those things which are requisite for his well being and happiness; and these are limited. While the means of producing them depend on man's progress in the knowledge of nature, and in the arts and sciences; and to this progress no limits can be assigned.

There is, therefore, no natural connection between supply and demand. The present system of society endeavours to force an artificial connection between them; but the powers of production, through the aid of modern improvements, chiefly in mechanism and chemistry, have made advances so great and extraordinary, that society is enabled, with less than a tenth part of its former manual labour, to bring forward supply far exceeding the demand which the population of the world, under existing circumstances and restrictions, is permitted to create.

Nothing can be imagined more truly absurd than the whole of the present arrangements for supplying the wants of mankind. It is the interest of all nations, and of every individual in existence, that those wants should be fully supplied, *in the best possible manner*, while all the existing practices and proceedings of all states, and of all individuals, are admirably calculated to prevent their being fully supplied, and to produce the limited results which *are* obtained, *in the worst possible manner*, and to the greatest disadvantage of every human being. I, however, blame no one for the existence of the prevailing errors and practices, whether in church or state, or in society in general. They are effects, necessarily resulting from the past circumstances of the world. But the period is arrived when so much misery is produced by their continuance, that an uncompromising review of them is loudly and irresistibly called for; and I will now enter upon that review, without having respect to persons or situations when these interfere with the great truths which involve the happiness of mankind.

In the early stages of society, man's wants were few, and their means of providing for them were limited to their manual efforts. Rude implements were afterwards invented; but as these were multiplied and improved, the facility of supplying those wants was increased in the same proportion, while there were no artificial restraints on production, and while man remained at peace with his fellows.

A long contest has since continued without ceasing, between human nature on the one hand, and an artificial and anti-social system on the other. While mankind have advanced in a knowledge of nature and of the arts and sciences, that progress has been counteracted by multiplied restrictions on the production and distribution of wealth, and by the destructive operations of war. Science has been continually adding to the capacity of man to create, while the system under which he exists has not only fettered his productive powers, but has devoted much of the wealth which he has been allowed to produce to the most useless and im-

moral purposes. Nay, that system, up to the present day, has trained man from infancy to consider it glorious, by fire and sword and by every other horrid means which his ingenuity can invent, to destroy, upon the most magnificent scale, the works of his fellow-creatures.

But such is the innate goodness of human nature, that in opposition to a combination of the most unfavourable circumstances, by which its best and most amiable qualities have been checked and depressed, it has, in one way or other, succeeded in making substantial advances in real knowledge and power, until at length it has attained a position upon which it can take firm ground, and say—“ I have been, to this day, grievously oppressed by ignorance, to which I will no longer submit. I have been compelled, hitherto, to be poor and wretched, and have been filled with errors and prejudices respecting myself, which I will now shake off. The knowledge which I have been permitted latterly to acquire, will enable me to do much more that is substantially beneficial for myself, than has yet been effected by any of the institutions which have been devised to do me good ; for all these, instead of making me better or wiser, I find, by woeful experience, tend to make me worse as to temporal matters, and to derange all my mental powers with regard to those belonging to eternity. I find that, were I now allowed to make use of the scientific knowledge which experience has taught me, I could immediately relieve myself from poverty, and from the innumerable temptations to vice and crime, and from all the other evils to which it necessarily gives birth. I could place myself amidst other institutions, under which none of the bad feelings and passions which have so long afflicted me could have any existence. Through the knowledge and means which I now possess, I might render myself intelligent, rich in all the really good things of this world, uniformly temperate, virtuous, and happy ; and thus be much better prepared for, and have a far better chance of, future happiness, than while I continue in the degraded and miserable condition in which I am, and in which I have been so long kept by the demoralising and wretched circumstances which, from some cause or other, have been permitted, heretofore, to surround me. And I would now ask,—whose interest can it serve that I should still be the victim of these degrading circumstances ?—or who are they who imagine that they are benefited by the longer continuance of so much misery and oppression ?—for I am prepared to show that they can have no real interest in all this irrationality. I am ready to explain to them the practical details of those new measures, by which I will demonstrate that I can do far better for myself than they have yet done for me, or than they appear in any degree competent to do for me. I will show them that I can support the whole of myself much better than any small part of me has ever yet been provided for, either in the palace or in the cottage ; and that I can, without any trouble, in comparison with that which is now experienced, make *all* my children far wiser, and better, and happier, than any of them have ever yet been made, under any of the horrid systems with which my nature has been so long tormented. With

this knowledge now fully disclosed to me, and which I will communicate as fully to you, I will no longer submit to your insensate proceedings ; and you can do nothing without me or against my fixed determination. As, however, you form part of myself, I am willing to enter into amicable arrangements, by which you and every part of me shall instantly begin to enjoy a large share of the benefits that are in prospect. We will have no longer any hostility. I know all the errors of your past proceedings, and the cause of them. These shall be overlooked ; and, without disturbing any of the existing institutions, we will set to work to create, in the shortest possible time, new arrangements, so decidedly advantageous for all of us, that no one will ever have cause to regret the abandonment of the one system, and the introduction of the other. The change, then, which I propose, shall be immediately commenced, but without offering violence or injury to any. Let matters proceed as at present, until each individual part of me shall have a superior station prepared for him. If any oppose the change, they will do so from ignorance only ; and as no one can make *himself* intelligent, time must be allowed for the force of circumstances to impress upon each a conviction of his present errors and prejudices.

“ Let the powers that be, direct the mighty process of improvement which society is about to undergo. The governments and churches which cover the earth have formed the characters which exist, and they have created the miseries with which I am overwhelmed. Let them, without delay, adopt a new course of action. Let the former apply their energies to withdraw the immoral circumstances which now disfigure the face of their dominions, and let them—for they easily may—introduce the others of which the influence is all powerful in educing virtue, good order, and prosperity. Their complicated systems of law, which, if I am right, are only other terms for systems of injustice, will then speedily cease to do evil and to afflict the oppressed.

“ Let the churches refrain from preaching and seeking to enforce disputed doctrines, which men are not yet prepared to understand, and which serve but as firebrands of discord. Let peace and goodwill to all mankind be the great objects of their ministrations ; and let their eloquence be exerted in inculcating charity, kindness, and cordial brotherly love, among all my children, by whatever name they may be called—by whatever colour distinguished. If you will thus act towards me, you will no longer be disappointed in my nature. Hitherto you have opposed and ill-treated me. For 6,000 years at the least, have you tortured me to receive impressions which are quite contrary to my nature, and which I never can be made to retain. What benefit have I ever experienced from disputed creeds ? What evils have they not doomed me to suffer ? Alter your systems. Study my real nature. Let your institutions, or the circumstances in which you place me, be in unison with it. And our difficulties will quickly vanish. All the miseries which I have ever experienced—all those which so grievously afflict me in this island, at the present moment—are evils necessarily arising from the errors which you have entertained regarding me. Do me but justice, and this divided, oppressed, and suffering country shall, at

no distant period, present a scene, that, contrasted with that which we now see around us, may fairly be described as a terrestrial paradise, governed and occupied by a superior race of beings."

This is the genuine language of human nature, and will, ere long, be the language of all the nations of the earth; for human nature has not promised more than it is competent to perform.

I undertake to demonstrate that such is the present state of our knowledge in agriculture and manufactures, and so extraordinary are the powers now possessed by society for the production of whatever can contribute to man's comfort and enjoyment, that the resources of the British islands are now abundantly adequate, without any foreign aid whatever, to the easy support of sixty millions of people. Nay, were it not that this view of the subject is altogether new to you, I would maintain, and could clearly prove, that our capabilities are such as to reasonably justify the statement of a result very far exceeding that which I have mentioned,—and that such an increase of population, under the proposed arrangements, would not only not encroach upon the happiness of the inhabitants, but, in proportion to the amount of that increase, would multiply, to each individual, the means and facilities of enjoyment.

I am at the same time prepared to show, that, while the working population of Ireland, of Great Britain, of Europe, and of the world, may be placed under circumstances in which, by a healthy, temperate, and agreeable application of their industry, they may at all times command a superfluity of everything which they can want or wish for,—no necessity exists for requiring from the higher classes any sacrifice of their present possessions, privileges, or rights. The nobles of the world may retain their wealth, titles, honours, and situations, as long as these can afford them the smallest gratification. They may enjoy them, too, in the most perfect security; for none who shall be trained under the new system will have any motive to contend with them for any such exclusive advantages, because apparent exclusive privileges, of whatever nature, cannot fail to be considered in their estimation as real disadvantages.

The calculations, of which I will shortly read to you the leading particulars, to prove the means by which the world may now be amply supplied with whatever can conduce to the real enjoyment of life, are simple, easy to be understood, and within the range of mind of every intelligent, practical man. They have been formed on three general scales:—

The 1st showing the result of a population, properly placed, conducted, and employed, when the surplus labour, beyond the supply of their own wants, shall be directed to agriculture; and when, of course, all their disposable produce would be raised from the soil.

The 2nd showing the result obtained by the same population, when the surplus labour shall be directed in part to agriculture, and in part to manufactures, mines, and fisheries.

And the 3rd, when the surplus labour of a similar population shall be employed in manufactures, mines, or fisheries, or under any combination of these.

It should be understood that in each case the population is supposed to occupy and cultivate a sufficient extent of land to supply itself with a full quantity of food, and that it is also furnished with the means of providing itself with a full quantity of clothing and the other necessities of life, in order that at all times it may be secured against any want of those things which are really required for the well-being and happiness of human nature.

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## STATEMENTS,

*Showing the power that Ireland possesses to create wealth beyond the most ample supply of the wants of its Inhabitants.*

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The population of Ireland, according to the last census, is about seven millions, and of Great Britain, about fifteen millions, making together, in round numbers, a population of twenty-two millions.

The following calculations will show the means by which new property may be created in Ireland, through the improved industry and character of the people, to meet a just and liberal expenditure of government, pay an equitable rent to the landed proprietors and regular tithes to the clergy, and gradually remove all the petty squabbles that now disunite, perplex, and irritate society.

The extent of Ireland is about twelve millions of Irish plantation acres. By comparing surveys taken of the whole and of the different parts of the country, it appears that there are about three millions of acres of mountain and bog, (unprofitable, except for fuel, and some small patches of mountain pasture), and one million of woods, plantations, and pleasure-grounds. The remaining eight millions are, or might be, occupied as corn land, meadow, or pasture.

An Irish plantation acre contains ...	7,840	square yards.
A Scotch acre ... ..	5,760	ditto.
An English acre ... ..	4,840	ditto.

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The following calculations are in Irish plantation acres.

It is required to know in what manner the arable land of Ireland can be occupied, to give to all classes the greatest number of advantages with the fewest inconveniences?

As an approximation to the solution of this question, the following calculations are now offered for the consideration of the Irish public.

## CALCULATION FIRST.

Showing the result from the industry of 1,000 people, employed partly in the cultivation and disposal of the produce of 1,000 acres, and partly in manufactures.

Suppose an association of 1,000 people, of the usual ages in society, to rent or purchase a farm of 1,000 Irish acres, of a medium quality of soil, to put it under spade cultivation, and to arrange it as under:—the subjoined calculations will show the number of labourers necessary for the cultivation of the land,—the probable produce,—and the surplus that will remain after the whole population are provided with food, clothes, instruction, and superior domestic accommodations:—

- 200 acres green crop, say 80 acres potatoes, or carrots, and 120 acres white, yellow, or Swedish turnip.
- 200 do. fallow crop, viz., 150 acres flax, and 50 wheat.
- 200 do. clover, rape, vetches, &c.
- 200 do. white crop, viz., 78 acres wheat, 122 acres oats.
- 150 do. pasture, a part to be laid down, and as much taken up occasionally.
- 80 do. orchard, producing fruits, roots, and culinary vegetables, cabbage for dairy cows, &c.
- 20 do. site of buildings, exercise grounds, roads, &c.

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1,000 acres.

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## THE LABOUR AND PRODUCE ARE ESTIMATED AS UNDER.

	Number of Acres.	Number of days labour of Nine Hours.	Number of Labourers.	Bushels per Acre.	Stone per Acre.	Stones produced.	Weight of Flour, Meal, &c., in avoirdupois lbs.
Wheat . . . . .	128	7,015	23	42	180	23,040	250,880
Oats . . . . .	122	4,270	14	66	180	21,960	183,610
Potatoes . . . . .	80	10,065	33	600	1,600	128,000	1,792,000
Orchard . . . . .	30	4,270	14	producing	{ fruit,	34,455	482,375
Flax . . . . .	150	11,285	37	—	{ vegetables, roots, &c.	6,750	212,166
				16	Total,		94,500
Flaxseed							
Turnip . . . . .	—	—	—				
Vetches and Clover	80	3,050	10				
Feeding cattle with the above	120	915	3				
turnip and vetches, and ma-							
naging dairy	—	4,270	14				
Turnip and rape . . . . .	40	1,830	6				
Clover and vetches	80	610	2				
Pasture . . . . .	150	610	2				
Feeding and managing sheep		1,525	5				
on the above turnip, rape,							
clover, and pasture	—	610	2				
Offals from dairy and kitchens	—	4,880	16				
7,700lbs. of wool . . . . .	—	28,365	93				
94,500lbs. of flax . . . . .	—	915	3				
Tannery . . . . .	—	—	—				
Site of buildings . . . . .	20	—	—				
Total	1,000	Acres.	277	Labourers.			

N.B.—94,500lbs. Scotch flax dressed into 60,700lbs. clean flax, and about 14,000lbs. tow, which will produce 121,400 yards, 4-4ths from 10-100 to 12-100 linen, at 1s. 3d. per yard, and 16,000 yards of coarse linen at 3d. per yard.



In this number of labourers are included those who would perform the offices of miller, baker, butcher, &c.

To the 227 so occupied, must be added tradesmen and artificers, such as blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, hatters, miners, road-makers, and others—say 53 more—making in all 330. But as the land improved by spade cultivation, the number of persons required to cultivate it would, for some years, annually diminish.

Then, allowing each person, on an average of men, women, and children, to consume half-a-pound of flour, half-a-pound oatmeal, three quarters of a pound of fruit, three pounds of potatoes, &c., a quarter of a pound of beef, mutton, &c., and a pint and a half of milk, or what it would produce in butter or cheese, daily, 1,000 people would consume yearly:—

		£	s.	d.
Of Flour	182,500lbs. at 1s. 6d. per stone	1,015	3	6½
Oatmeal	182,500lbs. at 1s. per do.	876	15	8½
Fruit	273,750lbs. at 1s. per do.	977	13	6½
Potatoes	1,095,000lbs. at 1d. per do.	326	2	10
Beef and mutton }	91,250lbs. at 2d. per lb.	700	8	4
Milk	547,500 pints at 1d. per pint	2,281	5	0
Broad cloth	2,500 yards at 12s. per yard	1,500	0	0
Linen	6,000 yards, at 1s. 2d. per yard	350	0	0
Leather	3,000lbs. at 1s. 4d. }	300	0	0
	2,000lbs. at 1s. 0d. }			
Incidentals		150	0	0
		<hr/> £8,337 9 0 <hr/>		

	£	s.	d.
Food and clothes for each individual, averaging men, women, and children, for a year	8	6	9
Do. ditto a week,	0	3	2½
Do. ditto a day,	0	0	5½

By taking the above consumption from the produce, we have the following surplus:—

	Flour.	Oatmeal.	Potatoes, &c.	Fruit.	Flxsd.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	hhd.
Produce	250,880	183,610	2,004,166	482,375	338
Consump- tion }	182,500	182,500	1,095,000	273,750	—
Surplus	68,380	1,110	909,166	208,625	338

	Milk, &c. pints.	Beef, mutton, &c. lbs.	Bd. cloth yds.	Linen yds.	Leather. lbs.
Produce,	691,200	133,920	3,700	137,400	6,500
Consumption	547,500	91,250	2,500	6,000	5,000
Surplus	143,700	42,670	1,200	131,400	1,500

N.B.—The flax-seed sown is estimated, with other seeds, on the debit of this account, at the rate of four bushels per acre. There is, therefore, none deducted when taking the consumption from the produce.

	£	s.	d.
Then 68,380lbs. of flour, at 1s. 6d. per stone .	366	6	4
1,110lbs. of oatmeal, at 1s. per ditto .	3	19	3
909,166lbs. of potatoes, at 1d. per ditto .	270	11	8
208,625lbs. of fruit, at 10d. per ditto .	620	18	1
338 hhds. of flaxseed, at 35s. per hhd. .	591	10	0
143,700 pints of milk, at 1d. per pint .	598	15	0
42,670lbs. of beef, mutton, or bacon, at 2d. } per pound . . . . . }	355	11	8
1,200 yds. of broadcloth, at 12s. per yard .	720	0	0
131,400 yds. of linen, at 1s. 2d. per yard .	7,665	0	0
1,500lbs. of leather, at 1s. per lb. .	75	0	0
	£11,267	12	0
Deduct incidentals, £150 0 0			
Do. hides bought, say 40 at 45s. 90 0 0			
	240	0	0
	£11,027	12	0

Thus, from the labour of 330 people, aided by machinery, 1,000 acres would be kept in the highest state of cultivation, and the produce manufactured—1,000 people fully supplied with food and clothes—and a surplus of agricultural and manufactured produce created, which, at the lowest state of the Dublin markets, could be sold for £11,027 12s. which the community would always be enabled to dispose of, as it would be a real surplus, after all the members of the community were amply provided for.

In a working population of 1,000 persons, in the ordinary proportions of men, women, and children, there are 735 competent to labour, after allowing the usual number for young, sick, and aged;—but supposing only two-thirds (666) out 1,000, deducting, therefore, 330 from 666, and allowing 16 for those employed as superintendents and teachers, there would remain 320 to be employed in manufacturing whatever might be useful, in demand, and best adapted to the localities of the situation. The value of the

labour of persons, so trained, instructed, and employed, would soon be made to exceed 10s. per week; but estimating it at 6s. its yearly amount would be

	£	s.	d.
	4,992	0	0
To which add surplus of land produce,	11,027	12	0
	<hr/>		
	£16,019	12	0
	<hr/>		

From this sum of £16,019 12s. there is to be deducted interest of capital expended in forming the improved domestic arrangements,—rent of land, if rented, or the interest of the purchase money, if the land be purchased,—tithes,—national and local taxes,—with the annual risk on stock and crop.

The expense of building a village to accommodate 1,000 persons, including church, chapel, and places of worship for dissenters, schools, library, inn, &c., and furnishing the whole, according to estimates accurately made, amounts to £35,000.

	£	s.	d.
£35,000 at 5 per cent. interest, and 5 per cent. charged for wear and tear, per ann.	3,500	0	0
750 estimated value of implements necessary for 1,000 acres under spade cultivation, which at 20 per cent. is	150	0	0
2,500 estimated value of machinery for the woollen and linen manufactories, bleaching, and tanning, at 20 per cent.	500	0	0
1,000 Value of 100 cattle, at £10 each			
1,000 Do. of 1,100 sheep, at 20s. each together £2,100 which at 5 per cent. is	105	0	0
250 Manure—this would be produced by the community for their own use, except for the three first years, but say per ann.	250	0	0
770 Seeds of all kinds yearly	770	0	0
Rent at 30s. per acre, or interest of purchase money	1,500	0	0
Tithes at 6s. 8d. per acre, on the whole	334	0	0
Taxes and public burdens	334	0	0
4,575 Estimated amount of labour in cultivating the land during the first year, while the buildings are erecting, at 5 per cent.	229	0	0
Oak and larch bark, and ingredients for tanning and bleaching,	300	0	0
Incidentals, arising variously,	200	0	0
<hr/>			
£45,945 Debt.			
Yearly charge,	£8,172	0	0
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The account will then stand thus :—

Dr. To annual charges,	£8,172 0 0	£ — — —
Cr. By value of agricultural and manufactured sur- plus produce,		11,027 12 0
By value of manufac- turers' labour,		4,992 0 0
Yearly profit,	7,847 12 0	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£16,019 12 0	£16,019 12 0
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Thus, a surplus yearly income of £7,847 will be provided to pay off a debt of £45,945, which the community would be enabled to redeem in less than eight years from the commencement of the establishment, allowing two years to put it in full activity.

Under spade cultivation the produce will be greatly increased in quantity, and also in the value, by raising plants yielding a greater quantity of human food. In a few years the produce will exceed one-half more than has been stated, which, with the increased value of the crops, will be amply sufficient, (including the value of the labour of those employed in manufactures,) to provide food and clothes and all the necessaries of life for upwards of 4,000 people.

## CALCULATION SECOND,

Showing the result from the industry of 1,000 people, wholly employed in agriculture and manufacturing the produce.

Suppose an association of 1,000 people to rent or purchase as much land as would give full employment to the working part of the community, in cultivating the soil and manufacturing and disposing of the produce.

In the foregoing calculation it has been shown that in a working population of 1,000 there are at the very least 666 competent to labour, and that 330 are sufficient to cultivate 1,000 acres, manufacture the produce, and perform the labour of the other domestic offices, —cooking, baking, making wearing apparel, &c. for 1,000 people.

If from the 330 we deduct 45, the number of those employed in domestic offices, there remain 285 for the cultivation of 1,000 acres, and manufacturing the produce; and if 45 and 16, the number of those employed in domestic offices and as superintendents and teachers be deducted from 666, there remain 605 to be employed as cultivators, manufacturers, artisans, and tradesmen. Then, if 285 can cultivate and manufacture the produce of 1,000 acres, 605 would be able to cultivate and manufacture the produce of 2,122

acres, supposing the land of the same quality, and arranged as before, viz. :—

	A'cres.	Produce of flour, meal, &c.
Of wheat . . .	278	544,880lbs.
Oats . . .	255	383,775 do.
Potatoes . . .	174	3,897,600 do.
Orchard . . .	62	{ 996,800 do. of fruit. 488,470 do. of roots and vegetables.
Flax . . .	320	
Turnips . . .	170	{ 201,600 do. of scutch flax. 720 hhds. flax seed.
Vetches and clover	256	
Turnips . . .	85	{ Would feed 212 cows and bullocks, producing 950,400 pints of milk, or 36,960lbs. butter, or 102,300lbs. cheese, & 91,392lbs. of beef, and the hides of 102 bullocks, which would be slaughtered yearly.
Vetches, rape, or clover . . .	170	
Pasture . . .	320	
Offals from dairy, &c.		{ Would feed 2,340 sheep, producing 234,000lbs. of mutton, and 16,380lbs. of wool yearly.
Site of buildings .	32	
Total 2,122 acres.		Producing 12,000lbs. of bacon.

16,380lbs. of wool might be manufactured into 7,900 yards broad cloth, worth 12s. per yard.—201,600lbs. of scutch flax might be manufactured into 259,000 yards of linen, at 1s. 3d. per yard, and 34,200 yards coarse ditto, at 9d. per yard, or 293,200 yards, at 1s. 2d. per yard.

Tannery would manufacture the hides and skins produced into 5,000lbs. of leather, at 1s. 4d. per lb.—and 7,500lbs. light ditto, at 1s. per ditto.

The produce, consumption, and surplus, would stand as under :—

	Flour. lbs.	Oatmeal. lbs.	Potatoes, &c. lbs.	Fruit. lbs.	Flxsd. hhds.
Produce	544,880	383,775	4,336,000	996,800	720
Consump- tion }	182,500	182,500	1,095,000	273,750	—
Surplus	362,380	201,275	3,241,000	723,050	720

	Milk, &c. pints.	Beef, mut- ton, &c. lbs.	Brd. cloth. yds.	Linen. yds.	Leather. lbs.
Produce	950,400	337,392	7,900	293,200	12,500
Consump- tion	547,500	91,250	2,500	6,000	5,000
Surplus	402,900	246,142	5,400	287,200	7,500

	£	s.	d.
Then 362,380lbs. of flour, at 1s. 6d. per stone .	1,941	6	5
201,275lbs. of oatmeal, at 1s. per ditto .	718	16	9
3,241,000lbs. of potatoes, at 1d. per ditto .	964	11	8
723,050lbs. of fruit, at 10d. per ditto .	2,151	18	8
720hhds. of flax seed, at 35s. per hhd. .	1,260	0	0
402,900pints of milk, at 1d. per pint .	1,678	13	0
246,142lbs. of beef, mutton, or bacon, at 2d. per pound. }	2,051	3	8
5,400 yds. of broad cloth, at 12s. per yd. .	3,240	0	0
287,200 yds. of linen, at 1s. 2d. per yard .	16,753	6	8
7,500lbs. of leather, at 1s. per lb. .	375	0	0
	£31,134	18	10

	£	s.	d.
The expense of building a village for the accom- modation of 1,000 persons, including church, chapel, schools, &c. as before }	35,000	0	0
Additional farm offices . . . . .	5,000	0	0
	£40,000	0	0

	£	s.	d.
£40,000 at 10 per cent. . . . .	£4,000	0	0
1,700 Estimated value of implements for 2,122 acres under spade husbandry, at 20 per cent. }	340	0	0
6,000 Estimated value of machinery for woollen and linen manufactories, bleaching, and tanning, &c., at 20 per cent. }	1,200	0	0
2,130 Value of 213 cattle, at £10 each }	223	0	0
2,340 Ditto of 2,340 sheep, at 20s. each making £4,460, which at 5 per cent. }	600	0	0
600 Manure annually . . . . .	1,600	0	0
1,600 Seeds of all kinds yearly . . . . .	3,183	0	0
Rent at 30s. per acre, or interest of pur- chase money . . . . . }			

Tithes, at 6s. 8d. per acre on the whole	708	0	0
Taxes and public burdens	708	0	0
Oak bark, and ingredients for tanning and bleaching, &c.	1,500	0	0
£10,500 Amount expended in labour in cultivat- ing the land, during the first year, while the buildings are erecting	525	0	0
Incidentals, arising variously	500	0	0
<hr/> £64,860 Debt.	Yearly charge	£15,087	0 0
<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>

The account will then stand thus:—

	£	£	s.	d.
Dr. To annual charges	15,087			
Cr. By value of surplus produce		31,134	0	0
Yearly profit	16,047			

Thus, from the industry of 1,000 people, wholly employed in agriculture, and manufacturing the produce, a surplus yearly income of £16,047 will be provided, to pay off a debt of £64,860; which the community would be enabled to do in less than six years from the commencement of the establishment, allowing two years to put it in full activity.

Value of surplus produce	£31,134	18	10
Ditto produce consumed	8,187	9	0
	<hr/> £39,322	7	10
	<hr/>		

Therefore, it appears that 1,000 people, so employed under these arrangements, would create sufficient produce in value to feed and clothe nearly 5,000 people, without taking into account the increased productiveness of the soil, which in the course of a few years, under the system of management recommended, would, at least, exceed one-half more than has been stated.

### CALCULATION THIRD.

Showing the result from the industry of 1,000 people employed principally in agriculture, their manufactures being limited to the supply of their own consumption.

It has been shown by the foregoing calculations, that there are 666 persons competent to labour, in a working population of 1,000, and that 205 are sufficient to cultivate 1,000 Irish acres, manufacture the produce, to feed and clothe 1,000 people, and dispose of the surplus.

If from 205 be deducted 45, the number which would be employed in managing the dormitories, educating the children, making wearing apparel, cooking, baking, &c. &c., there remain 160 for the cultivation of the 1,000 acres,—and if 45 and 16, the number of those employed in domestic offices, and as superintendents and teachers, be deducted from 666, there remain 605 to be employed in agriculture.

Then if 160 can cultivate 1,000 acres, 605 would be able to cultivate 3,800 acres of the same description of land, and arranged as before, viz :—

	Acres.	Produce of flour, meal, &c.
Of Wheat . . .	850	1,666,000lbs.
Oats . . .	720	1,083,600lbs.
Potatoes . . .	260	5,818,200lbs.
Orchard . . .	100	{ 1,607,740lbs. of fruit. 730,700lbs. of roots and vegetables.
Flax . . .	15	{ 9,450lbs. of scutch flax, which would manufacture into 13,740 yards 4-4 10-100 linens, and 32 hhds. of flax seed.
Turnip . . .	335	{ Would feed 390 cows and bullocks, producing 1,555,200 pints of milk, or 60,480lbs. of butter—or 167,400lbs. of cheese,—188,160lbs. of beef, and the hides of 210 bullocks, which would be slaughtered yearly.
Clover & Vetches	455	
Pasture . . .	550	{ Would feed 4,150 sheep, producing 415,000lbs. of mutton, and 29,000lbs. of wool, yearly.
Turnip . . .	165	
Vetches, rape, or clover . . .	305	
		Offals from the whole would produce 18,000lbs. bacon yearly.
Site of buildings, roads, &c. . .	45	
	<u>3,800</u>	Acres.

The produce, consumption, and surplus will stand thus :—

	Flour. lbs.	Oatmeal. lbs.	Potatoes, &c. lbs.	Fruit. lbs.	Flxsd. hhds.
Produce	1,666,000	1,083,600	6,548,900	1,607,740	32
Consumption.	182,500	182,500	1,095,000	278,750	
Surplus	<u>1,483,500</u>	<u>901,100</u>	<u>5,453,900</u>	<u>1,333,990</u>	<u>32</u>



	Milk, &c. pints.	Beef and Mutton. lbs.	Wool. lbs.	Linen. yards.
Produce	1,555,200	621,160	29,000	13,740
Consumption. }	547,500	91,250	5,200	6,000
Surplus	<u>1,007,700</u>	<u>529,910</u>	<u>23,800</u>	<u>7,740</u>

N.B.—5,200lbs. of wool would produce 2,500 yards of broad cloth, for the use of the community.

	£	s.	d.
Then 1,483,500lbs. of flour at 1s. 6d. per stone . . . . .	7,247	6	5
901,100lbs. of oatmeal, at 1s. per do. . . . .	3,218	4	3
5,453,900lbs. of potatoes, at 1d. per do. . . . .	1,623	3	8
1,333,990lbs. of fruit, at 10d. per do. . . . .	3,970	4	2
32hhds. of flaxseed, at 35s. . . . .	56	0	0
1,007,700pints of milk, at 1d. . . . .	4,198	15	0
529,919lbs. of beef and mutton, &c., at 2d. . . . .	4,415	18	4
23,800lbs. of wool, at 9d. per lb. . . . .	892	10	0
7,740 yards of linen, at 1s. 2d. per yard . . . . .	451	10	0
210 hides at 40s. . . . .	420	0	0

£27,193 11 10

From this must be deducted as much as will purchase those articles not pro- vided by the community, viz.: lea- ther . . . . .	£300
Sundries . . . . .	

150

450 0 0

£26,743 11 10

	£	s.	d.
The expense of building a village for the accom- modation of 1,000 people, including church, chapel, schools, &c., as before . . . . .	35,000	0	0
Additional farm offices . . . . .	5,000	0	0
	<u>£40,000</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

	£.	s.	d.
£40,000 at 10 per cent. . . . .	4,000	0	0
3,000 Estimated value of implements for 3,800 acres under spade husbandry, at 20 per cent. . . . .	600	0	0
1,000 Do. machinery for linen and woollen manufactory, at 20 per cent. . . . .	200	0	0

3,900 Value of 390 cattle at £10 each,			
4,150 Do. of 4,150 sheep, at 20s. each, making } £8,050, which at 5 per cent. is . }	402	10	0
800 Manure annually . . . . .	800	0	0
2,500 Seeds of all kinds yearly . . . . .	2,500	0	0
Rent at 30s. per acre, or interest of purchase money . }	5,700	0	0
Tithes at 6s. 8d. per acre . . . . .	1,266	6	8
Taxes and public burdens . . . . .	1,266	6	8
Ingredients for bleaching, &c. . . . .	100	0	0
17,000 Amount expended in labour in cultivating the land during the first year, while the buildings are erecting . }	850	0	0
Incidentals arising variously . . . . .	400	0	0
<hr/> <hr/> £72,350	<hr/> <hr/> £18,085	<hr/> <hr/> 3	<hr/> <hr/> 4

Dr. To annual charge . . . . .	£18,085	
Cr. By value of surplus produce . . . . .		£26,743
Yearly profit . . . . .	8,658	
	<hr/> £26,743	<hr/> 26,743

Thus, from the industry of 1,000 people, employed principally in agriculture, and in manufactures only to the extent of their own consumption, a surplus yearly income of £8,658 will be provided to pay off the debt of £72,350, which the community would be enabled to do in about nine years, allowing, as before, two years to put the establishment in active operation.

Value of surplus produce . . . . .	£26,743
Ditto of produce consumed . . . . .	8,187
	<hr/> £34,930

By comparing that part of the produce consumed by the community with the whole produce, it appears that 1,000 people so employed in agriculture, would create sufficient produce, both in quantity and value, to feed and clothe upwards of 4,000 people, without taking into account the increased productiveness of the soil, which, under the proposed system of spade husbandry, would at least exceed one-half more than has been stated.

#### CALCULATION FOURTH,

Showing the result from the labour of 1,000 people employed principally in manufactures, and cultivating only such a quantity of

land as may yield sufficient agricultural produce for their own consumption.

If the localities of any situation should render it more advantageous to employ the greater part of the population in manufactures, the following statement will show the quantity of land and labour necessary to provide food and clothes for 1,000 people, and the value of the surplus labour employed in manufacturing whatever might be most likely to meet a demand in the markets of the country.

It has been shown by the foregoing calculations, that 1,000 people would consume yearly 182,500lbs. of flour, 182,500lbs. of oatmeal, 1,095,000lbs. of potatoes, 273,750lbs. of fruit, 547,500 pints of milk, 91,250lbs. of beef, mutton, &c., 2,500 yards of cloth, 6,000 yards of linen, and 5,000lbs. of leather; to produce which it will require:—

Wheat . . . . .	94 acres, and 17 labourers.
Oats . . . . .	121 ditto, and 14 ditto.
Potatoes . . . . .	48 ditto, and 19 ditto.
Orchard . . . . .	15 ditto, and 7 ditto.
Flax . . . . .	9 ditto, and 3 ditto.
Turnip, vetches, and clover . . . . .	155 ditto, and 20 ditto.
Turnip, rape, and pasture . . . . .	135 ditto, and 8 ditto.
Buildings, &c. . . . .	20 ditto.
<b>Total acres . . . . .</b>	<b>597</b>
<b>Manufacture of wool into cloth. . . . .</b>	<b>8 ditto.</b>
<b>Ditto of linen . . . . .</b>	<b>9 ditto.</b>
<b>Tradesmen and artisans . . . . .</b>	<b>30 ditto.</b>
<b>Total labourers . . . . .</b>	<b>135</b>

By the above it appears, that 597 acres, and 135 labourers, are necessary to provide food and clothes and other necessities for 1,000 people; allowance being made in land and labour to create a surplus sufficient to purchase such necessary articles as cannot be advantageously produced by the community.

If from 666 be deducted 135, and 10 the number of teachers and superintendents, there remain 521, to be employed in manufacturing whatever might be useful, in demand, or best adapted to the localities of the situation. The value of the labour of these 521 individuals, at 6s. a week, is, yearly, £8,127 12s.

The expense of building a village for the accommodation of 1,000 people, including church, chapel, school, &c., on a farm of 600 acres, is estimated at £30,000.

	£ s. d.
£30,000 at 5 per cent. interest, and 5 per cent. } for wear and tear . . . . . }	3,000 0 0

	£	s.	d.
460 Value of implements, at 20 per cent. is .	92	0	0
500 Value of machinery, which at 20 per cent. is . . . . . }	100	0	0
1,300 Value of cattle and sheep stock, which, at 5 per cent., is . . . . . }	65	0	0
150 Manure . . . . .	150	0	0
400 Seeds of all kinds . . . . .	400	0	0
Rent, at 30s. per acre, or interest of purchase money . . . . . }	896	0	0
Tithes, at 6s. 8d. per acre, on 597 acres . . . . .	199	0	0
Taxes and public burdens . . . . .	199	0	0
2,700 Estimated amount paid for labour during the first year . . . . . }	135	0	0
Incidentals arising variously . . . . .	300	0	0
<hr/> £35,510 Debt.	Yearly charge	£5,536	0 0
<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>

The account in this case will stand thus:—

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dr. To annual charges . . . . .	5,536	0	0			
Cr. By value of manufacturers' labour . . . . . }				8,127	0	0
Yearly profit . . . . .	2,591	0	0			
	<hr/> £8,127	0	0			
	<hr/>					

These calculations have been made in all respects to the disadvantage of the productions, or profitable results of the proposed association. —All practical men who are masters of the subject, and by whom the calculations have been examined, admit their correctness, and allow that the case would justify a still more favourable statement,—but, as they now stand they are amply sufficient to demonstrate that there is not any necessity for a single individual to remain much longer in poverty, or to be precluded from the means of procuring any of those comforts which human nature requires for health, peace of mind, and real enjoyment.

That a surplus may thus be created by every working portion of the human race, much greater than has ever yet been produced, no practical man can entertain any doubt. It is also evident that by the arrangements proposed the working classes, or the actual producers of all wealth, will attain at length their right place in society, and enjoy something like a fair proportion of the benefits which they produce so lavishly for others. All the valuable faculties and the amiable dispositions of human nature may thus be called into full action over the world by the right education and employment of every individual, and peace, order, and real virtue be permanently established among mankind.

The prospect before us is truly so great and glorious and delightful

that I feel some difficulty in turning away from the contemplation of it. I must, however, direct your attention to other views, though of a less inviting nature, that you may be enabled to understand in detail the practical measures by which you are to relieve yourselves from the poverty and ignorance and degradation under which your country has so long suffered.

You have seen with how much ease an abundant supply of all things may be created for the use of man. But according to the present system of the world it signifies little how much is or can be created, unless, reserving only a very little portion for ourselves, we can either force or cajole some parties, it matters not whom, whether friends or foes, to receive from us a large quantity of our most valuable productions, after we have carried them many thousands of miles to their doors, and to give us in exchange for them a small quantity of their least useful commodities; although with a tenth or a twentieth part of all this cost and trouble we could far better supply ourselves at home with articles to supersede these of much greater intrinsic value. Thus, while each portion of the earth could be converted into a terrestrial paradise by the well-directed industry of its inhabitants annually creating an abundance for all, mankind exert far more industry and incur the most extraordinary risks in the pursuits of a foreign commerce, which, when apparently the most successful, is the most injurious to them.

Neither is it sufficient for man as he has been hitherto trained, instructed, and governed, that he should possess the most ample means of creating real wealth,—he must also have it represented by metals of little intrinsic value, of which a very small quantity, comparatively speaking, can be found, and of which it is not only difficult, but impossible for the greater part of mankind to obtain what is necessary for so irrational a course of proceeding.

From this cause have resulted the most complicated transactions of business, constituting what is called “foreign and domestic commerce,” or a general system of buying and selling, or exchanging productions for metals; by means of which men seek to supply themselves in the best manner, as they imagine, with all they want. This system, although it has ever been injurious to mankind, was yet endurable so long as manual labour remained of sufficient value to enable a working man to maintain his family in some degree of comfort, or as long as the supply of the wants of the world was less than the means afforded by the value of manual labour to purchase such supply. As soon, however, as scientific power, or the improvements, inventions, and discoveries in mechanism, chemistry, and the arts, had advanced so far as to be applied to supersede manual labour, and were brought into direct competition with it, increasing the supply prodigiously on the one hand, and diminishing, on the other, the means of purchasing that supply,—the system of buying and selling for metals became extremely inconvenient. It is daily increasing our embarrassments, and will soon be discovered to be so injurious to the interests of all parties, and so destructive of the prosperity of society, that it must at length be abandoned as being altogether incompatible with the new state of things which has

arisen. Commercial exchanges, to the limited extent within which they will be useful and required in a rational state of society, ought to be made through some convenient medium which would represent the real value, or the amount of labour contained in each article to be exchanged. For the very short period during which these exchanges will be necessary, a paper representative, or notes (prepared according to the plan lately submitted to the bank of England by Applegath and Cowper) representing any number of days' labour, or part of a day's labour, would render the use of gold and silver, except for foreign exchanges, entirely unnecessary.

The standard of value being labour, and the necessary preliminary arrangements being formed, notes representing labour would be given for every article when finished, according to the amount of labour that may be contained in it, that amount being previously ascertained and determined with reference to each article, by the parties who may agree to produce and exchange upon this simple principle. All bargaining, or desire to take advantage of each other, would at once cease,—insincerity would no longer characterise the proceedings of commerce,—every one's labour would easily supply him with the necessaries and comforts of life,—poverty would soon be unknown,—the representative of wealth, while it would always be commensurate with the amount of wealth created, would actually stand for what it purported to do,—the wealth in society, and the notes representing it, would be at all times equal in amount,—and the security of the system might be of the most certain and complete description.

But as soon as this subject of wealth shall be fully comprehended—as soon as the *direct* means of producing, distributing, and consuming it to the greatest advantage of all parties shall be known—it will at once be perceived that any standard of value or medium of exchange will be of very little use to society. All will feel a far greater desire to give than to receive, and all, in consequence, will readily obtain whatever can be desired or wished in the state of society in which they will be placed.

Under these improved arrangements,—or, rather, in the new world about to be created out of the old,—to produce abundantly whatever can be of real use to man, will be but a sport and a pastime, nothing more, in fact, than a pleasant exercise and a most desirable means of enjoying the best state of health and spirits. Commerce, in the common acceptation of the term, will cease; and with it will be extinguished the vile spirit which the system has produced. If I am right, law will become entirely useless, fortunately for its professors and their clients. It has ever been a system of gross injustice, enabling the strong in wealth to oppress the weak in purse, and is the source from whence a multitude of bad and most injurious feelings continually spring. If I am right, wars will be at an end. The immorality and the uniformly grievous consequences resulting from them will become too glaring to have any support among rational beings, who understand the justice of kindness and the overwhelming influence which it may possess over all that has life. If I am right, forms and ceremonies of religion will gra-

dually diminish, until none—mere forms and ceremonies, I mean—will remain in the world ; for each individual who shall hereafter come into existence shall be far more divinely trained, educated, and placed in life, than any divines have ever yet been. In this manner, he will have, as he ought to have, a direct converse with his Creator, and will be much more competent to instruct, than any of the teachers of the past or present times. The knowledge of the Lord will thus, and thus alone, be made to cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. If you really wish for this happy period to arrive, you must exert all your faculties to hasten the introduction every where of those arrangements under which alone the prophecies can ever be fulfilled. See you not the signs of the times when old things are about to pass away, and when all things are to become new ? See you not an irresistible cause why this change must now be accomplished ? Have you not seen,—or, if you have not seen, have you not heard of,—the misery which these old things inflict upon the Irish peasant, and upon a large, a very large, portion of human nature ? And do you not discover, even by a mere representation of the new order of things, how speedily such a change will remove the evils of the old world, and render one and all heartily inclined to put away these abominations from among us, and to embrace a system which will ensure to *all*, advantages such as none have enjoyed ?

It has been told you that the change shall come upon you like a thief in the night ; and who, even during the last night which has passed, dreamed or imagined that this change was at hand ? What power can now stay its course ? What human being has an interest to put the slightest obstacle in the way of its instant and universal introduction ? All governments must co-operate with their people in this great work, or they will no longer be of any use, but an evil in the world, and their power will be paralysed, for human nature will cease to give them support in opposition to itself ; yet each of their subjects will be ready to lend them the most willing service to carry the proposed change into instant effect.

But will any objector to our views of human nature yet say—“ this state of abundance, of improved health, and highly augmented happiness, will lead to so great an increase of population, that the world will speedily be overstocked with inhabitants, until at last we shall be obliged even to eat each other.”

As long as the earth remains a desert for want of people, as long as science makes such rapid advances in giving man new aid to his natural powers, and as long as a thousand persons out of the most miserable population now in existence can provide subsistence amply sufficient for three thousand, we have no great reason, I think, to apprehend that evil will arise from any addition which it is possible to make to the present population of the earth. On the contrary, each child that may come into the world will, it appears to me, be a gain to all those previously in existence ; and, in consequence of improvements derived from science, the greater the number of people under the new arrangements, the less proportion of manual labour will be required from each, and the greater the choice every one will have of intelligent, kind, and affectionate friends.

The real gain and wealth of the world will then consist in the number of its inhabitants, and it will be time enough to think of redundancy of population when it shall cease to be in our power to create a vast excess of productions.

Do not the scriptures command us to increase and multiply and replenish the earth? Have we done so? We have exerted ourselves with some effect to destroy and to desolate; but little have we done in the spirit of the scriptural injunction. During centuries past, the population of the world has been nearly as it now is, and the earth is scarcely less a waste than ever. It is better cultivated in some districts; while others, which *were* as the garden of Eden, and which teemed with inhabitants, are now almost abandoned by man, and his place is occupied by the beasts of the forest, or left wild as the desert.

Thus have I imperfectly described to you the outlines of those measures which are calculated, not only to relieve the immediate distress of Ireland, but speedily to remove the evils which at this hour are weighing down with sorrow and misery so many millions upon millions of our fellow creatures.

I have conscientiously stated to you what the principle is upon which the new system is founded, and I have submitted to you the facts which have so clearly and forcibly impressed me with a conviction of its truth. In doing this I have discharged a duty to you and to all my fellow creatures, paramount, in my mind, to every other consideration; and having discharged it openly and publicly, as many of you witnessed at a former meeting, and having thus given universal publicity to that principle, in consequence of which it is now necessary and inevitable that it be fully and fairly canvassed and examined,—I feel a satisfaction which amply repays me, not only for the time occupied and the expense and inconvenience incurred by my journey to this country, but for all the past exertions and sacrifices of my life. For I feel assured that *now* the period is rapidly approaching when the cause of error and evil in human society must be withdrawn, and when, consequently, the happiness of my fellow creatures will be permanently secured. It is now impossible that this island can much longer submit to the misery with which it is afflicted, for every individual in the country has a direct interest in its removal, and I well know it is not to be removed by any *less* change, or by any *other* change, than that which I have, though very imperfectly, explained to you; and which, whatever may be the feelings of the moment, you will all of you, at length, assuredly agree to adopt.

I pledge myself to show you how the practice of the system which I have recommended may be adopted without interfering with any of your previously received religious notions.

Knowing human nature as I do, and being aware how necessarily and certainly it has been hitherto divided and subdivided into creatures of mere localities, and how utterly impossible it is that the individuals, by any efforts of their own, can escape from their thralldom, and how surely they are made most conscientiously to believe that their own localities, from which they receive all their ideas, are vastly superior to the localities by which others are encompassed—



—I could not, knowing all this, devise measures that would necessarily interfere with sentiments created by such circumstances. My design undoubtedly is, to raise all above the errors and evils of these limited circles. But in doing this I adopt nature's own course, and attempt not to force the human mind, for it cannot be forced. My object is to place new facts before the minds of all who have been injured by such localities, and if I am right and they are wrong, they will of themselves, at their leisure, relinquish what is false, and receive what is true. It is, then, by an appeal to facts, irresistible to the human mind, that I can alone expect the acquiescence of mankind in the change proposed, and their zealous co-operation.

It is a fact which all men who possess the faculty of comparison and reflection will admit, that human nature is *essentially* influenced by the circumstances in which it was placed from birth.

An assent to this fact comprises no religious opinions—no one prejudice of locality. And it is all that is necessary from any one, —*and all must yield it.*

Then if circumstances do essentially influence the formation of the human character, the next inquiry is,—what circumstances influence to good, and what to evil? And again,—we inquire—does society possess the power to withdraw those which influence to evil, and to replace them by others of which the tendency is beneficial?

The existing state of the world proves that the *science* of the influence of circumstances has never been understood—that it is at this moment altogether hidden from society; because, as soon as it should be known, the means of changing the misery of the world into happiness would become obvious to every one, and quite easy of practice.

Had this science been known, the British and Irish governments would not have permitted the sufferings of their subjects to exist in any degree; for I have reason to know that his excellency the Lord Lieutenant came over to this country with an ardent desire to relieve the distresses of the Irish peasant and the embarrassments of all parties. And my communications on former occasions with various members of the present cabinet, lead me to believe that they are sincerely anxious to discover the cause of the misery which so generally prevails in the empire, and of which a great majority of the people so justly complain.

But the governments of both countries—such, fortunately, is our situation—must act *with* the majority of the reflecting and most intelligent part of the population. They have not the power, nor do I think they have any wish, to act against public opinion, when that opinion is decidedly expressed. They, therefore, can render me no service in this cause, until an adequate degree of interest on the subject shall be created in the public mind, and until I can convince the public, not only that the present mode of instructing and governing society is founded in error, (which all now admit), but that another and a better system can now be developed, by which the government may in future direct the affairs of this empire and influence the conduct of every other nation and people in the world.

I submit to you, then, that the plan which is now before you is well calculated to give immediate relief to the Irish peasant and to the working classes in every part of the world,—that it may be carried into practice without any sacrifice from any one,—that every religious persuasion may adopt it, and yet preserve, as long as they desire so to do, their respective modes of worship, unmolested and undisturbed,—that it is founded entirely upon the well-known influence of circumstances over human nature, reduced to a science, of which the results may be calculated upon with as much certainty as those of the other sciences or of the laws of nature,—that the state of Ireland is most wretched, and that no other plan has been offered that is founded on principles which justify any expectation of relief,—that I now offer this plan for the calm consideration of the Irish government, and I am ready to submit to his excellency the Lord Lieutenant and the Irish government, or to the British government and legislature, the most full and ample explanation of its principles and details.

It has ever been my opinion that any great change in society, (and the one I propose is the greatest that has ever occurred in the history of our species,) ought to be effected by the existing authorities—by the legitimate or acknowledged governing power of the country in which the improvement is to be introduced. By this means due deliberation will be obtained, the interest of all classes and parties will come calmly under review, haste and violence will be avoided, and when it can be made to appear a decidedly beneficial measure for the public at large, and until then it ought not to be adopted, all will cordially unite in carrying it into execution. And when a government and people, possessing the resources now existing in the British empire, shall thus be induced to adopt a practical plan of general relief, founded on scientific principles—in how short a period will the poverty, the violence, and the bad feelings, which now so universally prevail, be for ever removed from among us!

If this view of the subject be correct, the proper course to pursue, it appears to me, would be, that this or some other meeting to be called for that purpose should petition both Houses of Parliament to take the plan proposed into their serious consideration. If after such examination the principles should be found to be correct, and the practice beneficial in all its consequences, I am prepared to show that the British and Irish governments and the British and Irish people possess the most ample means that can be desired to put the plan into immediate execution, and within so short a period as three months from the commencement of its practical operation, to realise very important advantages. It is possible, nay it will be found quite practicable and easy, to form arrangements which within that time shall give full and beneficial employment to every individual in the three kingdoms who is now in want of it, who suffers and whose family pine in want because he has no means of applying his industry, as he might, for the support of himself, his wife, and children, and greatly to the benefit of the state and society.

And if those who are now forced to be idle were so employed,—

think, but for one moment, of the crimes and miseries which would be prevented,—of the amount of new wealth, real substantial wealth, of intrinsic value to the whole of society, which, through their well-directed industry, would be thus created,—of the vast numbers whose minds would be thus prepared to receive every kind, beneficent, and good feeling, and speedily lose even the recollection of dissatisfaction and discontent. There would then be no nightly burnings, no midnight robberies or murders, nor any necessity for so many of our fellow-creatures to waste their time and powers in watching the movements of others. No, my friends, we should experience a change that should dispel that despair which now, like a dark and foreboding cloud, hangs lowering over us.

But it will require time and calm consideration on the part of our government and of parliament, thoroughly to investigate a plan, such as that which it is proposed to submit to their scrutiny. It presents a combination so entirely new, both in principle and practice, that every mind must in the first instance come to the consideration of it altogether unprepared. It is a subject so foreign to all the notions, feelings, and ideas, which have been hitherto impressed upon us, that at first it naturally alarms all our previous associations, and shakes them to their very foundation.

While, then, the British legislature and government are thus occupied in an investigation, from the nature of which any practical results cannot be expected for some time to arise out of it,—shall the superior classes in this island remain in a state of supineness, see its poverty, conflagrations, discontent, violence, and misery, advance day by day, and not make any effectual effort to check and mitigate them? Think only of the sufferings experienced in one day by so large a portion of your fellow-islanders who have neither employment; nor wholesome food, nor decent clothing, nor proper shelter, nor good instruction, nor any one moral or cheering circumstance around them. And yet how easily, by a union of efforts well directed, you may, without any foreign aid whatever, do much to mitigate the evils which now exist, and still more, by removing the causes that produce them, to prevent their being experienced in the rising generation.

It is possible that by your union, and by a proper application of your present means, without loss or sacrifice to any, you might in a very few months put so much of this system into activity as would fully occupy every unemployed hand in Ireland; for this is the first step you must adopt to remove discontent and crime, and to create new property for the use of those who are now in poverty.

To accomplish this great work a united effort must be made, probably by the formation of a society composed of the best and leading characters of all parties. His Majesty would, no doubt, be happy to become the patron of such a society formed for such a purpose; and his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, vice-patron. The Lord Mayor of Dublin for the time being might be president; and the vice-presidents chosen from among the nobility and leading characters in church and state. The directors, working committee,

treasurers, secretaries, and other officers, to be chosen from among the most respectable members of the intelligent classes in society, and that without reference to party or sect. The society may adopt any name that may be deemed the most appropriate. Its object should be to collect funds to put the industry of the Irish nation into immediate activity, under arrangements which would remove all obstacles to the progress of industry, until the world shall be saturated with wealth, and by which none of the original funds shall be dissipated, but be always on the increase, through the properly directed labour of those who are now obliged to be idle for want of employment.

The capital of the society might be unlimited,—because any amount of funds might be immediately and most advantageously employed.

Such is my confidence in the capability of these arrangements to produce, with certainty, all the beneficial effects which have been stated, and to create after the first or second year an annual increase to the original capital, that I will most willingly advance £1,000 to such a society upon the conditions of being the last member who shall receive either interest or capital, and of being positively excluded from holding any situation therein, either of honour or emolument to myself, family, or family connections. I beg, however, that it may not be supposed from this offer, that I possess a large fortune. With my views, and considering the times which have passed, I should be ashamed to have retained one.

Having gained liberally for myself and others, I have, at all periods of my life, as freely expended; and I have for many years devoted as large a portion of my gains to prepare society for the great change which I have attempted to explain to you, as was compatible with my own independence and the independence of my family in the rank of life in which for some time they have been accustomed to live, and in which I consider it my duty to support them.

But large as this expenditure has been for many years past, on behalf of a system which appears to me so competent to remove the poverty of all, and therefore to be paramount to every other consideration, I trust that no one can say that any portion of it has been, at any time, devoted to intemperance or personal vanity, either in myself or any one of my family. I ought to apologise for saying so much of the individual, when it is the very essence of the system which I advocate to do away with all individual considerations; but finding reports industriously circulated,—by some, that I possessed a very large fortune, and could therefore, without inconvenience, sacrifice large sums for any favourite object,—and by others, that I was an adventurer, and wished to lead the public into the support of measures for my own emolument, it was, as I thought, desirable to put an end to both these errors, by stating the simple facts as they are.

If therefore out of my limited means £1,000 shall be appropriated to this cause, and 50, 80, or 100 noblemen and gentlemen, natives of the island, or personally interested in the improvement

of its population, will advance, at 5 or 4 per cent. interest, an equal sum, then one experiment at least may be commenced without delay.

I will find persons accustomed to and experienced in the different departments of the proposed communities, who will arrange and put in operation the practical parts of the plan, until natives of the island shall be trained to supersede them; for I shall not be satisfied until I see the Irish communities solely managed by natives. And I am very much indeed mistaken in my estimate of the Irish character, if they could not in a short time be easily induced, by a full and fair representation of what is intended for their advantage and for the permanent prosperity of Ireland, to lend their attention to the acquisition of all the knowledge that will be requisite for the proper management of these concerns, so as to ensure many immediate beneficial results, and at no distant period complete success to the whole system.

In the foregoing calculations, forty-two bushels of wheat and sixty-six bushels of oats are stated as the produce of an Irish acre under spade cultivation, which is equal to twenty-five bushels of wheat and forty bushels of oats per English acre; but as the average quality of land in Ireland is equal to the best soils of England, it would not be more than twenty bushels of wheat and thirty-two bushels of oats per English acre, of a medium degree of fertility.

From land of an average quality under spade husbandry in the county of Durham, sixty-five bushels of wheat per English acre have been produced for several years in succession, which is equal to 105 bushels per Irish acre. There cannot, therefore, be a doubt that, when the land shall have been for a few years under the improved system of spade husbandry, and when the members of the community shall be taught to unite their industry, and adopt a regular system of mutual interest and co-operation, in producing, manufacturing, and consuming, the result would at least be doubled.

To these advantages must be added the minerals and fisheries of Ireland, which, under the new system of union and co-operation, will soon be made most productive.

It is therefore evident, that this hitherto ill-fated island is competent to maintain, not only all its own inhabitants, but more than double the whole population of Great Britain and Ireland, in comfort heretofore unattained by any nation or people, at any period of the world.

Allow me now to conclude, by asking you a few plain questions:—

Is not Ireland at this moment overwhelmed with poverty, discontent, and party animosities?

Is not its situation every hour becoming worse in all these respects?

Can this state of things continue much longer without extreme peril to the peace and property of the inhabitants?

What cause produces these lamentable effects?

Do they not directly emanate from the circumstances that surround you?

And whence proceed those circumstances?

Have they not been generated by the erroneous views and notions which have so long governed society ?

If these degrading and vicious results proceed from the bad and immoral circumstances which surround the people of this country ; and if these circumstances emanate from the error of the principles which are acted upon by society ;—is it not most obvious that your miseries can never be removed until you cease to act upon those principles ?

Can any other mode of proceeding be devised that will afford you the least chance of success ?

Is there not in Ireland a superfluity of good soil and an abundance of labourers ?

Is not capital created by labour judiciously applied to land ?

Has it not been shown that 1,000 people, by healthy and pleasant employment, when their powers and industry are properly combined and directed, can produce a most comfortable living in all respects for 3,000 ?

Would not this surplus beyond their own support be all real capital gained to the country ?

Is it not a most egregious error in any government under such circumstances not to adopt the means by which the country could be so easily relieved from its poverty, discontent, and danger ?

What real obstacles now stand in the way of its improvement ? I answer—none. Nor is anything wanting, but the will of the government and of the people.

It cannot, however, be very difficult to induce the people to will their own relief from the evils which they experience. And I hope the government will now be equally willing to investigate a subject which interests all, and involves the well-being of the empire.

A stranger, possessing an experience of more than thirty years practically devoted to the subject, offers to assist you with his time and his money ; and he offers this assistance without even the desire of any return, except the satisfaction of seeing or knowing that you are in the actual possession of the happiness which it is his highest wish you should permanently enjoy.

Mr. Owen having concluded, was greeted with the loud and general applause of the meeting.

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*First Meeting of the Hibernian Philanthropic Society, at Morrisson's Hotel, May 3rd, 1823.*

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The first meeting of this association, held at Morrisson's, Nassau-street, on Saturday the 3rd of May, was most numerous and respectably attended. A great number of ladies were present. Mr. Owen, accompanied by Lord Cloncurry, the hon. Mr. Dawson, Sir Frederick Flood, Sir Capel Molyneux, Sir William Brabazon,

General Browne, Mr. Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Dr. Macartney, and several other gentlemen, entered the great room soon after twelve o'clock.

On the motion of Lord Cloncurry, the hon. Mr. Dawson was called to the chair, when several resolutions in furtherance of the object of the association were severally put and carried.

Sir Frederick Flood spoke with much good-natured warmth in support of the institution.

The Rev. Edward Groves, one of the secretaries, then read to the meeting all the proceedings which had taken place, together with an account of loan, subscriptions, donations, &c.—The secretary also read several letters from gentlemen offering tracts of land in various parts of the country, for the purposes of the society. Among the loan subscriptions we noticed the following :—

Robert Owen, Esq. . . . .	£1,000
General Robert Browne . . . .	1,000
Lord Cloncurry . . . . .	500
Sir Wm. Brabazon . . . . .	100
Sir Frederick Flood . . . . .	100
Sir Capel Molyneux, Bart. . . .	100
Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Esq. .	100

with several smaller sums.

Among the donations were £100 from Dr. Macartney, and several smaller sums from other gentlemen.

A very considerable number of ladies and gentlemen subscribed their names as annual and life members of the association,—the annual subscription being £1, and a payment of £10 constituting a member for life. The table at which the secretary sat was literally covered with bank notes.

After this very interesting and important part of the day's proceedings, Lord Cloncurry addressed the meeting, and in a most feeling and impressive speech entreated all those ladies and gentlemen present, and who composed the Hibernian Philanthropic Society, to diffuse in their respective circles a knowledge of its principles, and of those vast and permanent advantages which the labouring classes of this distracted and ill-fated country must derive from its success, of which he was not in the least doubtful when he considered the benevolent character of his countrymen, and especially when he saw the interest taken in it by his fair countrywomen, whom he was delighted to see in such numbers around him. It is, said his lordship, to the quiet, reflecting, and unostentatious amongst our countrymen that this society will owe its best support, aided by the never-failing influence of the most highly cultivated and accomplished portion of the other sex. His lordship sat down amid loud applause.

Mr. Owen next addressed the meeting. He read from a written paper as follows :—

I am now about to return home to my own family and concerns, where I may be detained eight or ten days, after which it is my intention to proceed to London, with the view of endeavouring to obtain from the justice of England, that which is due to your country. I mean an entire change of measures; for the existing circumstances are so new and extraordinary that a change must now be

made. England and Ireland are involved in a system which as long as it continues must compel them to be enemies to each other—to be each an insurmountable bar to the prosperity of the other. England possesses too much mechanical and scientific power, and Ireland too fertile a soil, to admit any substantial benefit to be derived from either under arrangements which necessarily convert both those blessings into curses. The time is come when imperious necessity renders it unavoidable that England and Ireland shall be united, not in name only, but in reality, as one nation and one people,—when their interests shall be combined for their mutual security and prosperity.

Let the present system continue, and Ireland will speedily overwhelm England and Scotland with her agricultural produce, and render their soils altogether unprofitable; while the science and capital of England and Scotland, by pouring into Ireland an excessive supply of manufactured products, will render her labour of no value. Thus will the inexhaustible sources of substantial wealth and permanent prosperity which these countries possess, become, while the present system continues, an efficient cause of perpetuating divisions, animosities, poverty, and misery, to the whole empire.

This is too glaring an evil to permit us to suppose that the inhabitants of these islands can be forced much longer to submit to it, when it is, in a peculiar manner, the direct interest of the entire population and government that it should immediately cease. But you will say—how is it to cease? How is the change to be brought about?

This is the important question for your consideration; and one of deeper concernment to Ireland, to Great Britain, and the world, has never been proposed to society.

Is it probable that principles and practices which have brought such calamities upon you can produce any other results, however long you may retain them? I fearlessly answer, no. It is vain to expect relief from sources whence there is no power to bestow it. The principles and practices which have been hitherto forced upon you have produced the effects which you everywhere see around you. They have called forth the energies of the human race, only to destroy its rationality and happiness.

My desire is to emancipate you from the influence of your present localities,—to enable you to pass through the four dense mediums of error and prejudice which Mr. Singer referred to at one of our late public meetings, that you may no longer see through a glass darkly, but may view things as they really are. At present we are the victims of the circumstances of class, sect, party, and country, which have prevented us from attaining the character that human nature is destined to acquire. We have hitherto been made local creatures of particular districts,—Britons, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germans, Russians, Europeans, Americans, Asiatics, Africans. But, my friends, I trust we are about to become rational beings, whose physical and mental powers will be uniformly directed to the advantage and improvement of the species, and not, as heretofore, to the injury and destruction of each other.

The great object of society evidently should be to improve the in-



dividual, and to unite him with his fellows under circumstances in which it will be the interest of each in every instance to contribute to the well-being and happiness of all. For this purpose it is necessary that we should know what man has been, what he is, and what he may be made,—that we should be intimately acquainted with human nature, and with the societies which have been formed in the various artificial districts into which the earth has been divided.

Let us first examine what man really is ; because the acquisition of this knowledge opens to us the only source from whence any practical system can be derived that will essentially and permanently benefit mankind.

The subject before us is one which has hitherto been clothed in much mystery ; and as words alone might not so distinctly convey the ideas which I wish to express to you, I have thought that the plate which I hold in my hand, and which offers a sensible illustration of the human character, might facilitate the explanation of my views. This plate, as you observe, contains ten slides ; each slide representing some known quality, faculty, or propensity, of human nature. Each slide is also intended to exhibit the full extent of the variation, in individuals, of the faculty, quality, or propensity, which it represents ; and it may be considered as divided into an indefinite number of parts or degrees. We may at once, then, infer the probability that no two persons have ever yet been born possessing any one quality, faculty, or propensity, in the same degree ; and the very great improbability that any two infants have ever come into the world with them all alike, or that such a phenomenon should occur at any future period. No one who has been accustomed to reflect upon the complicated nature of the compound which constitutes an infant at birth, can be at any loss to account for the diversity of character in children of the same family.

No one will suppose that the infant at birth understands anything relative to these faculties, qualities, or propensities. It is evident that he is a compound of them, formed without his knowledge or consent, of the proportions of each which he possesses, and which are given to him by the power that creates all created existence, and governs and directs the universe. They constitute the natural character of the man ; but, whatever the combination may be, insanity alone can attribute merit or demerit to the infant on account of it.

This compound, thus mysteriously varied in every infant, is intrusted to its parents and the governing powers of the state in which it comes into existence ; and surely there can be no truth so evident as that it is the first duty and highest interest of both, to adopt such practical measures as shall secure to each of these helpless innocents the best training and education, and render them the best men and the best subjects into which they can be individually formed.

Has this ever yet been done ? Is this the present practice of the world ? Has a single measure ever yet been adopted that was wisely calculated to produce such a result ? No—never ! There is

not one measure in operation at this hour, that evinces the slightest knowledge of human nature, or of its capabilities or objects. All the past and present practices of society, everywhere, in all countries of the world, are, through ignorance, directly opposed to the interest, improvement, and happiness of every human being that has ever yet existed. And unless I tell you this great truth, and demonstrate its consistency with all we know, I shall perform but a trivial service for you and for our fellow-creatures, who are now the victims of poverty and ignorance in this island, and in every other part of the globe.

Owing to the ignorance which has always hitherto prevailed respecting human nature, the faculties, qualities, and propensities, of which it is composed, have been so misdirected as to produce vice, ignorance, poverty, passion, disunion and misery, instead of virtue, intelligence, riches, temperance, kindness, and happiness.

Had this ignorance not been universal, it would have been discovered that the latter results could have been produced much more easily than the former; the experiment would have been made; success would have followed; and the example would have induced all nations and people to adopt the new system. And now, when you introduce this change, as I am confident you will, into Ireland, it will spread from hence to all nations with a rapidity of which none of you can at this moment form a reasonable conjecture. You think of past times and occurrences, and reflect how slowly alterations have been effected in human society. You say to me, this improvement, which you advocate, if it be indeed an improvement, must be introduced very gradually, and ages must elapse before it can extend over the world.

To these very natural conjectures, I reply—no. The present circumstances of the world, and the change to which I look forward, bear no analogy to the past. The change, whenever it shall take place, must be such a change as the world has never yet beheld. It is one which, as soon as it shall be understood, will leave no doubt on the mind as to the advantages to be derived from it, as to the necessity of making it, or as to the ease with which it may be effected.

Can we suppose for a moment that a parent will not wish to give his child the best habits, dispositions, and manners; to provide him with the most healthy, pleasant, and profitable occupation; and to place him amidst associates whose society is the best calculated to promote his intelligence and happiness?

Can we imagine that the capitalist will employ his money in investments which subject him to great risk, and yield a very limited remuneration, when he may embark it upon a security more stable than any which has yet been offered, and at the same time know that it will return a very large interest?

Is it likely that the landed proprietor will be willing to allow his property to be cultivated in an inferior manner, and to have the promise of a low rent, ill secured, and often unpaid, when he may have it placed under the best management, producing double crops, and yielding a full rent, amply secured and regularly paid?

Or can it be supposed that men possessing industry and skill will employ these valuable powers under a system which dooms them to a life of degradation and slavery, when, by a different application of them, they may secure a greater degree of happiness to themselves and their families, than peer or prince can attain in the irrational state of society in which even these privileged individuals are now compelled to exist?

No, however irrationally men may have acted under the lamentable circumstances which have hitherto formed the human character, when discord, bad passions, ignorance, and all that is repugnant to the best feelings of our nature, shall appear on the one hand, and health, intelligence, kindness, and happiness present themselves on the other—no supporter of "things as they are," can so far deceive himself, as to imagine that men will longer continue to subject themselves to the former evils, when the advantages which we have contrasted with them are placed within their reach.

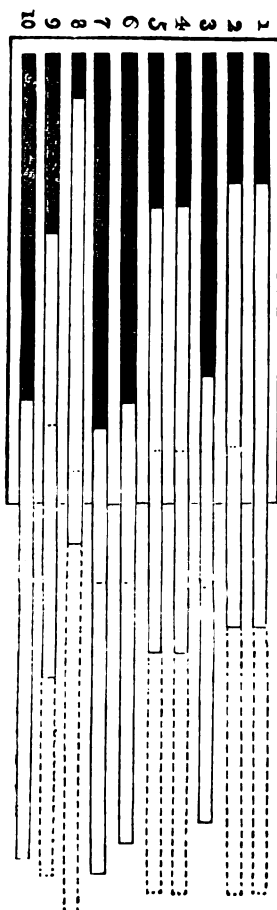
The great change is now secured. Men of business know how to effect it. The practice will presently become easy to every class. There will be, as I have always stated, a rush from old society to the new, whenever the new shall be fully unfolded to the world.

There is no power that can act successfully against the universal interest of mankind, when that interest is understood. To suppose the contrary, would be to imagine that human nature was opposed to itself, from no other motive than to perpetuate misery.

In consequence of the universal error that has hitherto overwhelmed mankind, "that the character is formed *by* the individual," the attention of society has never been directed to the consideration of what those circumstances are which are calculated to call forth the best and most valuable parts of our nature. Our arrangements have been so formed, and they are now so combined, as to cherish and encourage the growth of every bad passion and propensity that can be implanted in our nature, rendering even the best men very inferior beings, and filling them with the worst feelings.

Owing to this mistake regarding human nature, the practice of the world has been to conduct the education of every child upon the most erroneous principles. The physical powers of the child, as represented on slides, Nos. 1, 2, have been imperfectly developed. His excitability (No. 3) has been most artificially cultivated, so as to produce irritation and anger. His perceptive and reflective powers (Nos. 4 and 5) have been very partially called into action. His memory and imagination (Nos. 6 and 7) have been stretched to the uttermost, the latter being made the ruling faculty throughout society.

Judgment (No. 8) has been repressed or destroyed, as far as human devices could effect such an object, and in all cases made subservient to imagination. The affections (No. 9) have been contracted and limited within very narrow bounds, and placed much under the influence of self-attachment or self-interest (No. 10) which has been cultivated with the greatest care and effect.



By this procedure human nature has experienced every kind of disadvantage, and its true character has been hidden from every one. Whenever justice shall be done to our nature, the education of all will be very different from anything which has been known at any time in any part of the world.

The physical powers (Nos. 1 and 2) will be fully developed. Excitability will be repressed. Perception and reflection will be extended to their utmost limits. Memory will not be cultivated independently of judgment, but will always be an attendant upon the latter. Imagination will be restrained within proper bounds, and, at all times, remain subservient to judgment. Judgment will be cultivated with the greatest care, and be made the ruling power of the mind, and the director of all the faculties and propensities.

The affections will be expanded, and, under the guidance of the

judgment, extended to every human being, and to all the animated works of the creation.

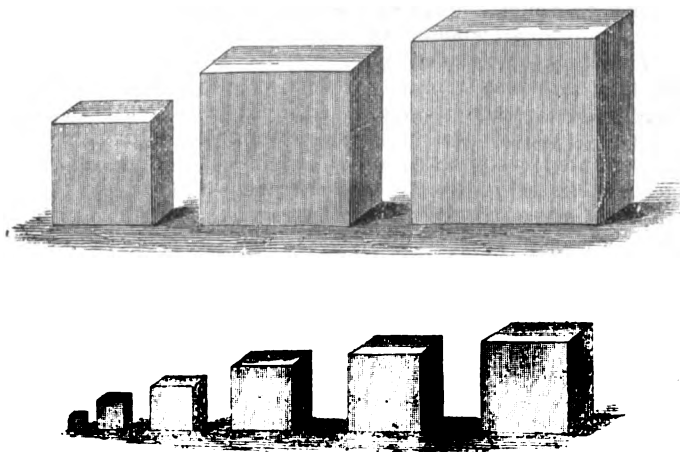
Self-attachment, or self-interest, in the common acceptation of the term, will become extinct; for although a desire of happiness will then be, as it is now, our principle of action, yet we shall know and feel that our own happiness can only be found in the happiness of all around us, extending from our immediate circle, even to those who may be the most remote from us.

So great is the difference, in regard to the education of human nature, arising from two systems of society, of which the one proceeds on the supposition that the character is formed *by* the individual, and the other is founded on the knowledge that the character is formed *for* him!

The one is the source of all error and evil, and the other the foundation of truth and happiness. Such, at least, is the honest conviction on my mind, after availing myself of every means in my power to separate truth from error. And so important do I deem this knowledge, and so essential does it appear to me for the removal of present ill and the prevention of future misery to the human race, that I would consider life a cheap sacrifice to secure it for the inhabitants of this distracted and miserable country, and for our fellow-creatures, who now suffer under the old system of error, in every part of the world.

Having examined what man is, and what he may be made individually, we have now to consider what he has been made socially—in other words, how the human powers have been combined in society, for the advantage of the species.

Taking all circumstances into consideration, I am inclined to think that the British empire presents the best combination which the old system has yet produced, for giving happiness to the whole population. And we therefore refer to Great Britain as an illustration of the highest practical wisdom which that system has to show.



The largest cube before you represents the amount of the population of the British isles in the year 1811.

The eight smaller ones the same amount divided into as many divisions, showing the proportions that the different classes bear to each other.

The change in the population which has since occurred, will add materially to the number in the pauper and working classes, and but little to the higher divisions.

This arrangement of British and Irish society is altogether artificial. It has grown up by accident, and directly proceeds from the notion that the character is formed by the individual. That notion is the foundation of the individual system which, with very partial exceptions, has hitherto prevailed over the earth, and of the systems of rewards and punishments which have ever been adopted by mankind. That notion has generated all the circumstances which have been so unfavourable to the well being and happiness of mankind. It is the sole cause of all the irritation and anger which at this moment exists between man and man in every part of the world, and it is the origin of all the evil which has ever been experienced by the human race in consequence of their bad passions, wars, and religious differences. And until this error shall be eradicated, root and branch, from the human mind, ignorance, poverty, bad passions, wars, and religious differences, will continue to overwhelm mankind with all the dire evils which these inflict, and to keep them, as heretofore, in the lowest state of imbecility of mind—in worse than Egyptian darkness—and in bondage to all the bad passions which error can force into the human being.

While this error remains, the foreseen and foretold change in the condition of mankind can never take place. Wise men of former times knew that their fellow-creatures were involved in the most lamentable error—that, through process of time, experience would make it so obvious, that some one would be so deeply impressed with the horror of the system, and with such a love for the human race, that he would venture to meet opprobrium, to hazard life and fortune, and run all manner of risks, to relieve his suffering fellow-men from this source of all human evil. They then foresaw, that when this error was removed, a new state of existence would of necessity arise, when ignorance and poverty would disappear—when every man would sit under his own vine and his own fig-tree, and there would be none to make him afraid, because all *cause* for anger and irritation would be withdrawn—that, in consequence, wars would cease—strife between man and man would be unknown—swords would be turned into plough-shares, and spears into pruning-hooks—and that this improvement—this change in the disposition and character of man—would so alter his conduct, even to the animal creation, that by degrees the most savage of these would lose their ferocity.

Men of deep thought and reflection traced all these consequences, and knew that the influence of undeviating kindness, when directed by judgment, would have power irresistible over all that has life, and that then the lion would actually be trained to lie down with

the lamb, and harmony and high intelligence would universally prevail.

They also knew that this change must take place at some future period, and that then the knowledge of the Lord would cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.

But that period of this happy change could not arrive until the cause of all human error and misery was withdrawn—until the notion no longer existed, that the character of man was formed *by* him.

Know you not, my friends, that you may instruct all your children with much more ease in the knowledge that the character is formed *for*, than in the error that it is formed *by* themselves—and that by instructing them in the truth, you will be sure to implant in them every kind, benevolent, and charitable feeling; while if you persist in forcing into their minds an error glaringly absurd, and opposed to every fact ever known to exist, you will make them, of necessity, the ignorantly selfish, bigoted, superstitious, and insincere wretches, which we and all our predecessors have been made through the whole period of the known history of mankind?

Pause at the point where you now are. Consider what are the feelings, dispositions, and actions of those around you. Is it desirable that this character should be given to your children? Is not the cup of man's misery yet sufficiently full? Can you add to it in the south of this island? Let me entreat of you, then, to calm your party and sectarian feelings—to allow your minds to collect facts from the past and present times, and to reflect upon them. You will then discover that millions upon millions of our fellow-creatures, made in all respects in the same manner and by the same power as we have been made, have been taught errors, age after age; while not one of them supposed that they had been so instructed. They were as unconscious that they had been deceived, as you are now. They were as deeply impressed with a conviction of the truth and importance of those errors, as you can be with regard to the errors which have been forced into your minds. They willingly died for what they had been taught to consider as sacred truth—and a stronger proof of sincerity, humanity cannot give. Yet you all know that they were filled with what appeared to others the most strange absurdities, and which in their consequences were hourly afflicting them with the most grievous evils.

And do we not know that all those who now live upon the earth, who have been taught to receive ideas altogether different from those which have been impressed on our minds, are at this moment in the same state of ignorance, of error, and of suffering? Is it not equally evident to you that we might have been placed under the circumstances in which *THEY* now exist, and that they might have been within those which surround us? And, in that case, is it not probable—nay, is it not certain—that we should have received their thoughts, have acquired their feelings, and pursued their course of action? And is it not equally certain, that *our* thoughts, feelings, and actions, would have been *theirs*?

These considerations should, and, when properly felt, will make

each of us really charitable in regard to the opinions, sentiments, and conduct, of all our fellow-creatures. They will also convince us, that all party feelings,—all notions of sectarian superiority,—do not result from an enlarged view of facts connected with the history of human species, but from the ignorance of those facts, and from errors which have been early forced into the human mind.

I well know how difficult it is to overcome long established prejudices; but if I am to do you an important and permanent service, I must endeavour to place before you a mirror by which, when you examine yourselves at your leisure, you may be enabled to discover what manner of beings you are, and by what process you have been made Christians, Europeans, and Irishmen.

And I pursue this course, that the worst feelings of human nature may be replaced by the best—that immorality, discord, and war, may give place to morality, union, and peace—that ignorance, poverty, and misery, may no longer find a resting place upon earth—and that they may be superseded by knowledge, riches, and happiness.

I have endeavoured to show you the mirror of individual human nature. I will now attempt to give you some outline of congregated human nature.

These tin cubes are, as I have stated, the representation of perhaps the best associated population that has ever existed for a long period under the old system of the world—that is, under the individual system, founded on the notion that the character of man is formed by himself, and that, therefore, he is a fit subject for praise and blame, reward and punishment.

You see it forms a pyramid—its base is the working classes, its apex, the king, royal family, and house of peers, including the lords spiritual.

In the present moment, with this country in the state in which we all know it to be, this pyramid presents an object of the deepest interest to the statesman, the political economist, to men of all professions, to the moralist, to the merchant and manufacturer, and to the artisans and working classes of every description.

The object of this association *ought* to be, to benefit each member to the utmost practicable extent. At present, however, the object *is*, that each individual should first obtain whatever he can for *himself*, and then whatever he can for his *class* or *division*.

And thus is a spirit generated and fostered, which creates a real civil war between all the members of which this aggregate body is composed;—and, in consequence, the most favoured individual of the most favoured class cannot, by any possible chance, obtain one real advantage, for a hundred,—nay, nor one for a thousand,—that might with ease be secured to every one, under an arrangement founded under another principle, and altogether different from the one before you.

That which you see exhibited is a combination in which the interest of each is, at all times, directly opposed in the most senseless manner to the interest of the aggregate;—and, in consequence, disorder reigns throughout every ramification of the whole mass.



That which I advocate, is intended to be, and it will be, a new combination of man in society, in which the aggregate powers of the whole will be, at all times, directed for the immediate benefit of *each*;—and, in consequence, health, riches, knowledge, the best manners and dispositions, and happiness, will be secured to all.

The pyramid, as it now stands, is regular in its form; but I will place it according to the divisions which exist in British society, beginning with the lowest, or paupers and criminals.

This is No. 8, the third in size, and includes 1,828,170 persons. It is probable that this number has been increased in consequence of the distress which has prevailed since the termination of the war, first in manufactures, and now in agriculture—and that the whole amount of paupers, idle and disorderly persons, criminals, &c., &c., now form at least one-tenth, many suppose one-eighth, of the population of the British isles. This portion of the people is supported by the industrious among the working classes, including the small freeholders who cultivate their own lands. Thus it appears that in the present system one-tenth at least of its subjects are allowed to be trained and placed under circumstances so impolitic and unfavourable, that they must remain in ignorance, often become deformed in body and always in mind, taught to be vicious, and to be a burden to the community. It is not that these form a heavy charge only on the industry of the working classes, to give them a direct miserable support, but they also create a much greater loss to society, by making prisons, courts of law, and all the endless appendages to criminal justice, necessary, and still more by the incalculable expenditure of all the upper class to protect themselves and property from this irritated portion of their fellow creatures.

No one fact more strongly marks the error of the present system of society, than the number of paupers and criminals at this hour in the British isles. For under arrangements formed on a correct knowledge of human nature and of its powers in combination, the paupers and criminals which Great Britain and Ireland now contain, with the capital expended to support them, and to protect society from their depredations, would with ease support in comfort the whole population of Ireland. As soon as Great Britain and Ireland shall be governed under a correct knowledge of human nature, and on the principle of political economy, there will not be one poor or vicious person in the whole extent of their population. The first arrangements of circumstances which will be formed under a knowledge of the principle that the character is formed *for* the individual, will preclude the possibility of any placed within them becoming paupers or vicious or in any manner a burden or an evil in society.

The next division in society is the working classes. It is No. 7 in the drawing, and forms the largest portion of the population, exceeding in number all the other classes when united. It now contains about thirteen millions.—When the census of 1811 was taken, it amounted to 10,072,728.

With the exception of the small freeholders, who will be afterwards mentioned, this is the class which produces all the wealth that

is requisite for the well-being and happiness of society. It is the class from which all the others derive support, and is therefore the most important, and deserves particular attention from the statesman and political economist.

Society has hitherto not done justice to itself with respect to this class.

It is the interest of all, from the highest to the lowest, that the largest amount of wealth should be created by it; but yet so erroneous have been the ideas which even now prevail, that almost all classes seemed engaged in the most active measures to render their labours of the least value to themselves and others.

The first consideration of all governments ought to be to devise measures to make the labour of the working classes the most productive to the state and beneficial to all classes.

This has never yet been thought of. Their powers have been allowed to be directed by a blind self-interest, which, in all cases, counteracts the real interest of the producers of wealth, as well as of those who afterwards consume the larger portion of it. It would be wisdom in all to have the best quality of labour, and to have it directed in the best manner, with every aid that could be given to it; while the practice of all society hitherto has been to allow it to be formed of the worst quality, to be at all times ill-directed, and to withhold from it all those that would render it the most available for the purposes of society.

The next division is No. 6. It contains the officers, non-commissioned officers, soldiers, seamen, marines, and pensioners, of the army and navy.

It is a division of the population most necessary in the present state of society, and cannot be dispensed with. It becomes necessary, however, solely on account of the irrational notions which are given to children from birth, from their being taught to believe that they form their own characters. Were it not for this error in our early instruction, there could be no public or private quarrels in society, and the military character would speedily become useless.

The army is taken chiefly from the working classes. They are thereby withdrawn from being producers. They become consumers only, and they are often made to destroy what others have toiled to create. In every point of view, war is highly injurious. Its spirit proceeds from an error in principle respecting human nature. It diminishes production, not only by taking away the producers, but by employing them, so withdrawn, to consume, waste, and destroy the productions of others. It demoralises the individuals who compose an army, as well as the inhabitants of the country which is the scene of war. It is, in short, an evil of the greatest magnitude to the human species, and whenever we become rational wars will cease.

The fifth division is the second in magnitude, and consists of small freeholders and shopkeepers—chiefly the latter.

The capital, skill, and labour of these persons are employed in the most wasteful and injurious manner to themselves, families, and the public. The lesser freeholders hold so small a quantity of

land, that they cannot arrange a plan of cultivation for it which will not be very defective. They are also usually deficient in capital, education, and knowledge, and do little more than vegetate upon their farms. The shopkeepers expend large sums in fitting up their shops, and consume much time in measures to distribute the necessities, comforts, and luxuries, throughout society. Under other arrangements this object would be far better accomplished by 1-20th of the number, and 1-100th part of the capital. There is no portion of the working classes whose powers are so wretchedly misapplied as those who are obliged to waste their time and talents as retail traders, and more especially in villages and small towns; although the extravagance of this arrangement, even in the largest cities, greatly exceeds what any parties at present imagine.

The fourth division is a numerous class. It consists of clergymen, freeholders, physicians, lawyers, merchants, bankers, and manufacturers, &c., of the second order, living on moderate incomes. Many of these are occupied as much as the working classes, and lead a life which requires many sacrifices, and often for little comfort in return. Some of them are uselessly, while others are injuriously employed; but none of them are occupied to produce the best results in their avocations or professions.

Society would gain prodigiously if the capital, talent, industry, enterprise, and skill, combined in this class, were to be directed to the best advantage for themselves and the public. A little more experience in a knowledge of the influence of circumstances in the business of life will show the extent of the evil which the present arrangements of this class create to all above and below them.

The third division includes the dignified clergy, under the rank of bishops, and the most fortunate or most successful out of the last division, all of whom are most essentially injured by being induced to expend more than can be beneficial to them, either physically or mentally, and by being taught to think themselves superior to the mass of their fellow-creatures.

Division No. 2 is composed of the baronets and country gentlemen, and others, having large incomes.

The preceding observations apply to this class equally with the other.

No. 1 contains the royal family, and the lords spiritual and temporal.

It is to be doubted whether the existing notions and arrangements of society do not necessarily inflict more misery upon the individuals who are born in or who attain to this division, than is experienced by those of any other class. They cannot, however, from their situation, be conscious of the injustice which they suffer from the artificial circumstances in which they are placed, or they would exert themselves to remove out of them, or to form other arrangements more congenial to human nature.

In short, it requires only a real knowledge of facts, seen without our early imbibed prejudices, to be convinced that the present arrangements of society cannot admit of prosperity,—cannot create good dispositions or virtue,—cannot permit of peace and order,—nor

allow mankind to make use of one advantage for a hundred that they might possess under other arrangements, which may now be formed on principles consistent with our nature, and in unison with every fact which has been developed through the whole history of our species.

And surely the distresses of Ireland, alone, are more than sufficient to prove how wretchedly erroneous has been the system hitherto practised—and practised, too, by the most enlightened people in the most enlightened period in the world.

Mr. Owen concluded. He was frequently cheered during the delivery of the foregoing address. Thanks being voted to the chairman, the meeting broke up. The petition to parliament, which laid for signature at Morrisson's, was signed by the greater number of the gentlemen who attended. Mr. Owen will be the bearer of this petition to London.

#### END OF DUBLIN REPORT.

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According to the census of 1841, the numbers and the relative proportions of the different classes in the United Kingdom are as follows:—

Whole population .....	26,870,143
1. Working classes, about 3-5ths, or about .....	15,892,597
2. Paupers, &c., about 1-6th, or about .....	4,333,333
3. Retailers of Wealth, about 1-9th, or about .....	2,888,888
4. Bankers, Merchants, and Professions, about 1-14th, or about .....	1,857,143
5. Army and Navy, about 1-18th, or about .....	1,444,444
6. Baronets and Landed Gentry, about 1-75th, or about .....	356,164
7. Clergy, House of Lords and Commons, about 1-289th, or about .....	92,857
8. Royal Family, Bishops, and Archbishops, about 1-5696th, or about .....	4,717

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The narrative of a visit to New Lanark which was given in the Report of the proceedings at Dublin will be republished in Part 5, in connection with other testimony of eye-witnesses to the eminent success of that unique and invaluable experiment.