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THE LIFE
OF
ROBERT OWEN.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

WITH SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS AND
CORRESPONDENCE.

VOLUME I.

*twice
life
1*

LONDON :

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INTRODUCTION.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN ROBERT OWEN AND ONE OF HIS OLD FRIENDS RESPECTING WRITING HIS LIFE.

Old Friend.—You know that your oldest friends have been long urgent with you to write your life, knowing that were you to die, no one, from your independence of action from your childhood, could execute a task of such interest to the human race;—I say to the human race,—because your life has been during many years devoted to devise measures for the improvement and happiness of all, making no distinction of colour, country, class, or creed. Your life is now so advanced that its continuance must be uncertain, and your friends desire above all things to have a faithful history of your proceedings from your earliest years of recollection. They are now the more earnest in continuing this request to you, because they believe that a full history of your life would tend more than any other measure you could adopt to facilitate the great change in human affairs which you have so long advocated. Will you now accede to our request?

Robert Owen.—I am always desirous to meet the wishes of my old friends and faithful disciples. I have so long delayed my consent to your earnest solicitations, because I have been continually actively engaged in living my life—in pursuing a mission which has been impressed on my mind from my earliest years, and which, hopeless of accomplishment as every one of my friends endeavoured to make me believe it, never ceased to inspire me with the never-wavering conviction of ultimate success. And so this conviction remains,—but always increasing as my age increases. I am now engaged in the most important part of my progress in this work, and can now scarcely withdraw my attention from the present and the future of this mission, to recur to the past which is ended, while more is required from me and can yet be accomplished by my remaining active exertions.

O. F.—But surely it is time you should cease these active exertions and now sit down quietly to recollect and write your life. What can now be so important to you, to the interest of your family, and for the benefit of society?

R. O.—If I thought it would be more for the benefit of society generally that I should *write* my life, than that I should

progress in my mission to its final accomplishment, I would not hesitate to comply with your wishes. But my impression is otherwise,—knowing that there is much important work yet to be done before the population of the world can be prepared to change a false system of society for the true, although that false system is hourly producing incalculable misery to the millions, which the change would terminate. While therefore anything remains to be done which I can do to forward this great and good work, I am unwilling that my attention should be in any way withdrawn from it.

O. F.—But what can you now do at your age in conflict with a world taught to be prejudiced from the birth of every one, and so strongly in favour of their present false system, productive as it is of all manner of evil to the people and governments of all nations?

R. O.—I can continue to write, and to circulate among leading minds in various countries what I write explanatory of the falsehood and evil of the one system, (the present,) and of the truth and goodness of the other, (the future,) which is destined to supersede the present in the due order of the development of man and progress of terrestrial creation. With this view, also, I have called a Congress to be held in St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London, on the 14th of May next, of the advanced minds of the world, who take an interest and who are active in promoting the unlimited happiness of all our race.

O. F.—But how can you expect to make any impression upon society at this time, when all nations and all parties in all nations are at sixes and sevens and know not what to do to sustain their present local views and interests.

R. O.—It is because I know they are all as it were at sea without rudder or compass, and are driven about by every wind that blows, that I am most anxious to give to each a sound rudder and correct compass, not only to prevent their shipwreck and to calm their fears, but to enable them to steer direct into a safe harbour. It is therefore that I think the writing and publishing of my life of far less importance than now to place the whole truth respecting the system of ignorance, falsehood, and misery, and the system of wisdom, truth, and happiness, before the leading minds of the world in so clear a manner, that the difference between the two systems may be glaringly seen by them, as well as the impossibility of uniting the spirit, principle, and practice of the one, with the other. And also to enable them to perceive that the present system, as it is in nature, may now be made to become the immediate parent of the true and good system, and to foster it as parents take charge of their offspring and endeavour to leave a valuable inheritance to them.

O. F.—You will write to the leading minds of the world in vain. They are not prepared for any such sweeping change as you sup-

pose. They have not yet commenced to think about two systems so opposed to each other, and much less that the one shall willingly introduce and sustain the other in its progress towards maturity. This very morning the *Times* newspaper, deeming itself the mouthpiece, not only of Europe but of the civilised world, has a leading article to dissuade its readers from ever thinking it possible that a system of equality among mankind is practicable,—and equality is one of the main features of your proposed new system.

R. O.—The *Times* knows nothing, or pretends to know nothing, of the system which I advocate. It has a bribe of more than a hundred thousand pounds a year from the public to support this wretched thing which is called a *natural* system of society,—when its foundation and entire superstructure are opposed to truth and nature. What does the *Times* know of the practical equality among the human race which I advocate? It is blinded by the learned ignorance of the present system, through which alone it has yet attempted to look at man and society. I have never advocated the possibility of creating a physical and mental equality among the human race, knowing well that it is from our physical and mental varieties that the very essence of knowledge, wisdom, and happiness, or rational enjoyment is to arise. The equality which belongs to the new, true, and rational system of human existence, is an equality of conditions, or of surroundings, which shall give to each, according to natural organisation, an equal superior physical, intellectual, moral, spiritual, and practical treatment, training, education, position, employment according to age, and share in local and general government, when governing rationally shall be understood and applied to practice. It is doubtful whether any editors of newspapers, now the great instructors of the human race, or the professional instructors in the schools, colleges, and universities of the world, have any clear ideas or correct notions of what is or is not practicable respecting human nature, of which these so learnedly ignorant men of the present system of society appear to have but the minimum of real knowledge. Their acquaintance with human nature has been derived through successive generations solely from the undeveloped imagination and inexperience of our early ancestors, and it has required the accumulation of fact upon fact, increasing through each generation, to enable the discovery to be made at this period, that our ancestors were in error and totally ignorant of what manner of beings they were. In now looking over the earth among all peoples and nations, it is too evident that to-day this ignorance of ourselves has been wondrously preserved, and that by the mass of the human race, and with very partial, if with any, exceptions, the populations of the world are now as ignorant of themselves as were our first parents, if not more so, in consequence of the

errors added to the errors of every succeeding generation on this now-perceived-by-the-few-to be the most important of all knowledge.

O. F.—Why this is the strangest of all your strange teachings! You make nothing of human knowledge and the accumulated wisdom and experience of the world through all past generations!

R. O.—Yes, I do make much valuable use of the past experience of the *facts* of the world and of human knowledge, as far as it has progressed in discovering facts in the various sciences. It is from this knowledge that I have derived the great and all-important truth—

“That the character, physical and mental, of all men and women, is formed—not, as hitherto imagined in opposition to all facts through all ages, BY themselves—but, by the Great Creating Power of the Universe and by Society, FOR them; and that for the character thus formed it is the essence of insanity to make the individual in any way responsible.”

From this knowledge I have also discovered the greatest of all truths for man to know—

“That any character, from the worst to the best, may, with the certainty of a law of nature, be given by society to all of the human race,—and that through this knowledge every one may be made to become at maturity, good, wise, and happy.”

O. F.—Why, if you are correct with your conclusions it is indeed the most valuable of all human knowledge yet acquired, a knowledge far more to be desired than the discovery of the philosopher's stone. But what are the inferences which you draw from these two facts—if facts they be,—“that the character of man is formed *for* him, and that society may now adopt practical measures to make all future generations, without any exception, good, wise, and happy?”

R. O.—*Firstly.*—That this is the knowledge that the most advanced minds of the world in all ages have sought for,—but until this period without success.

Secondly.—That this knowledge will confound the ignorance of those deemed the most learned in all past generations.

Thirdly.—That this knowledge will introduce the Millennium, to commence in this generation.

Fourthly.—That it will introduce the Millennium over the world, by peaceably and quietly superseding the existing ignorant, false, wicked, and insane system of society, by the wise, true, good, and rational system of society, for the government of the human race as one family.

Fifthly.—This new system of society will develop the true religion, government, laws, classification, and institutions of society for the population of the world.

Sixthly.—That it will cordially unite all of our race as brothers,—create a practical equality of position, education, and

occupation, according to age and capacity,—and establish for ever true liberty, just equality, and real fraternity.

Seventhly.—That it will by uniting man to man and nation to nation establish peace for ever among the human race.

Eighthly.—That this knowledge discloses to our race the origin of evil, and that evil produced solely from man's ignorance of himself.

Ninthly.—That by enabling man to know himself, the origin of evil to our race will be destroyed for ever.

Tenthly.—It proves the false foundation whence all human laws have proceeded—their ignorance, inutility, and constant failure, in consequence of being always opposed to the good, wise, and unchanging laws of God and Nature.

Eleventhly.—It demonstrates the cause of the past insanity of the human race, and its cure.

Twelfthly.—It will enable the existing rulers of society to adopt decisive measures to commence to make the human race through futurity sane, wise, good, united, and continually to increase in knowledge, excellence, and happiness.

O. F.—If you are right in these inferences and conclusions, then indeed is the knowledge that the character of man is not formed *by* himself, but *for* him, the most important of all human knowledge, when united with the knowledge of the practical measures by which to create the new surroundings which can produce, with the certainty of a law of nature, the results which you have stated.

R. O.—Through this knowledge I know that the governments of what is called the civilised part of the world, have the most ample power and means at their disposal, by uniting cordially with the people of their respective governments, now to commence the practice of the science by which to insure the progress and happiness of the population of the world while living on the earth, and after death through a life immortal.

O. F.—Surely these governments, if they were convinced of the truth of what you state, would use all the influence they possess to secure the progress and happiness of the present and future population of the world, including their own offspring.

R. O.—Yes,—and by so doing to attain a higher degree of happiness for themselves, than the possession of all earthly power and wealth could give them.

O. F.—But how are they to be made conscious of possessing this unheard-of power and influence?—for without this knowledge they will continue to act as they have done and are now doing.

R. O.—I know they will, and my present writings and practical proceedings are with a view to convince them of this great fact—a truth of the highest importance to themselves and the

people of the world, and yet more to our children of succeeding generations.

O. F.—How do you mean to turn the current of the public opinion of governments and peoples?—for in such a change as you propose, both must unite to effect it.

R. O.—For this purpose I have called a Congress of the advanced minds of the world, to be held in London on the 14th of May next, that I may explain these matters to them, discuss them, and have their assistance to discuss the best peaceable means to effect the change, and to give the sanction of their names to princes and people, and thus prepare them to take an active part to accomplish the permanent progressive happiness here and hereafter of the human race.

O. F.—But your friends say your life, if written and published by yourself, would attract more interest than your new, and to the world, strange system which you advocate.

R. O.—I know it, and have long known it. The population of the world have been tired out by so many false and delusive systems of reforms upon the present erroneous formation of the structure of the human mind and of society, that it now turns with disgust from them all, concluding that all attempts to improve society must prove equally fallacious, and they ask only to be amused, for which they are willing to pay a great price according to their individual means. But that which is really required is sound instruction on a true foundation.

O. F.—Then you will continue your *Millennial Gazette* and disappoint your friends who have so long waited for your promise to be fulfilled?

R. O.—I will compromise this matter with them, by endeavouring for a time both to continue the *Millennial Gazette* and to proceed with the writing of my life.

O. F.—If this will satisfy you, I suppose your friends must be satisfied.

R. O.—I deem the making plain to the public of the immense difference for good to the human race between the old, false, and evil system, and the new, true, and good system of society for forming the character of and governing the future generations of men, to be an object of the very highest interest to humanity, and in which the happiness of all are deeply involved.

O. F.—But how can you expect the public to take the same interest in this subject as you do, to see it in the same light, and to give to it the same pre-eminent importance?

R. O.—By the same means that all other new and important truths are forced upon the public against its will and strongest prejudices. All new truths, however beneficial to our race, are distasteful and hateful to the pre-occupied mind and self-satisfied convictions of the public. This is a law of nature, and need

to surprise no one having a knowledge of our nature, and must be met by the proper surroundings.

O. F.—And you think you can create those surroundings?

R. O.—I will make the attempt, even with my limited means. With larger means I could be certain to secure full success.

O. F.—What! at your advanced age—with imperfect sight and hearing, and now a feeble frame to support any great physical exertion? It is true your spirit is willing, and your mind yet more clear and strong than could be anticipated of one who has had so active a life from early childhood to his eighty-sixth year. But of these you may be deprived any hour before your intended meeting on the 14th of May next, and then what is to become of this Congress, from which you anticipate such great results?

R. O.—The objections you make are natural. But I act as a man far advanced in age, when the desires of earthly life have died their natural death within him, and as one who has had confidential acquaintance with all classes, and great practical experience, not only in directing great commercial and manufacturing operations successfully for many years, but in governing for forty years a numerous population in all its details, and who for thirty years of that period new educated all the young, and to a great extent new formed the character of the old, creating a better and happier working population than could at that time be found in any nation or among any people. And although a few well-disposed proprietors of similar large establishments have attempted subsequently to follow the example thus set, they have failed to produce the same extent of beneficial results, or to give for so long a period such a character to the children, or so much happiness to a community of 2,500 souls. And because no other population has ever yet been educated and directed on the same principle and in the same spirit, continued without deviation for so many years,—and no other principle and spirit can produce similar results. It is true, however, my life now hangs by a slender thread, which may break at any moment, and in the body I must in that case be absent at the Congress. Should this occur, I will endeavour to provide one younger, more active, and more competent, to perform the new and arduous duties which will be required of the person who shall be called upon to preside over or to advise the progress of a Congress so new in the history of the human race, and far more important to the present and future population of the world than all previous Congresses—all having hitherto been of a local character.

O. F.—You stretch your latitude and longitude of thought and action to such extent, that I am not competent without much more consideration than time will now permit, to give a rational opinion upon your strange anticipations. But I do not see how

you are to induce a sufficient number of the most advanced minds of the world to attend your proposed Congress.

R. O.—That must be yet my business to find such minds, possessing sufficient moral courage to disregard the opinion of an ill-educated public, whose ideas and associations of ideas, except on matters of fact demonstrable to the senses, or on principles of science demonstrable from facts or self-evident deductions from self-evident truths, are of little or no value.

O. F.—Yes,—but where will you find men and women for your Congress, with sufficient mental powers and moral courage to brave the irrational public opinions now pervading all nations?

R. O.—I know the love of truth in some men and women creates a moral power within them which elevates their minds to the greatest extent of self sacrifice. And what can more deserve that sacrifice than measures to change a false, wicked, and irrational system, which has created and inflicted endless evils on the human race through all past ages to the present, for the true, good, and rational system for society over the earth—a system which will gradually train all to become good, wise, and happy,—to progress rapidly towards excellence in all things,—will terminate all apparent incongruities and inconsistencies, and will make the earth and its inhabitants one harmonious whole, governed, as intended by its Creator, in the spirit of charity, by knowledge, love, and wisdom, securing permanent peace among men, and insuring mercy, as far as practicable, from man to all the animal creation.

O. F.—You have a most sanguine spirit, and are yet as strong and confident as ever, although through your life you have been opposed by the prejudices of all classes, and by the public opinion of the world.

R. O.—I have ever had undiminished confidence in the power of truth to overcome all error and opposition, when openly, fully, and faithfully declared, in the genuine spirit of charity and love for our race, and persevered in sufficiently long to give time to overcome the natural conservative principle of error in humanity.

O. F.—May you be right! But I fear your task is next to an impossibility.

R. O.—Fear not, my old friend,—I am accustomed long since to overcome imagined impossibilities. There is nothing that is true, good, and permanently beneficial for the human race, which cannot be attained by perseverance, when pursued in the true spirit of charity and love.

O. F.—But who for the years required can persevere in this spirit of charity and love in a cause, however true, good, and beneficial to our race, when continually opposed by the ignorance and prejudices of a race so opposed, through want of knowledge and through mis-instruction, to its own well-being, well-doing, and happiness?

R. O.—The task, taught as all have been by a system having a gross falsehood for its foundation, and that falsehood pervading every part of it, counteracted only by the inroads which science has slowly made upon it—is most arduous; and I must confess that at times the gross ignorance and prejudices of some have put my patience to severe trials, and I am not sure that I have always exhibited to my opponents the full measure of charity and kindness to which their unfortunate surroundings when calmly considered justly entitled them from one advocating illimitable love and charity for our race.

O. F.—Considering the deep-rooted errors inflicted by a false system on all of our race, yourself included, perhaps your friends, if your opponents will not, will make allowance for your shortcomings in this respect.

R. O.—I am quite conscious of having been on many occasions too severe in my expressions in writing and speaking, to be justified by the ever considerate true spirit of charity and love, and I will endeavour in future to make practice always consistent with this spirit.

O. F.—All your friends will rejoice if you succeed,—for we must acknowledge it is the most powerful of all arguments you can use, for it is always true that practice is better than precept.

R. O.—Having sufficiently discussed these matters, I must now attended to my promise, and prepare to proceed with the history of my life.

O. F.—You know how anxious your friends have long been on this subject, and how much they have feared you would postpone it until your strength would fail you for the task.

Sevenoaks Park, Sevenoaks,
December 1856.

SECOND INTRODUCTORY DIALOGUE.

Robert Owen.—What are the motives for any one to write his life? Egotism; money profit; to amuse, or to instruct the public.

Inquisitor.—Well—you, Robert Owen, are now about to write your own life. Which of these is the motive which now impels you to commence this task?

R. O.—I have always had a great distaste and reluctance to write my own life, because of the egotism, nauseous to all readers, which it necessarily involves, and I have therefore put it off from time to time, expecting to terminate my earthly career, and then the task would devolve upon others, and I should be saved the disagreeable feeling of doing that which has always been repugnant to my mind and sense of propriety.

Inquisitor.—Then why do you commence it now ?

R. O.—Because I have so often promised my friends and professed disciples that as soon as I should cease to live my active life in promoting the great object of my earthly existence, I would sit down quietly and endeavour to meet their wishes.

Inquisitor.—Did those promises satisfy your friends ?

R. O.—No. They said—You have acted so much alone and independently in many of the most interesting events of your life, that no one except yourself could truthfully narrate them ; and you have been influenced in your proceedings by motives so different from those of other men, that none but yourself could divine them. Then they added,—You have always expended so much in all your distasteful and repulsive publications to the public, and in circulating those publications in order that they might be known and to a certain extent forced upon the notice of those who would otherwise remain ignorant of the spirit, principles, and practices of the new system for forming the character and governing the human race, that you should now write something that would interest and amuse the public, according to its present character, and which will therefore sell and bring you some profit, to pay you for former losses and expenditures in your publications and their circulation.

Inquisitor.—And what could you say in reply to such disinterested and friendly advice ?

R. O.—That it was true. I have acted very much alone and independently of all parties—often in opposition to the well-intentioned representations of my relatives and friends, who could never fully comprehend my views, although they always did full justice to my motives ; but they believed my efforts, however well intended and true in the abstract, could never be made in this age to influence the public to action, or to induce it to give the subject, so opposed to all past and present notions and prejudices, sufficient attention to be understood.

Inquisitor.—And were they not right in giving you such sound advice ?

R. O.—They were right according to their impressions, which were at the time also the general impressions of the public. But it was well I disregarded the advice so given, or I should never have accomplished the many important practical measures from which the public are now deriving benefit, and from which, when they better comprehend them, they will derive much more.

Inquisitor.—But you have not answered the profit and loss consideration of your publications. Your friends were surely right in saying that your life would interest and amuse the public, and would bring you a profit, instead of the continued loss which you have sustained.

R. O.—Wealth, beyond the decent necessities and healthy comforts of life, has had no charms for me, except for its use in

aiding me to promote the change of system which I have undertaken to effect, if not in my lifetime, soon after I shall have passed into another state of existence. No money consideration could divert me from this object, because it appears to me far to transcend all other earthly subjects, uniting all reforms in one plain practical measure,—while all other proposed reforms would be useless, defective, or impracticable. Besides these considerations, much surplus wealth, as now used, is often highly injurious to its possessors, and generally the more wealth, the more annoyances and evils. Surplus wealth creates an unnatural, unjust, false, and most injurious state of society. I have always had through life as much wealth at a time as it was useful for me to possess, and so it continues.

Inquisitor.—But would not an increase to your wealth enable you to carry your new views of society into practice?

R. O.—No. No amount of wealth could introduce this change into practice if it is not based upon truth, and if it is not to be permanently beneficial for the human race; while no amount of wealth or human power can prevent its introduction and universal adoption, if it is based on unchanging truth in principle, and if its practice shall be permanently advantageous to all of our race, as I contend it is in principle and will be in practice.

Inquisitor.—If egotism and profit by money cannot influence you, surely to amuse and instruct the public are sufficient to induce you to listen to the advice and wishes of your friends and disciples, of whom you have many more than the public give you credit for.

R. O.—I know I have,—but the old false system puts them in a position to make it unsafe to their means of existence to avow openly their accordance with my views. Very many have injured their worldly prospects by so doing, without aiding the good cause. I have urged upon many to be silent, when by their open professions they would only injure themselves and families, and would not promote the cause for which they were going to sacrifice their means of support for themselves and families.

Inquisitor.—But your life would amuse the public, which amusement in the present unsatisfactory state of society over the world is greatly required, and is so much in demand that the public are willing to pay a high price for it. And your object, you say, is to increase the happiness of all parties.

R. O.—It is so. But others, who desire money, and many who require it, can better amuse the public. The hours yet spared to me should be employed to promote substantially the permanent happiness of our race, to the extent that my knowledge and experience will admit.

Inquisitor.—But from what is already known of your life by the public, it is probable much useful instruction might be de-

rived from it, and many imagine it would make more converts to your new views than any work you have written.

R. O.—So I have often been told by my friends, and as there appears some truth in these representations, I will (irksome as the task has always been to me, and now at my advanced age and with my increasing infirmities more onerous than ever,) prepare myself for the performance of the most disagreeable duty I have ever undertaken, and that from the conviction that no one can be in a position to write his own life truly and beneficially for the public. The public are yet too ignorant to comprehend a life truthfully written. A system based on falsehood cannot stand the test of truth, or comprehend that which when understood will be discovered to be beyond price.

Inquisitor.—Will you then in writing your life give the public falsehood for truth?

R. O.—No. I will give the full extent of truth that a system based and constructed on falsehood will admit.

Inquisitor.—How do you mean to proceed with it to give the truth and avoid the falsehood?

R. O.—Knowing that the germs of my physical, intellectual, moral, spiritual, and practical qualities were all formed for me before I was born, and from birth directed well or ill, wisely or unwisely, by society, I shall consider myself as one whose mind and entire character has been formed for him, and for which he has no merit or demerit, and I shall consider Robert Owen as a third person, whose life I am writing and reviewing.

Inquisitor.—Then the result of new basing society on this fact, or knowledge as you call it, is to withdraw all merit and demerit from the individual, and to make him irresponsible for his feelings, thoughts, mind, and conduct?

R. O.—It is, because this is in accordance with all facts known since the creation of man, and because it is in accordance with all facts existing at this day. And also, because it is the great truth which can alone open the path of wisdom to man,—enable him to know himself,—how his character is formed for him,—and how it may with the certainty of a law of nature be well-formed for every one before and from birth,—and how the population of the world may thus be made to become in the shortest period practicable united as one family, and good, wise, and happy.

Inquisitor.—Why this would indeed be to introduce the millennial state of existence upon earth! Surely there must be some mistake in your first principle, or in your deductions from it, or you could not have been now more than half a century in convincing rational beings of that which would secure the permanent happiness of their race!

R. O.—You forget that any ideas, however erroneous and absurd they may be, can be forced into any minds, even as being divine truths never to be doubted, and that all the ideas hitherto

taught to the human race have been based upon a falsehood, which pervades the mind and conduct of all.

Inquisitor.—You do not intend in this sweeping assertion to include the knowledge derived from the sciences or facts; that would be to confound truth and falsehood.

R. O.—The sciences are always in accordance with themselves and with all other facts; but in many cases men of science, so called, although they know some facts of one or more sciences, have this knowledge so mixed up in minds previously trained and educated on a false base, that their scientific knowledge is often a confused mass of truth and falsehood, of which they make little valuable use, compared with the powers which the sciences can give for the general benefit of mankind. It is the knowledge of the true formation of character that can alone give the right direction to the application of the sciences for the use of the population of the world, and this knowledge will show that the sciences are in opposition to all human religions, governments, laws, and institutions, based on the supposition that man forms himself, or his own qualities, and all know that on this supposition the religions, governments, laws, and institutions of the past have been based, and that these have hitherto formed the character of the human race.

Inquisitor.—Then you do not think scientific men are to be depended upon as instructors of the human race.

R. O.—No, I do not. They can teach some valuable facts in the material sciences which they have mastered, but out of those sciences they are frequently mere children in mental knowledge or the knowledge of themselves. They presume much on the little they have been taught to acquire in material science, and are not unfrequently strongly prejudiced in favour of some of the injurious dogmas of the old systems of society.

Inquisitor.—If you have this inferior opinion of men of science, who, as such, are men of facts, and come the nearest to your views in many respects,—to what class in the whole range of society do you look for the advanced minds of the world to attend your Congress on the 14th of May next?

R. O.—Not to any class. The existing classifications of society are gross errors. They of necessity cultivate some of our inferior faculties inordinately, at the expense of the superior. They oppose class to class, and even the members of the same class to one another, creating jealousy and often hatred between them, because their apparent interests are at war with each other. And this now most unwise division of the human race into classes makes the children of humanity into small portions of men and women, shorn of their fair proportions, and with the better parts left out.

Inquisitor.—Why you go in direct opposition to the established doctrines of the *doctrinaires* of the politico-economical school,

who teach that the division of labour is the perfection of society and the best means to increase wealth and knowledge.

R. O.—I know that this is one of their pet doctrines. But it is, like all their other dogmas, which they call a science, a mere superficial view of man and society, neither of which have their minds yet been opened to comprehend. Since the discovery of the enormous, incalculable power to supersede manual labour, to enable the human race to create wealth by the aid of the sciences, it has been a gross mistake of the political economists to make humanity into slaves to science, instead of making, as nature intends, sciences to be the slaves and servants of humanity. And this sacrificing of human beings,—with such exquisite physical, intellectual, moral, spiritual, and practical organs, faculties, and powers, so wondrously combined in each individual—to pins, needles, thread, tape, etc., etc., etc., and to all such inanimate materials, exhibits at once the most gross ignorance of the nature and true value of humanity, and of the principles and practices required to form a prosperous, rational, and happy state of society, or the true existence of man upon the earth. These wise men of the present day seem in no manner to comprehend the difference between manufacturing human beings to become full-formed men and women, with *all* their organs, faculties, powers, and qualities, cultivated to their natural perfection, and well-forming pins, needles, or thread.

Inquisitor—Why, to what are you going to lead us, if you thus impugn this wisdom of our foremost practical men, as they are called?

R. O.—Only to common sense, and to a knowledge of common things, which, in the first generation rationally taught and equitably placed, children of ten years of age will acquire and comprehend far better than the most matured political economists or so-called practical men of the present day have yet attained to.

Inquisitor.—What do you mean by the common sense and common things that will hereafter be so easily acquired?

R. O.—I mean by common sense, that it consists in observing common universal past and present facts, and in making the most natural use of them for the permanent benefit of our race.

Inquisitor.—This needs explanation.

R. O.—I mean that it is a fact so common as to have been universal through all past time, that every natural organ, propensity, faculty, quality, and power of man, is made and forced upon each one at birth without his knowledge or consent; and that this may be seen to be the case by observing the past and present conditions or surroundings in which each one has been and is placed; and hence Medes and Persians, Chinese, Japanese, Greeks, Romans, Trojans, &c.,—and hence the English, French, German, Russian, Turk, &c., &c., of to-day. It is simple common sense, then, to perceive and conclude that all of humankind are formed

to be what they become by having their natural powers and qualities, which were formed for them by the Creating Power of the Universe, acted upon by the surroundings in which they are placed from birth by matured society. And that, *as are the natural qualities of each one at birth, and as are the surroundings in which he is placed,—so will the individual be.*

Inquisitor.—Well,—so far it must be admitted this is but plain common sense, deduced from the most common facts, and so common that it must be known to every reader of history and observer of common facts now universal among all the varied nations, tribes, and peoples of the world. But what of that? Everyone who reflects must know this, and what do you make of it?

R. O.—That the readers of history and observers of existing facts have been hitherto so surrounded from birth as to be prevented from acquiring common sense.

Inquisitor.—How dare you to accuse the learned men of this advanced age of the world of want of common sense? They will require you to prove an assertion so opposed to present universal belief.

R. O.—It is very easy to prove it. The simple facts stated exhibit at once the cause of all the varieties in human character, and make it glaringly evident that it is impossible for individuals to form their own physical, intellectual, moral, spiritual, or practical character. This conclusion is the most obvious to common sense, as soon as any one has been so formed and placed as to acquire the first rudiments of common sense.

Inquisitor.—Well,—it does seem so, and your statement shall be granted, and admitted to be a truth as old as man. But what can you make of this common-sense view of humanity,—“that men’s natural qualities are made by the Creating Power of the Universe at birth, and that they are cultivated by the surroundings, endless as these appear to be, in which from birth they are placed by society?” Every one who reflects must know this. It is but common sense drawn from facts which are universal and known to all accurate observers. What use can you make of them, which men of science and of learning have not already made of them?

R. O.—It appears to me that the most important practical results may be derived from this common-sense view of the true universal formation of character of the human race.

Inquisitor.—This is a mystery to me, and appears to be so to all others through all past ages. Pray explain what probably, by a common-sense explanation which can be understood by the public, may really prove of practical utility to our race.

R. O.—I will. To those who have studied the use of the natural organs, faculties, propensities, powers, and qualities of humanity, it is most evident that each one is intended or formed

and combined, when properly trained from birth, and each duly exercised to the point of temperance for every faculty and propensity, to give health and pleasure to the individual, and to diffuse happiness to all around him.

Inquisitor.—Yes. But how are these results to be obtained for any portion of the human race?

R. O.—They are not to be obtained for any separate portion of the human race. But they can be easily attained and secured for *all* through futurity.

Inquisitor.—This would be indeed knowledge worth knowing, and would be the science of all earthly sciences. Make this intelligible and practicable to governments and people, and for their own happiness and that of their children they will overcome their present prejudices in favour of things as they are, and will adopt those views which will realise such splendid universal permanent results. I am truly impatient now to have this discovery of discoveries made plain to me and to the population of the world.

R. O.—Have patience, and your desires shall be satisfied. Have you observed how very desirous the priesthoods of the world have always been to have the education of children under their control and direction, and how much they have been opposed to all other parties having any influence in this matter?

Inquisitor.—Yes,—I have seen quite sufficient of this spirit in this country among the Christians of every sect, and among Jews and Mormons also.

R. O.—And have you reflected upon the cause of this strenuous exertion to obtain possession of the young mind?

Inquisitor.—I suppose it is because each sect and division of society has been taught by their respective surroundings, as you would say, that their sect or division alone possessed a knowledge of what they call divine truth upon certain mystified subjects, and that all other sects are in error upon these to them all-important matters, and they therefore wish if possible to make the population of the world to be of their opinion. This is the only view I can take of this universal principle to make proselytes to the opinions of each sect

R. O.—You are right in your conclusion so far as you have stated; for the priesthood of the world well know that they can easily force their creeds into the young mind, however absurd other sects and divisions may deem those creeds; and that when once the young mind can be pre-occupied with any creed, it is often difficult and generally impracticable to make a Jew a Christian, a Christian a Jew, or a Mahommedan a disciple of Confucius or of Bramah, or the reverse.

Inquisitor.—But this is no new knowledge. It has been known through all past ages, and the priesthood in all countries have had the moulding of the young mind to suit their respective

ideas, and thus have they kept the world, and been themselves kept, in gross ignorance how to train the human race, to make it good, wise, and happy. While the means by which they profess to endeavour to produce these results are the very surest means to make the population ignorant, wicked, and miserable, and to keep all nations and peoples disunited and most irrational in mind and practice—in fact, to make man the most inconsistent of all tribes of animals, ever striving to act in direct opposition to his own nature—a nature which, if understood and rationally trained, educated, employed, placed, and governed, would be discovered to be superior to all other natures known upon earth. And, instead of the ignorance and misery which now pervade the earth, all would be enlightened and happy to an extent beyond present human imagination.

Inquisitor.—But how are all to be thus trained, educated, employed, placed, and governed?

R. O.—By the science of surroundings being made familiar to all, and being applied to practice.

Inquisitor.—The science of surroundings? Why this is a science I never heard of before! It must be some outlandish idea of your ultra notions of all things. Who ever heard of the science of surroundings?

R. O.—You, like all the world, make a most lamentable mistake upon this subject. The science of surroundings may be termed the science of practical common-sense.

Inquisitor.—But who can understand what you mean by surroundings? It is an enigma to all your readers, and each one asks the other what you mean by it.

R. O.—I am well aware of this difficulty, and while the term brings thousands of ideas to my mind, such as the innumerable circumstances which surround the various classes, creeds, and colours over the globe, forming the opposing characters of the world, making so many of them irrational, inconsistent in mind and practice, insane, idiots, or mad,—I have also in my mind other combinations of circumstances, conditions, or “surroundings,” which when properly executed for practice will compel all to become good, wise, and happy,—rational or consistent in mind and practice, and all to become united as one family or one man.

Inquisitor.—To have such surroundings would be a miracle and more than mortal can imagine. It will be in vain to teach powerful sovereigns,—wise statesmen,—wealthy capitalists,—priests,—lawyers,—medical, military, and commercial men,—especially free traders,—and all who think they have vested interests in the present order, or rather disorder of things. The task, with these prejudices against you, is hopeless. It is an utter impossibility.

R. O.—The term impossibility has little influence upon my

proceedings. So many impossibilities have been made possible and practical, that the term means only that the thing spoken of is impracticable in the estimation of the person so applying it. I have already overcome many things said previously to be impossible, and I hope to overcome some others, and among them to make the public understand what surroundings mean, and how to create new ones and apply them universally in practice to secure the permanent progress and happiness of our race.

Inquisitor.—Why how can you, an old man, so advanced in years, living so quietly near Sevenoaks as to be almost unknown to be in the neighbourhood, expect now to make any additional impression on the public?

R. O.—More than half a century ago, I by experiment ascertained the strong impression made upon infants and children by objects which they could see, and in consequence of teaching them first through the eye, and giving them common-sense explanations in reply to their natural questions when they were examining anything new. Witnessing the extraordinary progress in knowledge which very young children made by this mode of teaching, I discovered it to be the natural process by which to give knowledge to children,—and men of the present day are yet but infants and children in the knowledge of the most useful and practical facts. I will show the advanced minds of the world, when they meet me at the Congress on the 14th of May next, by the eye, what is now the most useful knowledge for practice which they can acquire. I will exhibit and explain to them the new surroundings by which with ease and pleasure the human race may be made to become good, united, healthy, wise, wealthy, and happy,—acting as one man, multiplying the qualities of all into each, or giving to each the advantages to be derived from all.

Inquisitor.—Is it presumption on your part, or have you really discovered some mode of acquiring knowledge previously unknown?

R. O.—Convinced as I am that what we are we are made to become by the Great Creating Power of the Universe and by society, and that therefore no one has a particle of merit, I can feel no cause for presumption of any kind in myself, or for any one rationally to possess it. The difference between myself and the present population of the world, so far as I know myself, has arisen from a simple cause and process. I had, as I believe all children have, a love of truth at a very early age, and a strong desire to attain it upon religious subjects while very young. I was before seven years of age fond of reading all books which came in my way, and of thinking of their contents. My parents were of the Church of England, but they were often visited by two Methodist ladies, who took much trouble to try to make me of their opinion, and gave me Methodist tracts and books to read. I had also the libraries of the Rector, Doctor, and Lawyer

of the parish and town freely opened to me, and in these I found their respective religious works, and among them many of a controversial character, and I was at first puzzled by the different sects so violently abusing each other, and each so strenuous endeavouring to make all the others appear to be in error. I was early inclined to be sincerely very religious, and thus attracted the attention of the old and magnates of the town, with whom, from some cause then entirely unknown to me, I was a great little favourite, and my mind was aroused to more attention and activity of thought, to discover the cause of this strong and bitter opposition between parties all professing to be deeply interested about religion. These controversial writings and the eagerness of each party to make me a convert to their opinions by abusing the other, gradually weakened my faith in each, and I longed more than ever to discover what was true. Reading these religious works ceased to give me much pleasure, being so unsatisfactory to my mind. I read Young's Night Thoughts, Harvey's Meditations among the Tombs, The Pilgrim's Progress, Paradise Lost and Regained, and all the standard novels of that period, as true facts. I also read Universal History, the Circumnavigators, (a clergyman, a direct descendant of Admiral Drake, taking great notice of me at this period,) all Shakspeare's Plays, and many others. These filled my mind with so many ideas which appeared to me to be so conflicting among themselves, that I felt greatly at a loss how to ascertain those which were true from those which were false. Often and often I reflected upon this difficult problem, to discover if possible some criterion by which I could know how to separate true ideas from those which were false. At length it occurred to me "that truth must be always consistent with itself and in accordance with all facts." I now had a lever of great power to work with,—but I yet wanted a standard, a sound resting point on which to place this lever. The history of the world and of the circumnavigators exhibited to me in strong colours the endless variety of character which they disclosed. I asked myself "whence this variety of character, and how produced?" The original material possessed the same general qualities, although varied in their combinations—how, then, these various religions, languages, governments, laws, habits, manners, ideas of right and wrong, opposing feelings, and conflict of conduct, and other endless varieties of character? The first reply which came to me was, that these are all produced by the differences of circumstances or conditions in which individual nations and tribes are placed from birth. I said these external conditions may and do produce the variety of religions, languages, laws, institutions, habits, manners, and to a certain extent direct the feelings and conduct of all. But there is something more to be taken into the account of this varied formation of the human character over the earth. And it

soon occurred to me, by following the same course of observing facts, that there was also an endless variety in the combinations of the original material from which all the individuals derived their distinctive character, and that each one of our race was a compound character, formed of his original material, acted upon by the external circumstances in which he was placed from birth.

Inquisitor.—It was then, I suppose, that you made that noted discovery so often maintained in your writings, “That as is the organisation, and as are the conditions in which it is placed through life, so must the individual become in feeling, mind, and practice?”

R. O.—Yes. But there was more than this to consider before I could arrive at the great fundamental truth which should ultimately confound the learned, arouse the population of the world from its dream of error, change the entire system of society from its foundation through all its ramifications, and make man a new being, so that he shall appear to be born again with a new heart, a new mind, new spirit, new feelings, and new conduct.

Inquisitor.—What miracle is there to come to effect this change far greater than all previous changes?

R. O.—No miracle will be required,—only a little common sense, as soon as the human mind can be based on its true foundation.

Inquisitor.—And pray what do you call its true foundation, and how have you found it?

R. O.—By doing as you are now doing—asking myself a few questions easily to be answered.

Inquisitor.—What are these?

R. O.—*First.* Who or what created the material from which man's character is formed? The obvious reply is—the Great Creating Power of the Universe. *Second.* Who places each individual within the surroundings which form his language, religion, habits, manners,—which direct his feelings and conduct, and give him his ideas and peculiar associations of ideas? Answer—Society.

Inquisitor.—And what then?

R. O.—That if facts demonstrate that the Universal Creating Power and society form the character of every individual, a new world of wonders is at once opened to our view, and the plain path to truth, knowledge, unity, and happiness, is made easy to pursue without the liability to mistake it.

Inquisitor.—How do you come to these extraordinary conclusions from the facts which you have stated?

R. O.—Thus. If what man is he is made to be by the Power which created him and by society,—then man cannot be a responsible being for the faculties, powers, and qualities, which he possesses.

Inquisitor.—And you give him full liberty to act wickedly and without restraint, according to his evil propensities?

R. O.—Quite the reverse. As his character is formed for him to so great an extent, as stated, by society,—society may form a good character for every one, and may put all from birth under, to them, such imperceptible restraint, that they can never think or act wrongly or injuriously to any of their fellows, but must of necessity so act as continually to promote the highest permanent happiness of all around them, near or more distant. The natural propensities of humanity are all good when exercised to the point of temperance; and when society can be taught to acquire the rudiments of common sense, it will perceive clearly how to place, train, and educate all, so that they will have no desire but to exercise them for their greatest health and pleasure up to the point of temperance, and never to exceed that point. There are no natural evil propensities in humanity.

Inquisitor.—But we are told that man is prone to evil as the sparks fly upwards.

R. O.—And so he is, and so he will be, under the false, artificial, wicked, and unnatural system in which men are trained and educated to think and to call good evil and evil good, and to be fools and the most inconsistent animals now upon the earth.

Inquisitor.—What! do you call all our great men fools and inconsistent animals?

R. O.—I only state what a false, wicked, and unnatural system must make them. This system being false in its foundation, has accumulated falsehood upon falsehood through every succeeding generation, to give it sufficient temporary support, until now falsehood has become so universal and glaring, that each division of society over the world thinks all other divisions to be no better than dupes or fools, and most irrational in mind and conduct.

Inquisitor.—What? do you mean to say that there are no great and good men now living, formed under the present system?

R. O.—I do. And more,—I know that the present system of society, based as it is on a glaring universal falsehood, is, and while it shall be maintained must continue to be, incompetent to train, educate, and place a human being to become a good and great man.

Inquisitor.—This is the most strange of all your strange teachings. And can you assert with sincere belief that you think there is not now and never will be in future a good and great man while the present system shall form the character and govern men?

R. O.—I know it to be impossible for the present system to form a truly good and great man. The only man living who has any pretensions to be considered great and good is Baron Alexander Von Humboldt, who by his long and extensive travels over the world has discovered the natural goodness of humanity

in all countries, and perceived how cruelly it has been used by the ignorant surroundings in which it is involved in every district over the earth, and how much all, from the highest to the lowest in every nation, are injured by the ignorance and falsehood of the present system. He has less of the man of the present, and more of the man of the future, than any one known at this period. He has done by his publications great good to the cause of progress, and has shown to a great extent the sublimity of humanity when divested by extensive travels and discriminating observations of the prejudices of country, creed, and colour.

Inquisitor.—But he has never abused the present system in its principle and through all its ramifications as you have done, and therefore I suppose he is the great and good man you have described him to be?

R. O.—The Baron has never been placed in a position in which he could effect as much good to the world by openly attacking the present system, as he could by placing so many important facts quietly before the public mind of the world, as he has done through a long and most useful life. These facts evidently expose the ignorance and error of the present system to reflecting persons in all countries. He has in his quiet manner and with great tact said as much against the present system as it was possible for any one living on the continent of Europe, in the midst of the despotism of priests and governments, to venture to do; and being to a considerable extent a confidential friendly adviser of governments, he has no doubt often diminished the errors and evils of despotic power.

Inquisitor.—If, as you say, this system is now so thoroughly worn out that it is impossible in this its expiring old age to train and educate any one to become great and good,—pray what are we to think of you who have lived and acted so long in it.

R. O.—You must think of me as not belonging to the present system of society, but as one looking with the greatest delight to its entire annihilation, so that ultimately not one stone of it shall be left upon another.

Inquisitor. Then you would join Kossuth, Mazzini, &c.; or the Red Socialists, and destroy all existing governments and priesthoods?

R. O.—I would not join any of these well-intentioned men with very limited views into futurity, and with less knowledge of human nature, and none of constituting a rational state of human existence upon earth. As they would first destroy before they built up or knew how to build up, it is evident they could only, if their desires were now gratified, lead nationalities headlong into confusion and universal disorder, to the sacrifice of life and property, making present confusion worse confounded.

Inquisitor.—You are a strange man. If you would not join

the parties you have named, perhaps you would unite with the Free Trade and Peace party.

R. O.—Not with the Free Trade party,—because it can only foster and encourage, under the name of peace, the most to be dreaded of all wars—a covert war of the few, strongest in cunning, against the many, less cunning and more humane; and the other portion of the peace party base peace upon a false foundation, which will always fail, prevent its success, and stand in the way of everlasting universal peace among the human race. There is an artificial move by which to attempt to establish peace—and anything artificial can never succeed to be effective and permanent.

Inquisitor.—But surely the Free Traders are doing good service by opening a free and friendly communication between even the most distant nations?

R. O.—So far as they open a free communication between nations without open war, so good; but who ever heard of friendship in trade? As now carried on it is the cut-throat of friendship, or who can best succeed in deceiving others by buying the cheapest and selling the dearest. It cultivates all the lowest faculties of humanity, and discourages all the superior. It may truly be said to be a miserly selfish system.

Inquisitor.—Why this from you, who in early life were in trade, and who in middle life were for so many years a successful manufacturer upon a large scale! And now you denounce the whole system of buying cheap and selling dear as though you never were engaged in it!

R. O.—While in business I had for nearly half a century too much evidence from all around of its hollowness and corruption, of its deteriorating moral influences, and of the petty tyranny of masters, and slavery of their workmen, especially among the large manufacturers.

Inquisitor.—And yet you continued so long one of these tyrant large manufacturers! How can you explain this contradiction between your theory and practice?

R. O.—Your false, vile, ignorant, and most wicked system compelled me to learn the trade of buying cheap and selling dear, and I was compelled to pursue it to support life—for under this system to support life you must be tyrant or slave. If you do not eat the food of others, they will of necessity under this system eat yours,—and there is not a spark of real knowledge, justice, or humanity in the whole process of society as carried on at this day. It is one universal contest and conflict about nothing that requires either conflict or contest. It is all about individual wealth and power, which with the most successful are maintained with considerable hazard and gross injustice; while under another system of society—the true one, based on truth and constructed by common sense—every one without contest or

competition of any kind will easily be made to superabound in wealth, and to possess as much power for good as the human heart can desire.

Inquisitor.—You continue more and more strange every step as we advance in this enquiry after truth. I can make nothing of you. I have never met with so cross-grained an individual in opposition to things as they are, and to all the modes of reform proposed by other parties. Can you explain how this strange opposing character, to every thing that is, was formed for you, and how you have been made to feel, think, and act, so differently from all other men?

R. O.—As it may be of great lasting benefit to others, I will most readily make this subject plain, I hope, to the public at large. Having, as previously described, discovered that God, or the Great Creating Power of the Universe, formed without our consent or knowledge the germs of all our natural organs, faculties, propensities, powers, and qualities, before birth,—and that from birth society cultivated them wisely or unwisely, for good or for evil, for happiness or for misery,—and that thus God and society forced upon each individual the character which he attains through life:—having also discovered that the germs of all the organs, faculties, propensities, powers, and qualities, were good, and were evidently intended, when man could be made to know himself and society, and in consequence to know how to train, educate, and place these native powers rationally, to make every one good, wise, united to his fellows, heartily possessing the free use of all things necessary for happiness, which would be enjoyed through life without any one being made afraid:—having likewise discovered that as society by its wise or ignorant training, educating, employing, governing, and placing of individuals, forces upon them an inferior or superior character through life,—society, and not the individual, is the former from birth of the character of every one, and that the responsibilities of it should therefore be alone upon society:—having also discovered that it will be now easy of practice for society, with the enormous power and means which nature at this period of progress in scientific knowledge has placed at its disposal, to form, with the certainty of a law of nature, a good, useful, and happy character for every one who shall be from birth through life rationally placed and surrounded by society:—having succeeded thus far in material knowledge, it became necessary for progress that the true criterion of truth should be also discovered. Through age after age all parties anxiously enquired “what is truth? Who will show us truth on which we can rely with certain safety?” To make the discovery of truth certain, so as to leave no doubt upon the mind, was from my early youth my most ardent desire—a wish paramount to all others. The internal power or spirit which has guided and governed me through

life disclosed in early youth to me this precious gem of value beyond all price. It was thus made known to me that "Truth is always consistent with itself and in accordance with all established facts, and with all facts that can be known through the future. And that that which is inconsistent with itself or opposed to one well ascertained established fact is *not true*"

Inquisitor.—And did these discoveries assist to form your strange character to make you oppose all the institutions of all nations and peoples, both ancient and modern?

R. O.—The foundation for this strange character, as you call it, was the discovery that God (or nature) and society, form the character of every one, and that society, as soon as it can be made to know itself and its own power over the elements of our earth, may form a good, valuable, and superior character for every one. Then the discovery of the criterion of truth induced me to re-read what I had previously read, and to build up a new mind on the basis of the knowledge that the character of man is formed for him—that it is in fact forced upon him, by the Power which creates him and by society,—and in constructing ideas to form this new mind, not to retain any which were inconsistent with that great fundamental truth explanatory of the true formation of character. And thus—accumulating day by day new ideas, all consistent with themselves, with the great first principle or fact of the formation of character, and with *all* known facts—a new mind was created or born again for the first time in human history, a mind in which all its ideas and associations of ideas are consistent with each other and with all known facts, and therefore, according to the criterion of truth, a rational, true, and consistent mind—and I know no other process by which a rational and sound mind could be formed in a sound body.

Inquisitor.—And do you really suppose that you have thus rejected all incongruous and false ideas and combinations of ideas, and have retained those only which are consistent with themselves and with all ascertained facts?

R. O.—Such has been my intention ever since the true criterion of truth was impressed upon my mind as a great and most important fact. And if the human race should be early instructed in the knowledge of this only true criterion of truth, and how to apply it upon all occasions in building up the mind of all, a new mind would be created for the young by the old, so superior to all hitherto formed by the past random accumulation of ideas in the formation of the character of every class in every country over the world, that they would be by comparison a new and superior race of men and women, always consistent in mind and practice, and beautiful physically and mentally.

Inquisitor.—Surely you do not expect that the time will arrive when the human race can and will be so placed, trained, and edu-

cated, that the ideas in the mind of each shall be always consistent with themselves and in accordance with all facts ?

R. O.—Indeed I do. Because, after a short practice, such instruction to all will become a simple process in forming the character of each, as soon as the natural mode of forming character shall be adopted to supersede the ignorant, unnatural, and, to teachers and taught, most annoying and unsatisfactory mode of instruction or of forming character.

Inquisitor.—What do you call the natural mode of instruction to form superior characters ?

R. O.—That new mode which I introduced more than half a century ago at New Lanark in Scotland, and by which I gave a character entirely new to all the children of the population of that village.

Inquisitor.—And what was that new mode ?

R. O.—Instruction from the earliest period by sensible signs and familiar conversations between the instructor and instructed, commencing with the most familiar objects around the infant and child to be taught. The instruction to be given not only without fear of punishment, but with never-failing charity for any defects in the instructed, and always in the spirit and tone of love and of real affection, which love and affection will be created in every true instructor by every infant and child so taught and whose character shall be so formed.

Inquisitor.—Do you mean to say that you have ever seen children so instructed ?

R. O.—Yes. The children of the inhabitants of New Lanark in Scotland were so instructed for more than a quarter of a century.

Inquisitor.—And without punishment and by love alone ?

R. O.—Yes. And the entire population of the village, consisting then of 2500 inhabitants, were governed on the same principles for that period.

Inquisitor.—Then I suppose there were all manner of crimes daily, and confusion worse confounded ?

R. O.—You are greatly mistaken.

Inquisitor.—What were the inhabitants of the village previous to this new mode of instructing their children and of governing the more matured of all ages ?

R. O.—With few exceptions they were a collection from various places of a very inferior class of workpeople, very dirty in their habits and houses, very intemperate and demoralised, but making much show of some sort of religion, of which there were several, and much opposed to each other, each one being sure that his own sect was right and that all the others were inferior and very erroneous.

Inquisitor.—And how were these reclaimed ? They must have been severely punished at first to effect any change for the better ?

R. O.—In this you, like all other clever and knowing men of the world, as you are called, are in great error. All crimes, so named, are errors of instructors or of governments. Instructors and governments have been, so far, ignorant of human nature, how to place it, to form its character, or to govern it. The weapons of those thus ignorant to repress crimes, which directly or indirectly by their ignorance they have first created, are punishments, endless in their variety and severity, and never effective to remove their cause. Hence the continuance of multiplied crimes at this day. While the weapons of intelligence are those only of real knowledge, charity, and love, and these, when wisely applied, will never fail to eradicate the cause of crime, and to make men and women rational in mind and conduct, and without exception, ultimately, from birth, good, wise, and happy.

Inquisitor.—What! Govern the population of the world without punishment! and solely by knowledge of human nature, charity, and love?

R. O.—These are the only true weapons for forming the true character and governing the populations of all the nations of the earth. And they are competent, wisely applied, to put and keep them all in permanent prosperity, harmony, and happiness.

Inquisitor.—Enough of this. But let us come to facts.

First.—Were the inhabitants of New Lanark governed and the children instructed by real knowledge, charity, and love?

R. O.—They were instructed and governed in the spirit of genuine charity and love, with as much knowledge of human nature as I then possessed.

Inquisitor.—*Secondly.*—How, if you can express it shortly, did you apply that knowledge in practice?

R. O.—By gradually removing some of the many injurious surroundings in which they were placed, and replacing them with better.

Inquisitor.—*Thirdly:*—And what was the result of such practice?

R. O.—To materially improve the character of the population in the most satisfactory manner as this process progressed. On the experience so acquired, I confidently state, that this practice, if applied to the entire business of life, would never fail in a single instance to produce similar results. And it is greatly to be regretted that the governments and advanced minds of the world have not acquired this common sense mode of applying common sense knowledge to common things.

Inquisitor.—What do you call common things?

R. O.—I mean those things required for every day use and purposes, and having them placed in such manner as to obtain the best results from them.

Inquisitor.—You must have hidden your proceedings at New Lanark under a bushel,—for no one ever mentions them, nor do

any parties appear to know that such an experiment as you describe was ever made. If you are correct in what you state to be the influence of surroundings, there need be no more discussion about the best mode of dealing with criminals, or respecting punishments of any kind.

R. O.—Certainly not. It shows glaring ignorance in the priesthood, governments, and more advanced minds of the world, to occupy so much time and expend so much capital most uselessly and injuriously in devising methods to punish crimes, and in vain attempts to diminish them, when the plainest dictates of common sense, applied to common things, would not fail to discover that far less than the thousandth part of the time, trouble, and expense incurred to this period by society over the world to punish crime, would ages ago have prevented the existence of any crime whatever, and that in this day it would be unknown over the earth except as a matter of history.

Inquisitor.—How could this be? Either you, or the priests, governors, and advanced minds of the world, must be most irrational, if not insane. You surely cannot be right on this, to the world, all-important subject; and as you are but one against the other parties who have lived through ages to this day, the very great probability is that the error must be with you.

R. O.—I am willing that the parties named and myself should be tried by the only criterion of truth known to man—"Consistency with itself, and undeviating accordance with all facts."

Inquisitor.—That seems a fair proposal. How would you proceed with this singular trial?

R. O.—Naturally and rationally, by the examination of common palpable facts, and by deducing self-evident truths from those facts.

Inquisitor.—I am at a loss to know the facts to which you refer. Pray explain yourself more fully.

R. O.—I have stated that the Great Creating Power of the Universe, whose essence and mode of action are unknown to man, is the Universal God of Creation. That this All-mighty and Eternal Creating Power, whatever future knowledge may discover it to be, creates the germs of all humanity before the birth of each individual, and also the difference in the proportions of the natural qualities of humanity in each germ, to constitute its distinct individuality; and thus are the germs of all the natural qualities of humanity at birth given to each one without his consent or knowledge. Have I so far made myself to be sufficiently understood by the ordinary mind of the world?

Inquisitor.—So far I think you have, and that none who desire to understand you can misapprehend the plain statement which you have now made. Proceed if you please.

R. O.—Facts have proved through all time, that all of the human race are born with the same general qualities of humanity,

but each with varied proportions of them ; and for which it would be most irrational to make the individual responsible, either to the Power which created and contrived those mysterious germs of divine qualities, divinely combined,—or to man.

Inquisitor.—It certainly appears to be irrational to make the created responsible for the qualities given to it by the Power which created it ; and equally so to make him responsible to man, who is yet so ignorant of these divine qualities and their divine combinations, as you call them. But why are they divine ?

R. O.—Because they are made mysteriously by the Great Creating Power of the Universe, or the God of all Creation.

Inquisitor.—What next in your facts ?

R. O.—That these qualities, which constitute humanity throughout the human race, have been and are capable of receiving an innumerable variety of directions in the formation of the matured character of each one.

Inquisitor.—As how ? This requires more distinct explanation to enable the general mind to comprehend your full meaning.

R. O.—The facts of past history and of present time prove that any language, religion, law, government, classification, institutions, ideas, associations of ideas, habits, manners, and conduct, may be imperceptibly taught to and unconsciously forced upon every one.

Inquisitor.—How ?

R. O.—Simply by the varied surroundings in which society has the power to place every one from birth.

Inquisitor.—If so, then any language, religion, laws, government, classification, institutions, ideas, associations of ideas, habits, manners, and conduct, may be, by society, forced upon any one or all over the world. How can this be, to be consistent with the common language and conduct of men to men, who praise, blame, reward, and punish one another, as though each formed his own natural qualities at birth, and determined at birth in what class and kind of surroundings his whole character should be matured, and as if he formed his own character before and from birth ?

R. O.—I leave it to the wise men of this day to make the unchanging facts which I have stated respecting humanity, and this conduct of all priests, governments, and people at this day, to be consistent and to stand the test of the criterion of truth.

Inquisitor.—It is at once obvious to all who reflect, that no part of society as now existing is consistent with itself or with the facts of nature, and therefore, I suppose, you say the whole system of society is erroneous.

R. O.—It is so glaringly false in principle and injurious to all in practice, that if there were any really practical men with common sense in any nation in any one of the four quarters of

the world, they would unite and immediately commence to change the entire system.

Inquisitor.—Do you mean to say that there are no really practical men with common sense to be found among the population of the world.

R. O.—I have never met with or heard of one, and I have ardently sought to discover men with these qualifications, that I might communicate with them before I go hence, and might give them the additional benefit of such practical knowledge and common sense as I have acquired by experience in a long active life directed to the attainment of these objects.

Inquisitor.—Surely they must be difficult, if not impossible to acquire, seeing, as you say, that none have yet attained them?

R. O.—It is impossible to attain them without giving up and totally abandoning the present system of society, which has continued from its commencement. Hence there is no common sense to be found in any practical measures to form the human character, to produce wealth, or to construct society, so that they shall be consistent with themselves and in accordance with those universal facts and laws of nature which have never been known to change.

Inquisitor.—This is a new and strange doctrine, and if true, I wonder how you can venture to state it. Why you will arouse against you the egotism of all the so-called advanced minds of the world, practical and theoretical, and these are the men whom you have called to form a Congress in May next, to assist you to introduce a new system in direct opposition to the only one they know.

R. O.—It is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, that can save society from the effects of its fatal and gross ignorant fundamental error and its ramifications through every part of the system. I commenced early in life with unfurling the banner of “truth without mystery, mixture of error, or fear of man.” The world must judge whether any consideration has ever induced me to desert my colours.

Inquisitor.—You are an enigma to everyone, and no one knows what to make of you, and therefore some say you are a visionary, some that you are impractical, some that you are insane, some that you are mad, and the Jesuits say that you are too bad a man to be allowed to appear among the worst characters in the late Madame Tussaud's gallery of the worst outcasts of society. And yet you have called a Congress to commence on your 87th birthday, of the advanced minds of the world, to consider the best peaceable mode of changing the entire system of society over the world. Will not this proceeding of yours tend more to impress the public with the suspicion that you *are* insane or mad?

R. O.—Very likely. But my experience leads me to know

that by such kind of madmen, who had sufficient moral courage to disregard public opinion and all the prejudices of their age, the greatest discoveries have been made, and the greatest benefits have been secured for humanity.

Inquisitor.—You are certainly the most obstinate and presumptuous, or the most self-sustained man living.

R. O.—Of this the public will judge when they read and study my life.

Inquisitor.—Then you will now commence and continue without ceasing to write your life?

R. O.—I intend to do so, for I have promised my friends that I would now begin this task, and as my life may enable priests, governments, and people to discover how simple and straight a path in practice it will be to unite the human race as one family, and from birth to compel all to become good, wise, and happy, and to abound, at all times, in unadulterated superior wealth. I shall commence with less reluctance than I have hitherto had for this task, but I cannot help feeling that it will be very defectively performed.

Inquisitor.—We know you will make it as perfect as your age will admit, and with this your friends must be satisfied. Yet we cannot imagine what you intend to effect by the Congress which you have called.

R. O.—Do you not perceive that old society is worn out, and that at this day people and governments over the world are at bay, and neither the one nor the other know what step next to take, each fearfully watching the movements of the other, and both conscious of their incapacity to act beneficially or with any prospect of permanent success?

Inquisitor.—Yes. We practical men of the world, as we deem ourselves to be, are conscious of this new and strange position, and yet both parties now seem desirous to do the best in their power, and fear the direful effects of open warfare if once again commenced between the people and governments. But what can you do during this awful suspense between such conflicting parties and principles.

R. O.—Show each their error, and place new knowledge in accordance with all facts before them, to make it plain to each that by civil war both would grievously suffer, and that by other means the interests and happiness of both may be reconciled and made permanent through all succeeding ages.

Inquisitor.—If your intended Congress can effect these results it will be indeed of lasting benefit to all, and will well deserve the attention of the most advanced minds in this and all other countries. But how can you expect to change one system for another without first destroying the old to make a site on which to construct the new?

R. O.—Society did not destroy the old gravel roads before it

commenced and completed the railways which were to supersede them. And when the railways were made ready to receive travellers, even then the gravel roads were allowed to remain for the use of timid persons, until the old roads were neglected and became evidently useless to the public. In like manner, without destroying or injuring the old system of society, the new, with its new divine surroundings, will in every division of it be commenced on new sites, and be made ready to receive willing passengers from the old road or mode of travelling, until the new shall gradually increase to become sufficient to accommodate in a very superior manner the population of the world. And thus most beneficially will conflict between the governments and people be prevented,—and allow me to add that the measure now proposed is the only one that can stay and for ever prevent this most-to-be-dreaded contest between the principles of truth and those of falsehood, between right and wrong, between freedom and slavery.

Inquisitor.—Well, there can be no harm in making such attempt, and, however Quixotic it may be, or may appear to be, some good, and perhaps some great good to the population of the world may arise. Therefore good success to your wild scheme.

R. O.—Wild as you and the population of the world may deem the entire change of system to be which I propose, the history of the endeavours of my life to effect this elevation of our race may assist to sow the seed broadcast to produce the change among all nations, and to aid others to accomplish this great and good work thus commenced. And when completed it will not be an object of thought or consideration who were the aiders to this grand result, for their name is legion—and they have existed through all past generations.

Inquisitor.—But what makes you so confident of ultimate success to effect so total a change in the spirit, mind, practice, and condition of the human race through futurity?

R. O.—The daily aid which I receive from superior Spirits who promise effective assistance until success shall be secured.

Inquisitor.—But may not all this be a delusion on your mind?

R. O.—Others, unacquainted with these inspiring proceedings, may think so. But the evidence of facts which I have witnessed, and which thousands of others are daily witnessing, is too strong for inexperienced negations to stay their onward course until *all* shall be compelled to believe in their truth and high importance in regenerating the human race.

Inquisitor.—I perceive there can be no use in contending with you on these matters. You are too thoroughly obstinate to be influenced in *your* mind and practice by what any one believing in the truth or stability of this old system can say to you.

R. O.—You have come to a most correct conclusion. I can have no faith in anything emanating from a system which I know

to be based on falsehood, and that that falsehood pervades all its ramifications.

Inquisitor.—Your persevering faith in the truth and ultimate success of the new system which you advocate, and of your strange abettors and encouragers to pursue these measures, so far beyond the conceptions of the present age, are worthy of a better cause, and you know that great numbers of your old and most staunch disciples are strongly opposed to your faith in these so-called spiritual manifestations?

R. O.—I well know that they are. But that is no evidence that they are right and that I am in error. I have this day received a communication from superior Spirits by an experienced medium in the United States. It is headed "AN ADDRESS TO THE WORLD," and it contains principles and practical instructions which are greatly in advance of the most advanced liberals, so called, of the present day, and as it will instruct the most progressed, and even my most experienced disciples, I will publish it in my life for the advantage of the public.

December, 1856.

SPIRITUAL COMMUNICATION.

THE following address I have just received from parties in the United States, whose lives are devoted to the great cause of humanity, irrespective of colour, creed, country, or class. It is the most advanced in principle and for practice, and contains more valuable common sense and right reasoning than I have yet seen from any party, visible or invisible; and it is in many respects the document which of all others the most deserves the profound consideration of the advanced minds of the world.

I am however compelled to differ in opinion from that part of the address which ignores all expectation of aid from governments in the change of a false and evil system for the true and good system for forming the character and governing the human race.

I differ, because I know the change will be for the highest and best permanent interest of all governments and of every member of each government.

I differ, because where there is error in man, the cause is not in the individual, but in the ignorant, false, and evil system of society, by which the individuals erring have been surrounded before and from birth.

I differ, because where there is error, the parties should not be blamed, but in the unceasing spirit of charity and love instructed, —and this instruction, if persevered in and true, will never fail to convince, when taught with judgment, or in accordance with a

knowledge of human nature under the various surroundings in which it is placed.

I differ, because it is unwise to cause distrust or anger in those who require to be taught that which is true, to relieve them from error and from that which is injurious to them, as all error is sure to be,—and all governments are at this day in this predicament.

It is for these reasons that I am reluctantly compelled to differ so far from the address—an address which in all other respects I deem beyond price in silver and gold.

And for the great truths which it contains my best thanks are due to the superior Spirits who dictated it, and to the medium through whom it was received, and by whom it was sent to me.

ROBERT OWEN.

December, 1856.

AN ADDRESS TO THE WORLD.

“ Mountains interposed make enemies of nations.
Lands intersected by a narrow frith abhor each other.”

How sad to the contemplative mind is the present condition of the inhabitants of this earth ! Almost every person, town, clique, clan, nation, is seeking its individual interest separate from the good and interest of all. “ Mine and thine ” are written in legible characters upon all things. There is no common weal, no deep and abiding interest in man as man, irrespective of nation, complexion, sex ; hence, vast sums are requisite to sustain a few millions of people. That which man needs now to know is how best to combine his interest with the interest of others, and how to render labour attractive and consequently agreeable.

It is felt to be wise to present, in a brief form, an outline of certain essential things, which, when understood and observed, will tend in a large degree to unite man to his fellow man. In entering into a subject of such intense interest, there are many minor points which cannot, in the nature of things, be presented. Should that work be undertaken, a volume, rather than a brief paper would be requisite.

Man has certain natural wants. Unless these wants are supplied, he is a restless, uneasy, dissatisfied being. He wants the following things. First, a soil on which he can stand, to which he has a clear, incontestable, permanent right. Secondly, he wants a comfortable and convenient shelter erected on that soil. Thirdly, he wants certain essential sustenances, and comfortable garments. Fourthly, he wants what may be justly termed, in its broadest sense, *home*. Fifthly, he wants around him, within con-

venient distance, agreeable and attractive society or neighbourhood. Sixthly, he wants certain surroundings which shall in their tendency promote his bodily health, mental growth, and affectional unfolding. Seventhly, he wants to be entirely free from any fearful forebodings, in respect to any future life to which he may be destined. Give him these, in a high, pure, broad sense, he is in the enjoyment of what is absolutely essential to his purest and divinest conditions. Give him any six of these, cut off the seventh, and to that extent he is unsatisfied, longing, struggling, to obtain that which he has not. Now the mind of the intelligent reader should look at these points as a whole, that it may be seen, that they not only embrace the essentials, but that all and each are needful. Looking now out upon the world, as it is, with ease it will be discovered that almost everybody is deprived of one, and some of nearly all of these, and it is because of a lack of these essentials, that man preys upon and devours his fellow man—'tis a reaching for something which he has not secured. Could these natural wants be supplied to man, individual wars, tumults among nations and colonies would not be. All efforts to promote universal peace and good will among mankind will, in the very nature of things, fail, until man's natural wants are supplied.

There begins to be a desire among a few philanthropic persons to annihilate war, to induce the nations of the earth to beat their swords into ploughshares, their spears into pruning-hooks, to produce that state of things, when nation shall no longer lift up sword against nation, nor longer learn the art of war. No writer yet has ever estimated the evils which come of war. But whence spring wars and fightings? War is declared between two nations; that declaration is simply an outbreak. The two nations were just as much at war before declaration as after. *Internally* the strife had commenced and the war declared. Wherever an effect is, behind it there lies a cause. Look into a neighbourhood—the cannon may not be there, the sword may not be seen, the fort may not be built, and yet *war* is there; or, enter into a closer relation, the domestic; the parties may not blow out each other's brains, cut off one another's heads; or in any way, with brute force, mangle each other, and yet war is there—'tis a contest between parties—it is a strife to gain something which one or the other has not. Let that domestic circle have a *home*, in a pure sense war could not enter its doors,—let all needful sustenances, garments be at hand as they were wanted, let all the surroundings be consonant with bodily health, mental growth, affectional expanding, and there is nothing to war about. Cut off either of the parties from one of these essentials, no matter which and, war is in that domestic circle. Little things sometimes are useful as illustrations of greater things. Supply a neighbourhood with all these essentials, and war could no more enter there than

it could invade the portals of heaven itself. In fact that neighbourhood is heaven. But let some of the neighbours enjoy certain things which are essential to the well-being of all, contention strife, war appear, and these neighbours in some way will attempt to devour one another. The same law obtains in respect to colonies, provinces, states, nations. The American nation, as such, at this present moment, is as much in a state of civil war, as it ever can be. The mere breaking out of a flame on the roof of an edifice is not essential to call it a fire; it may burn internally, consume all the essentials of a dwelling and not be seen on the roof. One may have an internal cancer that is eating out the vitals, 'tis not essential to constitute it a cancer, that it should be seen.

Whence comes war in the American nation? Answer. An entire disregard of the principles upon which it professes to be founded—namely, that man has certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. Grant man these to their fullest and broadest extent, and he could ask no more. Take his life, deprive him of liberty in any of its forms cut him off from pursuing his happiness in his own way, and he lacks something; and this lack forms within a restlessness, a longing for, a desire to obtain; and when borne for a certain length of time, until the yoke becomes too heavy, one of the following results appear. First, the oppressed are crushed to the earth, groans, tears, anguish which no tongue can describe, are experienced, or, secondly, the oppressed determine at all hazards to throw off the yoke, and then war, rapine, blood are rife; nation is arrayed against nation; ordinary labours are laid aside; everything is made to bend to that single point,—emancipation. Commonly the weaker is crushed, or, some slight arbitration may be; the cause is not removed, and sooner or later, of necessity, there will be another outbreak. 'Tis perfectly futile then to undertake to smooth over things of this character. The parties look for peace, but there is none; they look for union, but there is none; they look for harmony, but there is none. In the nature of things there never can be until man's essential wants are supplied. What then, the philanthropist may ask, is to be done? Shall not efforts be made to promote peace? Unquestionably. But whosoever undertakes that work needs to ask the parties, what do you want? and when those wants are gratified, the peacemaker may go to bed and sleep until the crack of doom—there is no more for him to do. Until these points shall be made clear to the mind, there cannot be a reasonable expectation of permanent peace in the domestic circle, the neighbourhood, province, state confederations or nations at large. It may be as well then now, as at any future time, to look at the subject of war and peace in this plain, common sense light. It will be seen that if war is settled by mere arbitration, that the settlement cannot be

permanent. Why? Because there is not an internal peace, there is not a divine equanimity; something is longed for which the parties have not. It were useless longer then to dwell on the *surface* of things, it were wiser to come to an intelligent understanding of man's essential wants, and in the ratio that these are supplied, will internal peace be secured; eruptions will not appear on the surface.

It may be said that a work of this radical character must proceed very slowly. True. All thorough reformatations will be opposed by the existing state of things. In short, paradoxical though it may seem, an effort of this kind to produce peace, will be tantamount to a declaration of war. Philosophically one said, "I came not to send peace on earth. but I came to kindle a fire;" and that fire is kindled which shall burn the rubbish, separate the dross from the silver, the pure from the impure, the loving from the selfish, the true from the false, the good from the evil, but, what of that? In view of the end to be reached, namely, permanent and universal peace, these incidentals are little more than the cobweb—comparatively of no consequence—developers they are, helping one to see the true state of things, opening blind eyes, occasionally perhaps breaking a heart, severing tender cords but as long as the elements of disunion are within there is no union—man sleeps, and beneath him the fire is burning that some time, perhaps in an unexpected moment, the devouring flame appears. Who would risk going to bed at night, knowing that there are flames in the cellar below, which at some time would envelope the whole edifice, and yet this is precisely where the world is at this moment. The weaker nation may not venture to declare war, the stronger will do so, as certainly as one man will try to take advantage of another. In one case it is individualism, in another nationalism. Nations struggle for a season, become weary, lives are destroyed, property confiscated, millions of hearts broken, the combatants retire for a little time, enter into some sort of negotiation, peace is declared; externally, all seems quiet, but internally the fires are burning, and why? Because man's essential wants are not supplied. Turn the subject over as the statesman may, investigate it as the philanthropist will, it all comes back to that single point, something, somewhere, by somebody is wanted; and growing out of that, there is struggle or effort to obtain it. If another has it a struggle to grasp it and so wars are. The true friends of peace are they who contemplate causes, who form broad, comprehensive plans to remove these causes. In efforts however of this character, to some extent, certain old institutions must be jostled; the foundations on which nations are based must be inspected, broad and practical plans must be presented; 'tis not enough that one see the evil, but there should be an ability to remove it and to substitute therefore that

which shall strike at causes, and shall introduce a new state of things, wherein shall dwell harmony, peace, union, and love.

Remedies, unless they are broad enough to cover the whole ground, are, to say the least, delusive, raise expectations, which not being realised, leave persons often in far worse conditions, than prior to the proposed remedy. The skilful physician, the intelligent surgeon studies first, with care, the condition of his patient, obtains clear views, as far as may be practicable, of causes, and wisely endeavours to remove these. They know full well that if bad matter be left in the system, it will spread, corrupt, and poison, and perhaps eventually endanger the life of the patient. Now evils are not simply to be palliated, but are to be removed entirely from the body politic, else corruption, disease and death, politically speaking, will sooner or later appear. In looking out then upon a subject of this character, it may not be altogether unwise to propose the following interrogations. First, is it likely that the oppressors themselves unaided by others will see the wrong they are doing and break off at once therefrom, and commence in a right direction? Secondly, is it likely that the oppressed and down-trodden classes will themselves be able, by any united and systematic effort to intelligently and systematically throw off the yoke under which they are suffering? Or, finally, is it requisite that there should be a third class, who are in comparatively easy conditions, and who can balance between the oppressors and oppressed, and point out clearly the thing or things to be done? Such is the delusive nature of oppression, that the oppressed often hug their chains, and any effort to remove them will be resisted. Interested in continuing things as they now are, the oppressor, of course, would not welcome any effort, which, sooner or later, would, in his judgment, affect his personal interest, so that often the person or persons who attempt a labour of this kind may expect to be misjudged by the oppressed on the one hand, misunderstood by the oppressor on the other, so that he works, as it were, between two fires. Now that one may perseveringly engage in a labour of this sort, several qualities are requisite. First, an unfaltering trust in the triumph of Eternal Right; secondly, a deep and abiding interest in the welfare and general progress of human kind; thirdly, an internal prompting which says "Woe is me unless I engage in this effort." These three considerations will lead to that condition of mind usually called prayer. The petitioner, in substance *feels* or says "Show me, oh, show me the work I can do, give me wisdom and strength and I will perform it." In such a case all the emotional faculties are called into exercise—it becomes a work of the heart, and there one stands in an impregnable position—such an one can neither be called off by flatteries, nor intimidated by dangers, but steadily moves on, faithfully, lovingly and intelligently doing the work of each opening hour, each dawning morn or each quiet

night, perpetually having a great purpose and so there comes to the labourer a strength of character, an energy of action, a firmness of purpose, corresponding to the work. One of the first things then, which is essential to man's redemption, is to call out, wholly consecrate a class of persons of the character described above—true, such are rarely found. Sometimes a *planet* needs to be explored to find a single person, having that nobleness of life, devotion of heart, purity of thought, divinity of aspiration, that he or she will lay down a life, and yet the pages of the past record the appearance of persons of this unusual character—they are the lights of the world—they shine perhaps dimly in their time, but as man grows up to them, sees their greatness, comprehends the grandeur of their labours, reads the history of their efforts, the world garnishes their tombs and sepulchres, rears its lofty monuments, does homage to them as the benefactors of their day, weeps that they were not better known in their time. That which the world now most needs, and there is little hope of its redemption until that can be done, is, as it were, to generate a new world's Redeemer—one who elementarily shall be able to command the love of a Jesus, the boldness of a Paul, the fidelity of a Daniel, learning of an Aristotle, morals of a Socrates, education of a Plato, intellect of a Webster, eloquence of a Brougham, and the religion of a Madame Guyon. All these elements seem to be essential, that one may be suited to the emergencies of the present hour. Such an one would marshal his forces, gather around him his armies call to his aid the distinguished persons of *his* time, nay, would command the interest and call out the influence of distinguished persons of *former* times. Concentrating this power upon a single body, such an one would go forth armed with the panoply of love, truth, wisdom, become a grand organizer, place persons where they belonged, show them how to combine their efforts, how to actualise their ideas, discover the laws of attraction and affinity, so that labours would be natural and agreeable. Looking at a subject of this sort, one asks, how can a work of this magnitude be executed? The answer is, the friends of man must unite. Persons in comparatively easy circumstances, persons who can change their position, location, who can devote their energies to a work of this sort, should plant themselves on a spot dedicated to freedom, to the interest of humanity, to all that is high and holy within, cultivate their finer faculties to the highest possible extent. Search should be made in different nations for persons having within themselves the right elements; these should come together, found a colony; these should construct a model society, should create a state of things, wherein it would be practicable, for such an one to be generated, born, reared, expanded, cultivated. Separated, to some extent, from unfavourable influences, seeing the world as it is, knowing its wants, something might through that single instrumentality be accomplished,

that would not only aid man in the present, but would advance his interest in the future. The world's reformers then must, sooner, or later, see the need of starting a work of this character. Unquestionably the American nation is the place above all others to commence a work of this sort. Domain can easily be had, economically purchased in central positions. Whoever then shall see that this is the work to be done will focalise their efforts in that particular direction. At first, efforts, of necessity, will be of a rude and simple character, yet having the right elements, commanding the heart, head and hands, the little tree may be planted, watered with tears, call forth an intense interest, bring out the diviner and emotional faculties, lift up the soul to God, cultivate the affections, and the enterprise shall be, as it were, a dear child struggling into birth; and when the hour shall come then plans of a broad, philanthropic, and business character shall be unfolded, then easy and natural steps can be taken. Already a single person has journeyed somewhat extensively in the New World, teaching these doctrines, unfolding these principles, declaring practical plans, calling out eminent persons. The Old World and the New need to combine their efforts. At a favourable moment some few choice persons will leave the New World, land on the shores of the Old, with a view of interesting persons of different nations in this branch of labour. Sir, the Spirit World looks to you; it knows your untiring fidelity; it rejoices that such an one has lived to ripe old age; it sees you busily arranging your papers; preparing your departure to a higher and diviner state. It forwards this paper to you at this moment, leaving it to your judgment to incorporate it among your published documents, or, to read it to such parties, as in your judgment, will comprehend and appreciate teachings of this philanthropic character. The Spirit World takes this opportunity through a leading communicating mind to express its confidence in your judgment, its reliance on your fidelity, its consciousness of your desire to aid man as man.

It moreover takes this opportunity to state, that persons of an intelligent and moral cast are influencing your mind, leading you onward in the steps you are now taking. Should this document, Sir, meet your approval, should it in your judgment, be wise for some choice persons to visit the Old World with a view of interchanging thoughts, feelings, actions, unquestionably you will find the highest delight in facilitating an effort of that character. At all events an epistle from your pen will be welcomed by the person to whom this paper was directly transmitted.

JOHN M. SPEAR.

Melrose, Mass., U. S., A.

October, 16th, 1856.

P R E F A C E .

THE greatest discovery that man has made for the universal happiness of his race through all future time is the knowledge of the facts for practice,—“ That the made receives all its qualities from “ its maker, and that the created receives all its qualities and “ powers from its Creator.”

It is the greatest discovery, because man to this day, in opposition to the myriads of facts existing around him through all past generations to the present, has been taught to think that the made and created make their own qualities and powers. Such, in fact, has been the teaching of the superstitions, governments, laws, and institutions of men, through all past generations ; such is their teaching at this day ; and this teaching deranges the rational faculties of all so taught, and perverts their judgment to so great an extent, as in most cases to make it worse than useless on all subjects of the highest importance to the individual and to our race.

It is the greatest discovery,—because it thus discloses the origin of evil among men, and the means by which to remove the evil for ever.

It is the greatest discovery,—because it discloses the cause why men have never yet been made to become good, wise, united, and happy ; and why so large a mass of the population of the world has always been kept in a state of gross ignorance and degradation, and has been afflicted with so much mental misery and physical suffering.

It is the greatest discovery,—because it opens the broad, plain, and easy path, for the authorities of the world to adopt decisive practical measures to make all to become good, wise, united, healthy, abounding in wealth, and always physically and mentally happy.

It is the greatest discovery,—because the knowledge of our nature which it discloses will induce all to endeavour to promote the happiness of all, by the great unceasing pleasure which each will derive from the practice.

It is the greatest discovery,—because it will terminate all

anger, ill-will, contests, and wars, among men and nations, and will make the art of war to be no longer taught, and to cease for ever.

It is the greatest discovery,—because it discloses the means by which the human race, through futurity, may with ease and pleasure be made to become full-formed superior men and women, with all their physical and mental faculties, powers, and propensities, cultivated to be each exercised to the point of temperance.

It is the greatest discovery,—because it discloses the incalculable importance of superior surroundings in which to place humanity—surroundings all superior, to the exclusion of those which are inferior.

It is the greatest discovery,—because it opens a new book of life to man, and will enable him to perceive more clearly what manner of being he is; that he is formed by a double creation—the one, previous to birth, a mysterious and divine organization of wonderful powers, yet more wondrously combined, physically and mentally; the other a secondary or new creation, super-added, to bring the first to its earthly maturity, and chiefly through the agency of matured humanity, to which is given the greatest interest that this secondary creation should be in accordance with the first, and without which, man will be mis-formed, and will not attain the happiness for which he is evidently intended by the perfection of his first or divine creation.

It is the greatest discovery,—because it will enable man to know himself, and by knowing himself to know humanity generally; and through this knowledge to be made to acquire universal love and charity for his race, high excellence in knowledge of the surroundings which are in accordance with his divine nature, and how to apply them most advantageously to practice, and thus to discover the necessity to abandon all cities, towns, and isolated residences, as now constructed and in use over the world, all forming compounds of inferior and most injurious surroundings.

It is the greatest discovery, in short, because it will elevate man from an irrational, inconsistent, fighting, and contending animal, to a new existence, in which he will become a peaceful, consistent, rational, intellectual, and happy being, occupied in promoting the happiness of all that has life, to the extent practicable, and will thus attain the highest permanent enjoyment of which humanity is capable.

The following pages contain the history, step by step, of the progress of the mission to prepare the population of the world for this great and glorious change, which, when accomplished, will yet more demonstrate the knowledge, wisdom, and goodness of the Eternal Creating Power of the Universe, and that the best has been and ever will be done for all created existences, that the eternal elements of the universe will admit, through the processes by which all created things attain maturity.

In other words, and to simplify the subject, the mission of my life appears to be, to prepare the population of the world to understand the vast importance of the second creation of humanity, from the birth of each individual, through the agency of man, by creating entirely new surroundings in which to place all through life, and by which a new human nature would appear to arise from the new surroundings.

In taking a calm retrospect of my life from the earliest remembered period of it to the present hour, there appears to me to have been a succession of extraordinary or out-of-the-usual-way events, forming connected links of a chain, to compel me to proceed onward to complete a mission, of which I have been an impelled agent, without merit or demerit of any kind on my part.

That mission has been to point out to humanity the way to remove from it the cause of sin and misery, and how in place thereof to attain for all of our race in perpetuity a new existence of universal goodness, wisdom, and happiness, and to withdraw from man all unkindness to man and even to animal life over the earth, so far as may be consistent with his own happy progress while upon it.

This great and self-evident truth—"that the Creating Power "gives all the qualities to the forms created," is the knowledge required in man to harmonise the earth and its varied products, and especially to harmonise man to nature by consistent obedience to all her laws; and thus to unite mankind through future ages as one man, with one language, feeling, interest, and object, as is the evident ultimate destiny of our race. By withdrawing all responsibility from the created, and of course all praise, blame, reward, and punishment, and by acquiring a knowledge of the science of the influence of surroundings upon humanity, and how to combine them in order and with wisdom, man may now be made a terrestrial angel of goodness and wisdom, and to inhabit a terrestrial paradise.

The means to effect this change already amply exist, and to their increase there can be no assignable limits.

These means have increased enormously during the last century, and they are advancing in a continually increasing ratio, without cause to fear that they ever again cease to progress.

The means for universal human happiness are inexhaustible, and therefore all fear of overtaking them, or that they will wear out, may be abandoned.

Consequently, by setting aside all ideas of making the created responsible for the qualities given to it by the power or powers creating it, and by teaching humanity the science of the influence of surroundings in principle and practice, the earth will gradually be made a fit abode for superior men and women, under a New Dispensation, which will make the earth a paradise and its inhabitants angels.

How easily now could this change be made, by a truly holy alliance of the leading governments and church authorities !

Or by the people, if they knew how to unite to be governed by the laws of God and nature, instead of submitting to the ever-changing, wicked, and absurd artificial laws of men, made to endeavour to oppose those divine laws.

ROBERT OWEN

Sevenoaks Park, Sevenoaks.

September, 1857.

L I F E

OF

ROBERT OWEN.

RECOLLECTIONS OF MY EARLY LIFE.

As it appears in the family great Bible, I was born in Newtown, Montgomeryshire, North Wales, on the 14th of May, 1771, and was baptised on the 12th of June following.

My father was Robert Owen. He was born in Welsh Pool, and was brought up to be a saddler, and probably an ironmonger also, as these two trades were at that period often united in the small towns on the borders of Wales. He married into the family of Williams, a numerous family, who were in my childhood among the most respectable farmers around Newtown.

I think my mother (who was deemed beautiful, as I was informed, when she was married) was the eldest sister of the family, and, for her class, superior in mind and manner.

I suppose that on their marriage they settled in Newtown,—my father taking up his own calling as a saddler and ironmonger. He was also post-master as long as he lived. He had the general management of the parish affairs, being better acquainted, as it appears, with its finances and business, than any other party in the township. I never thought of enquiring of him for any particulars respecting his father or mother, both being dead before I was born; and owing to the then very bad state of the roads there was comparatively little communication for young persons between Newtown and Welshpool. All that I can recollect respecting my father's family is, hearing my father say, in a conversation with older members of the family, that he lost an estate of the value of five hundred pounds a year in a lawsuit, which he afterwards ascertained was lost through his own lawyer being bribed. Newtown was at this period a very small market town, not containing more than one thousand inhabitants,—a neat,

clean, beautifully situated country village, rather than a town, with the ordinary trades, but no manufactures except a very few flannel looms. I have not seen it since this clean village has been converted into a dirty but thriving manufacturing town of some consequence.

At this period there was a bridge of wood over the river Severn, which I remember with a deep impression, having nearly lost my life upon it, as I will relate hereafter.

I was the youngest but one of a family of seven,—two of whom died young. The survivors,—William, Anne, and John, were older, and Richard was younger than myself. The principal adjacent estate was *Newtown Hall*, at the period of my birth and for a few years afterwards the property and residence of Sir John Powell Price, Bart. ;—and my first recollection is of Sir John opening a glass door which divided my father's shop from the dwelling part of the house, and setting a bird flying towards us, saying there was something for the children's amusement, and they must take care of it.

This must have been shortly before he left his estate, I suppose from being in debt, for it soon passed into other hands. My next recollection is being in school in apartments in the mansion of this estate, and a Mr. Thickness, or some such name, was the school-master. I must have been sent young to school,—probably at between four and five years of age,—for I cannot remember first going there. But I recollect being very anxious to be first in school and first home, and the boys had always a race from the school to the town, and, being a fast runner, I was usually at home the first, and almost always the first at school in the morning. On one occasion my haste nearly cost me my life. I used to have for breakfast a basin of flummery,—a food prepared in Wales from flour, and eaten with milk, and which is usually given to children as the Scotch use oatmeal porridge. It is pleasant, and nutritious, and is generally liked by young persons. I requested that this breakfast might be always ready when I returned from school, so that I might eat it speedily, in order to be the first back again to school. One morning, when about five years old, I ran home as usual from school, found my basin of flummery ready, and as I supposed sufficiently cooled for eating, for no heat appeared to arise from it. It had skinned over as when quite cold; but on my hastily taking a spoonful of it, I found it was quite scalding hot, the body of it retaining all its heat. The consequence was an instant fainting, from the stomach being scalded. In that state I remained so long, that my parents thought life was extinct. However, after a considerable period I revived; but from that day my stomach became incapable of digesting food, except the most simple and in small quantity at a time. This made me attend to the effects of different qualities of food on my changed constitution, and gave me the habit of close

observation and of continual reflection ; and I have always thought that this accident had a great influence in forming my character.

In schools in these small towns it was considered a good education if one could read fluently, write a legible hand, and understand the four first rules of arithmetic. And this I have reason to believe was the extent of Mr. Thickness's qualification for a schoolmaster,—because when I had acquired these small rudiments of learning, at the age of seven, he applied to my father for permission that I should become his assistant and usher, as from that time I was called while I remained in school. And thence forward my schooling was to be repaid by my ushership. As I remained at school about two years longer, those two years were lost to me, except that I thus early acquired the habit of teaching others what I knew.

But at this period I was fond of and had a strong passion for reading every thing which fell in my way. As I was known to and knew every family in the town, I had the libraries of the clergyman, physician, and lawyer,—the learned men of the town—thrown open to me, with permission to take home any volume which I liked, and I made full use of the liberty given to me.

Among the books which I selected at this period were Robinson Crusoe, Philip Quarle, Pilgrim's Progress, Paradise Lost, Harvey's Meditations among the Tombs, Young's Night Thoughts, Richardson's, and all other standard novels. I believed every word of them to be true, and was therefore deeply interested ; and I generally finished a volume daily. Then I read Cook's and all the circumnavigators' voyages,—the history of the world,—Rollin's ancient history,—and all the lives I could meet with of the philosophers and great men.

X At this period, probably when I was between eight and nine years of age, three maiden ladies became intimate in our family, and they were Methodists. They took a great fancy to me, and gave me many of their books to read. As I was religiously inclined, they were very desirous to convert me to their peculiar faith. I read and studied the books they gave me with great attention ; but as I read religious works of all parties, I became surprised, first at the opposition between the different sects of Christians, afterwards at the deadly hatred between the Jews, Christians, Mahomedans, Hindoos, Chinese, &c., &c., and between these and what they called Pagans and Infidels. The study of these contending faiths, and their deadly hatred to each other, began to create doubts in my mind respecting the truth of any one of these divisions. While studying and thinking with great earnestness upon these subjects, I wrote three sermons, and I was called the little parson. These sermons I kept until I met with Sterne's works, in which I found among his sermons three so much like them in idea and turn of mind, that it occurred to me as I read them that I should be considered a pla-

griarist, and without thought, as I could not bear any such suspicion, I hastily threw them into the fire ; which I often after regretted, as I should like to know now how I then thought and expressed myself on such subjects.

But certain it is that my reading religious works, combined with my other readings, compelled me to feel strongly at ten years of age that there must be something fundamentally wrong in all religions, as they had been taught up to that period.

During my childhood, and for many years afterwards, it never occurred to me that there was anything in my habits, thoughts, and actions, different from those of others of my age ; but when looking back and comparing my life with many others, I have been induced to attribute any favorable difference to the effects produced at the early period when my life was endangered by the spoonful of scalding flummery. Because from that time I was compelled to notice the effects produced by different kinds of food on my constitution, which had been also deeply injured in its powers of digestion. I could not eat and drink as others of my age, and I was thus compelled to live in some respects the life of a hermit as regards temperance. I entered however into the amusements of those of my own standing, and followed the games played by boys at that period in that part of the country,—such as marbles, hand and foot ball, &c. I also attended the dancing school for some time, and in all these games and exercises I excelled not only those of my own age, but those two or three years older, and I was so active that I was the best runner and leaper, both as to height and distance, in the school. I attempted also to learn music, and to play upon the clarionet, and during my noviciate, as my father's house was in the middle of the principal street, I fear I must have annoyed all the neighbourhood,—for my “God Save the King” and similar tunes were heard almost all over the town. But I do not recollect that any formal complaint was ever made. I was too much of a favorite with the whole town for my benefit, and was often pitted against my equals, and sometimes against my superiors in age,—sometimes for one thing and sometimes for another. I have often reflected since how unjust such proceedings are in principle, and how injurious in practice. One instance of this made a deep impression on my mind. Some party bet with another that I could write better than my next eldest brother, John, who was two years older ; and upon a formal trial, at which judges were appointed, it was decided that my writing was the better, although as far as I could then form an opinion I thought my brother's was as good as my own. From that day I do not think my brother had as strong an affection for me as he had before this unwise competition.

I have said that such competitions are unjust, because, as no two organisations are the same, there can be no just comparison

between the competing efforts of any two individuals,—while the successful one is thus taught vanity, and the unsuccessful, jealousy and hatred.

When between six and eight years of age, I was often a visitor at Parson Drake's, of the Rowe, who was the rector or vicar of an adjoining parish—I think it was the parish with the name of which I have often amused myself with my English, Scotch, and other friends, by asking them, when speaking of it, to pronounce it after my spelling it, or to spell it after my pronunciation. This puzzling name is spelled thus, Llanllwchaioin. Those accustomed to it can easily pronounce it; but not those who are unacquainted with Welsh names and the mode of spelling them.

This clergyman was a direct descendant of Admiral Drake, and was very eccentric as a minister. He took me to church with him on a Sunday after he had had a difference with the squire of the parish, and to my surprise and the astonishment of the congregation he gave a most severe personal lecture to the squire during his sermon,—so personal and severe, that before its conclusion the squire, who was present with his family, became extremely uneasy in his very conspicuous pew, and at length prepared to leave it, when Mr. Drake stopped, and looking towards him, said, "Don't be in a hurry, I shall have done soon and you had better sit quiet." This scene made a deep impression upon me, and never left my memory. About this period also a young gentleman, a Mr. James Donne, who was studying for the church, either at Oxford or at Cambridge, came upon a visit to Newtown during a vacation, and I became his every day companion. He was then about nineteen, and I was between eight and nine. The country around Newtown is I believe generally considered to be interesting and beautiful, and Mr. Donne and myself, while he remained upon his visit, rambled about the woods and lanes and higher grounds to examine the scenery in all directions. These excursions with a man of his cultivated taste and superior conversation awakened in me a sense of pleasure which I ever afterwards experienced in observing nature in its every variety—a pleasure which as I advanced in years continued and increased. The friendship thus commenced, strengthened with our years, and continued to the death of Mr. Donne, who became well known and highly respected as Dr. Donne of Oswestry. We had much correspondence, and when I had aroused the thinking faculties of the civilised world by the great public meetings which I held in the City of London Tavern in 1817, I was surprised by receiving a letter from my much valued friend, Dr. Donne, to inform me that he had taken a pleasant task upon himself, which was to trace my pedigree, and had discovered that I was a regular descendant from the Princes of North Wales. Good man! I have no doubt he thought it was information that would

gratify me, and that therefore he had taken all that trouble. But being at that time occupied with great public questions and extensive private business, I neglected this private affair, and never made the least enquiry respecting it, and I am afraid, owing to these circumstances, that I never made any suitable acknowledgment for the kindness intended.

During the school holidays I was in the habit of visiting my relations, who were farmers living at no great distance from Newtown. Among these I remember three. Turners of Penarth, Goodwins of the Court, and Williams of Vaynor, but afterwards of Old Hall near Kerry, a village three or four miles from Newtown. The two first named were married to sisters of my mother, as I now conjecture; the third was brother to my mother, and I believe her only brother living at that period. My most frequent visits was to this family, in which was an only child, a son named Richard after his father, and one year younger than myself. We were always great friends, much attached to each other and delighted to be together.

My cousin had the finest natural qualities I have ever seen in any youth, and he had received a superior education for the time and for the locality in which his father resided. He had been sent to a distant boarding school. Although a year younger, he was much my superior in almost everything—for in whatever he attempted he far excelled all of his age. And yet what he did was done in a quiet manner without apparent effort. He seemed to be unconscious of his own extraordinary powers. The Williamses, as I have said, were naturally a superior family of their class, and the mother of my cousin was one of the best of women I ever saw in her rank of life. Every one who knew her, loved her, and every one liked to enjoy the hospitality of the family, which was well known over the country to a considerable distance. Our grandfather lived with them until he was upwards of ninety, and one of my earliest recollections is the sight of this old man sitting by the fire in his son's house. My cousin and I read and thought much, and yet we were both generally very active. But one very hot day in hay-harvest time we felt ourselves, being over-clothed, quite overcome with heat while we sauntered from the house towards a large field where numerous hay-makers were actively at work. They appeared to us, who had been doing nothing and yet were overcome with heat, to be cool and comfortable. I said "Richard! how is this? These active workpeople are not heated, but are pleasantly cool, and do not suffer as we do from the heat. There must be some secret in this. Let us try to find it out. Let us do exactly as they do, and work with them." He willingly agreed. I was, I suppose, between nine and ten years of age, and he was between eight and nine. We observed that all the men were without their coats and waistcoats, and had their shirts open. We adopted the same

practice,—procured the lightest rakes and forks—for both were used occasionally,—and Richard and I, unburthened of our heavy clothing, led the field for several hours, and were cooler and less fatigued than when we were idle and wasting our time. This became ever afterwards a good *experience* and *lesson* to both; for we found ourselves much more comfortable with active employment than when we were idle.

My cousin grew up the finest young man in the whole country round—a lion in strength, active and courageous far beyond all his fellows, excelling in everything which he undertook, but yet quiet and unpretending, and beloved by all who knew him. It always occurred to me that had he been favourably placed in superior society, he would have made a second and perhaps a superior “Admirable Crichton.” Being an only child, and such a child, he was doated upon by his parents, and he was at all times, instead of being spoiled by such affection, a most obedient and attentive son to them. But a single error of his father, who was obstinate in abiding by what he deemed just, destroyed the high promise of this fine human being. He fell in love, and deeply in love, with a cousin of his mother’s family,—in all ways his equal in station and property, and also an only child. The fathers of the two lovers could not agree regarding the fortune to be given to each. Richard’s father could give and was willing to give his son a sum at that time considered large to commence life with, and he wished the father of the young lady to advance an equal sum, as he thought he could well afford it. But the latter either could not then, or would not agree to the terms proposed; and on this my cousin’s father, anxious for his son’s pecuniary standing in society, refused his consent to the marriage, except on the terms he thought just. Thus was destroyed the permanent happiness of his son, who was too fond of his parents to act in opposition to their wishes, and too high spirited to complain. A coolness arose between the families. Richard suffered more than any one suspected. His feelings were strongly affected, but the obstinacy of his father was immovable, having once declared his determination. The son, who had previously been an example of temperance, began to change in this habit,—gradually became intemperate, and died prematurely, a victim to the disappointment of his affections; another warning to parents not unreasonably to interfere with the settled affections of their children. While the families were estranged, the young lady married, and shortly afterwards she became heir to a relative, who left her forty thousand pounds. These particulars were given to me too late for interference, or, as I had influence with my uncle and aunt, I might perhaps have given a very different result to these unfortunate proceedings. There was a strong early imbibed affection between my cousin and myself, and many years after, while I was directing Mr. Drinkwater’s establishment, I

felt a great inclination to send for him to take part in it ; for among his other qualifications he had an extraordinary genius for mechanical inventions, and he would have made a splendid engineer. I was withheld from following my inclination by the consideration that he was an only son, the stay of his parents,—that he was already in an independent position through the property of those parents, and that their separation might be painful to all the parties. When however I had been informed of the previous proceedings, I regretted that I had not induced my cousin to join me ; as when I was 24 years of age, and he was 23, I could have given him the situation which I held at five hundred a year. But it was not to be, for the influence of circumstance prevented it.

But to return to my early life. I have narrated my narrow escape from being killed by the scalding of my stomach. Shortly before this event, I was doing something with the key-hole of a large door in a passage between my father's house and that of our next neighbour, and by some means I got one of my fingers fast in the key-hole, and in my attempt to get it out it was twisted so painfully that I fainted, and I know not how it came loose, for I was found in a swoon lying on the ground.

On another occasion my life was periled, and I again escaped without knowing how. Newtown is situated on the banks of the river Severn, over which at that time there was a bridge that had been erected many years before, of wood. It admitted of a wagon way with a narrow footpath on each side. My father had a favorite cream coloured mare, and her pasture fields were on the side of this bridge opposite to where we lived. When my father required this mare, as it was a favorite of mine also, I frequently went for it to the field, and rode it home, although a young horse-man, for at this period I was only six or seven years old. One day when returning from the field mounted on this mare, I was passing homeward over the bridge, but before I was half over, a wagon had made some progress from the opposite side. There was not room for me to pass without my legs coming in contact with the wheels of this wagon or with the rails of the bridge. I had not sense enough to turn back, and endeavoured to pass the wagon. I soon found that my leg was in danger of being grazed by the wheels, and I threw it over the saddle, and in consequence I fell on the opposite side, but in falling I was so alarmed lest I should drop into the river or should strike against the bridge, that I lost all recollection. How I escaped I know not ; but on recovering I found myself on the footpath of the bridge, the mare standing quietly near me, and the wagon had fairly passed, and I was unhurt. Since that occurrence I have always felt a more especial liking for cream colored horses than for any others.

Our next neighbours were two maiden ladies of the name of Tilsley, and they kept a superior country shop for the sale of

drapery and haberdashery on one side, and groceries on the other. One of these ladies changed her situation by marrying a Mr. Moore, and as he enlarged the business so as to add a wholesale branch to their former retail trade, they required more assistance, and as I was active, it was supposed I could be useful to them, and my services were borrowed, at first on market and fair days; and as I had then been two years in the capacity of usher, learning nothing but how to teach, Mr. Moore requested my father to permit me to be with them every day in the week, instead of, as hitherto, on their more busy days only; and thus I was occupied for one year, but living in my own family.

Having by this period read much of other countries and other proceedings, and, with my habits of reflection and extreme temperance, not liking the habits and manners of a small country town, I began to desire a different field of action, and wished my parents to permit me to go to London. I was at this time about nine years and half old; and at length, although I was a great favorite at home, it was promised that when I should attain my tenth year I should be allowed to go. This promise satisfied me in the meantime, and I continued to gain knowledge of the business in which I was occupied,—continuing also to read and to take lessons in dancing.

During the period I remained giving this friendly assistance to Mr. Moore, a ludicrous circumstance occurred, which left an impression which vividly remains. The parents of one of my schoolfellows, who was about my own age, kept a grocer's shop in the town. Their stock of molasses, an article then much in demand, was exhausted, and as Mr. Moore kept a wholesale supply of it, my schoolfellow, whose name was John Stanley, came with a tub with two upright handles, to purchase as much as the tub would hold. The wholesale stock was kept in a cellar below the shop, and the entrance to this cellar was through a trap-door in the centre of the shop floor, and down the steps of a ladder. John had filled the tub quite full, and was bringing it up the ladder on his head, and on reaching the level of the floor, one of the handles of the tub came in contact with part of the floor, and the tub was upset, the molasses running over his head, which was uncovered, except with very thick hair. The molasses ran down over the whole of his clothes and person, making him one of the most laughable and at the same time pitiable figures that the imagination could paint. How he got rid of the nuisance when he arrived at home must be conjectured,—but the disaster was always remembered to his annoyance by our neighbours as long as I remained in Newtown.

I mentioned that I continued to take lessons in dancing, of which I was fond, until my departure from home. It was at these lessons that I first became conscious of the natural sympathies and dislikes or jealousies of children. I was esteemed the

best dancer of my class, and at this period I was in the first class. The contest for partners among the girls was often amusing, but sometimes really distressing. The feelings of some of them if they could not obtain the partners they liked were so overpowering, that it was afflicting to see how much they suffered. I have long thought that the mind and feelings of young children are seldom duly considered or attended to, and that if adults would patiently encourage them to express candidly what they thought and felt, much suffering would be saved to the children, and much useful knowledge of human nature would be gained by the adults. I am now conscious there was much real suffering in that dancing room, which, had there been more knowledge of human nature in the dancing master and in the parents of the children, might have been avoided.

The time had now drawn near for my departure from my parental roof, and for me to undertake a journey which in the then state of the roads was thought formidable for grown persons. From Shrewsbury I was to travel alone to London, inexperienced as I then was. At that time I knew and was known to every man, woman, and child in the town, and I called upon and took my leave of every one; and I received many a keep-sake, and from the more wealthy, presents of money. I deemed myself, at ten years of age, amply provided to seek my fortune with forty shillings—the expenses of my coach hire being paid for me. I may remark here that for two years or perhaps more before I left home, my parents used to consult me when any matter of importance was to be decided, but I did not know why they asked my opinion, and was unconscious that I could give any useful advice.

Before proceeding to narrate my journey I may state, that I was never but once corrected by my parents. This correction took place under the following circumstances, and when I was, I think, scarcely seven years old. I was always desirous to meet the wishes of both my parents, and never refused to do whatever they asked me to do. One day my mother indistinctly said something to me to which I supposed the proper answer was 'no,'—and in my usual way I said 'no,'—supposing I was meeting her wishes. Not understanding me, and supposing that I refused her request, she immediately, and to me rather sharply,—for her custom was to speak kindly to me,—said "What! Won't you?" Having said 'no,' I thought if I said 'yes, I will,' I should be contradicting myself, and should be expressing a falsehood, and I said again 'no,' but without any idea of disobeying her. If she had then patiently and calmly enquired what my thoughts and feelings were, a proper understanding would have arisen, and everything would have proceeded as usual. But my mother, not comprehending my thoughts and feelings, spoke still more sharply and angrily,—for I had never previously disobeyed her,

and she was no doubt greatly surprised and annoyed when I repeated that I would not. My mother never chastised any of us,—this was left for my father to do, and my brothers and sisters occasionally felt a whip which was kept to maintain order among the children, but I had never previously been touched with it. My father was called in, and my refusal stated. I was again asked if I would do what my mother required, and I said firmly ‘no,’ and I then felt the whip every time after I refused when asked if I would yield and do what was required. I said ‘no’ every time I was so asked, and at length said quietly but firmly—“you may kill me, but I will not do it”—and this decided the contest. There was no attempt ever afterwards to correct me; but this difference was soon made up on both sides, and I continued to be the favorite I had always been.

X- From my own feelings, which I well remember when a child, I am convinced that very often punishment is not only useless, but very pernicious, and injurious to the punisher and punished.

Though alone in going to London, I was not to be alone when I arrived there. My eldest brother, William, had been brought up by my father to his own business, and when out of his apprenticeship, and after he had subsequently worked some years with my father, he decided to go to London, when he was between twenty and thirty, and he there obtained a situation with a Mr. Reynolds, a saddler, who then lived at No. 84, High Holborn. To him I was consigned, for, by this time Mr. Reynolds had died, and my brother had taken the business and had married the widow.

LEAVING HOME.

My father took me to Welshpool, and thence I went to take coach for London at Shrewsbury, which was then the nearest place to Newtown to which there was any public conveyance to go to London. The coach left Shrewsbury at night, and an outside place had been taken for me, with the expectation that I might travel inside during the night. The proprietor, who knew my family, was going to put me inside, when some ill-tempered man, who had discovered that I had paid only for an outside place, refused to allow me to enter. It was dark, and I could not see the objector, nor discover how crowded the coach might be;—for coaches then carried six inside. I was glad afterwards that I did not know who this man was; and I never discovered him, and therefore I could not be angry with him, as I should have been, for refusing admission to a child. I then had not fully learned the principles of the formation of character, and the influences of circumstances over all that have life, or I should not have been angry or surprised at such conduct. I arrived safely in London, and was heartily welcomed by my brother, who was always partial to me, and his wife received me very kindly.

I My father had written respecting me to his friend, a Mr. Heptinstall, of No. 6 Ludgate Hill, who was a large dealer in lace, foreign and British ; and Mr. Moore had written in my favor to Mr. Tilsley, of No. 100 Newgate Street, who then kept what was deemed a large draper's shop. This was in 1781. I think I had been on this visit to my brother nearly six weeks, when Mr. Heptinstall procured me a situation with a Mr. James McGuffog, of whom he spoke highly as carrying on a large business for a provincial town, in Stamford, Lincolnshire. The terms offered to me were for three years—the first without pay, the second with a salary of eight pounds, and the third with ten pounds, and with board, lodging, and washing, in the house. These terms I accepted, and being well found with clothes to serve me more than a year, I from that period, ten years of age, maintained myself without ever applying to my parents for any additional aid.

MY RESIDENCE WITH MR. MCGUFFOG.

I LEFT my brother's house in London, and arrived at Stamford, where I found Mr. McGuffog's establishment all that was stated, and his house respectable and comfortable. This was a most fortunate introduction for me into active life. Mr. James McGuffog was a Scotchman, thoroughly honest, and a good man of business,—very methodical, kind, and liberal, and much respected by his neighbours and customers, and also, for his punctuality and good sense, by those from whom he purchased his goods for sale ; and I was fortunate in obtaining such a man for my first master. He told me that he had commenced life in Scotland with half a crown, laid it out in the purchase of some things for sale, and hawked them in a basket. That by degrees he changed his basket for a pack, with which he travelled the country, acquiring knowledge through experience, and increasing his stock until he got, first a horse, and then a horse and covered van. He made his regular rounds among customers of the first respectability in Lincolnshire and the adjoining counties, until he was requested by the nobility and principal families and farmers around Stamford, to open an establishment there for the sale of the best and finest articles of female wear, for which, for some time in his travelling capacity, he had become celebrated. When I came to his house he had been some years established in it, and was beginning to be so independent that he made all his purchases with ready money and was becoming wealthy. He had married a daughter of a well doing middle class person, and they appeared to live on very good terms with each other, and both were industrious, always attending to their business, yet respectable at all times in their persons, and altogether superior as retail tradespeople, being quite the aristocracy of that class, without its usual weak vanities. They had at this time an assistant of

the name of Sloane, about thirty-five years of age, a bachelor ; and also a youth about my own age, nephew to McGuffog.

Here I was at once installed as a member of the family, and during my stay with them I was treated more like their own child than as a stranger come from afar. I was by Mr. McGuffog carefully initiated into the routine of the business, and instructed in its detail, so as to accustom me to great order and accuracy. The business was carried on under a well-considered system, which in its results was very successful. I suppose I was considered industrious and attentive to my instructions, for I was seldom found fault with or unpleasantly spoken to by either Mr. or Mrs. McGuffog—the latter often attending to the business.

The articles dealt in were of the best, finest, and most choice qualities that could be procured from all the markets of the world ; for many of the customers of the establishment were among the highest nobility in the kingdom, and often six or seven carriages belonging to them were at the same time in attendance at the premises. Mr. McGuffog's shop had become a kind of general rendezvous of the higher class nobility. Among the frequenters of the house as customers were the families of Burleigh, Westmoreland, Lowther, Ancaster, Browton, Noel, Trollope, and many whose names I have forgotten. I had thus an opportunity of noticing the manners of these parties, and of studying their characters when they were under the least restraint. I thus also became familiar with the finest fabrics of a great variety of manufactures, many of which required great delicacy in handling and care in keeping from being injured. These circumstances, trivial as they may appear, were of essential service to me in after life, when I became a manufacturer and commercial man upon a large scale ; for they prepared me in some measure for the future intercourse I had with what is called the great world. //

Mr. McGuffog was much respected by these parties for his honesty and plain dealing, and was the country banker for the then Sir William Lowther, afterwards the late Earl of Lonsdale, and who, with Lady Augusta Lowther and family, were among the most constant frequenters of the establishment. After I left Stamford I learned from Mr. McGuffog that Sir William had made him a present of one of his favorite hunters, and that Mr. McGuffog, after retiring from business, often hunted with Sir William's hounds ; and he remained a favorite with every one to his death.

Mr. McGuffog had a well selected library, which I freely used ; for our chief business was from ten in the morning to four in the afternoon, and while I remained in Stamford I read upon the average about five hours a day.

One of the entrances to Burleigh Park was near the town ; and in summer, and as long as the weather permitted, my chief plea-

sure was to go early into the park to walk, read, think, and study, in those noble avenues which were then numerous in it. Very often in the midst of summer I was thus in the park from between three and four in the morning until eight, and again in the evening from six or seven until nearly dark. I had transcribed many of Seneca's moral precepts into a book which I kept in my pocket; to ponder over them in the park was one of my pleasureable occupations; and in this park, which I made my study, I read many volumes of the most useful works I could obtain. At the early hour mentioned the only one I used to see taking his first walk for the day, was the Earl of Exeter, the uncle, I believe, of his successor who married the miller's daughter, the subject of Tennyson's exquisite poem, and who was the father of the present Marquis.

This old Earl's habits were peculiar. He never allowed himself to sleep a second time in one night. At whatever hour he awoke, winter and summer, he rose, and in bad weather he went to his study, and walked when it was fine, and at four o'clock in the morning I have often seen him at his early exercise. He was also so punctual in his habits that he had the first dish of his dinner passing between the kitchen and dining room as the first stroke of the clock struck three, and he never waited for anyone who was absent or who had not arrived at his time. But he was much respected and liked by all about him. I often recur to the recollection of the many happy healthy hours I enjoyed in that park—healthy both to body and mind. Frequently in the morning I hailed the rising sun, and in the evening watched its setting and the rising of the moon.

In the second year of my apprenticeship our circle was increased in the house by the addition of a sister and a niece of Mrs. McGuffog's—the first about nineteen, and the second about ten years old, and our pleasure was increased; for there was a mutual good feeling among all the members of the family, except that the old bachelor, David Sloane, was the least satisfied with himself and others, and seemed jealous of the general kindness shown to me by all the members of the family, and of the preference to be served by me shown by many of the regular customers when they could make a choice between us. He was penurious in his habits and somewhat more selfish than is suitable for creating friends. A ludicrous instance occurred to make these failings, which he could not avoid, somewhat conspicuous. He slept in a room adjoining the wholesale department, and occasionally, when it was full and over stocked, some of the surplus was occasionally put into his room, and at the time of the event narrated, some fine and expensive articles happened to be placed on a table in his room. He was very careful of his clothes, and took pleasure in preserving their new appearance as long as practicable. He had just brought a new pair of

breeches—for pantaloons had not then been introduced,—and in going to bed he put them on the table where these goods were placed. On going into bed he had put out his light in such a manner that the sparks or snuffing of the candle had fallen unperceived by him among these goods, and near to his own new purchase. He fell asleep, and some of the articles upon the table were burnt, and among them David's new purchase, except some of the buttons and some fragments. The smell of fire soon aroused Mr. and Mrs. McGuffog, who immediately raised the alarm, and all hastily arose in their night clothes. The smoke was discovered to issue from David's room, and on bursting open the door, David, who was asleep, hastily awoke. The burning articles upon the table disclosed the cause of alarm, and water was immediately procured and the fire soon put out. When the danger was over, all the parties began to look at each other,—but David was the conspicuous figure. In his night shirt and coloured night-cap he stood by the table, looking most wofully, and taking up fragment after fragment of his burnt clothing,—regardless of the danger which he had created, and of the loss sustained by Mr. McGuffog through the goods which were burnt or spoiled with the water,—he ejaculated, as he held up each piece or button, “Oh my new breeches!—Oh my new breeches!” and this for some time was all that could be obtained from him when questioned as to the origin of the fire, until at length the scene became so farcical and ludicrous that no one could avoid laughing at him, and he was left, looking most miserable, to his own reflections until the morning. But, poor fellow,—“Oh my new breeches!” was never afterwards forgotten, and it was a joke which at length none but those who desired to torment him would recall to his remembrance. Many years afterwards, when we were both advanced in life, I met him in Manchester, when, with great agitation taking me cordially by the hand, he said with extraordinary earnestness,—“Will you forgive me the injuries I have formerly done you?” I said “I do not know of any injury I ever experienced from you, and therefore I have nothing to forgive.”—“Yes,” he said, “you have, and it has often made me very unhappy,—and do say you forgive me.” “Whatever it may be, I know nothing of it,—but if it can be of any satisfaction to you, I forgive you with all my heart, without wishing to know in what way you suppose the injury was done to me.” The poor fellow seemed quite relieved from a burden upon his mind, and left me with a gratified countenance, again shaking me cordially by the hand.

Mr. McGuffog was of the church of Scotland, Mrs. McGuffog of the church of England, and they agreed to go in the morning to the service of the one, and in the afternoon to that of the other, and they always took me with them. I listened to the contending sermons, for they were often, and indeed most generally, either in re-

ference to their own sectarian notions, or in opposition to some of the opposing sects. But during the four years I remained with Mr. and Mrs. McGuffog, I never knew a religious difference between them.

I was all this time endeavouring to find out *the true religion*, and was greatly puzzled for some time by finding all of every sect over the world, of which I read, or of which I heard from the pulpits, claim each for themselves to be in possession of *the true religion*. I studied, and studied, and carefully compared one with another, for I was very religiously inclined, and desired most anxiously to be in the right way. But the more I heard, read, and reflected, the more I became dissatisfied with Christian, Jew, Mahomedan, Hindoo, Chinese, and Pagan. I began seriously to study the foundation of all of them, and to ascertain on what principle they were based. Before my investigations were concluded, I was satisfied that one and all had emanated from the same source, and their varieties from the same false imaginations of our early ancestors; imaginations formed when men were ignorant of their own nature, were devoid of experience, and were governed by their random conjectures, which were almost always, at first, like their notions of the fixedness of the earth, far from the truth. It was with the greatest reluctance, and after long contests in my mind, that I was compelled to abandon my first and deep rooted impressions in favour of Christianity,—but being obliged to give up my faith in this sect, I was at the same time compelled to reject all others, for I had discovered that all had been based on the same absurd imagination, “that each one formed his own qualities,—determined his own thoughts, will, and action,—and was responsible for them to God and to his fellowmen.” My own reflections compelled me to come to very different conclusions. My reason taught me that I could not have made one of my own qualities,—that they were forced upon me by Nature;—that my language, religion, and habits, were forced upon me by Society; and that I was entirely the child of Nature and Society;—that Nature gave the qualities, and Society directed them. Thus was I forced, through seeing the error of their foundation, to abandon all belief in every religion which had been taught to man. But my religious feelings were immediately replaced by the spirit of universal charity,—not for a sect or a party, or for a country or a colour,—but for the human race, and with a real and ardent desire to do them good.

Before, however, I had advanced so far in knowledge, while I was yet a Christian, and was impressed with the sacredness of the Christian Sabbath, it seemed to me that in Stamford it was much disregarded,—and it came into my head, at the age of twelve or thirteen, to write upon the subject to Mr. Pitt, who was then Prime Minister. In my letter to him I stated the desecration which was going forward in Stamford, and expressed a hope

that Government would adopt some measures to enforce a better observance of the Sabbath. I had been sometime writing this letter, and after I had sent it through the post office Mr. and Mrs. M'Guffog asked me what I had been so interested about. I said "I have been writing a letter to Mr. Pitt." "To Mr. Pitt!" they exclaimed with some astonishment—"What could you have to say to Mr. Pitt?" I said it was about the Sabbath being so shamefully employed as it was by many in Stamford, some of whom even kept their shops open on that day. They looked at each other and smiled;—but at that time I thought there was nothing extraordinary in it. In about eight or ten days afterwards, Mr. McGuffog brought a London newspaper, and said to me,—“Here is an answer to your letter to Mr. Pitt.” I expected no answer, and was taken by surprise, and blushed very much. I asked what was the answer—he said it was “a long proclamation from the government, recommending all parties to keep the Sabbath more strictly.” I was of course quite gratified, having no doubt my letter had produced that result; when, no doubt, such a letter as I could then have written would be opened and put into the waste paper basket, and would never be heard of by Mr. Pitt. My letter going at that period must have been a mere coincidence; for the proclamation, as far as I can recollect, was a formal well considered document of the government, and probably had been determined upon before my letter was in the post office. It however pleased me at the time, and amazed Mr. and Mrs. McGuffog.

After my three years had expired, Mr. McGuffog wished me to remain with him, and to continue as an assistant for a year longer. During this period I had acquired as much knowledge of the business in which I was engaged as the situation afforded, and although I had lived most happily in this family, and could have remained as long as I liked, my wishes were for the attainment of more knowledge and an enlarged field of action. I therefore reluctantly, on account of the kindness I had uniformly experienced from Mr. and Mrs. McGuffog and their relatives, expressed my desire to return to London. Very friendly offers were made to detain me; but my determination was fixed, and with strong recommendations from Mr. McGuffog, I returned to my brother's house in London, now between fourteen and fifteen years of age. While I remained in Stamford, I never saw any one whom I had previously known;—but one day, as I was passing the George Inn, the principal hotel in the place, I saw a person at the entrance talking to a gentleman, and who was so like my father, that I concluded it must be he, and while the conversation continued I walked past them and returned several times, being more and more convinced it must be my father. At length the conversation terminated, and I then came very near to my supposed father, so as to catch his eye and

draw his attention to me, but there was no sign of recognition on his part, and it was only from that circumstance that I discovered my mistake, for the likeness still appeared to me perfect. My disappointment may be easily imagined.

Having been so long absent from my relations and friends, I was glad to spend some months with my brother William, for there was always a strong attachment between us; and I spent some time in seeing the sights of London, and becoming acquainted with its principal localities, walking in the parks, and particularly in Kensington Gardens on fine Sundays with my brother and his wife.

It was at this period I visited my parents and relatives in Wales. I spent some time with my family in Newtown, and with my relatives in the neighbourhood. I was uncommonly well received by all parties, and spent some time with my cousin and former companion Richard Williams, who was then living at his father's new purchase of Old Hall, near Kerry, Montgomeryshire. I also visited my sister in Radnorshire, who had married a Mr. Davis. My stay in Wales was but for a short period, for I was anxious to be again in business, and my funds required my expenses to be limited. I therefore returned to my brother's house in London, and only once afterwards to the present time have visited Newtown. But I feel a great desire now to see it in its very altered state from what it was when I first left it, and I hope to see it during the next summer should my health permit.

After some time of this relaxation from business it was necessary for me to seek for a new situation, and through Mr. McGuffog's recommendation I procured one with Messrs Flint and Palmer, an old established house on old London Bridge, Borough side, overlooking the Thames. It was a house established, and I believe the first, to sell at a small profit for ready money only. The house was already wealthy, making all their purchases with money, and continuing very successful. The house was originally established by Mr. Flint, who made what was then deemed a large fortune for a retail trade, and he had an only daughter, who was married to Mr. Palmer, a very respectable and gentlemanly person for his position, and an honest and practical man of business. When Mr. Flint died, the establishment and the large capital were left to the widow and the son-in-law and daughter. Mr. Palmer had two younger brothers now in the business,—the youngest of them about my age. There were a considerable number of both sexes, and some of advanced age, old assistants, at this time employed to attend to different departments in the business. My previous habits prepared me to take an efficient part in the retail division of the business of serving. I was lodged and boarded in the house, and had a salary of twenty-five pounds a year, and I thought myself rich and independent, for I had more than sufficient to supply all my

personal wants. Soon, however, as the spring advanced, I found this was a different situation to the one I had enjoyed at Stamford. The customers were of an inferior class,—they were treated differently. Not much time was allowed for bargaining, a price being fixed for everything, and, compared with other houses, cheap. If any demur was made, or much hesitation, the article asked for was withdrawn, and, as the shop was generally full from morning till late in the evening, another customer was attended to.

The habits of this very independent establishment being generally known, the article asked for was presented, taken at once, and paid for, all with great dispatch, and a large business was thus daily transacted. The favour appeared to be more to the purchaser than to the seller of the articles. But to the assistants in this busy establishment the duties were very onerous. They were up and had breakfasted and were dressed to receive customers in the shop at eight o'clock;—and dressing then was no slight affair. Boy as I was then, I had to wait my turn for the hair-dresser to powder and pomatum and curl my hair, for I had two large curls on each side, and a stiff pigtail, and until all this was very nicely and systematically done, no one could think of appearing before a customer. Between eight and nine the shop began to fill with purchasers, and their number increased until it was crowded to excess, although a large apartment, and this continued until late in the evening; usually until ten, or half-past ten, during all the spring months. Dinner and tea were hastily taken,—two or three, sometimes only one, escaping at a time to take what he or she could the most easily swallow, and returning to take the places of others who were serving. The only regular meals at this season were our breakfasts, except on Sundays, on which days a good dinner was always provided, and was much enjoyed. But when the purchasers left at ten or half past ten, before the shop could be quite clear a new part of the business was to be commenced. The articles dealt in as haberdashery were innumerable, and these when exposed to the customers were tossed and tumbled and unfolded in the utmost confusion and disorder, and there was no time or space to put anything right and in order during the day. This was a work to be performed with closed doors after the customers had been shut out at eleven o'clock; and it was often two o'clock in the morning before the goods in the shop had been put in order and replaced to be ready for the next day's similar proceedings. Frequently at two o'clock in the morning, after being actively engaged on foot all day from eight o'clock in the morning, I have scarcely been able with the aid of the bannisters to go up stairs to bed. And then I had but about five hours for sleep.

This hurried work and slavery of every day in the week appeared to me more than my constitution could support for a

continuance, and before the spring trade had terminated I had applied to my friend to look out for another situation for me. The spring trade ceased, and the business gradually became less onerous. We could take our meals with some comfort, and retire to rest between eleven and twelve, and by comparison this became an easy life. I was kindly treated. The youngest Palmer, a good and fine youth, took a great liking to me, and we became great friends, and spent our Sundays in some exci ion always together, and as the less busy season advanced we began to enjoy our leisure hours in out of door exercise or in reading. His habits were good and his manners very pleasing. With this change I was becoming every day more and more reconciled to this new mode of life. I was beginning to enjoy it, having forgotten that I had requested my friend to look out for another situation, when, really to my regret, I learned from my brother that my former friend Mr. Neptinstall, of No. 6, Ludgate Hill, had obtained the offer of a very good situation for me, from a Mr. Satterfield, who carried on a wholesale and retail establishment in Manchester;—that it was a first-rate house, and that he offered me, beside board, lodging, and washing, in his house, *forty pounds a year*. This was too great a temptation, too large an offer, to be declined, and especially as my friend, deeming it for my interest, had given Mr. Satterfield reason to expect that I would accept it. I then reluctantly had to give due notice to Mr. Palmer, that I must leave him, and we parted with I believe mutual regret, for I felt very unwilling to separate myself from my young friend William Palmer, who closely associated himself with me in all our leisure hours.

In this situation I was obliged to acquire habits of quickness in business, and of great industry, long continued day after day without ceasing. I also acquired the knowledge of the character of another class of society, totally different from the Stamford customers of Mr. McGuffog, and another mode of carrying on business. Mr. McGuffog's was one of system and great order. No confusion at any time, even when the most busy; for the rule of his house was, never to bring on the counter a second article until the first was returned and neatly put in its proper place. Thus when the customers were gone there was little to do, for everything was in order.

It just occurs to me here, that I have not named one remarkable trait in Mr. M'Guffog's character, which was, that he would have a reasonable profit upon what he sold, and would never take advantage of the ignorance or inexperience of any one. An instance of this stubborn honesty occurred while I was with him, which instructed me in the waywardness of human nature, and at the time amused me. One of the rich Lincolnshire farmers, and many of them were wealthy at this period, died, and left his widow and family more wealth than they knew how advantageously to spend.

The widow, shortly after she became so, was desirous of buying at Mr. M'Guffog's establishment a piece of the finest Irish linen for chemises that he had for sale. Now Mr. M'Guffog was in the habit of buying the finest articles of every description that he could meet with, going frequently to London to make these purchases to supply his regular customers among the high nobility; and he had at this time the finest Irish linens that could be manufactured—then an expensive article. In conformity with this new widow's request, Mr. M'Guffog brought her one of the finest pieces that he had purchased, and the finest that could be then made by any manufacturer. The price was eight shillings the yard, allowing him his usual moderate profit. The lady looked and looked again at this fabric, and said, "Have you no finer than this piece, which is not fine enough for my purpose?" Mr. McGuffog was much surprised at this speech, for he knew it was fine enough to satisfy the wants of the first duchess in the land. But with his usual knowledge of character, he said—"Upon recollection I may have in my upper warehouse a finer piece—I will go and see." He went, and brought the fellow piece to the one he had previously shown at eight shillings, and he said, "I have found one, but the price is ten shillings per yard, and is perhaps higher in price than you would wish to give." The widow examined this new piece, and said no, it was not too high in price, and was the very fabric she wished for. Mr. McGuffog smiled within himself when he discovered, as he suspected, that the fabric was in this instance valued by its cost, and not for its intrinsic worth, as he knew was often the case. But, as I said, he never would take advantage of the ignorance or want of experience in rich or poor, and in making out the bill he charged this so called ten-shillings-a-yard piece, at the rate of eight shillings only, saying he would not charge her more, because at that price it afforded him a fair profit. The widow said nothing, but never again was a customer. So much for honest dealing in a tradesman.

To return to my narrative. On leaving Messrs Flint and Palmer's, I went to reside with Mr. Satterfield in Manchester. His establishment was then the first in his line in the retail department, but not much to boast of as a wholesale warehouse. It was upon the whole pretty well managed. Mr. Satterfield was an indifferent buyer of goods for his trade, but an excellent salesman. Mr. McGuffog was an extremely good buyer, and when goods are well and judiciously purchased for a local trade, they almost sell themselves, and give little trouble to the seller; while if they are not bought with judgment, the trouble of sale is greatly increased. The good buyer also is almost sure to gain success to his business;—while indifferent buyers scarcely ever succeed in accumulating independence. Hence Mr. McGuffog retired from business with what, in those days, was considered a

good fortune for a retail tradesman, leaving his widow upwards of one thousand a year, besides other gifts; while Mr. Satterfield, with a larger business, and with great toil and labour, and much anxiety, could only during his life clear his way, unable to purchase except on credit. His son, I understood, who succeeded to his business, was more fortunate. Here also, however, I was very comfortable, and gained new experience in another class in society. Mr. Satterfield's customers were generally of the upper middle class—the well-to-do manufacturers' and merchants' wives and families—a class intermediate between Mr. McGuffog's and Messrs. Flint and Palmer's,—and I thus become acquainted with the ideas and habits of this class.

Our living was good, our treatment kind, and the young persons assistants in the business were generally from respectable families and well behaved, and none were over taxed with occupation in their respective departments. I therefore soon became reconciled to the change which my friend had made for me, and with forty pounds a year, over my board, lodging, and washing, I deemed myself overflowing with wealth, having more than my temperate habits required, for I had never accustomed myself to strong liquors of any kind, and my eating was always moderate and of the most simple and easily digested quality. I thus continued until I was eighteen years of age. Among other articles which we sold were wires for the foundation or frame of ladies' bonnets. The manufacturer of these wire bonnet-frames was a mechanic with some small inventive powers and a very active mind. When he brought his weekly supply of wire frames, I had to receive them from him, and he began to tell me about great and extraordinary discoveries that were beginning to be introduced into Manchester for spinning cotton by new and curious machinery. He said he was endeavouring to see and to get a knowledge of them, and that if he could succeed he could make a very good business of it. This kind of conversation was frequently renewed by the wire manufacturer, whose name was Jones. At length he told me he had succeeded in seeing these machines at work, and he was sure he could make them and work them. He had however no capital, and he could not begin without some. He said that with one hundred pounds he could commence and soon accumulate capital sufficient to proceed; and he ended by saying that if I would advance one hundred pounds, I should have one half of the great profits that were to result if I would join him in partnership. He made me believe that he had obtained a great secret, and that if assisted as he stated, he could soon make a good business. I wrote to my brother William in London, to ask him if he could conveniently advance me the sum required, and he immediately sent me the hundred pounds. I had now to give notice to Mr. Satterfield according to our engagement, and that because I was going into a new business for myself. He was, I

believe, dissappointed, for I had by this time become a useful and steady assistant, and a favourite server with his principal customers. During the time between my giving notice and finally leaving Mr. Satterfield's establishment, Jones and I had agreed with a builder that he should erect and let to us a large machine workshop, with rooms also for some cotton spinners, and the building was finished by the time I left Mr. Satterfield. We had shortly about forty men at work to make machines, and we obtained wood, iron, and brass, for their construction, upon credit.

I soon found however that Jones was a mere working mechanic, without any idea how to manage workmen, or how to conduct business on the scale on which he had commenced.

I had not the slightest knowledge of this new machinery—had never seen it at work. I was totally ignorant of what was required; but as there were so many men engaged to work for us, I knew that their wages must be paid, and that if they were not well looked after, our business must soon cease and end in our ruin. Jones knew little about book-keeping, finance matters, or the superintendence of men. I therefore undertook to keep the accounts—pay and receive all; and I was the first and last in the manufactory. I looked very wisely at the men in their different departments, although I really knew nothing. But by intensely observing everything, I maintained order and regularity throughout the establishment, which proceeded under such circumstances far better than I had anticipated. We made what are technically called "mules" for spinning cotton, sold them, and appeared to be carrying on a good business; while, having discovered the want of business capacity in my partner, I proceeded with fear and trembling.

We had not been in business many months, when a capitalist with moderate means, thinking the prospects of the establishment very good, applied to Jones to be allowed to join him with increased means, on the supposition that Jones was the efficient man of business, and that if I could be induced to leave it, he (the applicant, whose name I have forgotten,) could easily do what I did. They hesitated to break their intentions to me, under the impression that I should be very unwilling to leave a business holding out so fair a prospect of future success. They at once offered me terms, which, if I had declined to accept, they would, I afterwards found, have increased, in order to secure to themselves this, as they considered, thriving business, and which with continued good looking after and good management might have become so. But I was too happy to separate from Jones, to hesitate to accept their proposal. They offered to give me for my share of the business six mule machines such as we were making for sale, a reel, and a making up machine, with which to pack the yarn when finished in skeins into bundles for sale. I had now, when about nineteen years of age, to begin the

world on my own account, having the promise of the machinery named to commence with.

When I left Mr. Satterfield's business I had to find new lodgings—another untried step in my existence. In St. Ann's Square, in which Mr. Satterfield's shop was situated, lived an elderly widow, who took lodgers and boarders. Here were two respectable travellers already established when I applied, and I found I could have a bed room to myself,—a sitting room, fronting the square, in company with these gentlemen travelling for some respectable manufacturing houses,—and board, such as they had, for half a guinea a week. I accepted it, found the house clean, the attendance good,—tea or coffee, &c., for breakfast,—a hot joint, well cooked, and a pudding or pie daily for dinner,—tea in the afternoon,—and good bread and cheese and butter, and a glass of ale, at supper,—and I do not recollect ever living, as mere living, better, or more to my satisfaction. But how this old widow continued thus to supply us and to get her own living out of us, I could never understand. Perhaps the house was her own; and provisions were then (1789-90,) cheap, and manufacturing luxury had not commenced. The widow always appeared cheerful and satisfied. We had all our meals alone; and here I remained as long as I continued in partnership with Mr. Jones. Now, I suppose, for the same accommodation in St. Ann's Square, I should have to pay from 30s. to 40s. per week.

During my partnership with Mr. Jones I received a letter from my early master, Mr. McGuffog, who was becoming old and wealthy. He wished me to join him in his business, and held out one strong temptation to me. He offered to supply all the capital, and to give me half of the profits immediately, and the whole business, so well established, after a very few years. Thanking him cordially for his very liberal offer and kind intentions, I was of course obliged to decline it. Often have I reflected since, how different would have been the history of my life had I accepted this business, which ninety-nine out of a hundred young men at my age and in my circumstances would have rejoiced to obtain, and perhaps not one out of a thousand would have refused.

Had I accepted this offer I should probably have married Mr. McGuffog's niece, who many years afterwards, I learned from herself, young as we were, had become much attached to me; and as we should have been heirs to the property of both Mr. and Mrs. McGuffog after their death, I should most likely have lived and died a rich Stamford linen draper. This however was not to be,—for a different field of action was preparing for me. When I separated from Jones and the machine making business, I took a large newly erected building, or factory, as such places were then beginning to be called. It was situated in Ancoats Lane. I rented it from a builder of the name of Woodruff, with whom I

afterwards went to board and lodge. From Jones and his new partner I received *three* out of *six* mule machines which were promised, with the reel and making up machine; and with this stock I commenced business for myself in a small part of one of the large rooms in this large building.

The machines were set to work, and I engaged three men to work them—that is, to spin cotton yarn or thread upon them from a previous preparation called rovings. When the yarn was spun, it was in the cop form, from which it was to be made upon the reel into hanks, each one hundred and forty yards in length. This operation I performed, and then made these hanks into bundles of five pounds weight each, and in this state, wrapped neatly up in paper, I sold them to a Mr. Mitchell, an agent from some mercantile manufacturing houses in Glasgow, who sold the yarn to muslin weavers, or manufactured it themselves. The manufacture of British muslins was but in its infancy. The first British muslins were made when I was an apprentice with Mr. McGuffog, by a Mr. Oldknow at Stockport in Cheshire, about seven miles from Manchester, who must have commenced this branch about the year 1780, 81, or 82; and it is curious to trace the history of this manufacture.

When I first went to Mr. McGuffog, there were no other muslins for sale, except those made in the East Indies, and known as East India muslins; but while I was with him Mr. Oldknow began to manufacture a fabric which he called, by way of distinction, British Mull Muslin. It was a new article in the market, less than a yard wide, for which he charged to Mr. McGuffog 9s. or 9s. 6d., and which Mr. McG. resold to his customers at half a guinea per yard. It was eagerly sought for, and rapidly bought up by the nobility at that price,—and Mr. McGuffog could not obtain from Mr. Oldknow a supply equal to his demand. He was obliged to beg and pray of Mr. Oldknow to add a piece or two more to his weekly order for them, but frequently without success. Such is the all-powerful influence of fashion and its absurdities under the present disorder of the human intellects, that the parties who were then so eager to buy this new fabric at 10s. 6d. the yard, would not now look at it; and a much better quality may be at this time purchased by the poor at *two pence* the yard.

I have said that my three spinners were spinning the cotton yarn on my three mules from *rovings*. I had no machinery to make rovings, and was obliged to purchase them,—they were the half made materials to be spun into thread. I had become acquainted with two young industrious Scotchmen, of the names of McConnell and Kennedy, who had also commenced about the same time as myself to make cotton machinery upon a small scale, and they had now proceeded so far as to make some of the machinery for preparing the cotton for the mule spinning ma-

chinery so far as to enable them to make the rovings, which they sold in that state to the spinners at a good profit. I was one of their first and most regular customers, giving them, as I recollect, 12s. per pound for rovings, which, when spun into thread, and made up into the five pound bundles, I sold to Mr. Mitchell at 22s. per pound. This was in the year 1790.

Such was the commencement of Messrs. McConnell and Kennedy's successful career as cotton spinners,—such the foundation of those palace-like buildings which were afterwards erected by this firm,—of the princely fortunes which they made by them, and of my own proceedings in Manchester and in New Lanark in Scotland. *They* could then only make the *rovings*, without finishing the thread; and I could only *finish* the thread, without being competent to make the *rovings*.

These are the kind of circumstances which, without our knowledge or control, from small beginnings produce very different results to any anticipated by us when we commence.

Jones and his new partner, as I foresaw, were getting rapidly into confusion and pecuniary difficulties. They informed me they could not make good their engagement with me, and I never received the three remaining mule machines. I believe they ultimately stopped payment, and that Jones returned to his wire bonnet-frame making.

Seeing that I was not likely to obtain more machinery from my former partner, I made up my mind to do as well as I could with that amount which I had obtained. With the three men spinning for me, reeling, and making up that which they spun, and by selling it weekly to Mr. Mitchell, I made on the average about six pounds of profit each week, and deemed myself doing well for a young beginner,—for I had let the remainder of the large building which I occupied, to tenants who paid my whole rent, and I retained my portion of it by these means free of cost.

About this period cotton spinning was so profitable that it began to engage the attention of many parties with capitals. Mr. Arkwright, the introducer, if not the inventor of the new cotton spinning machinery, had had a cotton spinning mill erected in Manchester, under a manager of the name of Simpson; and a Mr. Drinkwater, a rich Manchester manufacturer and foreign merchant, had built a mill for finer spinning, and was beginning to fill it with machinery under the superintendence of a Mr. George Lee, a very superior scientific person in those days. Mr., afterwards Sir George Philips, was desirous of building a large mill in Salford, and he, unknown to Mr. Drinkwater, formed a partnership with Mr. George Lee, afterwards known for many years as a leading firm in Manchester, as Philips and Lee. Mr. Lee had given Mr. Drinkwater notice that he must leave him, having formed this new partnership. Mr. Drinkwater being totally ignorant of everything connected with cotton spinning, although

a good fustian manufacturer and a first-rate foreign merchant, and by this time become very wealthy, was greatly non-plused by Mr. Lee thus abandoning the establishment, which, except with the expectation of Mr. Lee's permanent services, he would not have commenced.

Under this to him very untoward circumstance he had to advertise for a manager to undertake the superintendence of this mill, now in progress; and his advertisement appeared on a Saturday in the Manchester papers, but I had not seen or heard of it until I went to my factory on the Monday morning following, when, as I entered the room where my spinning machines were, one of the spinners said—"Mr. Lee has left Mr. Drinkwater, and he has advertised for a manager." I merely said—"what will he do?" and passed on to my own occupation. But, (and how such an idea could enter my head I know not,) without saying a word, I put on my hat and proceeded straight to Mr. Drinkwater's counting house, and boy, and inexperienced as I was, I asked him for the situation for which he had advertised. The circumstances which now occurred made a lasting impression upon me, because they led to important future consequences. He said immediately—"You are too young"—and at that time being fresh coloured I looked younger than I was. I said "That was an objection made to me four or five years ago, but I did not expect it would be made to me now."—"How old are you?" "Twenty in May this year"—was my reply. "How often do you get drunk in the week?" (This was a common habit with almost all persons in Manchester and Lancashire at that period). "I was never," I said, "drunk in my life"—blushing scarlet at this unexpected question. My answer and the manner of it made, I suppose, a favourable impression; for the next question was—"What salary do you ask?" "Three hundred a year"—was my reply. "What?" Mr. Drinkwater said, with some surprise, repeating the words—"Three hundred a year! I have had this morning I know not how many seeking the situation, and I do not think that all their askings together would amount to what you require." "I cannot be governed by what others ask," said I, "and I cannot take less. I am now making that sum by my own business." "Can you prove that to me?" "Yes, I will show you the business and my books," "Then I will go with you, and let me see them," said Mr. Drinkwater. We went to my factory. I explained the nature of my business, opened the book, and proved my statement to his satisfaction. He then said—"What reference as to past character can you give?"—I referred him to Mr. Satterfield, Messrs. Flint and Palmer, and Mr. McGuffog. "Come to me on such a day, and you shall have my answer." This was to give him time to make the enquiries.

I called upon him at the time appointed. He said "I will give you the three hundred a year, as you ask, and I will take all your

"machinery at its cost price, and I shall require you to take the management of the mill and of the workpeople, about 500, immediately." I accordingly made my arrangements. Mr. Drinkwater knew nothing about the mill; but so far as the business had proceeded he had supplied the capital as it was wanted, and had received the money when the produce was sold and paid for. Mr. Lee had left the day before I was sent for to take his place, and I entered it without the slightest instruction or explanation about anything. When I arrived at the mill, which was in another part of the town from Mr. Drinkwater's place of business, I found myself at once in the midst of five hundred men, women, and children, who were busily occupied with machinery, much of which I had scarcely seen, and never in regular connection to manufacture from the cotton to the finished thread. I said to myself, with feelings I shall never forget,—“How came I here? and how is it possible I can manage these people and this business?” To this period I had been a thoughtful, retiring character, extremely sensitive, and could seldom speak to a stranger without blushing, especially to one of the other sex, except in the ordinary routine of serving in the departments of business through which I had passed; and I was diffident of my own powers, knowing what a very imperfect and deficient education I had received. I was therefore greatly surprised at myself, that, without thought or reflection, on the impulse of the moment, I had solicited this situation. But I had no idea of the task which I had to perform, in many respects entirely new to me, or I should never have made the attempt to perform it. My only experience had been in serving in a retail shop, except during the few months I had been in partnership with Jones, which short time was spent in keeping wages' accounts, and in seeing that the men were at work, and in working on a capital of one hundred pounds. Had I seen the establishment before I applied to manage it, I should never have thought of doing an act so truly presumptuous. Mr. Lee had left the mill the day before I undertook it,—Mr. Drinkwater did not come with me to introduce me to any of the people,—and thus, uninstructed, I had to take the management of the concern. I had to purchase the raw material,—to make the machines, for the mill was not nearly filled with machinery,—to manufacture the cotton into yarn,—to sell it,—and to keep the accounts,—pay the wages,—and, in fact, to take the whole responsibility of the first fine cotton spinning establishment by machinery that had ever been erected, commenced by one of the most scientific men of his day, and who was considered a man of very superior attainments, having been highly educated, and being a finished mathematician. Such was the concern I had to manage when not yet twenty years of age, and such the person I had to succeed.

When it was known in Manchester that Mr. Drinkwater had

engaged me, a mere boy without experience, to take the entire direction of his new mill, which was then considered almost one of the wonders of the mechanical and manufacturing world, the leading people, as I learned afterwards, thought he had lost his senses, and they predicted a failure and great disappointment. Well—there I was, to undertake this task, and no one to give me any assistance. I at once determined to do the best I could, and began to examine the outline and detail of what was in progress. I looked grave,—inspected everything very minutely,—examined the drawings and calculations of the machinery, as left by Mr. Lee, and these were of great use to me. I was with the first in the morning, and I locked up the premises at night, taking the keys with me. I continued this silent inspection and superintendence day by day for six weeks, saying merely yes or no to the questions of what was to be done or otherwise, and during that period I did not give one direct order about anything. But at the end of that time I felt myself so much master of my position, as to be ready to give directions in every department. My previous habits had prepared me for great nicety and exactness of action, and for a degree of perfection in operations to which parties then employed in cotton spinning were little accustomed. I soon perceived the defects in the various processes, and in the correctness which was required in making certain parts of the machinery—all yet in a rude state, compared with the advances which have been made from that time to the present. This factory or cotton mill was built on purpose to manufacture the finest yarns or thread, and Mr. Lee had attained what was then considered an extraordinary degree of fineness, having succeeded in producing what was technically known as *one hundred and twenty* hanks in the pound. But it was of very indifferent quality. By my acquired faculty under Mr. McGuffog's discipline, of great exactness and nicety in handling and keeping fine and expensive articles, I soon improved the quality of our manufacture. There was a large stock of yarn upon hand unsold, manufactured under Mr. Lee's management, of various degrees of fineness, from seventy to one hundred and twenty.

Mr. Drinkwater lived in his country house in the summer, and in his town house in the winter. He was now living in the country, and came to his counting house and warehouse, adjoining his winter residence, twice a week. He never came to the mill, but almost always desired to see me at his counting house on the days he attended there, and that I should bring specimens of the manufacture week by week. He found the quality gradually to improve, and the customers for it to prefer the new-made to the old stock. He found also that the people employed were, according to reports made to him by others, well disciplined, and yet well satisfied with the rules, regulations, and mode of management which I had adopted; and he became week by week more satisfied

with the boy he had taken in opposition to public opinion to manage his new factory. The advantages which I possessed to counteract my ignorance and inexperience arose from my early training with Mr. McGuffog, amidst fine and superior fabrics, and a knowledge acquired of human nature by having early overcome the prejudices of religion.

I had by this period perceived the constant influence of circumstances over my own proceedings and those of others, and by comparison with myself and others I became conscious of the created differences in our original organizations. Relieved from religious prejudices and their obstructive influences to the attainment of common sense, my mind became simple in its new arrangement of ideas, and gradually came to the conclusion that man could not make his own organization, or any one of its qualities, and that these qualities were, according to their nature, more or less influenced by the circumstances which occurred in the life of each, over which the individual had no other control than these combined circumstances gave him, but over which society had an overwhelming influence; and I therefore viewed human nature in my fellow creatures through a medium different from others, and with far more charity. Knowing that they did not make themselves, or the circumstances or conditions in which they were involved, and that these conditions combined necessarily forced them to be that which they became,—I was obliged to consider my fellow men as beings made by circumstances before and after their birth, not under their own control, except as previously stated and to a limited extent,—and therefore to have illimitable charity for their feelings, thoughts, and actions. This knowledge of our common nature gave me the early habit of considering man the necessary result of his organization and the conditions by which nature and society surrounded him, and of looking upon and acting towards all in the spirit which this knowledge created. My mind, in consequence, gradually became calm and serene, and anger and ill-will died within me.

This knowledge of human nature gave me for a long period an unconscious advantage over others. My treatment of all with whom I came into communication was so natural, that it generally gained their confidence, and drew forth only their good qualities to me; and I was often much surprised to discover how much more easily I accomplished my objects, than others whose educated acquirements were much superior to mine. Very generally I had the good will of all; and,—except when I afterwards opposed in public all the religions of the world, and the past and present system of society, and thus aroused the oldest prejudices of all against my new views of society,—I was generally a favourite with both sexes and all classes.

In consequence of this to me unconscious power over others—I had produced such effects over the workpeople in the factory in

the first six months of my management, that I had the most complete influence over them, and their order and discipline exceeded that of any other in or near Manchester; and for regularity and sobriety they were an example which none could then imitate; for the workpeople earned at that period higher wages, and were far more independent than they have ever been since.

The factory also I had re-arranged, and always had it kept in superior order, so that at all times it was in a state to be inspected by any parties.

But at this period cotton mills were closed against all strangers, and no one was admitted. They were kept with great jealousy against all intruders; the outer doors being always locked. Mr. Drinkwater himself had not yet entered the mill since I took charge of it, and he came only three times during the four years I retained the management of it, and each time with some stranger who had influence with him. The first time he came with the celebrated astronomer Herschell,—the second time with Mr. Sergeant Heywood, his son-in-law,—and the third time with Mr. Peter Marsland, the father of the M.P. for — in Scotland. Mr. Peter Marsland was then one of the new great cotton Lords.

To return to the narrative. Mr. Drinkwater, who from some source knew, no doubt, the particulars of my management, and the progress and change I had made in the factory, at the end of the first six months sent for me to his country residence, having something which he wished to communicate to me.

I was yet but an ill-educated awkward youth, strongly sensitive to my defects of education, speaking ungrammatically, a kind of Welsh English, in consequence of the imperfect language spoken in Newtown, which was an imperfect mixture of both languages; and I had yet only had the society attainable by a retail assistant. I was also so sensitive as among strangers to feel and to act awkwardly, and I was never satisfied with my own speaking and acting, and was subject painfully to blushing, which, with all my strongest efforts, I could not prevent. In fact, I felt the possession of ideas superior to my power of expressing them, and this always embarrassed me with strangers, and especially when in the company of those who had been systematically well educated, according to existing notions of education. I had not yet been in Mr. Drinkwater's house in Manchester, and therefore when I was requested to go to him at his country house, I was at a loss to conjecture what was the object of this new proceeding, and I felt uncertain and somewhat uncomfortable as to the result. When, however, I had arrived, and was taken into Mr. Drinkwater's room of business, he said,—“ Mr. Owen, I have sent for you to propose a matter of business important to you and me. I have watched your proceedings, and know them well, since you came into my service, and I am well pleased with all you have done. I now wish you to make up your mind to remain permanently

"with me. I have agreed to give you three hundred pounds for this year; and if you will consent to remain with me, I will give you four hundred for the next year,—five hundred for the third year,—and I have two sons growing up, and the fourth year you shall join them in partnership with me, and you shall have a fourth of the profits, and you know now what they are likely to be. What do you say to this proposal?" I said "I think it most liberal, and willingly agree to it."

"Then," he replied, "the agreement shall be made out while you are here, and you shall take a copy of it home with you." When this was done, and both agreements were signed, I returned home well pleased with my visit.

I was now placed in an independent position for one not yet twenty years of age. I was born in 1771, as previously stated, and this event occurred early in 1790. I had also given to me full power to take my own course in what I should deem beneficial to promote the interests of the establishment. I was desirous of having the fabric which was manufactured under my direction distinguished from that which had been made under Mr. Lee's management, and my name was permitted to be printed on the outside of the packages or 'bundles,' as they were called when the yarn was made up into five pounds weight for sale. The new-made yarn sold readily at high prices; while the former stock at less prices sold slowly, and it was long before the whole of it was disposed of.

At this period the cotton used for spinning by the new machinery was obtained from our West India Islands, from South America, and from the French Island of Bourbon, and was usually known as Orleans cotton. No North American cotton was yet used for spinning. The cotton which came from North America could not be worked up with the machinery then in use. The finest cotton yarn and thread which was then spun was made in this factory, and from cotton brought from the French Islands; and the highest counts or finest thread yet produced by machinery was technically denominated "*one hundred and twenty*;" or that number of hanks, each of 840 yards, was required to make a pound. At this period, these yarns were sold according to a published list of prices for each number, from the lowest to the highest; and, according to the quality made by each house, when inferior so much per cent. was deducted in price from the published lists; or when very good in quality, so much per cent. was added to the price. But it was only Mr. Drinkwater's fine new yarns that could obtain ten per cent. above the list price, and they sold readily for that sum;—while the quality made under Mr. Lee's direction, while he was the manager, sold slowly at the list price. This was the tortoise overtaking the hare;—for Mr. Lee was a man of high genius, and possessed great talent as a scientific machinist and engineer,—to which I had not the least pretension. But

so it was, that I now stood high in the estimation of the Manchester public and of the first Scotch muslin manufacturers, as a maker of fine cotton yarns—the Scotch manufacturers being our chief customers.

It has been previously mentioned that I had to purchase the cotton which was required for the use of our factory. I had given much attention to this part of the business, and I was now considered by the cotton brokers, from whom the spinners at this time bought this material, to be among the best judges of its quality, if not *the* best in the market.

Among other brokers from whom I was in the practice of making purchases of cotton, was a Mr. Robert Spear, who stood high in his line of business, as a man of integrity and knowledge. Either in this year or in the beginning of 1791, the first two packages of American Sea Island cotton were consigned to him by the Liverpool agent of the American planter, with a request that he would apply to a competent spinner to try its quality and to give an opinion of its value. Mr. Spear applied to me, and said the parties to whom it belonged were unconscious to what use it could be put, or of its worth to manufacturers, and asked me to work it up and give my own price for it, as the quality might prove to be. It was loosely packed, each bag about one hundred and fifty pounds in weight, half full of seeds, and, compared with the finest Orleans cotton, very dingy in colour. This was the first cotton sent from the United States to be spun upon the new machinery through rollers, instead of from the distaff or hand card. I had the two bags cleaned and manufactured, and it made a better thread than the French Island cotton, but the colour was much less white, and it was therefore much less attractive to the eye. I sold it to a Scotch manufacturer of the name of James Craig, at a lower price on account of its colour, and he was the first manufacturer who used American cotton in the yarn which he made into muslins. It was some surprise to me to see Mr. Craig soon back from Scotland to enquire for some more of the dingy coloured yarn which he had purchased from me. I told him it had been all sold during his absence, and he appeared much disappointed. “Why be so disappointed,” I said, “when we can soon supply you with the superior colour at ‘the usual price?’”

“I am indeed,” he replied, “much disappointed,—for it proved ‘of the best quality I have ever seen.’” “But the colour?” I said, “Oh that was of no consequence, for it bleached as well, if not ‘better than the white colour, and I came up purposing to buy ‘your whole stock of it.’” This gave me full knowledge of the superior quality of Sea Island North American cotton. This is the long staple quality of North American cotton, and it was some time afterwards before machinery was invented to spin the upland or short fibred cotton, now so extensively imported into

this country, and so largely grown in the Southern States of North America.

The extension of the cotton trade from that period to the present is one of the wonders of modern times, and for forty years I took a prominent and active part in it, and during which time, in the arrangements and management of extensive factories, and in the improvement of the condition of the persons employed in them, I led the way, and was followed at first by a few only of the larger establishments, and afterwards slowly by others.

I early noticed the great attention given to the dead machinery, and the neglect and disregard of the living machinery. At the period of which I am now writing I was a novice in general society. I had known it only as customers in retail business, or as a junior dependent in the houses of my employers; for little more than a year had elapsed between my leaving Mr. Satterfield's house and my undertaking to manage the first fine cotton spinning factory by machinery that had ever been erected. My life had been one of close attention to business, day by day, except the few days when I visited my parents and relatives in and about Newtown, between the time of my leaving Mr. McGuffog and my going to Messrs. Flint and Palmer's. I was thus from ten years of age a stranger, as it were, among strangers, and was known only as a youth of business, and consequently was left in a great measure to my own communings and inexperienced observations. Absorbed in my attention to business, I knew little of the habits, customs, and fashions of families having pretensions to some standing in society, and now I began strongly to feel this deficiency. For persons who had been well educated, according to existing notions of education, and of good standing in mercantile society, began to desire my acquaintance. But knowing my own imperfections in these respects, I always unwillingly accepted invitations, and I knew nothing of the female sex, except as customers in business. This also withheld me from making family acquaintances. On these matters I was sensitive to a painful excess, for I had at this time a high opinion of the attainments of the wealthy educated classes, and of all above them. My future history will show how woefully I mistook their acquirements by means of what is called a superior education.

In about a year after I had commenced the management of this establishment I had increased my knowledge of the qualities of cotton, which varied very much, and had improved the accuracy of the machinery used, and the correctness of all the processes through which the material had to pass to be formed into finished thread or yarn, and I had gained the means to increase the fineness of the finished thread from 120 to upwards of 300 hanks in the pound, and had thus enabled the Scotch manufacturers in Paisley and its neighbourhood to open

a new and extensive manufacture in various kinds of fine muslin; and such was the superiority of the quality of the yarn which I made, that *fifty* per cent. *above* the list price was readily obtained for it, and sufficient could not be produced by all our machinery when at full work, until the disastrous commercial year of 1792 affected the prices of all manufactured articles, and ruined many houses then carrying on extensive business.

Some idea may be formed of the success of the manufacture in which I was engaged for Mr. Drinkwater, from the fact that I gave five shillings a pound for the cotton, which, when finished into fine thread for the muslin weaver, extending to near 250 hanks in the pound, I sold for £9. 18s. 6d. per pound. This was sold at the commencement of 1792, to Alexander Speirs of Kilbarchan, who made it into muslins, the first piece of which he sent as a present, as the greatest curiosity of British manufacture, to old Queen Charlotte. I extended afterwards the fineness of the thread to upwards of 300 hanks in the pound, and if this had been sold at the same period, it would have brought upwards of thirty-six pounds sterling for one pound of the yarn; but this prosperity in the manufacture was checked by the war with France, and the same high prices were I believe never afterwards obtained for the same fineness or number of hanks.

My name was now up for being the first fine cotton spinner in the world, and this was my standing as long as I remained the manager of Mr. Drinkwater's factory, which was situated and I believe yet remains at Bank Top in Manchester. The factory was then familiarly known as the "Bank Top Mill."

The nearest rival I had in the quality of the ordinary numbers or fineness was a Mr. Archibald Buchanan, afterwards partner with Mr. Kirkman Finlay of Glasgow, in mills in Ayrshire, and who (Mr. Buchanan,) was the relative, predecessor, and instructor of the late celebrated Mr. Smith of Deanstown in Scotland. The quality of yarn made by Mr. Buchanan at this period brought a price of ten per cent. above the list,—while Mr. Drinkwater's brought fifty per cent. above it.

These facts are stated to be explanatory of subsequent proceedings,—for the best manufacturer in any branch of the cotton manufacture became, in those days, a person of public celebrity, and my name now stood prominent before the Manchester public.

At this period there were two institutions which attracted considerable notice in Manchester, and were popular and celebrated each in their way. One was the "Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society," then under the presidency of the late highly respected Dr. Percival. The other was the "Manchester College," under Dr. Baines, which after his death was removed to York under Mr. Wellbeloved, and was chiefly for the training of Unitarian ministers.

At this period John Dalton, the Quaker, afterwards the cele-

brated Dr. Dalton the philosopher, and a Mr. Winstanley, both intimate friends of mine, were assistants in this college under Dr. Baines; and in their room we often met in the evenings, and had much and frequent interesting discussions upon religion, morals, and other similar subjects, as well as upon the late discoveries in chemistry and other sciences,—and here Dalton first broached his then undefined atomic theory. We began to think ourselves philosophers. Occasionally we admitted a friend or two to join our circle, but this was considered a favour. At this period Coleridge was studying at one of the universities, and was then considered a genius and eloquent. He solicited permission to join our party, that he might meet me in discussion, as I was the one who opposed the religious prejudices of all sects, though always in a friendly and kind manner, having now imbibed the spirit of charity and kindness for my opponents, which was forced upon me by my knowledge of the true formation of character by nature and society. Mr. Coleridge had a great fluency of words, and he could well put them together in high sounding sentences; but my few words, directly to the point, generally told well; and although the eloquence and learning were with him, the strength of the argument was generally admitted to be on my side. Many years afterwards, when he was better known and more celebrated, I presented him with a copy of my *‘Essays on the Formation of Character,’* and the next time I met him after he had read them, he said—“Mr. Owen, I am really ashamed of myself. I have been making use of many words in writing and speaking what is called eloquence, while I find you have said much more to the purpose in plain simple language, easily to be understood, and in a short compass. I will endeavour to profit by it.”

These friendly meetings and discussions with my friends Dalton and Winstanley, (the latter of whom was brother-in-law to Dr. —, one of the most successful physicians in Manchester,) were continued until they attracted the attention of the principal, Dr. Baines, who became afraid that I should convert his assistants from his orthodoxy; and our meetings were required to be less frequent in the college. They were however continued elsewhere, and I acquired the name from some of the parties who attended these meetings, of “the reasoning machine”—because they said I made man a mere reasoning machine, made to be so by nature and society. This college was removed to York while I remained in Manchester, and is there called the “Manchester College.”

However heterodox my opinions were, I was solicited to become a member of the “Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester,” to which I consented. I was thus introduced to the leading professional characters, particularly in the medical profession, which at this period stood high in Manchester,

and its leading members were the aristocracy of the town. The manufacturers at this period were generally plodding men of business, with little knowledge and limited ideas, except in their own immediate circle of occupation. The foreign merchants, or rather the merchants in the foreign trade, were somewhat more advanced. Without knowing why, I was thus introduced to the *élite* of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, for I had not been long a member of the society before I was requested to become a member of its committee, a club which was composed of what were considered the select and most efficient members of the society, and which met always immediately after the regular sittings of the society. This club or committee was composed at this period of Dr. Percival, the president,—Drs. Ferriar,—Holme,—and Bardsley,—Surgeon Simpson,—and Mr. Henry, the chemist; and feeling my deficiency of the usual education of such persons, I could not comprehend the reasons for my admission into the society and club. Upon one occasion, at the sitting of the society, the subject of cotton was introduced, on one of the nights when the President was in the chair. I had never spoken in the society, nor ever heard my own voice in public; nor had I the slightest desire ever to hear it. I was too diffident and sensitive to feel any such inclination; but upon this occasion, to my surprise and great confusion, Dr. Percival said—“I see a young friend present, who I am sure can if he will give us some valuable information upon the subject. I mean Mr. Owen, so well known for his knowledge in fine cotton spinning.” I blushed, and stammered out some few incoherent sentences, and felt quite annoyed at my ignorance and awkwardness being thus exposed. Had it not been for this incident, it is probable I should never have attempted to speak in public. I was conscious I knew more of the kinds, qualities, and history of this material, than any of those who spoke this evening on the subject. This impression induced me to attempt to write a paper for the society upon this subject, and it was read and discussed at the following meeting of the society. At its conclusion the President, who was always desirous of bringing forward and encouraging young persons who became members of the society, thanked me for the paper, which he said was a very useful practical production, and did me much credit. I was quite unconscious of deserving this compliment, and attributed it to the kind disposition of the President. It was after the discussion on this paper that I was solicited to join the club, all the members of which were expected to write a paper during each session of the meetings of the society.

Upon a subsequent and later meeting, when I had acquired somewhat more confidence in myself, Dr. Ferriar read a paper, the subject of which was to endeavour to prove that any one, by his own will, might become a genius, and that it only required

determination and industry for any one to attain this quality in any pursuit. The paper was a very learned one. The Dr. was the senior Vice-President, and after he had read it there was a profound silence, and, contrary to all former practice, after the President had expressed his opinion as usual that it was an important paper deserving much attention, no one rose to speak. Each member was entitled to bring a friend or two with him to the meeting, and that night I had brought John Dalton and Mr. Winstanley with me, saying they would be interested in the debate. I felt therefore quite disappointed that no one appeared likely to commence a discussion. Waiting until I thought the President would close the meeting for want of speakers, although it was a full meeting, I rose, merely with a view to induce a debate, that my friends might not be disappointed, and said, "Mr President,—this is a most learned and ingenious paper. But as it was read it occurred to me that I have always had a great desire to become a genius, and have always been very industrious in my application for the purpose, but I could never succeed. I therefore am obliged to conclude that there must be some error unexplained in our learned author's theory." And I sat down. Dr. Ferriar rose to reply. He blushed, or became so red with suppressed feeling as to attract the attention of the members, and merely stammered out some confused reply, when, to relieve his embarrassment, some members began to speak, and a discussion followed. But from that night Dr. Ferriar never forgot my short speech, for he was never afterwards so cordial and friendly as he had been previously. Lavoisier and Chaptal had at this time made chemistry a favorite subject among professional men, and I had given some attention to it. One night when their discoveries were the subject for discussion, I said that the universe appeared to me to be one great laboratory; that all things were chemical compounds, and that man was only a complicated chemical compound. From that night I was called the "philosopher who intended to make men by chemistry."

I continued a regularly attending member of this society and club as long as I remained in Manchester, and wrote my expected paper for each session; but on what subjects they were written I do not now recollect. The meetings became however very pleasant and useful to me; making me familiar with the ideas, habits, and prejudices of a new class in society. I say prejudices,—for the literary man has, like all others, his strong educated prejudices.

I continued happily progressing in my situation until the disastrous year of commerce, 1792, checked the rapid upward progress of the cotton trade. All engaged in it suffered more or less. Many were ruined in various businesses all over the kingdom. Mr. Drinkwater had a large capital, and stood the shock of this revulsion in the commercial world without very much

loss, while I was in the receipt of my full salary, and so far Mr. Drinkwater was highly satisfied with all my proceedings.

He had a cotton factory at work at Northwich in Cheshire, which was employed in what was technically called water-spinning,—or warp-spinning on machinery similar to Arkwright's at Cromford, Manchester, and elsewhere. This Cheshire cotton mill was under the management of an elderly man, who had taken charge of it for some years. After Mr. Drinkwater had seen what I had done in the factory for fine spinning in Manchester, he was desirous I should also overhaul, re-arrange, and take the general direction of this factory for warp-spinning, of much lower numbers than were produced in our Manchester factory. It was an ungracious task for one so young, to take the direction over the old manager of this Cheshire mill; but so it was. The former manager remained in charge of it,—but he was to act under my directions, and I rode over on horseback once a fortnight to superintend and direct, and which I continued to do as long as I remained with Mr. Drinkwater. On the same day of the week I made this journey on horseback, and in going had to cross what was then a large common. In crossing it one fine hot day in the middle of summer, an incident occurred which made a strong impression on me at the time, and which I will explain on a future occasion, when it can be applied for an important purpose, and when it will be more useful than to narrate it here. I notice it now while it occurs to me, that I may not forget it in its proper place.

While these matters of business were progressing successfully and happily with me, events that had a decided influence upon my future life were occurring in Mr. Drinkwater's family.

Miss Drinkwater was attaining womanhood, and I conclude, although I do not recollect having seen her, that, independently of the fortune which all expected her father could and would give her, she was an interesting person, for she was always well spoken of, and had been well and carefully educated. She was therefore considered a very desirable match and connection for the young men of the first commercial or professional families in their circle. A gentleman, whose name I forget,—a merchant in the foreign trade of Manchester, and very much the gentleman in manner, of good standing in society, and the next door town neighbour to Mr. Drinkwater, paid his addresses to her. He was not disliked by the young lady, although he was perhaps ten or twelve years older than she was; for his temper was good, and his manners attractive to the other sex. It began to be looked upon by the public as a matter settled. In this case, as in too many others, the course of true love did not run smooth. I must now recur to a name mentioned in an earlier part of this narrative,—the name of one who stood high in Cheshire and Lancashire as the first and most extensive manufac-

turer of British muslins, and from whom, as I narrated, Mr. McGuffog used to buy, and to pray for more pieces to be added to the weekly order. This was the once celebrated and most enterprising Samuel Oldknow, who it was known had not long before made seventeen thousand pounds of profit in each of two successive years, and who was then generally supposed to be very wealthy, and was considered a great man in the world of manufactures and commerce. He had made these profits in the manufacture of muslin, while he purchased the yarn from the cotton-spinners. He thought the spinners were getting great profits, and he was not, like many others, content to do well or very well, as he was doing,—but being ambitious, he desired to become a great cotton-spinner, as well as the greatest muslin manufacturer. He built a large, handsome, and very imposing cotton mill, amidst grounds well laid out, and the mill was beautifully situated, for he possessed general good taste in these matters. In fact, he was preparing and had made great advances to become a first-rate and leading ‘cotton lord.’ He had however expended his capital so freely in building this mill, fitting it with machinery, and purchasing land around it, in addition to splendid buildings and arrangements in and near to Stockport for carrying on his extensive muslin manufacture and for its sale, that when the trying time of 1792 arrived, he was too wide in his plans to sustain their expenditure without making great sacrifices. To prevent this it was afterwards generally thought that he considered an union with Miss Drinkwater would, by the assistance of her father, enable him to proceed unchecked. He was a hearty, healthy, handsome man, but yet perhaps five years older than Miss Drinkwater’s present suitor. But I suppose he concluded that “faint heart never won fair lady”—and therefore he at once applied to Mr. Drinkwater to be permitted to pay his addresses to his daughter. Mr. Drinkwater was flattered by this application, for at this time Mr. Oldknow stood prominent in the cotton world, next to the Arkwrights and the Strutts of Derbyshire.

It was believed that he was not well received at first by the young lady. But the father, although fond of his sons and daughters, was ambitious and obstinate, and succeeded at length, by the great prospects held out to her of great wealth and station, in overcoming her reluctance. She had not the means to resist his authority, having no property in her own right, and she therefore yielded to her father’s wishes. Mr. Oldknow was consequently received and accepted by father and daughter as the future husband of the latter.

For sometime all matters seemed to proceed successfully with Mr. Oldknow, and for a certain period he had great influence over Mr. Drinkwater. During this period he became acquainted with Mr. Drinkwater’s engagement with me, and this stood now

in the way of his (Mr. Oldknow's) ambition. He expressed a great desire that the whole business of both houses should be kept entirely to themselves, and my partnership, which, according to my engagement, was to commence the next year, stood in the way of this exclusive dealing with Mr. Drinkwater's property.

Mr. Oldknow thought that this difficulty should be overcome at any cost, and it was determined to try what could be done with me. Mr. Drinkwater, who for three years had once only been to his factory in Manchester, and then to introduce the celebrated Herschell the Astronomer, sent for me to Newal House, his country residence, where I had not been since the day the agreement of his own proposal was made. I had heard some hints of what had taken place, and of what was going forward, and knowing Mr. Oldknow's ambition, I conjectured some new proposals were to be made. I went to Newal House, and took the agreement in my pocket. I was introduced to Mr. Drinkwater alone in his study, and I have no doubt it was deemed a day of no little interest to all parties. He said—"I have sent for you that I may explain unexpected changes which have taken place lately in my family. The celebrated Mr. Oldknow is to become my son-in-law. You know he is the first British muslin manufacturer, and he is becoming a great cotton-spinner. He has expressed a strong wish that the entire business of both houses should be retained in the family,—but you are entitled by our agreement to become a partner in my mills next year, and this agreement obstructs his extensive views and arrangements. He wishes me to ascertain from you on what conditions you would retain the management of my mills and give up the agreement for a partnership in our business. If you will give up your claim to the partnership, you may name your own salary. You have now five hundred pounds a year, and whatever sum you will name you shall have." He appeared very anxious to hear my reply. I said—"I have brought the agreement with me, and here it is, and I now put into the fire, because I never will connect myself with any parties who are not desirous to be united with me; but under these circumstances I cannot remain your manager with any salary you can give." And the agreement was consumed before him. He was not prepared for this decisive proceeding; and it was an act of feeling, and not of judgment, on my part. My constitution and the previous circumstances in which I had been placed created these feelings, and I could not have acted otherwise at that time. These feelings again gave a complete change to my future destiny.

Mr. Drinkwater said much to endeavour to change my determination,—but ineffectually. My mind was fixed to the decision which my feelings forced upon me. He then said—"I hope you will remain until another manager can be procured to take your place, and I must depend upon you for looking out for one who

"is equal to the duties required." To this I agreed. But it was many months after this event before I could meet with any one possessing the requisite qualifications to conduct these establishments as they were then carried on.

When it was known that I was going to leave Mr. Drinkwater's concern, Mr. Samuel Marsland, who with others had purchased the Chorlton estate, near Manchester, with the view of building a new town upon it, applied to me, and said he was going to build extensive mills upon this property, and if I would join him in partnership he would find the capital and give me one third of the profits. This was a very liberal proposal, but as he did not offer me *half* of the profits, my feelings induced me to decline it.

Here was again the overwhelming influence of feeling which I could not avoid, in opposition to sound judgment. Under the circumstances in which I was then placed, it was my interest to accept it; for I afterwards made a much more unfavourable arrangement with two young men, inexperienced in the business, although they had capital. We were to build mills, and to divide the profits equally between us, and I was to have the management of the whole concern, under the firm of 'Moulson, Scarth, and Owen.' I commenced to build the Chorlton mills upon land purchased from Mr. Samuel Marsland and his partners; but while the mills were erecting, a new arrangement was made, which was destined to give another direction to my future life. This was an agreement with those two rich old established houses, Messrs Borrodale and Atkinson of London, and Messrs Bartons of Manchester, with whom and myself a new partnership was formed, under the firm of the "Chorlton Twist Company," under my management, assisted by Mr. Thomas Atkinson, a brother of the one in the firm of Borrodale and Atkinson.

It was nearly a year after I gave Mr. Drinkwater notice that I must leave his establishment, before I could find any one competent to supply my place,—but as I had to enter upon my new engagements, I was obliged to give the situation to a Mr. Humphreys, an engineer, who had done millwright and other mechanical work for the mills I superintended,—and upon my recommendation Mr. Drinkwater accepted him.

I had now to superintend the building of our factory, then considered a large one,—to get the machinery made to fit it,—and then to set the whole into action. I left Mr. Drinkwater in 1794 or 5; and before the new Chorlton mill was at work, it was two or three years later.

I did not erect the mill and machinery to enter into competition with Mr. Drinkwater, who had always been kind and liberal to me, except in not being firm in maintaining his engagement with me, and therefore I had no wish to injure him. The machinery which we adopted in the Chorlton Factory was

adapted for the Manchester and Glasgow manufacturers' demand for cloths for printing, and for some kinds of muslins. Mr. Thomas Atkinson kept the books, and I had to make the purchases of cotton, to manufacture it into yarns, and to dispose of it. The latter duty led me to visit the Lancashire manufacturing towns, and also, after some time, to visit the west of Scotland. On one of these journeys I had to visit Blackburn, where some of our principal customers lived and carried on their manufactures. Among these were Messrs Birley and Hornby. I had ridden to Blackburn on a horse hired for the occasion. When I called upon our wealthy customers last mentioned, one of the young gentlemen of the firm asked me if I would go and hunt with him in the morning. I knew nothing of hunting, and had no desire for the sport, and therefore declined, saying I had only a hack hired in Manchester, to bring me to Blackburn, and he was unfit for hunting.—“Oh!” he replied, “that need not prevent you, for I have a good hunter at your service.” I was then left without any excuse that occurred to me, and I was fairly taken in against my inclination; for I could not well refuse such an offer from one of our best customers,—and I accepted it. The hunter was sent to me the next morning, and I mounted it, being an inexperienced rider upon such horses for such purposes, with the impression that I should never return without broken limbs or even with life. I arrived on the ground just before the game was found, and at this critical moment I found myself by the side of the clergyman of the parish, who was extremely well mounted. He was young, and was esteemed the most dashing rider who followed these hounds. He and I were on one side of what I thought an impassable wall when the fox was started on the other side. “Now for it,” said the Parson to me, and he put his horse to the wall, and cleared it in good style. My horse (which I discovered was a practised hunter, although I was not,) immediately followed the Parson, and how I continued to keep my seat I know not, but so it was that I was safe in the saddle after a pretty good shake, and off went the Parson and I over heavy ground at first, and then there was what was called an excellent run, and the sport was continued for some hours. I was a light weight, my horse was powerful, thorough bred, and a well-taught hunter. I let him take his own way, and I soon found he knew much better than I did which was the best. The Parson and I soon led the field. We kept together,—for the horses appeared to know each other, and we were in at every death, and the sport was not over until late in the day, when I returned to my hotel safe and without over fatigue. As soon as I had cleared the first wall, and found myself safe in the saddle, all fear left me. I had confidence in the horse, and really, greatly to my surprise, enjoyed the sport. Thus I discovered the cause of the pleasure from the air, the exercise, and the excitement, which induces many to

spend so much time in following the hounds, to the surprise of those who have never experienced its exhilarating effects upon the spirits during the sport, and on the appetite afterwards.

This was however the only time I ever indulged in this luxury. But not for want of encouragement,—for the next day I was praised by all my Blackburn friends and acquaintances for my performances in the field the previous day, having the credit of being on a par with the Parson, who was esteemed the first in following the hounds with tact and judgment in all that district of hard riders, and who always led the field. I was very fully conscious how little I was entitled to these encomiums, and how much was due to my borrowed horse.

The new Chorlton Twist Company was now becoming well-known and proceeding prosperously. Having many customers in and round Glasgow, it became necessary for me to go to Scotland to see them, and to endeavour to enlarge our business connections. On my first journey to the north, a manufacturer of Preston who had extensive concerns, requested to accompany me as a companion, not having any business to transact in that part of the kingdom, but merely to see the country, which he had not previously visited. We journeyed together, at that time no easy travelling. This was before mail coaches were established, and we were two nights and three days incessantly travelling in coaches, in going from Manchester to Glasgow,—for the roads were then in a deplorable condition, and we had to cross a well-known dangerous mountain about midnight, called Trickstone bar, and which was then always passed in fear and trembling by the passengers. We however at length arrived safe in Glasgow, about five o'clock in the morning, and no one being then up in the hotel at which the coach stopped, my companion and myself went to walk, it being a fine warm morning in summer, on the well-known green of Glasgow, before it was surrounded with houses which have been since erected on the sides of it.

The old washing houses then existed, and the old mode of washing by tramping in tubs on the clothes to be washed, was the common practice. The washerwomen tucked up their clothes for this operation. There were great numbers thus busily engaged, chiefly however old women. It was an early hour, and the weather was warm, and there were no persons walking except ourselves. The walk from the town to the banks of the river where we were going, led close to these wash houses, but the washing operations in the tub were carried on outside the buildings in the open air, exposed to all passers. This practice of washing was new to both of us, and before we came near them we were at a loss to imagine what so many so early in the morning were about, continually in action in these tubs. As we drew nearer, our surprise increased when we saw these women with their naked legs, and their clothes held up much higher than decency re-

quired, or than appeared to us at all necessary. My friend stopped, and with the greatest astonishment in his countenance said—"Is it possible, Mr. Owen, that those are living women?" I said—"They look like them, although I have never seen such an exhibition before; but these must be the habits of a country new to us"—in which we were confirmed, for as we came up and passed very near to them, they took no more notice than if we had not been near them, and made no difference in their tramping and turning in their tubs. I said when we had passed them, "It is evident these women think nothing of this practice. They are no doubt accustomed to it from their childhood, and have none of our English feelings upon seeing such a practice,—it is another proof among thousands, that, commencing early in life, we may be taught to think any custom right or wrong, and a valuable lesson may be learned from it; for, as you saw, not one appeared to feel or think there was anything strange or wrong in what they were doing."

Up to this period the intercourse between the south and the north was very limited, compared with the change which soon followed the introduction of mail coaches, and the consequent improvement of the roads in Scotland. The surprise at seeing this practice, so strongly expressed by the English on first visiting Glasgow, induced a change in this custom, and now it is very seldom seen, except in out-of-the-way country places. At the time of my first visit to Glasgow, the inhabitants were unconscious of there being any impropriety in this proceeding; and I have seen it continued when the Green was crowded with people walking in all directions, and no one seemed to notice the washers. But I never afterwards saw the practice so fully carried out as on this occasion; and it therefore gave us, as entire strangers, a singular introduction into Scotland,—for we had not yet been in a Scotch house, and I then little imagined that I should become so interested in this locality as I afterwards was.

The improvements in Glasgow and in Scotland generally, from that period to the present, have not been surpassed probably in any part of the world.

This visit to Glasgow was the cause of a new phase in my history, and became a circumstance which had a great influence on my subsequent proceedings. I have mentioned my knowledge of Mr. Robert Spear, the Manchester cotton broker, who sent to me the first two bags of American Sea Island cotton imported into this country. He had a sister, whom I also knew, and who was living with him in Manchester. This sister happened to be on a visit to the family of Mr. Dale, who was then one of the most extraordinary men in the commercial world of Scotland,—an extensive manufacturer, cotton spinner, merchant, banker, and preacher. He had five daughters,—the eldest then about nineteen. While I was one day walking in Glasgow, near to the

Cross, then the most public place in the city, I met Miss Spear in company with Miss Dale. Miss Spear was glad to meet one whom she knew from Manchester, and stopped me, introducing me at the same time to Miss Dale. I conversed some time with Miss Spear concerning our friends in Manchester. After a short time Miss Dale asked me if I had seen the falls of the Clyde and her father's mills, for if I had not, and wished to see them, she would give me an introduction to her uncle, who was one of the managers of the mills and who lived there. I thanked her, and said I had a friend with me in Glasgow, and we should both like to see the falls and the mills. She said she should like to know what we thought of them after we had seen them and had returned. The introduction was sent for me and my friend, and we visited this to us new scenery, and inspected the mills under the guidance of Mr. James Dale, who, I learned, was half brother to Mr. David Dale, the father of Miss Dale. When I had inspected the establishment, which was called the "New Lanark Mills," and which then consisted of a primitive manufacturing Scotch village and four mills for spinning cotton, I said to my friend, as I stood in front of the establishment, "of all places I have yet seen, I "should prefer this in which to try an experiment I "have long contemplated and have wished to have an opportunity to put into practice;"—not in the least supposing at the moment that there was the most distant chance that the wish would ever be gratified. On returning to Glasgow I called upon Miss Dale to thank her for her kind introduction to her uncle, and to say how much I was gratified with the scenery about the falls of the Clyde, and with the site of the mills. She was at home. Her father was absent about his many occupations, and she was just going out to walk with her younger sisters on the green on the banks of the Clyde. She said they were pleasant walks, and perhaps as a stranger I should like to see them. To which I readily assented, and this was my second introduction to, and my first walk with, my future wife. She was in the habit of walking here frequently with her sisters early in the morning, their residence being close upon the green. We met there once or twice afterwards before I returned to Manchester; and at parting she said, when I came again to Glasgow she would be glad to see me.

During this visit to Glasgow I had extended our business connexions with the Scotch manufacturers, who were previously familiar with my name, from its being printed on every bundle or package of yarn sold to them from Mr. Drinkwater's factory while I had the superintendence of his manufactures, and this was a favorable introduction for me, and facilitated my success, to the surprise of my Manchester and London partners.

My partners thought it would be useful for me to make these journeys into Scotland half yearly, as the orders for our produce

gradually increased, and a large part of the "Chorlton cotton twist," as it was then called by way of distinction, was purchased by the Glasgow and Paisley manufacturers—the remainder was sold in Manchester and other Lancashire towns.

Miss Spear had returned from her visit to Miss Dale, and when I saw her she spoke much of the amiable and good qualities of her kind Glasgow friend; said very much in her favour, and of her position;—of the number of young men in and around Glasgow who were desirous of becoming her suitors;—but that she had seen none among them to whom she could give encouragement, for she had not seen one that she could marry, among the many who had made advances to solicit her affections. Miss Dale, she said, thought many of them looked to her expected fortune. As I was now about to return to Scotland, she requested I would convey a letter for her to her friend, which I willingly promised to deliver on my arrival in Glasgow. Letters at that time were rather an expensive luxury between friends residing at a distance. The penny postage had not then been thought of, and there was much private letter-carrying between friends. It is to be hoped, from the success of the inland penny postage, that it will become general over sea and land, to facilitate universal intercourse, so as gradually to destroy the idea of foreign, not only in word but in feeling, in order that the family of man may become one in interest, language, and feeling, over the earth,—this being now the evident ultimate object of society, and the means to hasten it being accomplished by the discovery of the electric telegraph.

Upon my arrival the second time at Glasgow, I called and presented Miss Spear's letter to Miss Dale, which she received, and read with much apparent pleasure. Mr. Dale was again attending on some of the many branches of his business, and I had not yet seen him. I forget how it occurred,—but a walk upon the green was proposed, and I accompanied Miss Dale and her sisters to the banks of the Clyde. The walk appeared to be enjoyed by the parties, and from some of them it fell out that, if the morning was fine, they were to walk out there early the next day.

These morning walks occurred often while I continued in Glasgow, and somehow or other the same parties almost always met in these excursions; and when I had to return to Manchester I was requested by Miss Dale to convey her answer back to Miss Spear—which I did.

This second visit to Glasgow I found was beginning to create other feelings than those of mere business. As I was now established as a partner in one of the most respectable firms in Manchester, and with every appearance of being successful, I felt inclined to look out for a wife. But I was yet a novice, and backward in forming acquaintance with women, and was much

too sensitive in my feelings to make any progress with them except I received encouragement to overcome my diffidence. At this period I was living as a bachelor in 'Chorlton Hall,' an old mansion lately occupied by Madame Minchall, the former proprietor of the Chorlton estate, which was now laid out for streets, and to become, as it is now, a large town annexed to Manchester. At some distance lived one of the most wealthy and respectable families, in which were three or four daughters, but no sons. The eldest, at this time a beautiful, well educated, and highly accomplished young lady of seventeen, was the admiration of every one, and was eagerly sought after by the young men of the first families, and her's was one of the oldest established in and around Manchester. I often saw this young lady at church, and occasionally at public concerts, which were then frequently given in Manchester, and no one could see her without admiring her for her beauty and her manners, which were fascinating to all. The position of her family was so far in advance beyond any pretensions which I then had in society, that to become known to her was out of the question, and to think of such an act of presumption never entered my head, for I was then far too diffident of my own powers and position. One day, however, when I happened to be at home in Chorlton Hall, two ladies,—an elderly one and a young one,—called to request to be permitted to see the old garden belonging to this old mansion,—to which of course I readily assented, and I conducted them through the walks. These visitors were the lady alluded to and her aunt. I was too timid and bashful to enter into conversation with them, and too unsuspecting to imagine any other object than the one mentioned,—and with the utmost simplicity and deference allowed them to depart as they came, and certainly much disappointed with the result of their visit to one so stupid as I must have appeared, for there was not the slightest indication of gallantry in anything I said or did. In fact, to imagine any other object in their visit, except to see the garden, never for a moment occurred to me. I learned, too late afterwards, that this young lady had been favorably impressed with my character, and that she had for some time preferred me to all the many suitors who were anxious to obtain her hand. I never knew or suspected these feelings in my favour, not even after this visit to me; and so backward was I at this period, that I did not consider I was entitled by it to an introduction to her or her family. That connexion, which I might have obtained had I then possessed sufficient knowledge of the world and sufficient self-confidence to have sought it, would have been well adapted to have met and satisfied all the feelings of my nature. But it was not to be,—circumstances were opposed to it, and another destiny was awaiting me.

Shortly after this occurrence, a house well built and devised

was erected by a wealthy Manchester merchant, who imported mahogany from Honduras, and from which were made his doors and window frames, and the principal rooms were supplied with plate glass. This house had a large walled garden and pleasure-ground. It was then about two miles out of Manchester,—although it is now surrounded by a large and populous town. To this house the owner gave the name of Greenhays, and it was just finished complete in every part, at an expense of five thousand pounds, when the owner died, and left a widow and many children,—and not one of the family occupied it for a day. The house was to be sold, and being large, it could be easily divided to accommodate a family in one division, and myself in another part of it ;—giving me very complete bachelor accommodations ; and a Mr. Marshall and myself made the purchase of it, and so divided it. I removed from Chorlton Hall, and occupied Greenhays for two years, having two elderly married persons to take care of the house, the garden, and stable. Thus I lived for two years before my marriage, and I was very comfortable as a bachelor. One of my habits at that period was peculiar. The old housekeeper came always after breakfast to know what I would have for dinner, my reply was “an apple dumpling,”—which she made in great perfection,—“and anything else you like ;” and this practice was uniform as long as I remained unmarried. My attention was devoted to business and study, and I could not be troubled to think about the details of eating and drinking.

Between my second and third visit to Glasgow I occasionally saw Miss Spear, and on one of my visits to her she asked what I thought of her Glasgow friend, Miss Dale. I said she appeared to me, from the little opportunity that I had of seeing her in our walks around the Green of Glasgow, in company with her younger sisters, to be a very kind and amiable young lady. She then told me her father was very religious, being at the head of a sect of Independents, and that he had the charge of about forty churches in various parts of Scotland, and preached every Sunday to his congregation in Glasgow. That he had been one of the Glasgow magistrates, and that he was much respected far and near,—having extensive concerns in different parts of Scotland. That Mrs. Dale died when Miss Dale was twelve years of age, and from that period she had had charge of her sisters and of the family. That she was an extraordinarily good young person, and was beloved by all who knew her. Miss Spear added, “I could tell you a secret worth knowing to you,—or at least it would be so to ninety-nine out of a hundred, if they knew Miss Dale as well as I do. But unless I thought you were as deeply interested about her as I think you are, and must be, I could not reveal it to you, and I do not know whether I should disclose it now to you, or not,—and yet I think it would be for the hap-

"piness of both that you should know it." "Pray," I said, "tell me this secret—for I feel much interested in knowing it, and more especially after what you have just expressed." "Well then, as I am sure you will make no improper use of it, I will tell you. It is now I think about a year since you met Miss Dale walking with me near the Cross of Glasgow, when I detained you talking some time, and Miss Dale offered, as my friend, to give you an introduction to her uncle to show you the mills and the falls of the Clyde." "I remember it well," I said, "for I was struck with her amiable manner and kindness to a stranger." "When we parted," continued Miss Spear, "she asked me who you were, and all respecting you that I knew, and when I had satisfied her enquiries, she said, 'I do not know how it is—but if ever I marry, that is to be my husband.' I tell you this because I know you will make only a proper use of it. You have seen her several times since, and can judge whether she retains the same feelings for you. But I know she has since that time refused several offers of marriage that would have had her father's consent." I thanked Miss Spear for her very gratifying information to me, and assured her I should use it only with the view of promoting the happiness of both. This information induced me to look decidedly to Scotland for a wife. Without this knowledge I do not think I should have ventured to think of Miss Dale for a wife. Her father's religious character, his high standing in society, and my not knowing him, would have deterred me from aspiring to such a position as to become his son-in-law. And now I thought there was little chance of overcoming the difficulties which I saw in my way, even should I succeed in gaining Miss Dale's consent. I had, however, to call upon her with a letter and message from Miss Spear. I was kindly welcomed again to Scotland by her,—but her father was not yet at home. I found the morning walks on the banks of the Clyde were continued as usual, and upon this visit I often joined the party, and found I was not avoided. The younger sisters began to allow Miss Dale and myself to walk and talk a little apart from them,—and as there were four of them, they were seen sometimes before and sometimes behind us. During these walks I learned that Mr. Dale wished to retire from business, as he was advancing in years, and had no son to succeed him. He had had one, but he had died young. He now wished to sell the New Lanarke establishment, finding it not managed with the success that he had expected, and as improvements were making in new establishments over the kingdom, which increased the competition in the business, which he was afraid he could not long contend against.

By degrees I ventured to ask Miss Dale if her affections were engaged, and she frankly said they were not. But when I asked her permission to become her suitor, and her consent to receive

me as her lover, she said, whatever might be her own feelings on a subject of so much importance to her happiness, she had little expectation that her father could be induced to give his consent to a stranger, whom he had never seen, and of whom perhaps he had never heard. That he was so good a man and so kind a father, that she should never marry without his consent, and she then saw no prospect that it could be attained, and therefore she thought she should never marry,—for she felt convinced he would never force or wish her to marry against her inclination, as she had already discovered. But, she added, “if you can find the means to overcome my father’s objections, it would go far to remove any I may now have, to the request you have made.”

I could not ask more ;—but I was fairly placed in a dilemma. I had never seen Mr. Dale, and I was unknown to him. I knew not that he had ever heard my name mentioned. I was now fairly in love, and deeply so, from the open and frank manner in which my feelings had been met. Love is a wonderful suggestor of means to overcome difficulties. I was thrown entirely upon my own resources in this matter. “You must find the means to obtain my father’s consent, or you can never obtain mine.” Such was Miss Dale’s decision,—and how was this to be accomplished? To me it appeared, day after day, as I thought upon it, a difficulty not to be overcome. I knew not how, in the first place, to obtain a proper introduction. At length it occurred to me that I might make a pretence of enquiring whether a report I had heard of his desire to sell the New Lanark mills was true, and if it were true, on what conditions he would part with them. This was a happy thought that occurred to me, and I called upon him at his counting house of general business. He received me coldly, and I thought suspiciously, and he requested to know my business. I said it was reported in Glasgow that he wished to dispose of the New Lanark mills, and I called to know if it was so, and the terms on which he would offer them if the report were true. I was now about twenty-seven years of age, and young looking for my years, and he said, yet looking suspiciously—“You cannot want to purchase them—you are too young for such a task.” I said—“I am connected in partnership with older heads, and with men having large capitals, and we are already largely in the cotton-spinning trade in Manchester.” This aroused his attention, and he then entered more fully into conversation. He said—“have you seen New Lanark?” I replied that I had taken a very general view of the mills, without looking into the details of the establishment. “I would recommend you,” he said, “to go and examine it, and return to Manchester, and make your report to your partners, and if they should have any desire to become the owners of it, I shall be prepared to enter into a negotiation with them for the whole of the property.” I thought by his manner that he did not think me in

earnest, but as I received his authority to examine the establishment thoroughly, I posted from Glasgow to New Lanark, a distance of nearly thirty miles, and on which at that time there were three toll-bars at high rates. I had left Glasgow without small change, and had only guineas and half guineas with me. Sovereigns had not been introduced, and scarcely any gold coin; for when at the first toll-gate I presented a half guinea for change, the toll-man turned it over and over, and looked at it as though he had never seen one before, and said, "have you no notes?" The currency of Scotland at this period was in notes of their local banks. I replied "no—and the half guinea is the smallest change I have." "Then I will trust you until you return." "But," I said, "I am not sure of returning this way." "I will take the chance of that, rather than take money I do not know anything about. I do not understand gold money." The same occurred at the second and third gate, and as a stranger I thus passed free of toll, an alternative which was preferred by the toll-men, to taking the half guinea, and I believe not one of them had ever seen a gold coin. I concluded I had come into a very primitive district.

I had informed Miss Dale before I left Glasgow of the interview with her father, and of my proceeding to New Lanark, and a correspondence was thus commenced. On arriving in Manchester I informed my partners of what had occurred in Scotland, but I had no expectation that they would, at once, desire to enter into the negotiation. One from each of the two firms with which I was connected proposed to accompany me, and immediately to return to Glasgow. We came by New Lanark, and my partners were much pleased with the situation and with the general outline of the establishment. We then proceeded to Glasgow. By this time Mr. Dale had been informed by his daughter of what had passed between us, but he was very adverse to our views. He said I was a stranger of whom he knew nothing—a "*land louser*," (meaning, I suppose, coming from England to Scotland for a wife,) and he would not hear of it. He wished to have an honest Scotchman to succeed him, one that he knew something about, and could trust. I had been with him on the pretence of purchasing the mills at New Lanark, but he had no expectation that I could induce any parties to buy them, who possessed sufficient means—&c., &c. I was informed of this by Miss Dale, who said she thought it would be useless to expect he could be induced to give his consent, and as she would never marry without it, we had better abandon the hope of it, and recommended me to look out for a better wife in England.

Thus matters stood on the arrival of my partners, Mr. John Barton and Mr. John Atkinson, and myself, at Glasgow. We waited on Mr. Dale—explained who we were—who we represented, and our object in calling upon him. He was evidently

taken by surprise, and was pleased with our explanation,—for at that period the houses of Borrodale and Atkinson in London, and Messrs Barton's in Manchester, stood very high in the commercial world. He said he would make the necessary enquiries, and would consider the subject by the next day, when he would be glad to see us again. We called at his hour of appointment, and he said—"I am now satisfied of your respectability," (he was himself at this time the chief of two directors of the Bank of Scotland in Glasgow,) "and I am willing to treat with you for the land, village, and mills at New Lanark, with every thing as the establishment now stands." We enquired the price which he valued this property. He said he was really at a loss to put a value upon it. His half brother, and a Mr. William Kelley, managed it for him. He himself was seldom there, and only for short periods, as his chief business was in Glasgow. But he said, "Mr. Owen knows better than I do the value of such property at this period, and I wish that he would name what he would consider a fair price between honest buyers and sellers." I was somewhat surprised and non-plused at this reference to me, with all its responsible consequences, taking into consideration the position of all parties. My estimate of the establishment, from having taken only the very general inspection of it which I had had an opportunity of doing, was such, that I said, "It appears to me, that sixty thousand pounds, payable at the rate of three thousand a year for twenty years, would be an equitable price between both parties."

Mr. Dale had been long known for the honest simplicity of his character, and as such was universally trusted and respected, and as a further proof of it, to the surprise of my London and Manchester commercial partners, he replied—"if you think so, I will accept the proposal as you have stated it, if your friends also approve of it." And equally to my surprise they said they were willing to accept the terms; and thus, in these few words, passed the establishment of New Lanark from Mr. Dale into the hands of "The New Lanark Twist Company."

Little did I imagine when I first saw this establishment in company with my friend from Preston, that I should ever become part proprietor and ultimately sole manager of it.

This occurred in the summer of 1797, about six years after I had commenced the management of Mr. Drinkwater's factory, and when I was about twenty-eight years of age.

Here was a new combination of circumstances, which had not been at all under my control, but which in their further progress has produced extraordinary results to myself and others, and which will produce yet far more extraordinary results to the entire population of the world.

There were two gardens in the centre of the village of New Lanark, and in these gardens two large cottage houses, one occu-

pied in summer by Mr. Dale's children, and the other by the managers of the mills. At the time of the purchase, Miss Dale and her sisters and servants were occupying this house, and her uncle and aunt and their family occupied the one near in the adjoining garden. The new firm were to take immediate possession of the entire establishment, and Mr. Dale was going to send for his daughters to leave their summer quarters at once, and to return to Glasgow. We all objected to this, and requested they might keep possession of the house to their usual time of returning for the season; and as I was to take possession of the mills and premises, I remained at the Clydesdale Hotel in Old Lanark, which was only one mile distant, until their usual time of removing. To this Mr. Dale assented after some preliminary opposition. The family thus remained for about six weeks, when Mr. Dale sent for them to return, learning, I suppose, that Miss Dale and I had under this arrangement frequent opportunities of seeing each other,—and with her sisters we often enjoyed walks among the beautiful scenery on the banks of the Clyde, and our time was thus spent very much to our satisfaction. Mr. Dale, however, continued averse to any thoughts of our union, and this he expressed very strongly after the return to Glasgow of the young ladies. There were however two warm friends of mine in Glasgow, who had great influence with Mr. Dale. These were the co-director of the Royal Bank of Scotland with Mr. Dale—a Mr. Scott Moncrief, and his lady, two elderly and much respected persons, who were much attached to Mr. Dale and his family, and were near neighbours. These became Miss Dale's confidants in our affairs.

Before she parted from me at New Lanark, she said she never would marry against her father's consent, but she had made up her mind that she would remain unmarried unless he could be induced to consent to accept me for his son-in-law. I had reason to believe that on her return to Glasgow she stated so much to her father, who was and had always been a most affectionate and indulgent parent to all his children, and to her, being several years older than the others, more especially. I had often to return to Glasgow to see Mr. Dale respecting the change of proprietorship of the establishment, and to learn many things connected with it and the parish and county affairs, and this brought us often into business communication. His cold and distant manner to me gradually diminished, until he began to be more at his ease when we met, and at length he relaxed so far in his manner as to receive me pleasantly, and after a little time in a friendly and almost cordial manner. I discovered that Mr. and Mrs. Scott Moncrief were daily using their influence in our favour, and at length they overcame all Mr. Dale's objections to the union, and our marriage was fixed for the 30th of September.

In the meantime I was becoming daily more at home with Mr.

Dale, and he began to receive me at his house cordially and with increasing confidence. My property by this time had accumulated to three thousand pounds. Mr. Dale proposed to give three thousand with his daughter, and that I should settle three hundred a year upon her and her children in case of my death, under the supposition that my property would now annually increase. I made no bargain on this occasion, but left it to be arranged by Mr. Dale and Mr. Scott Moncrief, for I had offered to take Miss Dale without any fortune. These matters being arranged, before the day of our marriage arrived, Mr. Dale had become as much satisfied and as much pleased with the idea of our union, as though he had at no time had any objection to it. All his prejudices had been overcome, and I was gradually becoming a favourite with him.

Our marriage took place in Mr. Dale's house, in Charlotte Street, near to the Green of Glasgow, where our early courtship commenced. The ceremony, if ceremony it could be called, was according to the marriage rites of Scotland, and surprised me not a little. We were to be married by the Reverend Mr. Balfour—an old friend of Mr. Dale's, although he was of the regular Scotch Church, and Mr. Dale was at the head of a dissenting or independent sect.

When we were all met on the morning of our marriage, waiting for the ceremony to commence, Mr. Dale was there to give his daughter to me, and the younger sisters of Miss Dale for her bride's maids. Mr. Balfour requested Miss Dale and me to stand up, and asked each of us if we were willing to take the other for husband or wife, and each simply nodding assent, he said, without one word more—"Then you are married, and you may sit down,"—and the ceremony was all over.

I observed to Mr. Balfour that it was indeed a short ceremony. He said it is usually longer. I generally explain to the young persons their duties in the marriage state, and often give them a long exhortation. But I could not presume to do this with Mr. Dale's children while he lived and was present, knowing that he must have previously satisfied himself in giving them such advice as he deemed necessary and sufficient. I bowed assent, and said, as he was satisfied that it was all right, I was equally so, and was obliged to him for his compliment to Mr. Dale and ourselves. Mr. Dale's carriage was in waiting to convey us the first stage on our road to Manchester, and as soon as breakfast was over we set out, accompanied by Miss Dale's maid, who was to be taken with her to England. The ministers in Scotland who marry any parties usually receive some present from the immediate friends of the parties married, or from the parties themselves. On this occasion I enquired of Mr. Dale what was the custom, and what in our case would be deemed proper. He said he would see to that business with Mr. Balfour; and we learned afterwards that

he gave him a full suit of clothes, hat and all, of the finest description for a minister, and which became his best suit as long as he lived,—such especial care did he take of Mr. Dale's highly valued present, although they were ministers of different sects of religion.

After the first stage we left Mr Dale's carriage to return, and we then posted to Manchester, over very bad roads. Mail coaches had not yet been established, and the old line then travelled was a very different one to the line which now communicates between Glasgow and Carlisle. On arriving in Manchester and passing through the Chorlton district to go to Greenheys, my then residence, we had to pass in sight of a small and low building erected by the well-known Mr. Henry for the manufacture of his concentrated essence of vinegar, and I pointed it out as soon as in sight, there being no other buildings near, as our future residence,—and wished to know from my new wife what she thought of it. She evidently did not expect to find that I lived in a house with that common appearance, and she said she thought the house I had described to her was different. The old servant was, I perceived, disappointed that her young mistress was to be no better accommodated. After we had passed it they perceived I had not been serious in describing my residence, and we soon drove into the grounds of Greenheys, and entering into the house through a part well contrived and neatly arranged as a greenhouse, and the interior being well-constructed and furnished, and nicely arranged, both my wife and her servant were uncommonly well pleased. And here we passed our honeymoon.

I had arranged all matters as well as I could at New Lanark before I left it, under the same management as when Mr. Dale had given it to us, and I expected they would have carried it on with ordinary success,—but we soon found that there was little cordiality between the two managers, and that they were little capable of conducting such a concern in the manner we wished and expected. I had retained the direction of the Chorlton Mill, and Mr. Thomas Atkinson kept the accounts up to this period. It was now thought it would be necessary for me to return to Scotland and take the immediate direction of the New Lanark establishment and of our Scotch business generally; and that Mr. Thomas Atkinson, assisted occasionally by the other partners, should undertake the management of the Chorlton Mill and Lancashire business. And thus it was mutually agreed upon, and I returned with my wife and servant to Glasgow in three months after our marriage, and we were warmly and affectionately received by Mr. Dale, and I entered upon the government of New Lanark about the first of January, 1800.

I say 'government,'—for my intention was not to be a mere manager of cotton mills, as such mills were at this time generally managed;—but to introduce principles in the conduct of th

people, which I had successfully commenced with the workpeople in Mr. Drinkwater's factory ; and to change the conditions of the people, who, I saw, were surrounded by circumstances having an injurious influence upon the character of the entire population of New Lanark.

I had now, by a course of events not under my control, the groundwork on which to try an experiment long wished for, but little expected ever to be in my power to carry into execution.

On commencing my task I found it full of formidable obstacles. The former managers had acquired their own views of managing. They had old notions and habits, all directly opposed to mine, and from these parties I expected little assistance. The people were surrounded by bad conditions, and these bad conditions had powerfully acted upon them to mis-form their characters and conduct. I soon perceived that there would be much to undo and much to do, before I could obtain the results which I intended to accomplish. The people had been collected hastily from any place from whence they could be induced to come, and the great majority of them were idle, intemperate, dishonest, devoid of truth, and pretenders to religion, which they supposed would cover and excuse all their short-comings and immoral proceedings. My first object was to ascertain all the errors against which I had to contend, and as I investigated each department, I thought there would be no termination to the changes required. I soon found that a *re-construction* of the whole establishment would be necessary for my views, and for the pecuniary success of the concern. I therefore commenced cautiously laying the groundwork for the intended changes, and I wished to make the old superintendents of the different departments my agents for this purpose. But I soon found that they were wedded to their own notions and ancient prejudices, and that for new measures it was necessary to have new men ; for the old ones preferred to leave their situations, rather than be engaged in a work of such reform as I contemplated, which they said was impracticable. And to them it was so ; for they had no conception of the principle on which I proposed to act, and by which I intended to govern the population. It is from this same ignorance that the public now think my views impracticable.

I soon found I had every bad habit and practice of the people to overcome. They were intemperate and immoral, with very few exceptions, throughout the whole establishment. The brother of one of the chief managers was in the frequent practice of taking what is called a "*spre*e,"—that is, being intoxicated day after day for weeks together, without attending to his occupation during the whole period. Theft was very general, and was carried on to an enormous and ruinous extent, and Mr. Dale's property had been plundered in all directions, and had been almost considered public property. The population had been collected from any

where and anyhow, for it was then most difficult to induce any sober well-doing family to leave their home to go into cotton mills as then conducted.

Knowing by this time the influence of circumstances over human nature in every part of the world, my first attention was to discover the evil conditions existing among the people, and how in the shortest time they could be superseded by better. There were two ways before me, by which to govern the population. 1st, By contending against the people, who had to contend against the evil conditions by which, through ignorance, they were surrounded; and in this case I should have had continually to find fault with all, and to keep them in a state of constant ill-will and irritation,—to have many of them tried for theft,—to have some imprisoned and transported, and at that period to have others condemned to death,—for in some cases I detected thefts to a large amount; there being no check upon any of their proceedings. This was the course which had ever been the practice of society. Or, 2ndly, I had to consider these unfortunately placed people, as they really were, the creatures of ignorant and vicious circumstances, who were made to be what they were by the evil conditions which had been made to surround them, and for which alone society, if any party, should be made responsible; and, instead of tormenting the individuals,—imprisoning and transporting some, hanging others, and keeping the population in a state of constant irrational excitement,—I had to change these evil conditions for good ones, and thus, in the due order of nature, according to its unchanging laws, to supersede the inferior and bad characters, created by inferior and bad conditions, by superior and good characters to be created by superior and good conditions. And this is now the course which for the happiness of all should be universally adopted in practice.

This latter mode required a knowledge of human nature, and of the science of the influence of circumstances over it, with illimitable patience, forbearance, and determination. But *with these conditions*, certain ultimate success would inevitably follow. While the first mode could not insure success if persevered in to the end of time,—and so long as it is continued must keep society in never-ending varied confusion, counteraction, and opposing feelings.

But from what source could the knowledge of human nature, the science of the influence of the circumstances over it, with illimitable patience, forbearance, and determination, be obtained?—seeing that these qualities combined had remained unknown during the past history of the human race. This is the great secret worth knowing, and which has been so long hidden from the world.

From one source only could this secret be derived;—that is, from the discovery of the knowledge “That the character of each “of our race is formed by God or nature and by society; and

"that it is impossible that any human being could or can form his own qualities or character."

This knowledge I had now acquired by the gradual teaching of nature, through experience and reflection, forced upon me by the circumstances through which I had passed; and it was now to be ascertained whether it had given me the patience, forbearance, and determination, to proceed successfully in my task,—for I had decided to govern the New Lanark population according to these new views,—that is, on the second mode stated. For this purpose I had to lay my plans deep and wide, and to combine them with measures to insure profits from the establishment, sufficient to satisfy my commercial partners, and at first not to do too much, so as to alarm their prejudices or those of the public.

Mr. James Dale and Mr. Kelly were incompetent to comprehend my views, or to assist me in my plans. They both therefore left New Lanark, and returned to Glasgow, to commence different businesses, each for himself. Application was now made to me for a situation by the Mr. Humphreys whom I had recommended to Mr. Drinkwater to succeed me. Mr. Humphreys could not keep up to the quality of yarns or to the general management of the establishment as I had left it to him. Mr. Drinkwater had discovered that Mr. Oldknow's pecuniary position was not what he had anticipated, and therefore the match between Mr. Oldknow and Miss Drinkwater did not take place. Mr. Drinkwater became dissatisfied with the business, sold the factory, and Mr. Humphreys lost his situation. I engaged him to manage the machinery under my direction, and retained him for some years, until he was tempted to leave my service for what he deemed a better position, but which proved his ruin.

Mr. Dale knew little about cotton spinning, having always left the management of his various mills (for he had other cotton mills besides New Lanark,) to such managers as he could procure; and by this time improvements were taking place in machinery, which would have soon distanced the state in which Mr. Dale's managers kept his various establishments. He had one at Newton-Douglas, in partnership with Sir William Douglas,—one in Ayrshire, at Catrine, in partnership with Mr. Alexander of Ballochmyle,—another in Perthshire,—and a fourth in the far north, in partnership with Mr. George Macintosh, the father of the inventor of the India Rubber "Macintoshes" and other manufactures from that material. I advised him to dispose of these as soon as he could meet with purchasers for them, and he followed my advice.

I had now to commence in earnest the great experiment which was to prove to me, by practice, the truth or error of the principles which had been forced on my convictions as everlasting principles of truth, and from which all great and permanent good in practice must proceed—to commence the most im-

portant experiment for the happiness of the human race that had yet been instituted at any time in any part of the world. This was, to ascertain whether the character of man could be better formed, and society better constructed and governed, by falsehood, fraud, force, and fear, keeping him in ignorance and slavery to superstition,—or by truth, charity, and love, based on an accurate knowledge of human nature, and by forming all the institutions of society in accordance with that knowledge. It was to ascertain, in fact, whether by replacing evil conditions by good, man might not be relieved from evil, and transformed into an intelligent, rational, and good being:—whether the misery in which man had been and was surrounded, from his birth to his death, could be changed into a life of goodness and happiness, by surrounding him through life with good and superior conditions only. Such were the impressions made upon my mind of the importance of the task which I was about to undertake, and from which no opposition—no obstacles or discouragements, could ever divert me.

When to my friends and nearest connexions I mentioned that my intentions were to commence a new system of management on principles of justice and kindness, and gradually to abolish punishment in governing the population,—they, one and all, smiled at what they called my simplicity, in imagining I could succeed in such a visionary scheme; and they strongly urged me not to attempt such a hopeless impossibility. My mind, however, was prepared for the task, and to encounter whatever difficulties might arise; and I was much encouraged to proceed by the success which I had experienced with my mode of governing the populations in Mr. Drinkwater's factories.

The population of New Lanark at this period consisted of about 1,300, settled in the village as families, and between 400 and 500 pauper children, procured from parishes, whose ages appeared to be from five to ten,—but said to be from seven to twelve. These children were by Mr. Dale's directions well lodged, fed, and clothed, and there was an attempt made to teach them to read, and to teach some of the oldest to write, after the business of the long day was over. But this kind of instruction, when the strength of the children was exhausted, only tormented them, without doing any real good,—for I found that none of them understood anything they attempted to read, and many of them fell asleep during the school hours.

The instructor was a good schoolmaster, on the old mode of teaching, and kind and considerate to the children, but what could he do with 400 or 500 of them under such circumstances? The whole system, although most kindly intended by Mr. Dale, was wretchedly bad, and the establishment had been constructed and managed by ordinary minds, accustomed only to very primitive proceedings. I determined therefore, that the engagements,

respecting the children, made by Mr. Dale with the parishes, should run out; that no more pauper children should be received; that the village houses and streets should be improved, and new and better houses erected to receive new families, to supply the place of the pauper children; and that the interior of the mills should be re-arranged, and the old machinery replaced by new. But these changes were to be made gradually, and to be effected by the profits of the establishment.

My first task was to make arrangements to supersede the evil conditions with which the population was surrounded, by good conditions. And as soon as society can be made to think rationally on a true foundation, to replace inferior by superior conditions will be found to be the task which society has to learn, and in good earnest to commence in practice. In fact, this is the great lesson which mankind has now to acquire and to put into execution over the world. For, with the certainty of a law of nature,—as are the circumstances or conditions with which man is surrounded through life, so must he become. Surround him with evil circumstances or conditions,—and his thoughts and conduct must become evil; while when surrounded through life with good conditions only, his thoughts and conduct must be good. The problem for man now to solve, therefore, is—“What are evil, and what are good conditions? And how are the evil to be superseded by the good, in peace, beneficially for all, and with universal consent?” And when the first principle on which society should be based shall be understood and consistently applied to practice, the problem will be easily solved and carried into execution.

The profession of religion, and attention to its forms and ceremonies, which were strictly observed, were the foundation on which Scotch character and society were formed. The profession was, and is, most essential to enable anyone to become respectable, as it is called, in any part of Scotland; and this profession of religion, with attention to its forms, was deemed by many all that was necessary. Sobriety and correct conduct were in much less estimation.

But the character of the population of the world, in consequence of its having been based, under all its varied forms on superstition and on the false notion that each forms his own qualities and powers of feeling, thinking, willing, and acting, is a sham and a falsehood; and, in consequence, a surface, artificial, and irrational character is alone to be seen from east to west and from north to south over the globe. Who shall overcome this universal error and great evil?

This experiment at New Lanark was the first commencement of practical measures with a view to change the fundamental principle on which society has heretofore been based from the beginning; and no experiment could be more successful in prov-

ing the truth of the principle that the character is formed *for* and not *by* the individual, and that society now possesses the most ample means and power to well-form the character of every one, by reconstructing society on its true principle, and making it consistent with that fundamental principle in all its departments and divisions. As soon as the authorities of the world can be convinced of the incalculable advantages which will arise in perpetuity to all, from basing society on its true principle, there will be little difficulty in creating a good and valuable character for all, and in building up society with good conditions only.

But I had to commence my experiment, not only in opposition to the dis-belief in the truth of the fundamental principle on which I was about to found all my proceedings, but with the strongest prejudices in favour of the truth of the principle which I intended to disprove and overcome. The evil conditions which I had to contend against were the ignorance, superstition, and consequent immoral conduct and bad habits of the great majority of the population ; the long day's work which they had to undergo ; the inferior qualities and high price of everything which they had to purchase for their own use ; the bad arrangements in their houses for rearing and training their children from their birth through infancy and childhood ; and their prejudices against an English manufacturer becoming a hard task master, as they imagined I was going to be, because they saw I was going to adopt what they called new-fangled measures.

In addition to these evil conditions around the workpeople, I found it necessary, as the foundation of all future success, to make the establishment not only self-supporting, but also productive of a sufficient surplus profits to enable me to effect the changes to the improved conditions which I contemplated. My partners were all commercial men, and expected a profit in addition to interest for their capital. I had therefore to re-adjust the whole business arrangements, and to make great alterations in the building, and gradually to change the whole machinery of the mills.

The workpeople were systematically opposed to every change which I proposed, and did whatever they could to frustrate my object. For this, as it was natural for them to dislike new measures and all attempts to change their habits, I was prepared, and I made due allowance for these obstructions. My intention was to gain their confidence, and this, from their prejudices to a stranger from a foreign country, as at this time the working class of the Scotch considered England to be, was extremely difficult to attain. My language was naturally different from their lowland Scotch and the highland *erse*, for they had a large mixture of highlanders among them. I therefore sought out the individuals who had the most influence among them from their

natural powers or position, and to these I took pains to explain what were my intentions by the changes I wished to effect. I explained that they were to procure greater permanent advantages for themselves and their children, and requested that they would aid me in instructing the people, and in preparing them for the new arrangements which I had in contemplation.

By these means I began slowly to make an impression upon some of the least prejudiced and most reasonable among them ; but the suspicions of the majority, that I only wanted, as they said, to squeeze as much gain out of them as possible, were long continued. I had great difficulty also in teaching them cleanly habits, and order, and system in their proceedings. Yet each year a sensible general improvement was effected.

The retail shops, in all of which spirits were sold, were great nuisances. All the articles sold were bought on credit at high prices, to cover great risks. The qualities were most inferior, and they were retailed out to the workpeople at extravagant rates. I arranged superior stores and shops, from which to supply every article of food, clothing, &c., which they required. I bought everything with money in the first markets, and contracted for fuel, milk, &c., on a large scale, and had the whole of these articles of the best qualities supplied to the people at the cost price. The result of this change was to save them in their expenses full twenty-five per cent., besides giving them the best qualities in everything, instead of the most inferior articles, with which alone they had previously been supplied.

The effects soon became visible in their improved health and superior dress, and in the general comfort of their houses.

This measure tended also to weaken their prejudices against me. But it was long before the majority of the people could be convinced that I was earnestly engaged in measures to improve their permanent condition. At length an event occurred which overcame their prejudices, and enabled me to gain their full confidence. We were now (1806,) receiving a large amount of our supply of cotton from the United States, and in consequence of diplomatic differences between their government and ours, the United States laid an embargo on their own ports, and no cotton was allowed to be exported, and it was not known how long this embargo might continue, or to what ultimate consequences it might lead. The prices of all kinds of cotton immediately advanced so rapidly and so high, that the manufacturers of the article were placed in a dilemma. The master spinners had to determine whether to stop their machinery and discharge their workpeople, (which most of them did,) or to continue to work up the material at the high price it had attained, and run the risk of a great and sudden fall in the price of the raw material and of their manufactured stock, should the embargo be removed. Some adopted the one course, and some the other.

We were now spinners on a large scale, and to proceed in our operations was most hazardous. To discharge the workpeople, whom I then had more than half trained to my wishes, and who, if I discharged them from our employment, would have suffered great privations, would be, as it appeared to me, cruel and unjust. I therefore concluded to stop all the machinery, retain the people, and continue to pay them their full wages for only keeping the machinery clean and in good working condition. I continued to do this as long as the embargo was maintained. It was four months before the United States government terminated the embargo, and during that period the population of New Lanark received more than seven thousand pounds sterling for their unemployed time, without a penny being deducted from the full wages of any one.

This proceeding won the confidence and the hearts of the whole population, and henceforward I had no obstructions from them in my progress of reform, which I continued in all ways, as far as I thought my monied partners would permit me to proceed, and indeed until their mistaken notions stopped my further progress.

Soon after I left Manchester and was established as the sole managing partner at New Lanark, proposals were made to the Chorlton Twist Company, our Manchester firm, for the purchase of our Chorlton mills, and the negotiation terminated by the sale of them to Messrs Birley and Hornby, our former Blackburn customers, who yet retain them, having made considerable additions to them. Thus ended my commercial interest in Manchester, more than half a century ago; and great and extraordinary have been the changes in the town from that period to the present. Few, if any, of its then leading men in commerce or the professions are now living, and a new generation has arisen who know me not.

Some account of my friendship, partnership, and transactions with the late celebrated Robert Fulton, the inventor and introducer of the profitable steamboat into the United States of North America.

This will be a proper place, before I take leave of Manchester, for me to state some particulars respecting my connexion with that ultimately ill-used man of genius and high enterprise, Robert Fulton, who did so much for his country, which did so little for him.

In 1794, Robert Fulton and myself were boarding inmates at No. 8, Brazen Nose Street, Manchester. We became friends, and he in confidence informed me, that in prosecuting an invention which had occurred to him, for more expeditiously and cheaply digging or raising earth in forming canals, and in obtaining a patent for the invention, he had expended all his funds,

and he knew not, except by disposing of part of the interest in his patent, how to obtain more, for all his means and credit were exhausted. He said there was a canal to be constructed near Gloucester, and if I could supply him with funds to go there and see the commissioners appointed to carry it into execution, he might perhaps succeed in obtaining a contract for digging a portion of it, and might thus bring his new patent into notice and profitable action, and he would give me half of the interest in his invention, the success of which was however very problematical. I supplied him with funds and he went to Gloucester.

My first written communication from him is dated the 20th of November, 1794, and is filled with curious calculations respecting his new digging machine. His first letter to me is dated the 26th of December, 1794, informing me of his intention to go to Gloucester about the first of January, 1795, giving additional calculations, and suggesting new improvements in his machine, and ending by saying—"I will send you a sketch and description after digesting the subject." And although he was then in considerable pecuniary difficulties, to show the buoyancy of his spirits, he concludes thus—"Please to write to me immediately, and let me know how the improvement in the model succeeds. Present my best respects to Mr. Moulson, and my volunteer friend, Mr. Marsland, and his good lady. By 'volunteer friend,' I do not mean that Mr. Marsland is, or should be, a fensible,—but a volunteer, in the the *corps of benevolence and unanimity*, the principles of which contributed much to my amusement, and which I remember with so much pleasure. That all men may be *drilled* to this glorious exercise, *God of His infinite mercy grant.*"

The next document in succession I find to be articles of agreement of partnership between Mr. Fulton and myself, which I give here in full as a curiosity to his friends in the United States. These articles were as follows:—

"Minutes of agreement made this seventeenth day of December, 1794, between Robert Fulton, of the city of London, engineer, of the one part, and Robert Owen, of Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, cotton manufacturer, of the other part."

"Whereas the said Robert Fulton hath lately invented and obtained his Majesty's Royal Letters Patent for the exclusive exercise for a term of fourteen years of a certain machine for transferring boats and their cargoes to and from higher levels and lower levels in and upon canal navigations independent of locks, of which machine thirty parts or shares (the whole into thirty-two parts being divided,) are now vested in the said Robert Fulton. And also hath invented and shortly intends to make application for letters patent for a certain other machine for removing earth out of canals to the banks thereof in cases of deep digging

without the use of wheelbarrows, the sole and whole property in which is now vested in the said Robert Fulton. And whereas the said Robert Fulton and Robert Owen have agreed to become co-partners in the said machines and in the exercise thereof at the time and upon the terms hereinafter mentioned, that is to say :—

“ That the said Robert Owen shall immediately advance to the said Robert Fulton the sum of sixty-five pounds to be by him employed toward putting the said machines in motion, and that when and as soon as the said machine for removing earth shall clear two-pence per cubic yard of the contracts for which it may be engaged, or the machine for transferring boats shall raise a five ton boat to any height not exceeding two hundred feet in ten minutes, (the construction of which shall not amount to half the sum annually expended in locks,) or previous to the execution before stated, at the option, of the said Robert Owen, the said Robert Fulton and Robert Owen shall become co-partners and jointly interested in the said machines and in the whole benefit to arise from the working and use thereof for the term of fourteen years, or until the expiration of the term limited or to be limited in the said respective letters patent for the exclusive exercise of the said machines in the proportions following, that is to say—

“ That the said Robert Fulton and Robert Owen shall be entitled to the said earth-removing machine and to the benefit thereof in equal proportions; and that the said Robert Fulton shall be entitled to fifteen of the said thirty parts or shares of the said boat-raising machine and the benefit to arise therefrom; and the said Robert Owen to the remaining fifteen shares thereof. And the said Robert Fulton shall at the commencement of the said co-partnership, or as soon afterwards as the said Robert Fulton shall be enabled so to do, by proper assurances, as the counsel of the said Robert Owen shall advise, assign a proportionate part or share in the said machines and in the letters patent already and hereafter to be granted for the exercise thereof to the said Robert Owen accordingly.

“ That the said Robert Owen shall advance the sum of four hundred pounds, as the business may require, to the said co-partnership, which shall be lodged in a bank by the said parties, to be by them employed toward the expense of completing and working the said machines when and as the same shall be wanted.

“ That an account shall be taken quarterly from the date hereof, of the profits, expenditure, and loss arising from the working of the said machines, and that in such account the said Robert Owen shall have credit given him for one half of the said sum of four hundred pounds, and of all such other sums of money as he shall advance, (the said sum of sixty-five pounds only excepted,) as a debt owing by the co-partnership, and shall be paid the same out of the first profits arising from the said

business ; and that then the profits shall be divided between the said parties in the proportion before mentioned.

“ That neither of the parties shall assign his share or interest either in the said letters patent or in the profits to arise from the exercise thereof, without the consent of the other first had and obtained in writing.

“ That the same Robert Fulton shall, from the date hereof, and after the commencement of the said co-partnership, to the end of the same, apply his whole time and exertions in the said business ; but that the same Robert Owen shall not be obliged so to do until one of the said machines shall be put in motion to the effect herein before-mentioned, at which time the said Robert Owen shall likewise apply his whole time and exertions to forward the same.

“ That neither of the parties shall use the effects or credit of the co-partnership, but for its sole benefit and in the regular course of business.

“ That any invention, speculation, or other business which may suggest itself to either party during the said co-partnership term, which may be likely to be productive of any advantage, shall be the joint property of the said parties.

“ That neither of the parties shall during the said co-partnership engage in any other business or employment, undertaking or speculation, other than that of this co-partnership, without the consent of the other of them ; and in which case the said parties shall be jointly and equally interested therein.

“ That all notes, bills, bonds, and other securities for money shall be signed by both the said parties ; and if not so signed, shall be taken as given on the separate account of the party giving the same ; except bills of exchange in the common course of business, which may be signed by one of the parties on behalf of both in the said firm of the said co-partnership.

“ That the parties shall inform each other of all matters relating to the co-partnership.

“ That neither of the parties shall lend money to or make contracts with any person or persons whom the other shall have forbidden to be connected with ; if he does, in one case he is to pay the sum lent to the cash of the co-partnership, and in the other to bear the loss, if any, on such contracts himself.

“ That the expenses of all such journeys as are evidently taken for the benefit of the co-partnership, and all other expenses and the losses of the business, if any, shall be borne by the co-partnership ; and if deficient, by the parties themselves, in the same proportions in which the same parties are interested in the profits.

“ That neither of the partners shall give bail for or become bound with any person without the other's consent in writing, nor do any act whereby the partnership may be prejudiced.

“ That proper books of account shall be kept.

" That all monies, bills, and notes shall on receipt be entered in the cash book of the said co-partnership.

" That a general account shall be taken at the end of the said co-partnership or its dissolution; and that then the parties shall pay their respective shares of the debts owing by the partnership, and that the machines and other stock shall be sold by public sale, and the amount thereof divided between the said partners in the proportions before mentioned.

" To give bonds to each other for the payment of their respective shares of the debts.

" In case of the death of either party, the surviving partner shall continue to carry on and conduct the said business in what manner he shall think proper; and in case the deceased partner shall leave either a wife or children, the survivor shall pay quarterly to the executors or administrators of the deceased partner one moiety of the profits arising from the said business during the said term; and in case the deceased partner shall not leave either a wife or children, then that the surviving partner shall pay to the executors or administrators of the deceased partner only the fourth part of the said clear profits payable as aforesaid.

" And at the expiration of the said co-partnership the stock shall be publicly sold, and the money arising therefrom divided between the surviving partner and the executors or administrators of the deceased partner, in proportions equal to their respective shares of the profits in the cases last before stated.

" ROBERT FULTON. ROBERT OWEN."

This took place during the interregnum between my leaving Mr. Drinkwater and my commencement as a partner in the Chorlton Twist Company in Manchester.

The next paper of Mr. Fulton's is an account of his debt to a Mr. Thomas Lenning, which he requested me to pay for him. Then follows a long letter from Mr. Fulton to me, with new calculations and diagrams of more improvements on his former invention, and concluding—" When the rhino is gone, I will write " to you." Then follow seven letters in rapid succession, from the 14th of January, to the 26th of February, 1795, with new calculations, various sketches of new machines and improvements, and asking for more money.

He had had a previous unsettled contract with a Mr. McNiven, a canal contractor, to whom he had requested me to send a letter from him to Mr. McNiven, with proposals for a settlement, but Mr. McNiven would not agree to the conditions Mr. Fulton had proposed. I had therefore to write to Mr. Fulton to advise him to come from Gloucester, whence his letters were dated, to Manchester, to settle this business, as Mr. McNiven had threatened to adopt strong measures to enforce a settlement. It seems that he then came to Manchester, and made new proposals to me, to

continue the partnership, or to make my advances to him a debt, which he would repay me with five per cent. interest; and it appears that I preferred and accepted the latter conditions. The following is the memorandum of proposals made by Mr. Fulton, dated 17th March, 1795:—

“ Manchester, 17th March, 1795.

“ Memorandum.—Mr. Robert Owen having advanced the sum of £93 8s. in part towards promoting the two projects of running boats independent of locks, and removing earth out of canals—it is hereby agreed that the said Robert Owen shall advance to the said Robert Fulton a further sum, not exceeding £80, to enable him, the said Robert Fulton, to make a fair experiment on the earth-removing apparatus; that on finishing such machines, should the said Robert Owen think proper to proceed in the partnership as per contract, he shall be at full liberty so to do. But should a partnership be presented to the said Robert Fulton previous to finishing the said machine, he shall be at liberty to accept of the same on the proposal of the said Robert Owen. And in such case, the said Robert Fulton to pay to the said Robert Owen, five per cent. per annum, for the monies advanced until the said Robert Fulton shall be enabled to refund the principal.

“ ROBERT FULTON.”

My next letter from him is dated the 2nd of November, 1795, regretting his inability to pay me any part of his debt. My next letter from him is dated London, the 19th of September, 1796, still saying he could not pay me, but informing me that his new speculations were beginning to be successful in some tanning improvement, in addition to his canal contract, which continued to give him prospects of ultimate success. My next letter from him is dated London, the 28th of April, 1797, and being of a more cheering nature, and more satisfactory as to his prospects and future proceedings, I give it entire.

“ London, April 28th, 1797.

“ DEAR SIR,—

“ Yesterday Mr. Atheson presented me with your kind letter, and I beg you, together with all my old companions, to accept my most sincere thanks for the friendly sentiments and good wishes they entertain in my favour.

“ It was my intention to write to you about the 18th of next month, at which time I shall have a bill due, and I hope to be in possession of cash.

“ The arrangement I have now made, I hope will crown my wishes; having sold one fourth of my canal prospects for £1500 to a gentleman of large fortune and considerable enterprise, who is gone to reside at New York. Of this £1500, I shall receive £500 on the 17th of next month—£500 in six months, and

£500 on my arrival in America, which I hope will be about June, '98.

"Now, my friend, this being the state of my money prospects, it becomes necessary that I should deal equal with all my creditors, whose patience in waiting the result of my enterprise I shall long remember with the most heart-felt satisfaction, in which, *thank Heaven*, (some men would say *please the pigs*,) I have succeeded.

"In the appropriation of the first £500, it is stipulated between my partner and me, that I should go to Paris and obtain patents for the small canal system—this I calculate will cost me about £200. Of the remaining £300, I will send £60 as your portion, and pay you the remainder in six months, which, I hope, will answer your purpose. I shall also be happy to pay any loss you may sustain by paying interest.

"In about three weeks I mean to set out for Paris, and hope to return in time to be with you at Christmas; and about this time next year I expect to sail for America, where I have the most flattering field of action before me, having already converted the first characters in that country to my small system of canals. My *sensations* on this business are consequently pleasing—and I hope it will please all my friends; to whom remember me kindly. To the Mr. and Mrs. Marsland, Moulston, Scarth, Clarke, Jolly, and the whole assemblage of Worthies, remember me, good *Owen*.

"Adieu my friend for this time,

"Believe me, sincerely yours,

"ROBERT FULTON."

I had one more letter from him, dated also from London, of the 6th of May, having paid me £60, and promising the remainder in five months; and I had no subsequent communication from him before or after his return to the United States.

The money which he received from me enabled him to go to Glasgow, where he saw Bell's imperfect, and, as to profit, impotent steamboat, on the Clyde, which was not capable of going, without cargo, more than five miles an hour. Fulton saw immediately in what the defect lay, and knowing how to remedy it, immediately proceeded to the United States, and did more to promote their rapid progress to great prosperity, than any one living; and I consider the little aid and assistance which I gave to enable him to bestow so great advantage on his country and the world, as money most fortunately expended.

While Fulton was with us in Manchester, forming one of a circle of enquiring friends, who very frequently met, he was considered a valuable addition. The late Dr. John Dalton, as I have before stated, was one of this circle, and Coleridge came occasionally from his college, during vacations, to join us.

I must now return to my progress in Scotland.

I had one son born in a year after my marriage,—but he died in infancy. Another, named Robert Dale, was born the end of the second year. William Dale, two years afterwards. Then followed two daughters—Anne Caroline, and Jane Dale—about two years between each. Then David Dale, and Richard; and my youngest daughter, Mary, closed the number of my family.

In the summer we lived in the cottage in the gardens in the centre of the village and works, and in winter we resided with my father-in-law in Charlotte Street, Glasgow. I rode on horseback frequently to and from Glasgow, where our warehouses and offices for our stock of cotton and yarns, and counting houses for the transaction of our receipts and payments, were situated. In winter, as stated, we lived with Mr. Dale, and he was much attached to the family, and became gradually more and more confiding in me. He was one of the most liberal, conscientious, benevolent, and kind-hearted men I have met with through my life. He was universally respected for the simplicity and straightforward honesty of character. His good nature was often much imposed upon, and he gave away large sums, often in mistaken charities, which were pressed upon him through his being the pastor of upwards of forty churches or congregations, dissenters from the Church of Scotland, composed chiefly of poor persons, learned in the peculiar cause of their dissent, but otherwise uninformed as to general knowledge. Mr. Dale received all these kindly and hospitably, and was truly a good pastor to them in every sense of the word. He was a bishop among them, without receiving anything from his flock; but, on the contrary, expending his private fortune freely to aid and assist them.

From my marriage to his death, he and I never exchanged one unpleasant expression or an unkind word;—and this was the more remarkable, because our religious notions were very different at the period of my marriage, and we distinctly knew this difference. But Mr Dale being sincerely religious, was most charitable to those who differed with him. We had frequently many friendly discussions respecting our convictions on religion. I took my ground with him on the error of all religions in placing any virtue in the faith or belief in their respective dogmas. I held that belief never was and never could be in the power of anyone; that it was forced upon all by early instruction, or by conviction of the strongest evidence made upon the mind; that in either case the individual was compelled to have the faith or belief, whatever it might be; and that it was in every instance an involuntary act of the mind, and for which no one could be justly or rationally praised or blamed, rewarded or punished. And as all religions were based on the presumed power of man to believe or disbelieve by the power of an independent will of his own

creation, and as this supposition was opposed to all facts, all the religions of the world were emanations of disordered or mis-instructed minds, although in many cases supported by the most sincere, benevolent, and well-intentioned individuals, who had been so impressed with their truth and importance, that they, like the equally mistaken patriots of the present day, often willingly sacrificed their lives in defence of their faith, or of the religious notions which, unknowing the cause whence arising, they were compelled to have.

I told him I could no more force my mind to believe that which he had been made conscientiously to believe, than he could force his own mind to believe as I had been compelled to believe; that that which had been forced into his mind as divine truth, was made to appear to me as ignorant human falsehood, and which, whenever brought under discussion with me, I was conscientiously compelled to endeavour to disprove.

After a certain time, finding these facts could not be justly denied, and being extremely liberal and truthful, he admitted them, and acknowledged I was consistent according to my view of human nature; but he often concluded our discussions, which were always continued in the kindest spirit and with full charity for each other's opinions, by saying, with one of his peculiar kind and affectionate expressions, (for I had become a great favourite with him,)—"Thou needest be very right, for thou art very positive." And I am sure he deeply reflected on all I said.

In this manner and in this spirit all our discussions upon religion terminated; but after sometime, when each party knew the other's opinions, these discussions ceased, and our conversations were generally directed to elicit some practical measure of improvement for the poor and workpeople, or to some domestic affairs. But such were the feelings created in me by his natural simplicity, his almost unbounded liberality and benevolence, and his warm-hearted kindness, that my affection for him daily increased as long as he lived.

I have previously mentioned that he was a partner with Mr. George Macintosh, farther to Charles, who invented the manufacture of India rubber into the well-known "Macintoshes" for preserving from rain; and, as I advised Mr. Dale to terminate some of his many business establishments, he wished me to go with his partner, Mr. George Macintosh, into Sutherland, where the cotton mill in which they were partners was situated. This was at that period (1802,) a formidable undertaking. There were no steamboats,—no mail coaches,—not even the common stage coach,—and the roads were in a wretched state, carried over the tops of the hills, having been made under the direction of General Wade as military roads, in a supposed enemy's country to prevent surprise. The usual mode of travelling was on foot or on horseback, or by very slow going carriage vehicles. In

one case we had to engage a chaise, horses, and driver, to go the whole journey and back with us. It is useful to notice the progress of travelling and of civilisation in this part of the British dominions. Our engagement with the owner of the carriage and horses was—to pay thirty shillings a day for each day, until our return; to travel on the average not more than twenty miles a day,—and that upon those roads was considered a hard day's work for horses and driver; and so we found it. We were also to pay all tolls and the driver,—but I do not recollect whether we were to feed the horses or not; but, however that might be, we had generally to walk up all the hills, and down many of them, and occasionally, when the hill was long and steep, we had to assist the horses by pushing behind the carriage.

Mr. Macintosh knew everything on this route, the principal houses, and who occupied them; being himself a Highlander, born in Ross-shire, highly intelligent, humane, and an excellent traveling companion. He had, from love of his country, induced Mr. Dale, who first commenced cotton spinning in Scotland at the New Lanark establishment in partnership with Mr., afterwards Sir Richard Arkwright, to join him (Mr. Mackintosh,) in this cotton mill in Scotland—called the “Spinning Dale Cotton Mill,” with a view of introducing this new machinery into the north highlands, and to give employment to the people. Mr. Dale sent instructed people there to manage the business for him and Mr. Macintosh, but he himself never went there.

Our journey was to me one of great interest. I had never been in the Highlands. The scenery and everything connected with the country were new to me, and on this occasion I had an excellent travelling companion. After we arrived in the Highlands we found it difficult enough to make out the average of twenty miles a day, but I was amply gratified by the wild scenery through which we passed, and was amused with the primitive accommodations we met with among the mountaineers, for there was at that period very little travelling through those districts.

Sir Walter Scott was at this time unknown to fame, and the Highlands were very seldom visited by the English; but Mr. Macintosh well knowing the country and its customs, we passed on our way, though slowly, much better than I anticipated at the commencement of our journey.

As an evidence of our rate of travelling—one day, as usual, we were walking up one of the long hills, and were overtaken by one of the young men of the country, who appeared to be about twenty-five years old, and who was going some distance in our direction. We entered into conversation with him, and found him well acquainted with the locality for a considerable distance around, and we obtained much useful information from him before we attained the summit of the long hill, when Mr. Macintosh and I got into the carriage to descend on the other side.

Our new companion, as the horses could only proceed at a slow walk, such was the then state of the road, for some time accompanied us by the side of the carriage, and continued our conversation. But our progress was so slow that at length he said—"Really gentlemen I am very sorry to leave you,—but "I cannot delay my journey any longer;" and bidding us "good morning," he soon left us far behind, and in a few minutes was out of sight. I said—"Mr. Macintosh, this is really too bad—here "are we with a carriage, a pair of horses, and a driver,—and this "young man on foot cannot wait our slow movements. How "much more independent he is, than we are with these appendages?" He said that many of these young men thought nothing of walking fifty or sixty miles in the day for pleasure, and occasionally more, if necessity required them to extend the distance.

We soon began to enjoy the fresh air of the mountains, and being obliged to wait long at our stages for feeding and resting the horses, we made frequent excursions to see the best views and the finest scenery within our reach. I enjoyed the exhilarating mountain breezes very much, and we found a great increase to our appetite, especially after travelling a long stage before breakfast, on which occasion the landlord's eggs, &c., suffered a great diminution.

This journey added considerably to the strength of my constitution, and to my surprise I found, such was the keenness and purity of the air, with the exercise we took, that, contrary to my former habit, I could take the spirit manufactured then so pure in the Highlands, in moderate quantity, without suffering any inconvenience, but which practice I never could adopt in the Lowlands.

In passing through one of the extraordinary glens on our route, inclosed on either side with high mountains, Mr. Macintosh said—"I have great cause to remember this glen, "for on one occasion, when I was passing through it alone "on horseback, and when I was about the middle of it, I "was suddenly surprised by an eagle darting close by me, which "startled me from abstract musings in which I was intently occupied at the time, and looking around me I saw two large eagles "hovering above me, and I soon discovered that they intended "to make a morning feast upon me, and upon the pony on which "I rode,—for immediately one of them again darted direct at "my eyes. Fortunately I had a short strong riding whip with a "long lash, and with this I parried their attacks, which they "made singly, one some minutes after the other, and I had the "greatest difficulty in guarding my head against their repeated "attempts at my eyes, which were evidently their aim. If they "had attacked me both at the same time, their swiftness and "power were such that I doubt whether I could long have re-

“sisted their united forces; and never did I feel the escape from
“imminent personal danger so much as when I cleared the glen
“and was freed from those ferocious and powerful birds.”

We at length arrived at Inverness, where Mr. Macintosh was well known to the authorities of the burgh. He made known to them who his travelling companion was,—whom I represented,—and that the object of our journey was to see what could be done towards extending the cotton manufacture in the north Highlands; which measure had been for some time a favorite plan with Mr. Macintosh, who, from seeing Mr. Dale's success in various places in the south of Scotland, had a strong desire to thus benefit his native district.

From respect and regard for Mr. Macintosh we were officially solicited to accept the honorary freedom of this royal and loyal burgh, and we were invited to a public dinner, to be given on the occasion, at which the Provost presided. After dinner the freedom of the burgh was presented to us in curious boxes prepared for the purpose, and given with great official formality. The usual complimentary speeches and replies were made. This was the first time I witnessed the public proceedings of a royal burgh in Scotland,—but afterwards I saw more of them, to my cost, in election matters. In this case we were much gratified with the kindness and disinterested hospitality of the authorities of Inverness, where, after travelling so long through the Highland districts, I was surprised to hear the English language spoken in great purity by the inhabitants generally.

At length we crossed the Murray Firth, and attained the utmost extent of our travels northward, and arrived at “Spinning Dale Mills.” The works were not extensive, and were in ordinary condition; and we remained only long enough for me to discover what improvements to recommend without going to too great expense, for the locality was unfavourable for extension or for a permanent establishment. Mr. Dale soon after our return sold his interest in it, and induced Mr. Macintosh to follow his example.

Upon our return we visited several respectable Highland families, remaining a longer or shorter period with each family. I kept a journal of this journey, which in my many changes of residence and extensive travelling since, has been mislaid,—which I regret; for our visits were very interesting, and the kindness, hospitality, and good sense of the parties to whom Mr. Macintosh introduced me, gratified me very much at the time, and left a pleasing impression on my mind. The names of the parties and places of residence I cannot now recall to memory, but Mr. Grant, of Logan, was one of them, and with whose conversation I was much interested.

Feeling always the importance to the human race of the knowledge which I had acquired of the true principles of the forma-

tion of character, and of the overwhelming influence of circumstances, or of good or bad conditions, in forming character,—perceiving also that the happiness or misery of our race depended upon an accurate knowledge in principle and practice of this formation,—I always endeavoured in every new society to introduce and enforce these subjects by the most plain and simple arguments and explanations. All subsequent experience tended to prove to me the endless crimes, errors, and evils, created by, and necessarily emanating from, the grossly deceived imagination which led our earliest and most ignorant ancestors to take it for granted, despite of the hourly opposing facts to disprove their false notions—“that each one forms his own qualities, and therefore should be made responsible to his fellow man and to God for them.” Seeing vividly the immense evil consequences arising from this most fatal of all errors, it gradually became the great business of my life to endeavour to convince all parties with whom I came into communication, of the lamentable consequences which have necessarily arisen from it to the human race, through all past ages,—of its obstruction to knowledge of ourselves, (the most valuable of all knowledge,)—of its creation of sin and misery, while without it, ignorance, sin, and misery would be now unknown over the world,—and to the total destruction of the principle of charity, morality, and justice. Its evils were always present to my mind, and my habit became uniform to oppose it everywhere, under all its varied forms and vicious results.

It was this habit of my mind that induced Hazlitt some years after this period to say in his writings that I was “a man of one idea.” Had he said that I was a man of one fundamental principle and its practical consequences,—he would have been nearer the truth. For instead of the knowledge that “the character of man is formed *for* and not *by* him,” being “one idea,”—it will be found to be, like the little grain of mustard seed, competent to fill the mind with new and true ideas, and to overwhelm in its consequences all other ideas opposed to it.

It was upon this tour to the Highlands of Scotland, that on our different visits to Mr. Macintosh's hospitable friends I began my mission to openly propagate my “new views of society;” and this was in the summer of 1802, above half a century ago.

The argument with which I was the most frequently met, was, not that the principle which I advocated was untrue, or in any particular unsound; but that it was utterly impracticable. And impracticable because it would overturn all the existing ideas of right and wrong,—all the institutions of society,—and would revolutionise both man and all his proceedings. The argument, so far as the overturning of all existing ideas of right and wrong, and the changing of all the institutions of society, is correct; and it is the knowledge of this extensive

and overwhelming change, without any correct knowledge of what the change will lead to, or how it is to be peaceably and beneficially for all effected, that so far has deterred the authorities of the world in churches and states from allowing the subject to be fairly and freely investigated from its foundation through all its ramifications as it will affect the practice of society in every department of life. The human mind over the world, as it has been hitherto taught and filled from birth with false and most incongruous ideas, has no clear conceptions of truth in principle, or of right and wrong in practice; hence its incongruity, contests, wars, and universally irrational conduct at this day over the world. All the nations of the earth, with all the boast of each respecting their advance in what they call civilisation, are to-day governed by force, fraud, falsehood, and fear, emanating from ignorance in governors and governed. For all are lamentable sufferers from so governing and being so governed. Truth, goodness, wisdom, and happiness, will be for ever unattainable under any state of society, based, as society ever has been and now is based, upon the supposition that each one forms his own qualities, possesses a free will to believe or disbelieve, or to love or hate persons or things at pleasure,—and that man ought to be responsible to God and society for his qualities of mind and body, for his belief or disbelief, for his love or hatred, and for all his actions proceeding from them. And, once for all, I now, at the near approach of eighty-six years, (1857,) after a life of great and extraordinary experience among all classes, creeds, and colours, and in many countries, state, upon the clearest conviction forced on my mind, that all the petty schemes of reform proposed by any political or religious parties, short of this radical change in principle and practice, and making the practice without deviation, in outline and detail, consistent with the principle, are not only of no value, but that they are mischievous obstructions to the immediate attainment of goodness, wisdom, and happiness, to all of the human race.

It was this knowledge of human nature, consistently applied to practice, that enabled me at twenty years of age to govern most successfully five hundred men, women, and children, and to conduct one of the most difficult manufactures to a high degree of prosperity over all competitors. It was this knowledge that, at the period of the history of my life which I am now narrating, induced me to undertake to govern a more difficult and extended population, amidst all manner of counteractions and opposing forces, on these new principles,—and with what success will be seen as I proceed with my narrative, to which I now return.

Mr. Dale and Mr. Macintosh sold the "Spinning Dale Mill," and Mr. Dale and Sir William Douglas sold the mill at Newton-Douglas. The Catrine Mills, in Ayrshire, which Mr. Dale pos-

sessed in partnership with Mr. Alexander of Ballochmyle, were also sold, to Messrs. Kirkman Finlay and Co., of Glasgow.

These sales released Mr. Dale from much anxiety, and allowed him to pass the remainder of his life more quietly and much more to his satisfaction. During summer, while we were living at New Lanark, Mr. Dale occasionally came to remain for a short time with us. His situation as director of the Bank of Scotland in Glasgow, prevented his being long absent from that city. Year after year he witnessed the changes which were in progress—the improved condition and increased industry of the people; and they presented a striking contrast to the state of the establishment when we purchased it. He said to the people, “If the mills had been managed as they now are, and you had worked for me as you are now working for Mr. Owen, I would not have sold the establishment to strangers.” At this time I had but one-ninth interest in the partnership,—but I had one thousand a year as sole manager, and Mr. Dale would have preferred, could we have foreseen events, that it should have remained entirely in the family.

When I have stated that in improving society I would effect the change by superseding existing evil conditions by good ones, the question has often been asked—How will you begin? My reply has been, “in the same manner that I commenced the change in New Lanark. I studied the existing local causes which were creating the evils and errors, and I gradually superseded these causes by others less productive of evil—by such causes as were calculated to produce beneficial instead of evil effects.” And thus, to act rationally, must the change be effected everywhere. The local causes producing evil in all situations must be well considered, and then measures properly adapted to those circumstances should be devised to supersede the evil causes by good.

But in this practice the population of the world is even now a novice, or very imperfectly informed. In consequence of the false fundamental principle, “*that man forms himself to be what he is,*”—few, if any, know what are evil and what are good conditions, and how to supersede the evil by the good. And hence the failure of all churches and governments to train any portion of the human race to become rational, or to become good, wise, and happy. While if they had understood this practice at an early period, the entire population of the world, thousands of years past, would have been so surrounded by good conditions only, that all would have enjoyed a state of existence in which from birth all would have been forced, without individual rewards or punishments, but solely through the influence of surrounding good conditions, to become good, wise, and happy.

To prepare the population for this change, to show them by example the effects of so simple a practice, had now to become

the business of many years of my life, and I set about it in good earnest.

Had I then had to commence *de novo* in creating my own combination of conditions, they would have been very different from mere cotton mill combinations—very different from those which existed at this period in the village and works of New Lanark. There would have been no difficulty in forcing, without individual punishment or reward, a good character upon all; nor in enabling them with pleasure to surround themselves at all times with a superfluity of the most valuable wealth, if I had had the means to create, on a new foundation and site, the combination of conditions which can alone effect these results. Society has never yet put it into my power to show the world an example of these conditions,—although it is the highest and most permanent interest of all that this example should be given in my lifetime, because my experience in scientific practical arrangements for superseding evil by good conditions, is the only experience of that character yet known to the world.

I had a very different and a far more difficult task to perform at New Lanark. I was obliged to commence with a combination of vicious and inferior conditions—but conditions to which the population had been long accustomed, and to many of which they were strongly attached. The difficulty of *undoing and overcoming* that which has long been wrong, greatly exceeds the difficulty of putting matters right from the beginning. That which I could have done comparatively perfectly in two years, had I possessed the means unfettered by partners and ignorant prejudices, I could not effect under the erroneous combination of a cotton spinning establishment, such as then existed at New Lanark, with the most devoted attention to the subject, in the thirty years during which I directed the operations of that establishment. Nor could such an establishment ever be made tolerably perfect in my estimation, with the conditions necessarily connected with a mere manufacturing establishment. Its foundation is an error; and its superstructure could be amended only by an entire re-creation of new conditions.

But the new conditions with which I propose to surround the human race must be every where introduced while present conditions exist. It should, however, be distinctly understood, that the conditions of the proposed new state of human existence, must commence on new sites; for those of the old can never be united to make a consistent, rational, true, and beneficial society. All therefore that I could expect to accomplish at New Lanark, was to ameliorate to some extent the worst evils of a fundamentally erroneous system. Yet, in the estimation of the public, the change which was effected at New Lanark exceeded all expectation. Those strangers who came to scrutinise and examine it,

said that the change appeared to them, until they witnessed it, to be utterly impracticable.

I here make these explanations, because the public supposed that I made New Lanark the model of the system which I advocated, and that I wished the world to be composed of such arrangements as New Lanark exhibited in its improved state. Although before I had half accomplished what I ultimately effected there, the improvement in the condition of the workpeople was such that the strangers who visited the works were satisfied; and, compared with all other similarly situated workpeople, these were happy, and publicly expressed their full content with their condition,—still, I knew too well the inferiority of their mind and condition, and the injustice they were yet suffering, to be satisfied for them,—knowing how much more society could beneficially do for them, and for all other classes.

Let it therefore be kept in everlasting remembrance, that that which I effected at New Lanark was only the best I could accomplish under the circumstances of an ill-arranged manufactory and village, which existed before I undertook the government of the establishment.

After the events which had taken place at New Lanark in consequence of the American embargo upon their own ports, I had the confidence of the workpeople heartily with me, and then I urged forward with greater rapidity my measures for the improvement of their condition, physically and morally. Finding their temptations too strong for them to be honest and sober, and steadily and regularly industrious, I devised new conditions to counteract these temptations. I adopted checks of various kinds in all the departments of the business, to render theft impracticable without almost immediate detection. In one department in which theft had been carried on to a ruinous extent, and in which a hundred thousand of the kind of objects pilfered passed daily through four different set of hands, I devised a plan by which, without counting, should one be taken, the loss would be at once discovered, and in whose department it occurred. I had also a daily return presented to me every morning of the preceding day's operations, and frequent balances in every department.

But that which I found to be the most efficient check upon inferior conduct, was the contrivance of a silent monitor for each one employed in the establishment. This consisted of a four-sided piece of wood, about two inches long and one broad, each side coloured—one side black, another blue, the third yellow, and the fourth white, tapered at the top, and finished with wire eyes, to hang upon a hook with either side to the front. One of these was suspended in a conspicuous place near to each of the persons employed, and the colour at the front told the conduct of the individual during the preceding day, to four degrees of comparison. Bad, denoted by black and No. 4,—indifferent by blue,

and No. 3,—good by yellow, and No. 2,—and excellent by white and No. 1. Then books of character were provided for each department, in which the name of each one employed in it was inserted in the front of succeeding columns, which sufficed to mark by the number the daily conduct, day by day, for two months; and these books were changed six times a year, and were preserved; by which arrangement I had the conduct of each registered to four degrees of comparison during every day of the week, Sundays excepted, for every year they remained in my employment. The superintendent of each department had the placing daily of these silent monitors, and the master of the mill regulated those of the superintendents in each mill. If any one thought that the superintendent did not do justice, he or she had a right to complain to me, or, in my absence, to the master of the mill, before the number denoting the character was entered in the register. But such complaints very rarely occurred. The act of setting down the number in the book of character, never to be blotted out, might be likened to the supposed recording angel marking the good and bad deeds of poor human nature.

It was gratifying to observe the new spirit created by these silent monitors. The effects and progress of this simple plan of preventing bad and inferior conduct were far beyond all previous expectation. Each silent monitor was, as stated, so placed as to be conspicuous, and to be seen to belong to its own individual. I could thus see at a glance, as I passed through each room of every factory or mill, how each one had behaved during the preceding day.

At the commencement of this new method of recording character, the great majority were black, many blue, and a few yellow; gradually the black diminished and were succeeded by the blue, and the blue was gradually succeeded by the yellow, and some, but at first very few, were white.

For the first eight years I was continually occupied in training the people, improving the village and machinery, and in laying the foundation for future progress. It was intended as much for an experiment for the benefit of the world, as for cotton-spinning, so far as such an experimental establishment could be applied for such purpose, with its radical defects. My time, from early to late, and my mind, were continually occupied in devising measures and directing their execution, to improve the condition of the people, and to advance at the same time the works and the machinery as a manufacturing establishment.

During this period my father-in-law's health began to decline. We had acquired a sincere friendship and a strong affection for each other. He, a genuine good and religious man,—while I was a conscientious believer in the fundamental error of all religions. Yet we were as cordially united in feeling

as two men could be. Each respected the conscientious feelings of the other, and upon these differences the utmost charity prevailed on both sides. He was the only religious man I ever knew who possessed real charity for those who so differed from him. He gave me his full confidence, and asked my advice on all his affairs, and adopted my recommendations, I think, in every instance.

In his last illness I was, by his earnest request, continually with him; he always wished me to give him his medicines, and he was unwilling to take them from any one else.

When he thought that he could not live much longer, he requested me to tell him what I thought he should do for others not of his own immediate family, having already made his will as to them. The late Mrs. Dale had left two maiden sisters and one married one, and I knew their family expected Mr. Dale, who had been always very liberal to them, would remember them in his will. But having five children and expecting many grandchildren, he did not think it necessary to do so, as their immediate relatives were wealthy, although their own incomes were limited.

I said—"I am sure they will feel very much disappointed." "Well," he said, "write down what you think should be done for them." At that time I thought Mr. Dale's property was much more valuable than from many changes it afterwards proved to be. I therefore wrote what I intended to be a codicil to his will, leaving each of these ladies one hundred a year for life, and making some other legacies, the amount of which I do not recollect.

These ladies had one brother living, doing well, connected with high families, and himself a well employed writer to the signet in Edinburgh, and another brother deceased, General Campbell, who had been deputy Governor of Gibraltar, and commandant under his Royal Highness the late Duke of Kent. General Campbell was a very superior officer and a great favourite with the Duke. In consequence of the General's eminent services, his eldest son, the present General Sir Guy Campbell, was made a baronet, and upon a visit to me while I resided at Braxfield (to be afterwards mentioned,) he met with Miss Fitzgerald, the daughter of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who was then upon a visit with our neighbour Lady Ross Bailey, of Bonnington, whose eldest son, Sir Charles Ross, Bart. had married Lady Mary Fitzgerald, sister of the Duke of Leinster. Sir Guy and Miss Fitzgerald were married at Bonnington, and I gave the lady away, being also her co-trustee with the Duke of Leinster, her uncle.

These circumstances I mention to show the wealthy and superior connexions of the Campbell family, which induced Mr. Dale to say that he thought the legacies which I recommended him to leave to the Misses Campbell were not called for, and could not be reasonably expected.

I knew, however, that the disappointment of these ladies and their brother would be very afflicting to them if they were forgotten. Soon after I had written the letter containing these proposed legacies, the brother arrived from Edinburgh, and reading the paper which I had written, he became very anxious that Mr. Dale should sign it, and urged him very much to do so; but Mr. Dale was very firm and decided, not to sign it. "Then," Mr. Campbell said, "it will be useless, and as a dead letter;"—but the more Mr. Dale was solicited the more unwilling he became to accede, and at length he said, "I leave with my son-in-law to act after my death as he may decide,"—and thus this matter was concluded. Mr. Campbell was much respected as the head of a religious sect, and a popular W.S.

In two or three days afterwards Mr. Dale died, and his death was felt as a great public loss,—for he was universally respected, and was loved by all who knew him. There was a peculiarly attractive and winning benevolence in his manner, that won the hearts of all who were known to him,—but especially of those who were admitted to his familiarity. To me, who had his full confidence in all his affairs for the last six years of his life, and to whom he was most affectionately kind, his loss, as a parent and confidential friend, to whom I was attached in a manner only known and felt by myself, was as though I had been deprived of a large part of myself. The morning after his death the world appeared a blank to me, and his death was a heavy loss to and severely felt by every member of his family.

The inhabitants of Glasgow made his funeral a public one. They closed their shops, suspended their business, and attended the funeral of the man without guile, benevolent and kind to all, regardless of creed and country.

To return to the New Lanark Establishment and its population.

In searching out the evil conditions in which the workpeople were involved, their domestic arrangements for rearing their children from infancy appeared to me especially to be injurious to parents and children, and my thoughts were now directed to measures which should, as far as practicable under our circumstances, relieve both from the worst of the evils which they were suffering.

The houses of the poor and working classes generally are altogether unfit for the training of young children, who, under the limited space and accommodations of these dwellings, are always in the way of their parents, who must be occupied about their daily affairs; the children are therefore spoken to and treated just the reverse of the manner required to well-train and well-educate children. And in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, parents are altogether ignorant of the right method of treating children, and their own children especially. These considerations created in me the first thoughts respecting the necessity of an infant

school, to be based on the true principle of forming character from the earliest period at which the infants could leave their parents.

These children were now surrounded by evil conditions. I wished to take them, as much as our establishment could be made to admit, out of those evil conditions, and to place them within better conditions for forming their tempers and habits. I was surrounded with difficulties to oppose the carrying of my views into practice. To erect and finish a building for my purpose would require an expenditure in the first instance of about five thousand pounds,—and a considerable annual outlay afterwards. But this I estimated would gradually be amply repaid by the improved character of the children, and the improved condition of the parents. I had then, when the building should be erected, to overcome the prejudices of the parents against sending their children so young to school. I had to meet the objections of my partners, who were all good commercial men, and looked to the main chance, as they termed it,—which was a good return for their capital. And I was opposed in all my views by the parish minister. In contemplating this new measure, my mind led me to the necessity for making arrangements to well-form the character of the rising population of New Lanark from the earliest period to maturity, as far as a cotton spinning establishment could be made to effect it, and commercial men to agree to it. I therefore laid the plan as deep and wide for this purpose as the means under my control would admit.

My mind had been early deeply impressed while in Manchester with the importance of education for the human race. I had watched and aided the progress of Lancaster in his early attempts to commence something towards a beginning to instruct the poor, and had encouraged him to the extent that my means permitted. And when the church set up Dr. Bell in opposition to Lancaster, I was inclined equally to encourage Dr. Bell.

I immediately perceived the fundamental error of both church and dissent; but the beginning of some education, however defective, was much better than the entire neglect of it; and I confidently expected that when once commenced it would gradually progress towards a much more matured state. I therefore assisted Lancaster, from first to last, with a thousands pounds, and offered to Dr. Bell's committee a like amount, if they would open the national schools to children of parents of every creed; but I offered to give them only half the sum if they persisted in their rule to shut the doors against all except those professing the creed of the church of England. The committee of the national schools debated this proposal of mine for two days, and at length decided, by a small majority of votes, as I was informed, to receive the five hundred pounds, keeping their doors closed against dissent; and declined to open them for a gift of double the

amount. I thus saved my five hundred pounds, and I had the satisfaction to learn that the result of those two debates was to cause the doors of the national schools to be opened to dissent in about twelve months afterwards.

In following up the subject from that period to the present, my mind has attained the knowledge of the all-importance of education in its true meaning, for forming a good character, not merely for the present period, but permanently and universally for the human race.

In making preparation for training the rising generation in the village of New Lanark, I had not the means to create anew the extended arrangements required to give a good and valuable permanent character to all. I was compelled by circumstances to use such means as were placed within my power, and in consequence of the many obstacles opposed, to proceed only at a snail's pace. I began in 1809 to clear the foundation for the infant and other schools, to form the new character of the rising population; but until the first of January 1816 I was prevented carrying my scheme into actual practice, by the events to be narrated.

I had by this time (1809,) made such progress in training the people in better and more sober and industrious habits, and in discovering the capacity of the establishment for more extended operations, that I recommended to my partners in London and Manchester the advantages that might be derived by the changes and reforms which I advocated. The statements which I made to them went beyond their views and alarmed them by their extent. The leading partners from each house came from London and Manchester to see what I had done and was doing. They staid on a visit to me for several days, and after inspecting everything, and hearing what I had further to recommend, they expressed themselves highly pleased with the progress made and with the present condition of the whole establishment. They said they would communicate to our other partners my views as I had explained them, and would take them into consideration. Upon their return they decided to present me with a large silver salver, with a very flattering inscription engraved upon it, and I concluded that my plans for future progress would be agreed to. But some of the parties were timid, and were afraid to agree to my extended recommendations; and after some months' consideration, some more of the acting and principal partners came again to hear the full outline and detail of that which I proposed to do.

I explained to them my intended measures, step by step, and stated the beneficial effects which I expected they would produce. When I had fully delivered myself of all I intended to say upon the subject, and to which they listened with great interest, I was struck and much amused by the reply of their appointed spokesman. He said, "Each of your propositions is true individually; but as they lead to conclusions contrary to our education,

"habits, and practices, they must in the aggregate be erroneous; and we cannot proceed on such new principles for governing and extending this already very large establishment." My reply was, "I can govern and conduct this population, and direct the establishment only upon the principles which appear to me to be true, and through the practice which I understand, and which hitherto has always been successful." They however seemed to be doubtful, and to hesitate what to say or do; for they saw I was decided to manage, while I remained the managing partner, in the way I knew would succeed the most effectually. Seeing the dilemma in which they appeared to be, I said, "If you are afraid to proceed with me, I will offer you a sum for the establishment, which I will either give for it, or accept from you, and in the latter case the establishment shall be yours and under your own control." The reply was, "your offer is fair and liberal. What is the sum you fix as its value?" I said, "Eighty-four thousand pounds." After some short conversation among themselves, they replied, "We accept your offer, and the establishment is yours." I thus for the second time fixed the price for these mills.

I had previously had applications made to me, to join me in partnership whenever an opportunity offered, from two wealthy and influential merchants of Glasgow, who stood high in estimation as commercial men, carrying on very extensive foreign trade in two separate establishments. They had both married daughters of Mr. Campbell of the Island of Zura, which island was his property, and he was a near relation of Mrs. Owen. Sometime previous to this change in the New Lanark establishment, Mr. Campbell of Zura had requested me to receive and keep for him at interest twenty thousand pounds, which he said, for family reasons, he did not wish his son-in-law to know that he possessed; and at this period it had been in my keeping for some time. I put this for greater security for Mr. Campbell into the firm of the New Lanark Company, although it was entrusted to me individually. I knew nothing until afterwards of the reasons which induced Mr. Campbell to entrust me with the keeping of his money in preference to his son-in-law.

When it was known that I had purchased the New Lanark property, Mr. Dennistown and Mr. Alexander Campbell, the son-in-law of Mr. Campbell of Zura, claimed the promise of joining me in the business, and we agreed upon terms; and as soon as this arrangement was known to Mr. John Atkinson, one of the acting partners in the firm of Borradaile and Atkinson, who were of the firm of the "New Lanark Twist Company," and who knew all the particulars of the establishment, he, Mr. John Atkinson, requested to be admitted into our new partnership, and his request was acceded to, and we commenced under the new firm of the "New Lanark Company," leaving out the word "Twist," to make

the necessary distinction. We were also joined by Mr. Colin Campbell, a partner of Mr. Alexander Campbell in another firm.

Our late firm had continued for ten years, and on balancing the accounts it appeared that, after paying the capitalists five per cent. per annum for their capital, the profits to the firm amounted to sixty thousand pounds.

It was now a partnership of five, and divided into shares unequally,—Mr. Colin Campbell having the least, and I the greatest share, and I retained the thousand a year for the management of the concern. We were proceeding successfully in our business operations at New Lanark for some time under the new firm, and I had commenced building the new schools for the formation of character, when I discovered a strong spirit of dissatisfaction in the two sons-in-law of Mr. Campbell of Zura. They had learned, through Mr. Atkinson, that their father-in-law had deposited the twenty thousand pounds with me in preference to them, and they became very jealous of me in consequence of this preference. They appeared at once to have been filled with the spirit of undying revenge; for they commenced a system of annoyance from the day they made the discovery, to the day of their deaths, which happened in the same year. They objected to the building for the schools, and said they were cotton spinners and commercial men carrying on business for profit, and had nothing to do with educating children; nobody did it in manufactories; and they set their faces against it, and against all my measures for the improvement of the condition of the workpeople.

They objected to all the improvements I had in progress for the increased comforts of the villagers, to my scale of wages for the people, and of salaries to the clerks and superintendents, which upon principle, and also for ultimate profit, were what the public deemed liberal. I proceeded, however, in my own way, until they gave me formal notice not to proceed with the schools. I then said,—“As I see you do not like my mode of managing the people and the works, and as I can conduct the establishment successfully only in my own way, I resign the management as exclusive manager, and retain my interest as one of the partners, and I will relinquish the salary of a thousand a year rather than be obliged to proceed contrary to my own convictions.” This did not satisfy their wounded feelings. They would dissolve the partnership.

I said—“If you desire to do so I will name a sum which I will give or take for it.” No. They would not agree, either to buy or to sell upon that condition,—but the works should be brought to sale by public auction.

However much I disliked such proceedings, finding that they were determined to carry matters to the utmost extremity I made no further attempt to oppose the course they intended to pursue. They kept the books of the concern, and had all its funds in

their keeping. Mr. Atkinson was ambitious and very desirous of power and profit. I soon found they were all leagued together, by their systematic proceedings, and were determined if possible to ruin me, in character as manager of such an establishment, and in my pecuniary means. After I resigned the management, they withheld all funds from me, and would not advance me sufficient for my house expences. Although having, as it soon afterwards appeared, more than seventy thousand pounds of mine invested in the establishment, they refused to give me any part of it until after the sale; and I was obliged to borrow for my domestic expenditure, and my family and myself were thus greatly annoyed during the last year of this partnership.

Previous to the sale they took measures to circulate reports to deteriorate the value of the New Lanark establishment, and to lower my character as manager of it. They stated that I had visionary and wild schemes for the education of the children and the improvement of the character of the people—schemes that no one except myself ever thought of or believed to be practicable. They said they had given eighty-four thousand pounds for the establishment, and they did not think it now worth forty thousand pounds, and should be too happy to obtain that sum at the coming sale. Measures were adopted by them to circulate these opinions, not only in Glasgow and Scotland generally, but in London and in all the large towns over the kingdom. The object was to deter any parties with capital from joining me in partnership, and thus, at the public sale, to depreciate the property, that they might purchase it enormously below its value, and by so doing deprive me and my family of our means of future support.

They acknowledged, however, that they had no other objection to my management than what they called my visionary schemes for educating and improving the condition of the children and workpeople, and my giving too high wages and salaries. In fact, they knew nothing about the true principles of conducting such an establishment to make it permanently successful. They imagined an ignorant economy to be better than an enlightened and liberal treatment of the people and of our customers.

While they were thus endeavouring to obtain the establishment at very far less than they knew to be half its value, I went to London sometime before the sale, to see to the printing and publishing of four essays which I had written on the formation of character, and my partners supposed I was occupied only with such public measures, and with the parties who were engaged with myself in promoting means to forward Dr. Bell's and Mr. Lancaster's plans for educating the poor, and in other public matters which were then beginning to occupy the attention of benevolent men, for this was at the commencement of the new era for ameliorating the condition of the poor, and for educating their

children,—and during this year (1813) I was thus much occupied.

I was however also engaged in forming a new partnership for carrying forward the establishment at New Lanark. I was completely tired of partners who were merely trained to buy cheap and sell dear. This occupation deteriorates, and often destroys, the finest and best faculties of our nature. From an experience of a long life, in which I passed through all the gradations of trade, manufactures, and commerce, I am thoroughly convinced that there can be no superior character formed under this thoroughly selfish system. Truth, honesty, virtue, will be mere names, as they are now, and as they have ever been. Under this system there can be no true civilisation; for by it all are trained civilly to oppose and often to destroy one another by their created opposition of interests. It is a low, vulgar, ignorant, and inferior mode of conducting the affairs of society; and no permanent, general, and substantial improvement can arise until it shall be superseded by a superior mode of forming character and creating wealth.

I at this time published a pamphlet for private circulation, stating the preparation which I had made to conduct the establishment at New Lanark on principles to ensure the improvement of the condition of the people, as well as to obtain a reasonable remuneration for capital and for its management. These were circulated among the best circles of the wealthy benevolent, and of those who desired with sincerity to commence active measures for the improvement of the condition of the poor and working classes; with a view of obtaining among them partners who would assist, and not retard, my intended future operations, and who would not exact from those they employed too much labour for two little wages. Such partners I found, possessing these views to a greater extent than I had anticipated, in Mr. John Walker, of Arno's Grove,—Jeremy Bentham, the philosopher,—Joseph Foster of Bromley,—William Allen of Plough Court,—Joseph Fox, dentist,—and Michael Gibbs, subsequently Alderman and Lord Mayor of London,—all of whom were willing to become partners with me if the establishment could be bought at a fair price at the sale.

During this period my partners in Glasgow supposed I was only attending to public business, and that I had abandoned all idea of resuming my post, and of purchasing the establishment, which had been advertised for several months to be sold by public sale in Glasgow, on a day named. As the time drew nigh, I returned to Glasgow, and Messrs. Allen, Foster, and Gibbs returned with me, but remained in a hotel, unknown personally, or as to their object in visiting Glasgow.

My old partners had made themselves so sure of becoming the proprietors of New Lanark, that they had invited a large party

of the principal merchants and persons of their circle to dine with them after the sale, to commemorate the purchase, and to rejoice with them on their new acquisition of this extended establishment. They thought they had, by the reports which they had so industriously circulated far and wide, sufficiently deteriorated its value, and had frightened all parties by calling the measures which I recommended, for educating the children and improving the condition of the workpeople, wild and visionary, and they expected no one would be found to bid for it, and that they should be then enabled to purchase it at forty thousand pounds, the price at which they intended to put it up for sale, and if no party bid that price for it, then they were to be the successful parties, and to become the owners of New Lanark.

I did not meet them until the morning of the sale, to decide upon what should be what is called the upset price, or the price at which, if any one bid that sum, and no competitors bid more, the property becomes sold to him. The first question which I asked them was—"what do you propose shall be the upset price?" "They said, as I expected, forty thousand pounds." I said—"Will you now take sixty thousand pounds for the property?" "No,—we will not, was their immediate reply." "Then it shall be put up at sixty thousand pounds." And they were under the necessity in consequence of their reply to admit of this decision.

My proposed new partners while we were all met in London asked me the price which I thought the property was now worth. I said we should not let it be purchased from us at less than one hundred and twenty thousand pounds. And it was concluded that I should be empowered to bid to that amount.

On the morning of the sale I instructed my solicitor in Glasgow, Mr. Alexander Macgregor, whom I always found to be a most honourable man in his profession, and a sound adviser upon all difficult questions, to bid at this sale for me. One of the conditions of sale was that the lowest bidding at each time should be one hundred pounds. I requested him never to bid at any one time more than one hundred pounds, and to follow up the bidding to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, and if the other parties should bid up to that sum then to come to me, as I should be in the room, for farther instructions.

The sale had excited great interest in Glasgow, for I had become very popular in Scotland, and a belief existed that I was to be oppressed and victimised that day, by the influence and capital of my opponents, who were very wealthy,—and many of my friends and theirs were present. I took my station at the end of the room in a position where I could quietly observe all that passed. My opponents, who had connected with them a junior but wealthy partner of Mr. Alexander Campbell, were all there in person, to bid for themselves—and they came in with great confi-

dence in their bearing, and full of excited hopes,—for they had not heard that I had any one to support me. It was a memorable day in many respects, both to me and to the public.

The sale commenced, and the property was put up at sixty thousand pounds. Mr. Macgregor bid one hundred pounds more. My opponents bid at each bidding, for sometime, one thousand pounds in advance,—Mr. Macgregor one hundred only. This mode of bidding continued until the parties had advanced the price to eighty-four thousand. At this period my opponents seemed at fault, and retired into a private room to consult together. They returned, and bid five hundred at the next bidding,—Mr. Macgregor always immediately following their bidding with his advance of one hundred pounds.

From this period until the bidding advanced to one hundred thousand pounds my opponents bid sometimes by five hundred and sometimes by one hundred at each bidding. But before they had attained this point, their appearance and manner gradually changed. They became pale and agitated, and again retired to consult. Returning to the sale after Mr. Macgregor had bid one hundred upon their advance to one hundred thousand, they again resumed bidding one hundred each time, until they bid one hundred and ten thousand,—and Mr. Macgregor bid one hundred and ten thousand one hundred. Their agitation now became excessive. Their lips became blue, and they seemed thoroughly crest-fallen.

I had never moved from my position, or appeared interested in the proceedings. But now one of the sons of Mr. Campbell of Zura, brother-in-law to Mr. Dennistown and Mr. Alexander Campbell, came to advise me not to proceed higher, but to allow them to become the purchasers at so good a price. I requested him not to interfere, and to be silent, for my plans were decided, and I must watch the proceedings of the sale. My opponents returned into the room apparently more excited than ever. Mr. Kirkman Finlay, who was the leading commercial man at that time in Glasgow, and was a friend of both parties, had been present for sometime, and he now left the room, saying sufficiently loud to be heard by all present—"The little one" (meaning the one hundred bid,) "will get it." This saying appeared again to stimulate them, and they bid again in their former manner until they bid one hundred and fourteen thousand,—and Mr. Macgregor immediately as before bid one hundred and fourteen thousand one hundred, and then my opponents finally stopped bidding, and the property was knocked down to me.

It seemed the old partners had not expected this opposition, and had not prepared the intended new partner for buying at such a price, and they left the room to induce him to agree to the advanced biddings. The old partners would have proceeded and possibly would have gone beyond my estimation, but they could not induce

Mr. Colin Campbell, their intended new partner, to advance one bid more.

Mr. John Atkinson, who had been a partner with me in the establishment from the beginning, and who therefore best knew its value, went immediately from the sale room, while his feelings were highly excited, to Mr. Finlay, (who had returned to his business before the sale had concluded,) and said, with great emphasis—"Confound that Owen! He has bought it, and twenty thousand pounds too cheap!" These were the partners who for so many months had been crying down the value of the establishment, and saying they would be glad to get forty thousand pounds for it!

But this was not the only disappointment my opponents experienced that day. Having previously, as has been stated, invited a large party to dine with them on that day, to rejoice with and to congratulate them on becoming the sole proprietors of New Lanark,—they could not countermand the dinner and their invitations. Their friends met accordingly. The dinner was sumptuous, and the wines were various and choice. But when the company met, the spirits of the principals were below zero, and, as I was afterwards informed by some who were present, the dinner passed almost in silence.

A Colonel Hunter, (a good, honest, frank, straightforward man, proprietor of one of the newspapers of Glasgow, and a talented person,) was one of the guests. He was very popular with the leading parties in the city, and by no means unfriendly to me. By the time the cloth was drawn, and the wine and the time for toasts had arrived, Colonel Hunter had acquired a knowledge of the result of the day's sale, and of all its particulars. He saw at once the false position in which the parties had placed themselves. That they were baffled in their scheme which they had supposed so well laid, and had ruined their reputation by this want of success. Had they succeeded, they would, in the estimation of commercial men, have stood higher than ever. But, as I have said, the Colonel was a straightforward, bold, honest man, and feared no one; and he was determined to make these parties feel the new position in which they had placed themselves. He therefore asked permission to propose a toast, which was readily acceded to, and he gave "success to the parties who had that morning sold a property by public sale for one hundred and fourteen thousand one hundred pounds, which a little time ago they valued only at forty thousand pounds!" adding, "fill a bumper to a success so wonderful and extraordinary!" His toast, however, instead of arousing the spirits of my opponents, acted, I was told, as an additional damper. Seeing this, the Colonel followed it up by saying, "what an enormous good bargain they had made, and how happy they must think themselves to be freed from Robert Owen's visionary schemes, and to get out of him such a large profit." And in this manner he kept

all the evening before them the contrast between their former price, which they would have been too happy to receive, and the one hundred and fourteen thousand one hundred pounds which they had obtained. In this manner he continued to annoy them during the evening.

They had engaged Mr. Humphreys to be their manager, and had brought him to the dinner, and thinking him to be my mainstay in the management of the works at New Lanark, they tempted him that night to leave me, and promised to find him a superior and more profitable situation. This was in the spirit of revenge on the part of Mr. Dennistown and Mr. Alexander Campbell, because their father-in-law preferred to intrust his money with me, rather than with them.

They had married cousins of Mrs. Owen, and were therefore relatives ; and I now began to feel much for their new position, and I would willingly have served them if I could, and if they would have allowed me to do so. But their anger and revenge seemed to increase with every movement of my subsequent success, until their deaths, which took place within a year from the sale of the mills, and which I believe was occasioned by the disappointment and vexation arising from it and from the other circumstances which followed and proceeded from it. These were occurring continually to annoy them. Even the first morning after the sale, it appeared in the Glasgow newspapers that the inhabitants of New Lanark had arranged to have a party waiting in Glasgow to learn the result of the sale, and to proceed by express to inform them who had become the purchaser of the establishment, and that when the express announced to them that I had bought it, there was an immediate universal illumination, except in the house occupied by Mr. Humphreys, who had been bribed by the other parties, and who was then dining with them in Glasgow, and who had gone down in the morning expecting to return the next day as sole manager of New Lanark, under the direction of the intended new firm of Messrs. Dinnistown, Campbell, and Atkinson.

Mr. Humphreys had great cause afterwards to regret this defection from one who had been his best friend for more than twenty years. He could serve under good direction, but could never succeed when left to his own resources.

The newspapers informed him and his new masters of this illumination, and of the great rejoicings of the workpeople on account of the works being again purchased by me.

But my opponents thought they had one chance yet left, and for one day they entertained the hope that the new parties who had associated with me would not be found sufficiently wealthy to give the security required to make good the purchase. In this hope also they were disappointed. For when I declared who were the purchasers, it was soon discovered that one of them, Mr. John

Walker, of Arno's Grove, Southgate, could himself purchase the whole establishment twice over.

The honourable simplicity of this gentleman's character was exemplified at our first meeting. I had previously published my four first essays entitled "*New Views of Society*." The two first were published in 1812, and the two last early in 1813. He had read them, and had heard that I was about to form a new partnership, of persons willing to engage to carry forward the establishment on the principle of educating the children and improving the general condition of the workpeople. Mr. Walker was a most disinterested benevolent man, highly educated, possessing great taste in the arts, himself a superior amateur artist, well versed in the sciences, and a perfect gentleman, in mind, manner, and conduct, throughout his life. He had never been in any business, and was untainted with any of its deteriorating effects. He was born of very wealthy parents, who were of the society of friends, but who under peculiar circumstances allowed him to go with and under the direction of a superior accomplished person, a friend of the family, to finish his education from the age of twelve at Rome, where he remained several years, and made the best possible use of his time. He had been the least injured by the present false system of forming character and constructing society, of all whom I have met through my long life in this or any other country. He possessed a good town house in Bedford Square, and a superior country house, called Arno's Grove, the former residence of Lord Newbery. He had greatly improved it, had accumulated a greater variety of exotics in his pleasure ground, and had in his museum probably one of the choicest collections of specimens of various objects of natural history, that any private gentleman possessed. He was considered to be a member of the society of friends; but in his language, habits, and external appearances in dress and carriage, he could not be distinguished from others of his standing in society, except for his correct taste in all his arrangements and appointments.

Our first interview was characteristic of this extraordinary, superior, and good man. He had heard that I was about to form a new partnership to forward measures in which I was engaged to improve the condition of the working classes, and thus gradually to open a new view of a very superior state of society to all classes. He therefore applied through some of his friends to have an interview with me respecting my intended new partnership at New Lanark. We met, and after being introduced, he said—"I have been informed that you are about to commence a "new partnership at New Lanark, with the view of showing how "much our manufacturing population might be improved, beneficially for themselves, their employers, and the country. May "I ask if my information is correct, and if it is, what are the

"arrangements which you propose?" I said—"I propose to form a partnership of thirteen shares—each share to be ten thousand pounds; and I intend to hold five of those shares, and that over five per cent. for our capital and risk, the surplus gains shall be freely expended for the education of the children and the improvement of the workpeople at New Lanark, and for the general improvement of the condition of the persons employed in manufactures. He replied—"Will you allow me to take three shares?" Having been informed of his character, respectability, and responsibility, I immediately assented; and this was all that passed on his placing thirty thousand pounds at my disposal. He continued in the firm until his death, but never saw the establishment.

Another member of the society of friends who joined me in this good work was Joseph Foster of Bromley—a man without guile, possessed with the genuine spirit of charity and kindness, and who had one of the most expanded and liberal and well-informed minds, next to Mr. John Walker, last named, that I ever met with among the society of friends. He was ever a universal peace maker, and, with the previous exception, less a sectarian than any of the society of friends known to me, although I was introduced to and made acquainted with the leading members of the society. He had one of the ten thousand pound shares.

A third partner was also of the society of friends—the well-known William Allen, of Plough Court, Lombard Street. He was active, bustling, ambitious, most desirous of doing good in his own way, (as a large majority of the quakers are,) and had kind feelings and high aspirations; but he was easily impressible, and was therefore much more unsteady in mind and feeling than the two preceeding partners. He was however at this time popular, and a great favourite among his sect, and one of its chief leaders. He had one share allotted to him,—for his friend John Walker and Joseph Foster were very desirous that he should join our party.

The next who applied for a share in this unique undertaking was the celebrated Jeremy Bentham, who spent a long life in an endeavour to amend laws, all based on a fundamental error, without discovering this error; and therefore was his life, although a life of incessant well-intended industry, occupied in showing and attempting to remedy the evils of individual laws, but never attempting to dive to the foundation of all laws, and thus ascertaining the cause of the errors and evils of them. He had little knowledge of the world, except through books, and a few deemed liberal-minded men and women, who were admitted to his friendship—such as James Mill, Dr. Bowring, Mr. and Mrs. Austin, Francis Place, Lord Brougham, and a few others;—and these formed his world. It was most amusing to me to learn the difficulty, owing to his nervous temperament, that he had in making arrangements for our first interview after I had agreed to accept

him as one of our associates in the New Lanark firm. After some preliminary communication with our mutual friend James Mill and Francis Place, his then two chief counsellors, and some correspondence between him and myself, it was at length arrived at that I was to come to his hermit-like retreat at a particular hour, and that I was, upon entering, to proceed up stairs, and we were to meet half way upon the stairs. I pursued these instructions, and he, in great trepidation, met me, and taking my hand, while his whole frame was agitated with the excitement, he hastily said—"Well! well! It is all over. We are introduced. Come "into my study!" And when I was fairly in, and he had requested me to be seated, he appeared to be relieved from an arduous and formidable undertaking. He had one share, and his friends have stated that it was the only successful enterprise in which he ever engaged. He, like Mr. Walker, never saw the New Lanark establishment.

The next share was given to Joseph Fox, a dentist, a friend of William Allen's,—a respectable well-intentioned dissenter, of some denomination, from the Church of England.

The last share was given, at the urgent request of the last named, (Joseph Fox,) to his relative Mr. Michael Gibbs, subsequently the well-known Church-Warden, Alderman, and Lord Mayor,—a Church of England man, a conservative, and a man, as I believe, of good intentions, fair abilities, and business habits.

Three of these gentlemen—Joseph Foster, William Allen, and Michael Gibbs—were until after the sale, since my arrival in Glasgow, incognito. But the day after the sale they declared themselves my partners, and who the others were. This declaration put a termination to the last hopes of my former partners, who clung to the expectation that they might have some pretence to object to the parties who had united with me in the purchase at the sale.

The necessary writings to transfer the property from the one party to the other detained my new partners and myself some days in Glasgow before they were all ready and legally executed. In the meantime the inhabitants of New Lanark waited my return to them with impatience, and begged I would let them know when they might expect me. As soon as I could ascertain when our business would be completed, I informed them of the day appointed for my return. We went to Lanark in a coach with four horses—it being then two heavy stages, and the last a rise of nearly seven hundred feet, but through a beautiful district. The inhabitants of the old and new towns of Lanark had sent scouts to watch our progress, and to give information by signals how far we had advanced. It was a fine day, and we had the carriage opened in order that my new friends might see the country. When we arrived within a few miles of the Royal Burgh of the Old Town of Lanark, we heard a great shout at some distance, and

we soon saw a great multitude running towards us, which at first much alarmed my Quaker friends. I did not know what to think of the number of people and the noise which they made on approaching us. They called out to the postillions to stop the horses, and before we were aware of their intentions they had untraced the horses from the carriage, had desired the postillions to take them on to Lanark, and, heedless of our urgent entreaties, they began to drag the carriage, and now it was up hill almost the whole distance to the Old Town through which we had to pass. But their numbers were such, and they relieved each other so continually, that they went forward quicker than our horses could have dragged us up those steep hills.

On looking at them I was surprised at seeing at first few faces that I knew, and therefore I could not well understand the movement. But I soon learned that the inhabitants of the Old Town had requested to be allowed to join the inhabitants of the village of New Lanark in the demonstration of kind feeling and of rejoicing on the return of the old manager and proprietor to his old residence and establishment, and had begged that they, the old Lanarkers, should have what they called the honour and pleasure of conveying the carriage and its inmates to their Royal Burgh, and that then the inhabitants of the village should take us from Old Lanark to the establishment. This arrangement accounted for the many faces new to me.

The hurraing of the people, and their joyous excitement along the road, aroused the attention of the whole country to discover the cause of such rejoicings and unusual proceedings. At length the procession arrived at Old Lanark, where our reception from all, the windows and doors being filled with women and children and old people, was most cordial. I was greatly amused with the perfect amazement and astonishment of my Quaker friends, who had never before been in the midst of such an exciting scene; but after their alarm had subsided they became more and more interested and pleased to see so much strong feeling exhibited for their new partner. But when the New Lanarkers took the direction of the carriage and procession from the Old Town to the New, and then taking us through all the streets of the village and back again through the grounds to my residence at Braxfield, about a quarter of a mile out of the village,—they were almost overcome with the gratitude, affection, and delight, which were expressed in the countenances of the parties from the windows and in the street, and with the varied means by which they endeavoured to greet and welcome our arrival among them. My new partners seemed to congratulate themselves that they had become connected with such people and such an establishment. It was a day and proceeding which I shall never forget. It interested me deeply, and, if possible, increased my determination to do them and their children all the good in my power.

I never was ambitious of popular applause. I generally sought to avoid it. But on this occasion, thus taken by surprise, and thus welcomed by parties whom I had directed for fourteen years, I was truly gratified, and also on account of my new partners witnessing the spontaneous feelings of the people. The unsophisticated expression of these strong feelings was the more unexpected from a Scotch population when the change was from a majority of Scotch proprietors to a firm exclusively English. But so it was, and my new partners, after remaining some days with me, returned home delighted with their mission, and they highly gratified the other London partners by their description of it.

But it was not so with my late partners. Some party had sent to the Glasgow newspapers a full account of our procession and extraordinary proceedings, and this was a new source of very great annoyance to them. And this annoyance was increased not a little, when upon balancing the accounts of our four years partnership, it was found, after allowing five per cent. for the capital employed, that the net profit was *one hundred and sixty thousand pounds*.

I had now a new field opening to me, and I prepared to make the most of it to forward the improvements which I contemplated. The most urgent were the arrangements I had so long contemplated to improve the conditions in which the youngest children of the workpeople were now placed, and to introduce another principle on which to form their character and conduct, their training and education.

f I therefore commenced by hastening the building for the intended infant and other schools, and began to devise measures of relief for all engaged as workers in manufactories—seeing as I did how much, in many respects, they were injured and deteriorated by the change from the former more independent domestic mode of spinning and weaving at home, to being employed like slaves in large factories.

But I must now return to bring up other parts of my history to this period, at which my public life may be said to have fairly commenced.

I have said that Mr. Dale left four daughters some years younger than Mrs. Owen. Mrs. Dale having died when her eldest daughter was only twelve years old, the latter had the care of the house and of her younger sisters from that period. Mr. Dale being at the head of a numerous dissenting sect, and Mrs. Dale from a religious family, the children had what is called a thorough good religious education, and had the kind and amiable disposition of their father—Mrs. Dale having died six or seven years before I knew the family. But I always understood that she also was amiable and religious. Their general acquaintances and more intimate friends were therefore naturally professors of religion, and much time was occupied in what the family

had been taught to think were their public and private religious duties. While other parts of education were deemed of far less importance, and had been therefore less attended to during Mr. Dale's life. After his death, the four younger sisters lived with us for some years. Their names were Jane, Mary, Margaret, and Julia.

About a quarter of a mile from the New Lanark Mills was Braxfield House, the seat and birth-place of the late and then well known Lord of Session, until he received the title of Lord Braxfield. This judge of the Supreme Court of Scotland was dead but unburied when I took possession of the New Lanark establishment. He had been very friendly to Mr. Dale, gave him great encouragement to establish his works near to him, and was to his death an excellent neighbour. He entailed the Braxfield property on his family; and his eldest son, Mr. Macqueen, who had married Lady Liliass, the daughter of the late Earl of Eglington, succeeded to his property, and had possessed it about eight years, when they offered to rent it to me; and as the house at the mills had become too small for my family, with the increase of Mrs. Owen's sisters and the necessary increase of servants, I took it upon the longest lease Mr. Macqueen could give by the clauses of the entail by which he held it.

We regretted the loss of this family; for they were always good and kind neighbours, especially Lady Liliass, who was more generally at home than Mr. Macqueen.

It was a beautifully situated residence, and I improved the grounds immediately after I entered upon the house. This was now our summer residence, and in winter we occupied the house Mr. Dale had built and had lived in many years and until his death. We kept our own carriage and horses, and also a carriage and horses and servants for my sisters-in-law. Our establishment therefore became an expensive one.

Discovering that a mere religious education was a very imperfect one for the general association of society, I determined that Mrs. Owen's sisters, who after their father's death came naturally under our charge, should have also the advantages of a more extended secular education, such as was then given in the most select seminaries for young ladies in England. But first, that they might see and know their own country, I took them soon after their father's death a tour over Scotland and England, and visited in both countries every place deserving the attention of young travellers; and after they had remained three or four years with us, I sought for some time to find superior houses of instruction in London, in which they could finish their education, and I visited many educational establishments before I could satisfy myself that they were select and substantial for the purpose required, and were not mere pretences. That the four might make a more rapid progress, they were divided

into pairs—the two eldest, Jane and Mary, were placed with Mrs. Olier, Grosvenor Street, and Margaret and Julia with Miss Lane in ——. In these more private and select seminaries the four remained for some years, and longer than was anticipated when they went. They put off their return quarter after quarter, finding their situations comfortable and improving; for both the establishments proved equal to the recommendations received of them, and to my expectations on previously visiting and inspecting them.

They returned home in the year —, and we had kept up their full establishment at Braxfield ready to receive them from a much earlier period than that at which they returned. The ladies with whom they were, advised them at the termination of each quarter to continue to proceed with and to finish their studies, and as they were now of sufficient age they were left to decide for themselves.

Mr. Dale some years before his death had purchased a country residence called Rosebank, about four miles from Glasgow, on one of the roads leading to New Lanark, and which we occupied after his death. This estate afterwards, in the division of the property, was given to these young ladies. After they returned home they were eagerly sought in marriage; but although several opportunities were given them to marry men of wealth and superior standing in the commercial world, they for some time rejected every offer made to them, and they seemed disinclined to engage themselves until they had seen more of the world. I then took them to France, Switzerland, and Germany, and they were introduced to some of the most eminent men and women of that day in those countries.

Previous to this tour on the continent, the third in age of the four, Margaret, died, greatly lamented by us all, for there was a sincere and cordial affection between all the members of the family. There appeared to be but one heart and mind and interest among them, until they were separated by the marriage of the two eldest.

The Rev. James Haldane Stewart, a relative of Mrs. Owen's family by the mother's side, was the first who successfully paid his addresses to Mary, the second unmarried. He was after some time accepted by her, and they were married while Mary and her two other sisters were living with us, and I gave her away on the day of her marriage, and we accompanied them on their marriage tour for some days.

The eldest of the four, Jane, was also, not long afterwards, married to a cousin, who also, with Mr. Stewart, was an Evangelical clergyman of the Church of England, and was son of the late General Colin Campbell, formerly Governor Commandant of Gibraltar, under his Royal Highness the late Duke of Kent.

Julia, the youngest, was so strongly attached to her sister Jane, and Jane to her, that they would not be separated, and they have always lived together through their lives to the present time.

I had always, since I first knew these children of my own bringing up, until they were married, a great affection for them, and a strong interest in their welfare, but these marriages naturally altered our relative positions, and although a continued affection was kept up between all the families,—yet as my mission and the mission of Mr. Stewart and Mr. Campbell, who were as zealous and conscientious in their cause as I have been in mine, were so opposite to each other, our visits and intercourse were less frequent than they would have been had our views of human nature and society been similar.

They, I have no doubt, sincerely and affectionately lament my disbelief in the truth of any of the religions of the world. While I as sincerely and affectionately lament the imbecility of mind which instruction from birth in any of these religions inflicts on all who are thereby made conscientious believers in any one of them. These religions are the cause of creating less charity for opinions, and more repulsive feelings for mere imaginary notions, incomprehensible to every one, than all other causes united. I felt that the intercourse between us was one of continued forbearance on both sides. Each knew the other's conscientious convictions; each respected the feelings of the other; and each was in constant fear of unintentionally hurting the feelings of the other. Under these circumstances our visits became less and less frequent, although my affection for my sisters-in-law remains unabated.

It was long amusing and gratifying, at an earlier period, to receive letters from my dear and truly affectionate sister Mary, who, after her kind sayings in the first portion of her letters, always concluded with the most earnest solicitude that I would believe in her faith; never suspecting that belief is in no one's power, and that therefore there can be no merit or demerit in any faith or belief whatever. I was always gratified by her extreme anxiety for my conversion, for I was sure she ever retained a sincere affection for me, as did her sisters, all of whom were most desirous I should think on religious matters as they did. There could not be more amiable, affectionate, well-intentioned young persons than they always proved themselves to be; and yet after the marriages of the two elder to the church, our intercourse gradually diminished after the death of their eldest sister.

It is true that religions have been and to this day are the strongest causes of repulsive feelings between individuals and nations; and while any of these deranging systems of the human intellects shall be forced into the young mind by the insane contending sects over the world, the spirit of universal charity and love must remain unknown among all nations and peoples.

Living for so many years as I did, owing to my marriage and my various partnerships, with religious persons of various sects, I became too conscious of the deteriorating influences upon the individuals, and upon the construction and practice of society. It made me glaringly aware that these religions materially injured the finest natural qualities, and that while any of them prevailed, they would be a permanent obstacle to the peace, progress in knowledge, charity, and love, and happiness of the human race. I vividly perceived and was made conscious of these effects through every day of my life, from the time I attained my tenth year. Religions are to-day the great repulsive powers of society; dividing husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters; and are ever-burning firebrands wherever they exist. For proof to demonstration of this—witness the present state of mind, feelings, and conduct, of all the religions in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. The being who shall devise the means to terminate these spiritual insanities will be the greatest friend to the human race that has yet lived.

From an early period of life, seeing the innumerable evils daily experienced from the error on which all religions have ever been based, knowing the immense and incalculable happiness that the human race could attain if freed from them, and being made ardently to desire the future progress in knowledge and rational enjoyment of my race,—there is no sacrifice at any period, which I could make, that would not have been willingly and joyously made to terminate the existence of religion on earth. Willingly and joyously—because I should have had far more happiness in sacrificing my life, knowing that my race should be thus placed in the right path to peace, progress, wisdom, and happiness, than I could have in living among my fellow men while made to become irrational by those religions. The religions of all sects have no charity or true affection for those they deem unbelievers. While unbelievers in their dogmas, who know the cause of the beliefs of all the religions and of all the convictions over the world, have charity for them all; and seeing that these dogmas are opposed to facts, and are inconsistent with ascertained truths, pity those who believe in them in proportion to their ignorance of what constitutes truth. The religious over the world have less charity for the opinions of those who differ from them, than those who are irreligious from a true knowledge of human nature have for those persons whose instruction has made them to be of some one of these insane compounds of belief, which are all equally called religion.

Having been so many years in the midst of these so-called very pious proceedings, I was made but too conscious of their deteriorating and baneful effects upon the judgment or rational faculties of the kindest and best dispositions, and of the abject prostration of mind in the teachers of these absurdities.

One of the most generally learned, intelligent, and acute men I have met with, was Ramoun Roy, to whom for some time, while he was the guest of the Messrs. Hare of Bedford Square, we were next door and very intimate neighbours;—and we were mutually much attached to each other. After our minds had been fully opened to each other, I asked him, (as he stated, that he knew accurately, having long studied them, all the religions of the east and west that had made any lasting progress in society,) if he knew one in which the priests did not say—“Believe as I tell you to believe, disbelieve what I tell you to disbelieve, reverence me, and pay me well, and you will go to heaven when you die. But if you do not these things, you will be everlastingly punished.” He hesitated for some time, and then said—“I have recurred to all the religions I know, and I must admit that that which you have stated is the essence of each of them.” But more of Ramoun Roy hereafter.

In everything I attempted for the advance and permanent benefit of the human race, and in the very best objects, I was always checked and obstructed in my straightforward and honest progress by religion. I was always thus obliged to take a devious course, and to obtain thereby a less perfect result.

By this period of my life, (from 1810 to 1815,) my four *“Essays on the Formation of Character,”* and my practice at New Lanark, had made me well known among the leading men of that period. Among these were the Archbishop of Canterbury,—the Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury,—Burgess, Bishop of St. David’s,—Mr. Wilberforce,—W. Godwin,—Thomas Clarkson,—Zachary Macaulay,—Mr. Thornton, banker,—William Allen,—Joseph Foster,—Hoare, senr, banker,—the first Sir Robert Peel,—Sir Thomas Bernard and his particular friend the Bishop of Durham, Barrington,—the Rev. William Turner of Newcastle,—Mr. Wellbeloved, Principal of the Manchester College in York,—the Bishop of Peterborough,—and many others whose names have faded from society, and many whom I have forgotten. But I must not forget my friends of the political economists—Messrs. Malthus,—James Mill,—Ricardo,—Sir James Macintosh,—Colonel Torrens,—Francis Place,—&c., &c. From these political economists, often in animated discussions, I always differed. But our discussions were maintained to the last with great good feeling and a cordial friendship. They were liberal men for their time; friends to the national education of the people, but opposed to national employment for the poor and unemployed, or to the greatest creation of real wealth,—which surprised me in men who professed to desire the greatest amount of wealth to be produced, but which could only be effected by the well-directed industry at all times of all.

It was a singular circumstance that in my discussions with

Mr. Malthus, which were frequent, (and my own impression was that at last he became very doubtful of the truth of principles which he had so ingeniously maintained,) Mrs. Malthus always took and defended my side of the argument.

So with Sir James Macintosh. He used to say that after Lady and Miss Macintosh had visited New Lanark they became my warm disciples, and that they always vindicated the principles and practices of human nature as I advocated them.

I was always at a loss to account for the tenacity with which these men of considerable natural powers held to the principle of not preparing national reproductive or beneficial occupation for all who required it; and I could account for it only on the knowledge that there was not one practical man among the party of modern political economists. Their views and false principles have governed the administrations of this country and have influenced public opinion for the whole of this century; and a more artificial and miserable existence, or more hypocrisy in general society, is not to be found, amid all its surface splendour, than in Great Britain and Ireland at this day. There is no heart or soul in the general intercourse of society; and instead of the open, direct, frank, and most beneficial and delightful language of truth—of mind speaking without reserve to mind; the common practice of the great majority of society in public and private is a mere conventional talk, meaning little or nothing, or else falsehood. The most important truths relative to the essential business and happiness of life, are tabooed in general society; and its talk is a confused mass of incongruous and most inconsistent ideas about morality and religion, respecting which none appear to have been taught one rational idea; because they have been precluded so long by the priesthoods of the world from investigating their own nature—an investigation to enable them to discover what manner of beings they have been created to be. And therefore nature has been and is outraged in all proceedings connected with the human race. At this day, all their proceedings over the world are grossly irrational for the attainment of the object which all have in view—namely, their own happiness. For the creation of happiness for the human race, two things have been always required.

1stly.—A really good character for all from birth to death.

2ndly.—A superfluity of real wealth at all times for all.

Because the arrangements or conditions, (or as some would say the 'circumstances,') which are necessary to produce and secure these results, would give in perpetuity to the human race all that they could desire as mortals upon our globe.

But all the authorities of the world, from the earliest known period, have been ignorant how to form the arrangements, or to create the conditions or circumstances by which these two results could be attained. And hence alone the present poverty,

vice, and misery, of mankind over the world. All parties in all countries are now like hounds at fault in hunting for their game. They feel that the good and superior character is necessary for happiness. They feel that wealth is necessary for their happiness. They desire to attain both. They are anxiously in search of them. While the priesthood of the world, owing to their own mis-instruction, give a wrong direction to the human faculties, and thus prevent the possibility of the authorities of the world discovering where they are at fault, and how to attain the path which alone leads to the knowledge which they all seek.

The discovery which has been made of the sciences by which both these results are to be obtained, makes this the most glorious era in the life of man. For it will lead him direct to the road to that happiness which his nature has been made strongly to desire, and which to this day he has evidently sought in vain.

An imperfect development of the human faculties when humanity was in its infant state, created the necessity for a priesthood, with its good and evil consequences. As the development advanced, and as real knowledge grew from the accurate observation of facts, the error of one priesthood after another became too obvious to be maintained by the most advanced minds, and new religions were to be invented, less obviously erroneous. And as the certain or fixed sciences were discovered and progressed, the belief in, or the reliance upon, these latter inventions diminished, until now, in the minds of the most advanced in substantive knowledge derived from facts, religious feelings, of the old character of religion, have not only ceased altogether, but the evils now everywhere produced by the obstructions which they create to the formation of a good and superior character for all, are seen to be, as they are, the greatest of all existing evils. And until they shall be overcome, and the human mind shall be cleared from all religious fallacies and all dependence upon religious forms and ceremonies, it will be vain to expect to make the human race to think and act rationally, or to look for anything approaching to general permanent happiness.

The first consideration with the leading minds of the world should be, how to combine the conditions which can insure from birth the formation of a good and rational character for the human race, and to unite with these (for they cannot exist separately,) the conditions to create wealth at all times in superfluity for all. This combination is unknown even to the most advanced in all countries, and has now to be taught to all, and it is by far the most important lesson that the human race has to acquire. When men can be taught to create and combine the conditions to properly cultivate all the faculties, propensities, and powers of human nature, and to train all in the habit of exercising all of them regularly to the point of temperance for each faculty and propensity,—then, and only then, will men

know how to form a good, valuable, and superior character for all, or to train man to become a rational being. And when they shall be taught to create and combine with these conditions, others which will enable all to produce superior and intrinsically valuable wealth in abundance for all, at all times, then will mankind become rational, and make a greater progress in real knowledge and permanent happiness in one year, than under existing conditions they can make in a century,—or, indeed, as long as the present irrational conditions, emanating from a false fundamental principle, or rather imagination, shall be maintained by the erroneously instructed authorities of the world.

The great defect which exists in all countries is the false instruction given to those who have to govern, whether in churches or states; and this great evil has now to be overcome. But not to be overcome by force, or by abusive language. Reason and common sense are the true and only weapons which can ever succeed. All that have conscious life have been created to desire happiness. The authorities of the world in churches and states desire to attain happiness. It is impossible that the individual members of any church or state can acquire anything approaching to permanent happiness under the false and artificial conditions under which all of them are placed. While under other conditions, based on a true knowledge of the laws of human nature, each one may be made to become from birth rational and consistent in principle and practice, natural in all their proceedings and conduct, and permanently happy through life.

Knowing and feeling as I did the all-importance of education for the mass, as a preliminary to the ultimate true formation of character, I was so profuse or extravagant, as I have stated, in my encouragement of Joseph Lancaster and Dr. Bell, in their measures to make a beginning in this country to give even the mite of instruction to the poor which their respective systems proposed to do, because I trusted that a beginning might be made to lead on gradually to something substantial and permanently beneficial to society.

My next move in this direction was to encourage Lancaster to come to Scotland, (where the new manufacturing system was involving the children of the working classes in new conditions, unfavorable to knowledge, to health, and to happiness,) to create a public opinion to assist to counteract these evils. He came to Glasgow in 1812, and a great public dinner was to be given to introduce him into Scotland, as a great friend to the instruction of the poor on a new invented economical plan, by which one man could instruct a thousand children.

Joseph Lancaster was now becoming well known and celebrated for this mechanical invention and instruction, and his arrival in Glasgow created much excitement among the friends to the education of the poor. Lancaster, knowing that I was

acquainted with the peculiar customs and religious prejudices of the society of friends, of which he was a member, made it a special condition, before he could consent as a Quaker to attend a public dinner for his reception into Scotland, that I would consent to be its chairman. This office was quite new to me. I believed myself unequal to the task, and was unwilling to undertake it. But the meeting, owing to Mr. Lancaster's obstinacy, could not be held on any other condition. I was therefore constrained to agree to his wishes, and the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, then the most popular preacher and friend to the education of the poor in Glasgow, was appointed croupier, or deputy-chairman.

At this period I was on the most friendly terms with many of the professors of the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and on this occasion I was supported on the right and left by Professors Jardine and Mylne, two who at that time stood high in public estimation. It was on announcing the object of the meeting in my opening speech, that I first declared in public my sentiments on the true formation of character, and my principle that man was essentially the creature of the circumstances or conditions in which he was placed, and that I advocated the necessity for preparing measures to place the rising generation within good and superior circumstances. What I then said took the meeting by surprise, and it seemed electrified. The professors were highly delighted, and the whole assembly became far more enthusiastic in their continued applause when I concluded, than I have ever witnessed in a Scotch audience; and I afterwards received from Mr. Kirkman Finlay, then the great man in Glasgow, who was at the time in London, a most flattering and encouraging letter. [My speech is given in the Appendix.]

This spontaneous approval by the numerous literary parties present, and the reception given to Joseph Lancaster, induced me to write my four first essays on "A New View of Society," and on the formation of character. The two first essays were published at the end of this year, (1812,) and the two last in the beginning of 1813.

In all my projected improvements for educating and improving the condition of the children and workpeople of New Lanark, I had no coadjutors in my near connexions, partners, or friends, until I formed my last partnership in 1814. Previously one and all connected with and around me, except Mr. Dale while he lived, opposed my views with all the arguments they could muster against them; and I lost two sets of partners by persevering in what they called my visionary plans. But when I published these four essays on the formation of character, explanatory of the principles and practices on which I had been acting, I was surprised at the manner in which they were received by the public, and especially by the higher members of the then admi-

nistration and of the churches ; for the heads of both were most anxious to see them previous to their publication. Lord Liverpool and his cabinet, with Mr. Sutton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the English and Irish bishops of that day, were favourable to my views and friendly to myself. My chief communications at first were with the leading members both in church and state ; for I wished them to see and know all I was doing and intended to do, being conscious that all parties from the highest to the lowest would be benefited by my views of society, whenever they should be carried fully and honestly into practice.

When I had written the first two essays on the new views, I gave them to read to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and when I had just finished in MS. the third and fourth, I met the Archbishop and told him of my progress. He expressed a great desire to see them, and asked me to bring them to Lambeth the next day, which I did, and read to him the third essay, and then thought that he would be too fatigued to hear the fourth also at one sitting. " No," he said, " I am too anxious to hear it, and I request you will proceed." I continued to its conclusion, and saw as I read how much the subject engaged his attention and interested his feelings. When I had finished, he said, with the greatest kindness in his manner, " I am sure, Mr. Owen, you will not desire me to express an opinion upon what you have now read. But I am deeply interested in the whole subject, as you have stated it, and I should be glad to learn from you from time to time how you succeed. Will you correspond with me ?" I was then living in Scotland, either at New Lanark or at Rosebank near Glasgow. But at that period several individuals had been and were then being prosecuted for publishing sentiments and opinions less opposed to the existing order of things than those expressed in these essays, and I intended to pursue the subject until I could produce a public opinion to change the fundamental principle on which society was based, knowing that nothing short of that could effect any substantial and permanent good for the people of any country. I therefore hesitated for the moment ; and the good and penetrating Archbishop saw my embarrassment, and divined its cause, and immediately added, " perhaps you would not like to correspond with the ' Archbishop of Canterbury,' and would not object to communicate with Mr. Sutton." I said I was much obliged to his grace for his consideration of my position, for I could say things to Mr. Sutton that I might hesitate to say to the Archbishop of Canterbury. His grace replied—" Then Mr. Sutton will have pleasure in corresponding with Mr. Owen ;" and from that day to his death the Archbishop was at all times most friendly to me, and was perhaps the most liberal Archbishop of Canterbury that has ever filled the office.

I also sent copies of the " Essays" to Lord Liverpool, the Prime

Minister of that day, and afterwards requested an interview with him respecting them, which he immediately granted, fixing the next day for our meeting. It was in his private house, in the drawing-room, and I found Lady Liverpool with him, to whom he introduced me. He said—"Mr. Owen, Lady Liverpool has been so interested in reading your Essays, that she has requested to be present at our conversation, as she takes a warm interest in these subjects. I hope you have no objection to her being present." I said—"quite the reverse, my Lord; for I am very desirous to induce the ladies to take into their consideration the cause which I advocate, and especially the subject of education, now becoming so useful, and so important to be given to all of the female sex." The conversation was continued with much interest for a long period, and Lady Liverpool, who appeared most amiable and intelligent, gave great attention to it, and entered into it with the spirit of a true philanthropist. She hoped that much would be now done to ameliorate the condition of the working classes, and to raise their characters. Near the conclusion of our conversations, she said—"We have a very promising young man just come to us, whom Lord Liverpool has made his private secretary,—he is the son of Sir Robert Peel, and is just come from the University, where he stood high at his examinations; and we have hope that he will attain distinction as he acquires experience." This was the lamented late Sir Robert Peel, with whose father I was for many years afterwards intimate and in almost daily communication.

I now formally communicated the four Essays to the government before I would publish them. They had them examined and closely investigated, and their reply to me afterwards was—"We see nothing to object to in them."

Lord and Lady Liverpool had previously expressed their pleasure in reading and studying them, and their strong approbation of them.

The members of the government, represented by Lord Sidmouth, who was secretary for the home department, then said—"What do you now propose to do with the Essays?" I replied, "Being conscious that the views of society which I have advocated in them are much opposed to existing prejudices, and being very anxious not to mis-lead the public on subjects of such great permanent interest, and as to the changes they must lead to, I am most desirous not to be mistaken in the principles on which the proposed changes are based. I therefore recommend that measures should be adopted the most likely to detect any error which they may contain, and for this purpose I will, if the government approves, have two hundred copies printed, and bound with alternate blank leaves, and these copies you can send to the leading governments of Europe, and America, —to the most learned Universities in Europe,—and to such

"individuals as you may deem best calculated to form a sound judgment upon them,—requesting these parties to make any objections which may occur to them on the blank leaves, and then to return them to you; and that they should be afterwards supplied with other copies when perfected." Lord Sidmouth said—"The proposal, Mr. Owen, is fair and honest, and if you will send the two hundred copies printed and so bound, they shall be sent as you have desired." They were supplied accordingly, and Lord Sidmouth had them forwarded to the governments, universities, and learned individuals. After due time allowed, a considerable number of them were returned to the government, and I was sent for to examine what was written on the blank leaves. I went carefully over the remarks which had been written, but it was a matter of surprise to Lord Sidmouth and myself, that among all the observations returned, none of the writers directly objected to any of the facts, principles, or conclusions, but they only remarked that such other parties, naming them, would object to so and so.

As no objection of moment had been made directly by any parties, and as the Essays appeared to be generally much approved of, Lord Sidmouth then asked me what I proposed next to do with them. I replied—"To print and publish them, that they may undergo the ordeal of public opinion,—if the government has no objection." His Lordship said—"None whatever. And when they are ready, pray send me a sufficient number for our bishops, and I will forward one to each." They were sent to Lord Sidmouth, and he afterwards told me that he had supplied one to each English archbishop and bishop. The Archbishop of Armagh was in London, and Lord Sidmouth said he would be pleased if I would call upon him, which I did, and found with him Mr. Edgeworth the author, the father of the celebrated Miss Edgeworth. Mr. Edgeworth asked the Archbishop if he might remain with us, for, he said, "I have read that man's works, and he has been in my brains and stolen all my ideas." We had much conversation, and the parties appeared greatly interested with the further explanation of my new views of society. The interview ended by the Archbishop requesting me to send him a sufficient number of copies for each of the Irish bishops. And I conclude these paved the way for the warm and cordial reception I afterwards experienced from them, when, in the year 1822-23, I visited Ireland, and held my great public meetings there, in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Belfast, &c., &c.

At this period John Quincy Adams was the American Minister to our government, and when I was introduced to him, a short time before he left this country, he asked me for a sufficient number of copies of my Essays, which were now become very popular, for the governor of each state in the union, and he would undertake that they should be faithfully delivered, and with his

recommendation. I sent them, and on my arrival some years afterwards in the United States, I ascertained that they had been received, and had prepared the way for the general good reception which I met with from the government and many of the leading men and statesmen of that country.

These Essays were so popular, that *all* the first publishers, both in the city and at the west end of the metropolis, were ambitious to have their names attached to them. Five superior editions were rapidly disposed of under the sanction of their united firms,—Richard Taylor and Company being the printers.

Finding the essays were much valued by the first class of minds, and wishing to place them in the highest quarters, I had forty of them bound in the best manner in which I could procure the first workman to bind them, and of these I prevailed on the government to send a copy to each of the sovereigns of Europe and to their chief minister, and thus they became generally known among the highest class and most advanced minds before 1817. It was in 1813-14 that the superiorly bound copies were sent to the Sovereigns and their Prime Ministers, while Napoleon Bonaparte was in Elba. At this period I was much engaged in London with these measures, and also in forming the new partnership with more liberal and benevolent parties than my former *commercial* men,—although many of these were good men, according to their notions of commercial goodness. While I was thus employed, one of my sisters-in-law, Margaret, was taken dangerously ill, and I was suddenly called home on her account, where I was detained until after her death and funeral.

I had left in London with Mr. Francis Place the remainder of the superbly bound copies of my Essays, for him to take charge of until my return to town. While I was absent, a general officer called upon Mr. Place, and said—"I learn that Mr. Owen has sent copies of his work to the Sovereigns of Europe and to the authorities in America. I am on my way to Elba, and if you will intrust a copy with me for the Emperor Napoleon, I will undertake to put it into his own hands." Mr. Place very judiciously gave him one of those copies, and there is no doubt it was safely conveyed to him; for I learned afterwards from Sir Niel Campbell, British agent at Elba, through the following circumstances, that Napoleon had received it.

I was intimate with General Brown, who returned from India after being forty years there, and I was a frequent visitor and guest at his table. Of our party was Mrs. Dyce, the wife of General Dyce, and sister to Sir Neil Campbell. Both this lady and General Brown took a warm interest in my "New Views," and when Sir Neil returned from Elba after Napoleon's escape, Mrs. Dyce was desirous that I should meet her brother Sir Neil. For this purpose a dinner was given at No. 8, Curzon Street, by General Brown, that we might be introduced,

and Mrs. Dyce requested that I would bring a copy of my Essays for her brother, which I did, and presented the volume to him after dinner. He looked at it with some surprise, and said, "I have certainly seen a copy of this before. Oh! I recollect! While I was at Elba, General Bertram came to me with a book in his hand, a copy of this work, and said he had been sent by Buonaparte, to ask me whether I knew the author, for he was much interested with its contents." (There was much said about Napoleon in it.) "I looked at the title page, and said I did not know the work or the author, and Bentram appeared disappointed." I was subsequently informed that Buonaparte had read and studied this work with great attention, and had determined on his return to power, if the Sovereigns of Europe had allowed him to remain quietly on the throne of France, to do as much for peace and progress, as he had previously done for war, and that this was the cause of his letters to the Sovereigns of Europe on his return, containing proposals for peace instead of war. But they knew not, and did not believe, that he had changed his views and was sincere in his declaration. The result of their refusal to listen to him is now matter of history, and it is useless to speculate on what so extraordinary a character would have done, had he been permitted to reign over France in peace.

Having published and put into general circulation my four Essays on the formation of character, and having thus opened to the public my "New Views of Society," my attention was directed to measures of a public character, with a view to obtain some permanent substantial relief for the children, young persons, and adults, employed in the rising and rapidly increasing manufactories of wool, cotton, flax, hemp, and silk, in which it had become the practice to employ very young children, as well as those of every age above them. My experience now (1815,) had continued without ceasing for twenty-five years in the cotton manufacturing business, and having at an early period freely opened the mills in which I was interested to my brother cotton-spinners, and having been the first spinner of fine cotton, (that is, of thread from No. 120 to upwards of No. 300,) all the manufactories of the kingdom were as freely opened to me, and I visited most of them from north to south, to enable me to form a correct judgment of the condition of the children and work-people employed in them. I thus saw the importance of the machinery employed in these manufactories and its rapid annual improvements. I also became vividly alive to the deteriorating condition of the young children and others who were made the slaves of these new mechanical powers. And whatever may be said to the contrary, bad and unwise as American slavery is and must continue to be, the white slavery in the manufactories of England was at this unrestricted period far worse than the house

slaves whom I afterwards saw in the West Indies and in the United States, and in many respects, especially as regards health, food, and clothing, the latter were much better provided for than were these oppressed and degraded children and workpeople in the home manufactories of Great Britain.

As employer and master manufacturer in Lancashire and Lanarkshire, I had done all I could to lighten the evils of those whom I employed; yet with all I could do under our most irrational system for creating wealth, forming character, and conducting all human affairs, I could only to a limited extent alleviate the wretchedness of their condition, while I knew that society, even at this period, possessed the most ample means to educate, employ, place, and govern, the whole population of the British Empire, so as to make all into full-formed, highly intelligent, united, and permanently prosperous and happy men and women, superior in all physical and mental qualities. In my own experience I had at this time discovered the true principles of forming character, and how easy it would be to give a good, useful, and superior character to all of our race, by a consistent rational application of those principles to practice over the Empire. But the circumstances and means of adaptation were not then prepared for such a change, and it was evident that much more preparation must be made before governments and people could be sufficiently instructed and interested on this all-important subject, and before they could be prepared for this new view of society. Every step of my experience forced me more and more strongly to feel the necessity of preparing governments and people through a persevering system of new instruction, to fit both for the change which I had in view.

But so wedded were both to old superstitions, old associations of ideas, and old habits, that the time required to adapt them to receive the principles and to comprehend the practice greatly exceeded my early anticipations. I thought previous to experience, that the simple, plain, honest enunciation of truth, and of its beautiful application to all the real business of life, would attract the attention and engage the warm interest of all parties; and that the reformation of the population of the world would be comparatively an easy task. But, promising as many things appeared at first, as I advanced I found superstitions and mistaken self-interest so deeply rooted and ramified throughout society, that they resisted the *coup de grace* which I now began to prepare to give to them when matters could be adapted to promise success.

In 1814 I had formed a new partnership with men pledged to assist my views for the reformation of society in my way in practice. I therefore commenced measures accordingly. My first step was to call a meeting of the manufacturers of Scotland in 1815, to be held in the Tontine, Glasgow, to consider the neces-

sity and policy of asking the government, then under Lord Liverpool's administration, to remit the heavy duty then paid on the importation of cotton, and to consider measures to improve the condition of the young children and others employed in the various textile manufactures now so rapidly extending over the kingdom. The meeting was presided over by the Lord Provost of Glasgow, and was very numerously attended by the leading manufacturers of that town. I stated to the meeting my objects in calling it, and first proposed that an application should be made to government to remit the tax upon the raw material of the cotton manufacture. This was carried unanimously by acclamation. I then proposed a string of resolutions to give relief to the children and others employed in cotton, wool, flax, and silk mills. They contained the same conditions which I afterwards embodied in a bill, which I induced the first Sir Robert Peel to propose for me to the House of Commons.

The propositions were read by me to the meeting ; but although all were enthusiastically in favour of asking for the remission of the tax, not one would second my motion for the relief of those whom they employed. I then declined to proceed with them in the business of the meeting, and it therefore came to nothing. But I told them I should take my own course in both measures, independently of them.

New Lanark was now becoming the most celebrated establishment of the kind at home or abroad, and was visited by strangers from all parts of the world, averaging yearly, from that period until I left it to go to the United States, ten years later, not less than two thousand.

On returning from the Glasgow meeting to this establishment, I immediately sent to the Lord Provost of Glasgow, as chairman of the meeting, a copy of the address which I had read, and sent copies of it also to the government and to every member of both Houses of Parliament. I also had it published in the London and provincial press. (This address is given in the appendix to the present volume.)

This address made me yet better known to the government, and was afterwards a passport for me to all the members of both Houses of Parliament, and it created a considerable sensation among the upper classes and the manufacturing interest over the kingdom.

As soon as I had made this address thus public, I proceeded to London to communicate with the government, and to learn what it would do on both subjects. I found the impressions made by my address were favourable to my views. I was referred to Mr. Nicholas Vansittart, afterwards Lord Bexley, respecting the remission of the tax. I was well received by him, and in our conversation he asked me some question which I cannot now remember,—but my prompt decided reply made him blush like

a sensitive maiden on account of his previous want of knowledge on the subject. The tax was fourpence per pound, and he said he would remit the whole, except to the amount of a small portion of a penny, which he said would be retained for some government object or arrangement.

The government was also favourable to my views for the relief of the children and others employed in the growing manufactures of the kingdom, if I could induce the members of both Houses to pass a bill for the purpose. This was a formidable task to attempt to effect; for by this time the manufacturing interest had become strong in the House of Commons, and yet stronger in its out of door influence with the members, whose election was much under its control. But I made up my mind to try what truth and perseverance could effect.

I waited personally on the leading members of both Houses, and explained to them my object, which was to give some relief to a most deserving yet much oppressed part of our population. I was in general well received, and had much promise of support, especially from the leaders of various sections into which parties were then divided. Lord Lascelles, member for Yorkshire, afterwards Earl of Harewood, and at that period the most influential member of the House of Commons, offered me his full assistance, and requested me to use his name with mine in calling meetings of the members of both Houses to promote my proposed bill when introduced into Parliament.

When by these means the leading members of both Houses had become interested and were desirous the bill which I had prepared should be introduced, a final meeting was conjointly called by Lord Lascelles and myself, of the members of both Houses who had taken with us the greatest interest at former meetings to forward the measure, now to consider, as I was not a member, who should be requested to take charge of the bill and to introduce it into the House of Commons. The first Sir Robert Peel was now a member of the House of Commons, was an extensive manufacturer, and stood well with the government and the House generally. But I had never applied to him or to any other manufacturer in the House, and it was not known to the meeting how he might view my proposals. The members present at this meeting (which, with the previous ones, was held at the King's Arms Hotel, New Palace Yard, Westminster, and was numerously attended,) suggested that if Sir Robert Peel would introduce the bill, he would be a very fit person to carry it through the House of Commons. The meeting wished to know whether I had any objection to Sir Robert Peel's taking charge of the bill, if he would undertake it. He had never been present at any of our meetings, and I did not know how, as a manufacturer, he was inclined to act, and I believed that so far he was altogether unacquainted with our proceedings. But I could have no objection

to him if he was willing to accept the charge. The meeting asked me if I would endeavour to ascertain his views upon the subject, and I consented to do so. My calling upon him for this purpose was the first intimation that Sir Robert Peel had of these proceedings.

When I informed him of the support which I was offered from the leading members in both houses, he very willingly accepted the office, and agreed to attend the next meeting of the favouring members, that he might learn their wishes as to the best mode of proceeding. He did so; and at that meeting all the arrangements were concluded for introducing the bill into the House of Commons with all the clauses as I had prepared them.

Had Sir Robert Peel been so inclined, he might have speedily carried this bill, as it was, through the House of Commons, during the first session, in time for it to have passed triumphantly through the Lords. But it appeared afterwards that he was too much under the influence of his brother manufacturers; and he allowed this bill, of so much real importance to the country, the master manufacturers, and the working classes, to be dragged through the House of Commons for four sessions before it was passed, and when passed it had been so mutilated in all its valuable clauses, that it became valueless for the objects I had intended.

At the commencement of these proceedings I was an utter novice in the manner of conducting the business of this country in parliament. But my intimate acquaintance with these proceedings for the four years during which this bill was under the consideration of both houses, opened my eyes to the conduct of public men, and to the ignorant vulgar self-interest, regardless of means to accomplish their object, of trading and mercantile men, even of high standing in the commercial world. No means were left untried by these men to defeat the object of the bill, in the first session of its introduction, and through four years in which, under one futile pretence and another, it was kept in the House of Commons.

Children at this time were admitted into the cotton, wool, flax, and silk mills, at six, and sometimes even at five years of age. The time of working, winter and summer, was unlimited by law, but usually it was fourteen hours per day, — in some fifteen, and even, by the most inhuman and avaricious, sixteen hours, — and in many cases the mills were artificially heated to a high state most unfavorable to health.

The first plea of the objectors to my bill was, that masters ought not to be interfered with by the legislature in any way in the management of their business.

After long useless discussions, kept up to prolong time, this was at length overruled.

The next attempt was to prove that it was not injurious to employ these young children fourteen or fifteen hours per day in

over-heated close rooms, filled often with the fine flying fibre of the material used, particularly in cotton and flax spinning mills. Sir Robert Peel most unwisely consented to a committee being appointed to investigate this question, and this committee was continued for two sessions of parliament before these wise and honest men, legislating for the nation, could decide that such practices were detrimental to the health of these infants.

The bill as I prepared it was assented to by all the leading members of both houses, except the trading and manufacturing interests, including cotton, wool, flax, and silk mill-owners. Sir Robert Peel, yielding to the clamour of the manufacturers, first gave up wool, flax, and silk, and they were struck out at the commencement, although at that time flax spinning was the most unhealthy of the four manufactures.

During the two first sessions occupied by the committee to enquire whether the health of young children employed in over-heated cotton mills for fourteen, fifteen, and sometimes sixteen hours per day, was deteriorated, I sat with the committee, the only uninfluenced advocate of the cause of these children, whose minds and bodies I knew from considerable experience were materially and cruelly injured. But my evidence, being that of a master manufacturer, and of one conducting in connection with these manufactures a population, young and old, of two thousand five hundred, was deemed by the active manufacturers opposed to the various clauses of my proposed bill, to be too strong to be overcome, especially as my practice in the extensive mills which I conducted was in accordance with the several clauses of the bill, as I proposed it first to the house through Sir Robert Peel.

The manufacturers who attended to oppose these measures clause by clause therefore consulted among themselves how they could diminish the influence of my evidence with the government and the members of both houses. They said—"Surely we can find out by going to Lanark something that he has done or is doing, that will diminish the great influence which he now possesses with these members and with the government;"—a happy suggestion as it was deemed by this strong party of rich and influential men as master manufacturers.

Mr. Houldsworth, a great cotton spinner from Glasgow, and another, whose name I do not recollect, were dispatched to my neighbourhood on a mission of scandal hunting. They soon learned that the parish clergyman of Old Lanark was an enemy to my proceedings at New Lanark. He resided about a mile distant from the former, and was well informed of everything done at New Lanark since I undertook its direction, now about sixteen years. This, they thought would be the very man for their purpose. The Rev. Mr. Menzies had preached in and presided over the town of Lanark for twenty years, and there was no perceptible change for the better among his parishioners;

while in sixteen years there had been at New Lanark a change from a very low state of morals, to a general conduct which was so superior as to attract the attention of the most distinguished in rank, station, and character, both at home and from all countries. This progress at New Lanark had aroused the jealousy and enmity of Mr. Menzies, whom, however, I had always treated as a neighbouring clergyman, and had often invited to dine at my house, and when some of the first noblemen and gentlemen of the county were dining with me.

"This," thought Mr. Houldsworth and his master manufacturing companion in official search of scandal, "is the man for our purpose." And away they posted to his house. They said—"The manufacturers of the kingdom have appointed a committee to watch the progress of a very injurious bill which your neighbour, Mr. Owen, has had influence sufficient to introduce into parliament, which bill pretends to direct us how to conduct our business. We want therefore to diminish the influence of his evidence, for he is the only master manufacturer who advocates the bill. But his evidence has great weight with the members of parliament and with many of the members of government. Do you know anything of Mr. Owen's proceedings, by which, if made known to these parties, his influence would be diminished or destroyed?" "Yes," replied Mr. Menzies,—“I do. On the first of January this year, (1816,) on opening what he calls his ‘New Institution for the Formation of Character,’ he delivered an address to all his workpeople, and he invited the noblemen and gentry of the county and the clergymen of every denomination to be present, and this address was of the most treasonable character against church and state.” “That is the very thing for our purpose. Do you know anything else against him?” “No. But he gives as much encouragement to the dissenting ministers of this place, as to me; and he invites them as much to his village,—which, considering I am the authorised minister of his parish, he ought not to do. And he encourages some dissenting meeting houses in New Lanark, and these being opened on the Sabbath, they keep many away who would otherwise attend the parish church and my ministry.” “And you attended to hear this treasonable address from Mr. Owen on opening his Institution?” “No. He invited me, but I was obliged to be absent on some parish business. But Mrs. Menzies and my family were all there. It was a great meeting, and many of our highest gentry were present.” “How many persons do you suppose?” “The largest school-room, with its galleries, was filled, so that no room was left for more; and they say there were twelve hundred present. And there was music, vocal and instrumental; but no one saw the performers or knew where it came from.” “Did Mrs. Menzies on her return home im-

“immediately relate to you what she had heard and seen?” “Yes. And being so much accustomed to hear my sermons, and to give a true account of them to me afterwards, she is quite competent to carry away the substance of any public discourse which she may hear, and at this meeting she was assisted by my children who were with her.”

The manufacturers were delighted with this intelligence, and asked if he knew anything else against me. He could not say he did. “Well—this will be sufficient, if you will return with us to London, and will state these facts to the government. And we will pay you for your time and trouble, and will pay all your expenses.” “I will go with you willingly,—for this is a dangerous man in our neighbourhood, where, by his pretended philanthropy, he has great influence, and especially by directing the extensive operations of so large an establishment, and employing more than two thousand people.”

The party, thus agreed, hastily posted up to London, and immediately asked the Secretary of State, Lord Sidmouth, for an audience on most important business. An interview was granted them. The manufacturers, with Mr. Menzies, who were all primed by the committee of manufacturers how to act and what to say, went in full feather to the appointment made by the Secretary of State, whom for nearly two years I had been in the habit of frequently visiting in his office, and, at his request, without asking for any formal appointment. When these gentlemen had been severally formally introduced to his lordship, he asked them the nature of their important business. “We have come to make a charge against Mr. Owen, Lord Sidmouth.” “Ah! what is it? I know Mr. Owen very well.” “This gentleman is Mr. Menzies, who is minister of the parish church in the county town of Lanark, in the near neighbourhood of New Lanark.” I should have said previously that it so happened that, as I was going to attend the committee of the House of Commons on the Factory Bill, I met this party on their way to Lord Sidmouth; when Mr. Houldsworth said on passing, for we were all on speaking terms, and apparently friendly—“I would not be in your shoes to-day for a trifle”—looking at the same time significantly important. I knew not then what he could mean, and passed on to the committee, which sat day by day, taking the most extraordinary evidence in favour of the health of cotton mills, and to prove that the health of young children and youth was not injured by working in them fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen hours per day!

But to return to the party with Lord Sidmouth. “Well, Mr. Menzies,” said his lordship, “what is your charge against Mr. Owen?” “I have to state that on the first of January last, at the opening of what he calls a New Institution for the Formation of Character, to which all his people

"and the neighbouring gentry were invited, he delivered one of the most extraordinary, treasonable, and inflammatory discourses that has ever been heard in Scotland." "Indeed!" said Lord Sidmouth. "And you were present and listened attentively to the whole of what he said?" "No, my lord,—I was not present; but my wife and family were, and several ministers living in the neighbourhood, and the gentry near." "And you know all the address contained?" "I know from the report of my wife and others that it was most treasonable and inflammatory." "Is this all the charge you have to make against Mr. Owen?" "Yes, my Lord." Lord Sidmouth then asked the deputation (and he appeared fully conscious of the animus of this proceeding,) whether they had any further accusation to make. "No, my lord, we have no other charge to make." "Then I dismiss your complaint as most frivolous and uncalled for. The government has been six months in possession of a copy of that discourse, which it would do any of you credit to have delivered, if you had the power to conceive it." And he bowed them out.

They returned, first to their committee, and gave an accurate account of their reception and the result. The whole of which, and the previous proceedings at Lanark with Mr Menzies, were the same day graphically communicated to me by one of their own committee, who had become so disgusted with these and other of their doings, that he would no longer act with them. The next day I saw Mr. Houldsworth, who looked most dejected, and had not a word to say for himself.

I sat with this Factory Committee of the House of Commons every day for two sessions, and was on one occasion examined by it as a witness in favour of the bill in its original state, limiting the time of working the mills to ten hours per day,—the age of admission for children to work in them for that time, to twelve,—for the boys and girls to be taught to read and write previously to their admission,—and the girls in addition to be taught to sew and cook, and to do the general domestic duties of a poor man's house,—and the factory to be kept clean and frequently whitewashed. [See appendix.]

My evidence, as an extensive mill owner, who had in his own practice adopted these regulations in his establishment, which at this time employed upwards of two thousand, the great majority children and young persons, had an influence not to be overcome by any ordinary or fair means. Therefore the manufacturing members of the house, who were in strength upon this committee, resorted to the most unfair means in their examination,—especially Sir George Philips, of the cotton spinning firm of Philips and Lee, of Salford, who, taking advantage of the position he held, took upon himself to question me at great length on my religious belief, and on various other matters, so unjustifiable and

irrelevant to the business before the committee, that at the end of this long examination of me by this rival cotton spinner, or (as many of his class were now called, from their great wealth and their tyranny over their workpeople,) cotton lord, he was called to order by Henry, afterwards Lord Brougham, who also moved that the whole examination of Sir George Philips, so totally unconnected with the business of the committee, should be expunged, and it was so decided without one dissentient.

I was so disgusted at the delays created by these interested members, and at the concessions made to them by Sir Robert Peel during the progress of the bill through the House of Commons, that after attending the committee every day of its sitting during two long sessions, I took less interest in a measure now so mutilated, and so unlike the bill when introduced from me; and I seldom attended the committee, or took any active part in its further progress. My place during the third and fourth year of its being kept before the committees of both houses of parliament was occupied chiefly by Mr. Nathaniel Gould, of Manchester, and Mr. Richard Oastler, of Yorkshire, known as the "king" of the Yorkshire operatives. And both made much popular character by their well intended efforts.

It may be remarked here, that this bill has since been almost continually before Parliament for improvement after improvement, and yet it has not been suffered by the master cotton-spinners to attain the full benefits contained in the bill when first introduced from me by Sir Robert Peel, although the clauses as they then stood would have been, if carried, as beneficial for the masters as for the workpeople, and greatly more advantageous to the general interests of the country. But in this and in all other cases between the tyranny of the masters and the sufferings of their white slaves, the error is in reality in the system of society, which creates the necessity for tyrants and slaves, neither of which could exist in a true and rational state of society.

While these proceedings were in progress, what was called the revulsion from war to peace had created universal distress among the producers in the British Islands. Barns and farm yards were full, and warehouses were weighed down with all manner of productions, and prices fell much below the cost at which the articles could be produced. Farm servants were dismissed, and no employment could be found for them, the manufacturers being in the same situation as the farmers, and obliged to discharge their hands by hundreds, and in many cases to stop their works altogether. The distress among all workpeople became so great, that the upper and wealthy classes became alarmed, foreseeing that the support of the hundreds of thousands unemployed, if this state of things continued, must ultimately fall upon them. This was in 1816, the first year after the conclusion of peace.

A great meeting was called by the upper classes to consider

the cause of and remedy for this distress, which puzzled all our political economists, and confounded our most experienced statesmen. The meeting was held in the City of London Tavern, presided over by the Duke of York, and attended by all the great people and prominent men of the day. At this time I was on friendly terms with several of the English bench of bishops, particularly the Archbishop of Canterbury, (Sutton,)—the learned Bishop of St. Davids, (Burgess,)—the benevolent and liberal Bishop of Durham, (Barrington,)—and the good honest Bishop Norwich, (Bathurst.) Upon the morning of this great meeting, at which all the high official personages were expected to attend, and to subscribe for the immediate support of the suffering work-people, I was engaged to breakfast with the Bishop of Norwich. After breakfast the Bishop said to me—"Mr. Owen, I shall be expected to be present at this meeting and to subscribe my mite, "and as I cannot to-day conveniently attend, will you have the kindness to offer an apology to the meeting for my absence, and "to subscribe ten pounds for me?"—giving me that sum. I did what he requested, and I perceived that many were surprised that the Bishop had given his commission to me in preference to any other.

All at the meeting appeared to be at a loss to account for such severe distress at the termination of a war so successful and the commencement of a peace so advantageous, as it was thought, to this country. But all that was done was to appoint a committee of the leading statesmen and political economists and practical men of business to investigate this difficult subject. Such committee was then named, and the Archbishop of Canterbury was appointed its chairman, and a large subscription to give immediate relief was entered into.

Among the committee were the leading political economists and Malthusians, who at this period were making great pretensions to superior knowledge, and whose opinions governed British home politics for many years after, and have continued to do so almost to the present time.

Not long ago their real leader, and that of the Whig party, Francis Place, a most energetic and well intentioned man, about a year before his death, confessed to me that he was mistaken in all his expectations, and was no longer able to see his way in national affairs. He had always agreed with me on the necessity of educating the people; but was opposed to me on the necessity of giving national employment to the unemployed who desired to work. He was a conscientious, firm, hard Whig and modern political economist, mistaken in all his political views, except upon education, and of that he had only Whig knowledge. His opinion was, that the poor should work out their own way as he had done,—and he had been successful.

Upon this committee my name appeared—by whom proposed

and seconded I never knew; and I was much surprised to find it there. My friend Mr. Mortlock's name was also upon the committee,—which was appointed to meet the next day.

Mr. Mortlock was a true liberal philanthropist, most active in the cause of the poor and working classes, and well-known among the leading men of the day. We agreed that I should breakfast with him, and that we should go together to the first meeting of this intended-to-be important committee.

At breakfast Mr. Mortlock (who was the head of the Firm at 250, Oxford Street, London, the great China warehouse,) enquired of me whether I knew the cause of this new and most extraordinary general distress among the producers of wealth, at the commencement of a peace so satisfactory and honourable to the nation. I explained to him my views on the subject, but said, “No doubt the leading men, especially some of the prominent political economists, who I see are upon the committee, will give a much fuller and better explanation of this subject, as they are in possession of all the knowledge of the government derived from every national source, and I expect we shall obtain much valuable new information from a committee appointed as this has been.”

We attended the meeting, and sat together, not far from the chairman, who, as I have said, was the Archbishop of Canterbury (Sutton).

I had anticipated a great addition to my knowledge from attending this committee of the supposed most experienced public men of the day that could be nominated to assist the Archbishop. I listened with the most fixed attention to speech after speech, from those who took upon themselves the task of enlightening the committee upon this extraordinary new state of the country at the commencement of so gratifying a peace. I was confounded, amazed, and greatly disappointed, with the verbiage uttered first by one leading public man and then by another and another, until the most prominent and forward had expressed all they had to say. But the meeting was not satisfied with any of these attempts to explain the cause of this unusual general distress, and my friend Mr. Mortlock was quite uneasy in his seat, while attending to speech after speech, amounting as he said to nothing relevant to the subject before them, and he repeatedly urged me to tell the meeting what I had explained to him at our breakfast.

Uneducated as I was, and then inexperienced in public speaking, I had the greatest dislike and even horror of standing up and formally attempting to address such a meeting. But my friend had become so urgent with me that I should speak, that at length he attracted the notice of the chairman, who, hearing what he was saying to me, said,—“Mr. Owen,—we know you have had great experience among workpeople, and have given,

"as evidenced by your lately published Essays, which I have read and studied, much thought to these matters. I therefore request you will favour the meeting with your sentiments upon this subject, which appears to be so much a mystery to every one." I could not now escape rising. But explanations at a breakfast table, and formally addressing such a meeting, were to me at that period two very different things. I had to force myself to overcome my diffidence and mistrust of my own powers.

I said the cause of this apparently unaccountable distress seemed to me to be the new extraordinary changes which had occurred during so long a war, when men and materials had been for a quarter of a century in such urgent demand, to support the waste of our armies and navies upon so extensive a scale for so long a period. All things had attained to war prices, and these had been so long maintained, that they had appeared to the present generation the natural state of business and public affairs. The want of hands and materials, with this lavish expenditure, created a demand for and gave great encouragement to new mechanical inventions and chemical discoveries, to supersede manual labour in supplying the materials required for warlike purposes, and these, direct and indirect, were innumerable. The war was a great and most extravagant customer to farmers, manufacturers, and other producers of wealth, and many during this period became very wealthy. The expenditure of the last year of the war for this country alone was one hundred and thirty millions sterling, or an excess of eighty millions of pounds sterling over the peace expenditure. And on the day on which peace was signed, this great customer of the producers died, and prices fell as the demand diminished, until the *prime cost* of the articles required for war could not be obtained. The barns and farm yards were full, warehouses loaded, and such was our artificial state of society, that this very superabundance of wealth was the sole cause of the existing distress. Burn the stock in the farm yards and warehouses, and prosperity would immediately recommence in the same manner as if the war had continued. This want of demand at remunerating prices compelled the master producers to consider what they could do to diminish the amount of their productions and the cost of producing, until these surplus stocks could be taken out of the market. To effect these results, every economy in producing was resorted to, and men being more expensive machines for producing than mechanical and chemical inventions and discoveries, so extensively brought into action during the war, the men were discharged, and the machines were made to supersede them,—while the numbers unemployed were increased by the discharge of men from the army and navy. Hence the great distress for want of work among all classes whose labour was so much in demand while the war continued. This increase of mechanical and chemical power was continually diminishing the

demand for and value of manual labour, and would continue to do so, and would effect great changes throughout society. For the new power created by these new inventions and discoveries was already enormous, and was superseding manual power.

Here I was asked by Mr. Colquhoun, the celebrated city magistrate and political economist, who had lately published his "*Resources of the British Empire*"—how much I thought this new mechanical and chemical power now superseded manual labour. I replied that I had not the data from which I could make an exact statement of the amount to the committee; but from observing these new powers in action over the kingdom, I knew the amount must be very considerable. Mr. Colquhoun said—"But give the committee some idea of what you suppose it to be." "I do not like to express myself on so important a subject without some fixed data beyond general observations." Several voices from various members of the committee exclaimed—"Do, Mr. Owen, give us some notion of your impressions on this subject." I said—"Imperfectly informed as I am, I am most unwilling, on a subject so new and yet so important to society, to state a crude opinion merely from general observation." The committee now appeared to be much agitated and excited, and became most urgent that I should name some amount as the extent to which this new power superseded manual labour.

The population of the British Isles was at this period (1816,) in round numbers about *seventeen millions*. Political economists estimated *one fifth* of the population to be producers. But as women and young children had latterly been made to attend machinery, it would be more safe to say *one fourth* were producers—or that the wealth of Great Britain and Ireland was annually produced by the manual labour of *four millions and a quarter*, assisted by mechanical and chemical power. Knowing this, I said—"It now must exceed the whole amount of manual producing power." "What! Mr. Owen!" exclaimed Mr. Colquhoun and many others—"exceed the labour of more than five millions! *Five millions!* it is utterly impossible." I assured the committee that I knew it must very far exceed five millions, and that this was the cause why manual labour was so little in demand. I said that at this time I was directing in my establishment at New Lanark in Scotland, mechanical powers and operations superintended by about two thousand young persons and adults, which operations now completed as much work as sixty years before would have required the entire working population of all Scotland. This statement more and more surprised the leading members of the committee. The Archbishop said—"The statements you have made are very interesting and important. But what is the remedy for the existing distress?" I said—"To find the remedy for this new artificial state of society, is not an easy task. But a remedy can be

"found for every artificial evil, and I think I perceive the remedy for this evil." "Can you now state this remedy?" "No—I am not prepared,—not expecting to be thus called upon. I came only to hear the remedies of those much more experienced in public affairs than myself." The Archbishop said—"Would you object to make a report on this subject to an adjourned meeting of this committee?" "If your Grace and the committee desire it, I will do the best I can to prepare such report."

The Archbishop asked the committee if it was their wish that I should prepare a report, giving my views of the remedy. They unanimously expressed a desire that I should do so. I consented, and the meeting was immediately afterwards adjourned.

I was at this time in regular daily attendance upon the committee of the House of Commons on "*Sir Robert Peel's Factory Bill*," as it was now called; and the master manufacturers were continually in search of evidence to support their cause against their workpeople, and among other of their doings, they had been at considerable expense to collect the number of spindles at work in all the cotton mills over the kingdom. This to me a valuable document they presented to the Factory Committee of the House of Commons the day after the meeting of the committee which I had attended to consider the cause of and remedy for the new and extraordinary distress among the farm labourers and manufacturing operatives. This document was brought to the committee by the masters, to show the magnitude and importance of their cotton spinning operations as a national branch of business, and that therefore the legislature should not in any way interfere to interrupt its progress and prosperity. It would have been a just proceeding on their part to have shown also the enormous profits that had been made by them in this branch during the previous years, and how well they could afford to give the relief asked for by the bill, as first presented from me to Sir Robert Peel to be introduced into the house. This document, however, served an important purpose, which the master cotton spinners never anticipated. It enabled me to estimate with considerable accuracy the amount of manual labour which was superseded by the machinery employed in cotton spinning alone. I found this amount at that time to exceed and supersede the manual labour of a population of *eighty millions*, and it will be seen by official documents how much this manufacture has increased since 1816.

As soon as I had obtained this document, and had made my calculations, I took them to Mr. Cloquhoun, the most advanced political economist in a knowledge of facts of any British subject. While he was preparing his elaborate work "*On the Resources of the British Empire*," to enable him to do it justice, all the national documents and records bearing upon the subject had been submitted to his inspection. When I explained to him

these calculations, which made certain the results which I stated, I have seldom seen any one more surprised. After a little reflection he said—"A mystery to me while I wrote my late work is now explained. During the late expensive, and I may say most lavish and extravagant war expenditure, I found the real wealth of the nation, although also borrowing large sums, to be year by year considerably on the increase, and I could not account for or divine the cause of such extraordinary and apparently contradictory results. I would have given much for this information when I was writing my book; for I could then have made the work of much more interest and value to the public and to the government. But," he continued, "if *one* branch of *one* manufacture supersedes the manual labour of a population of *eighty millions*—what must be the amount superseded by *all* the new mechanical and chemical powers which have been introduced into the operations of industry in the British Islands since the inventions of Arkwright and Watt? Can you form any estimate of this amount?" I replied—"I have no correct data to guide me, except the document I have now brought, and which the master manufacturers have made out. From this document, however, I can plainly perceive that, with the remaining branches in the wool, flax, and silk manufactures, the new powers will much exceed the manual labour of *two hundred millions* of population. But including all other branches of business over the kingdom, it must be at present beyond all means to estimate with any pretensions to accuracy. And it must be far beyond any conceptions of our statesmen or of any class." "Yes," he said,—"it would be unwise to make any other statement yet, than that of the two hundred millions, as within your data of calculation. But the information which you have now given to me I esteem of important value—indeed I know not how it can be overrated by public men."

It being mentioned in public by Mr. Colquhoun that it was ascertained from documents which were trustworthy, that the new mechanical and chemical powers within this kingdom superseded the manual labour of a population of upwards of *two hundred millions*, that amount became regularly stated afterwards in the writings and public speeches of all the modern political economists,—none of them knowing whence their new information proceeded.

I now turned my attention to consider the report which I had engaged to make to the Archbishop's Committee to enquire into the cause of and remedy for the existing distress among all classes of workpeople, exclusive of domestic servants. While I was thus occupied, the government, but especially the Whig interest and the political economists, who were now becoming one party, became alarmed by the number of workpeople now out of em-

ployment and claiming their natural and legal right for support from the nation. It was at this time, when the sufferings of the unemployed were extreme, that the political economists conspired against the just natural and legal rights of those who could not find employment, and who had no other means of living except from national support, stealing, and prostitution. They did not take into account that the wealth of the nation had increased in a much greater ratio than the poor's-rate. The political economists, by reasoning from a false principle, knowing little of human nature, and less of the powers of society when rightly directed, had hardened their hearts against the natural feelings of humanity, and were determined, aided by their disciples the Whigs, to starve out the poor from the land. And their measures did starve millions in Great Britain and Ireland, without attaining economy for the nation, or diminishing the number of the poor. The plans which they induced the nation to adopt, starved the weakest and best of the poor, and drove others to theft, murder, and the poor females to prostitution. And these measures were adopted while there was abundance of uncultivated land, and an enormous accumulation of wealth squandered in useless wars which a little common sense could easily have avoided, and in as ignorant foreign speculations in mines, loans, and all manner of wild schemes, which promised, however fallaciously, a high interest for capital.

The rapid accumulation of wealth, from the rapid increase of mechanical and chemical power, created capitalists who were among the most ignorant and injurious of the population. The wealth created by the industry of the people, now made abject slaves to these new artificial powers, accumulated in the hands of what are called the monied class, who created none of it, and who mis-used all they had acquired. Their proceedings proved by their results how ignorant and totally unequal to their position these men were. Many of them singly (had they possessed a knowledge of their own nature and of the powers of that nature when united and combined into a rational system of society, based on common sense, derived from common every-day facts,) could, by the proper use of their funds, have set an example, without diminishing those funds, which, from its success and superior good results, all others must have followed.

At this period I was unconscious of the gross ignorance which a false fundamental principle, or rather notion of a crude undeveloped imagination, had inflicted on the entire population of the world, thus making their reasoning faculties, until the sciences were far in advance of imaginary unbased notions, far worse than useless. For this mis-direction of the rational faculties of humanity has led all nations and peoples through all manner of insane absurdities. And to a very great extent these remain in full activity at this day.

In considering the report which I had been so unexpectedly called upon to make to the committee for taking into their consideration the cause of and remedy for the great existing distress among the poor and working classes in the British Islands, I reasoned according to the most obvious principles of plain common sense.

The war had continued so long, (nearly a quarter of a century,) that the British population had adopted a war state of society, and with Bank of England notes being made a legal tender, this state of warfare might have continued without intermission, and the country would have proceeded year by year, as it had done during the years of the war, to increase rapidly in wealth. The great war consumer of wealth having suddenly ceased, the demand for the consumption of war on so magnificent a scale at home and abroad at once terminated, and this produced what was then called the revulsion from war to peace. This new state of national affairs (for it was new in the history of nations,) alarmed and confounded the statesmen of that period, and they looked around for help from some quarter.

There were at this time a few naturally strong-minded active men, including Malthus, Mill, Ricardo, Colonel Torrens, Hume, and Place. The last, possessing more energy and practical knowledge, having risen from the working class, was the soul of the party. They with some others formed the new school of modern political economists, as they were then called. These were all well-intentioned, clever, acute men, close reasoners, and great talkers upon a false principle—and this reminds me to add to their number Dr. Bowring and Jeremy Bentham, who were prominent members of this new school.

With all these I was intimate and upon friendly terms, Jeremy Bentham being one of my New Lanark partners,—and this his friend and agent Dr. Bowring said was his only successful pecuniary speculation. With all these really clever, and as I have said undoubtedly well-intentioned men, I had day by day much discussion, but carried on by each of them in the most friendly manner, and most frequently when breakfasting with them, and before their business of the day commenced.

I was most desirous to convince them that national education and employment could alone create a permanent rational, intelligent, wealthy, and superior population, and that these results could be attained only by a scientific arrangement of the people, united in properly constructed villages of unity and co-operation as I then called them. While they, on the contrary, strongly desired to convert me to their views of instructing the people without finding them national united employment, and of a thorough system of individual competition. The one may be called the system of universal attraction,—the other, that of universal repulsion.

I was now too much a man of business, and too experienced in knowledge of human nature, not to perceive strongly the utter impossibility of succeeding in permanently improving the condition of any population by any half measures. No people or population can be made good, intelligent, and happy, except by a rational and natural education and useful employment or occupation, giving equal exercise to body and mind under healthy conditions.

These pushing, busy, and ever active political economists advocated the contention of individualism, with education according to the then notions of national education for the poor, and with the full extent of individual responsibility for their conduct through life. And what were then called the liberal and advanced minds of the public were decidedly in their favour, aided also by the prejudices of all past ages. And they succeeded in converting the government and the public to their notions and practices.

I knew the utter weakness and fallacy of the notions and practices which they were inducing all parties to adopt. And were it not that these changes would of necessity lead the public onward to higher and better principles and practices, I should have very much preferred the old Conservative system of governing with more ignorance, but with greatly more humanity to the poor, their dependents, and the working classes,—all of whom were better provided for and less worked, in more healthy situations. The old aristocracy of birth, as I recollect them in my early days, were in many respects superior to the money-making and money-seeking aristocracy of modern times.

And now the government, inoculated with all the inexperienced notions of the modern political economists, commenced the most stringent measures in making laws against the natural rights of the poor and working classes, and in favour of the wealthy and powerful. Laws which were sure to increase poverty, crime, discontent, and misery, and ultimately to render a change in practice as well as in principle unavoidable. That change is now before us, and will be the revolution of revolutions, and will secure the permanent well-doing and happiness of the human race.

By the experience which I had now had, (first for ten years in Manchester, with a population of five hundred, and now for upwards of sixteen years at New Lanark in Scotland, with a population of two thousand five hundred solely under my direction and advice, socially as well as in their employments,) I had ascertained to a great extent practically how populations should be trained, educated, and occupied, to make them good, intelligent, and happy. I had discovered that by acting on an obvious principle respecting human nature, it was practicable, with the certainty of a law of nature, ultimately to make the human race good, wise, and happy. And having this knowledge deeply im-

pressed on my mind, I was induced, against the prejudices and educated errors of the population of the world, to determine not to cease but with life any efforts which I could make with my means, to effect this great change in the principle and practice of the human race.

By my own experience and reflection I had ascertained that human nature is radically good, and is capable of being trained, educated, and placed from birth in such manner, that all ultimately, (that is, as soon as the gross errors and corruptions of the present false and wicked system are overcome and destroyed,) must become united, good, wise, wealthy, and happy. And I felt that to attain this glorious result, the sacrifice of the character, fortune, and life of an individual, was not deserving a moment's consideration. And my decision was made to overcome all opposition and to succeed, or to die in the attempt.

By my experiment at New Lanark, continually opened to the public,—by the publication of my four Essays on the formation of character and a new view of society, which had been widely circulated among all classes at home and had been sent by our government to all foreign governments, to the most learned universities at home and abroad, and had been presented by our government to the bench of bishops,—by the advocacy of the cause of the workpeople,—and by the introduction of my bill into the House of Commons for their relief,—with my announcement, previously unthought of, declaring the large amount of new artificial power to supersede manual power,—my name had become well-known, and my influence at this period with the government, Parliament, and people, was considerable and on the increase.

But in proportion as my name and proceedings became public, the opposition from the most bigoted and professedly religious of all sects began to show itself. And from that period it was active and was daily on the increase. Before the day which was named for the next meeting of the Archbishop's committee, I had the report prepared for it. But previous to this meeting, the government, with the political economists to support them, had decided upon carrying into practice their stringent laws against the poor and working classes, and for this purpose a committee of the House of Commons, called "*Sturges Bourne's committee on the Poor Laws*," was appointed, composed of the leading members of both parties. It was deemed by far the most important committee of the session, and consisted of forty members, and had commenced its sittings when I presented my report to the Archbishop's committee.

When in my place I had presented the report and had explained the outline of the remedy which I proposed, the Archbishop and the committee appeared to be taken by surprise, and appeared at a loss what to say or do. After some private communication between the leading government party in the committee and the

Archbishop, the latter addressed me, and said—" Mr. Owen,—
" this committee is not prepared to take into its consideration a
" report so extensive in its recommendations, so new in principle
" and practice, and involving great national changes. It is better
" adapted for the consideration of Mr. Sturges Bourne's Poor
" Law Committee of the House of Commons, and which is now
" sitting. We therefore recommend you to present it to that
" committee. I said—" If that is the wish of your Grace and
" of this committee, I will do so."

Mr. Brougham, afterwards Lord Chancellor Brougham, was a member of this Poor Law Committee, and through him I gave notice to the committee that I had such a report to present to it, and that I was willing to be examined as a witness upon their bill. A day was appointed for my examination.

At this period I was little aware of the deep laid conspiracy which had been entered into by the upper classes against the natural and to this period legal rights of the poor and working classes. It was now beginning to be developed through this committee.

I attended the committee on the day appointed in the morning, as I was to be the first examined. When I entered the committee room I found the forty members present, and most formally arranged. I had the report and plans for explanation with me. I placed and arranged them in order, and then waited the commencement of my examination. The members more immediately connected with and under the influence of the government, had been made acquainted by the Archbishop's committee with the outline of the report which I now intended to present and more fully to explain by my examination. I now perceived that the leading members were in private and apparently very interesting conversation in an under tone, which prevented my hearing what was said by any speaker. After I had thus waited for some time, they appeared to come to some conclusion. I was personally known to all the members, and was upon friendly terms with some of them ; but I was prepared for a severe and most scrutinising examination, as the conservative members knew that my views respecting the poor and working classes differed materially from theirs.

After I had thus waited for some time with all my documents and plans opened out on the table, making I have no doubt a display formidable to the leading members of the committee, the chairman, Mr. Sturges Bourne, formally addressed me, and said—" Will you, Mr. Owen, have the kindness to withdraw for a short period into the next room ? The members of the committee desire to have some private discussion,—after which we will send for you to be examined."

I withdrew into the adjoining apartment, where, being well supplied with paper, pens, and ink, I immediately occupied my-

self with writing, as it was my custom never to be unoccupied. The committee met early, and no other witness was summoned on that day. I was thus busily engaged the whole day, expecting every moment to be sent for, until the bell rang to call the members to the House, and then Mr., now Lord Brougham came to me and said,—“Owen,—we have been discussing all day whether you should be examined or not, and we have come to no decision yet. The debate is adjourned until to-morrow morning at ten, when you must again attend the call of the committee.”

I thought this a strange proceeding, and could not then divine the cause.

In the morning I attended in the waiting room at ten o'clock, and occupied myself as on the previous day,—no other witness having been called. The whole day passed as before. The discussion continued with closed doors until the bell rang for the attendance of the committee in the House,—when Mr. Brougham, who was known then to be friendly to me, as he has been through our lives, came and said—“Well, Owen, this is an extraordinary business. The committee has been in close discussion for these two whole days, and only just now has come to a decision, when, by a small majority, it has been decided that you shall not be examined by the committee.” I said—“It is indeed strange and most extraordinary, as the members know how much I have studied these subjects, and how much extensive experience I have had with the working classes. But it is of little consequence. I will find means to enable the public to learn my views on this subject.”

In a day or two I published in the daily newspapers an examination of myself, such as I imagined the best informed of the committee would have made, and thus were the views of those members of the committee who were opposed to my being examined completely frustrated. (This document and the report are given in the appendix.) I should have liked very much to hear what was contended for by both parties during those two days' discussions. Those debates would now be a valuable document to prove the conspiracy of the upper against the natural and legal rights of the lower classes.

My name was now still more known to the public as a friend to the poor and working classes, and as a general reformer of existing evils. I considered what step I should next take to promote these views, yet so new to many. I decided to call a public meeting in the City of London Tavern “to consider a plan to relieve the country from its present distress, to re-moralise the lower orders, reduce the poor's rate, and gradually abolish pauperism with all its degrading consequences.”

But previous to these meetings several of the Foreign Ambassadors in London, to whom my four Essays on the New Views of

Society had been presented, requested to be introduced and known to me, and among these especially was Baron Jacobi, the Prussian Ambassador, who had communicated my Essays to the then Sovereign of Prussia, who so much approved of them as to write an autograph letter to me, expressing his high approbation of my sentiments on national education and on government, and stating that he had in consequence given instruction to his minister of the interior, to adopt my views on national education to the extent that the political condition and locality of Prussia would admit. And the next year (1817,) this measure was commenced, and it has been carried out to the present time. Baron Jacobi warmly advocated my views, and being known to be on friendly terms with me, was requested by Prince Esterhazy, the then Austrian Ambassador in London, to introduce him to me, that he might hear the explanation of my "New Views" from myself. They came to me together, and the Baron introduced the Prince to me; but as I did not hear very well, I did not catch the title or name, and I received the Prince as one of the ordinary members of the Foreign Aristocracy, and had a long, free, and interesting conversation with him.

I had then in my apartment the model of the first or preliminary community for the poor. He inspected this very closely, and I gave him a full explanation of its intended working in practice. He took a deep interest in the subject, was very frank and familiar, and at parting expressed himself in very friendly terms. I remained ignorant of the title and character of my very inquisitive and intelligent visitor, until I next met Baron Jacobi, who explained who and what he was.

I had conversed with him as man to man. Not knowing that he had any title, I gave him none, and when he asked me what character I intended to form by my "New Views," I replied—"Full-formed men and women, physically and mentally, who would always think and act consistently and rationally." This reply seemed to make a strong impression upon him, and the Baron informed me that he had expressed himself well-pleased and much interested with this our first interview. The Prince was ever afterwards my friend, and upon subsequent occasions was most useful to me.

I had been and was making great and substantial progress with my New Lanark experiment, and it was now becoming widely known, and attracted the attention of those in advanced stations at home and abroad. I had now completed, and furnished according to my new mode of instruction by sensible signs and familiar conversation, the first institution for the formation of the infant and child character—the infants being received into it at one year old, or as soon as they could walk.

The parents at first could not understand what I was

going to do with their little children at *two* years of age, but seeing the results produced, they became eager to send their infants at one year old, and enquired if I could not take them yet younger.

I charged the parents, that it might not be considered a pauper school, threepence per month, or three shillings a year, for each child, and of course they paid this most willingly. The expense of this establishment of three gradations of schools, was about two pounds per year for each child. But the difference between the three shillings and two pounds was amply made up by the improved character of the whole population, upon whom the school had a powerful influence for good.

The children were trained and educated without punishment or any fear of it, and were while in school by far the happiest human beings I have ever seen.

The infants and young children, besides being instructed by sensible signs,—the things themselves,—or models or paintings,—and by familiar conversation, were from two years and upwards daily taught dancing and singing, and the parents were encouraged to come and see their children at any of their lessons or physical exercises.

But in addition there were day schools for all under twelve years old, after which age they might, if their parents wished, enter the works, either as mechanics, manufacturers, or in any branch—for we had iron and brass founders, forgers, turners in wood and iron, machine makers, and builders in all branches, having continually buildings to repair and erect and machinery on a large scale to repair and renew. The annual repairs alone of the establishment cost at this period upwards of eight thousand pounds.

I also organised arrangements to supply all the wants of the population, buying every thing for money on a large scale in the first markets, and supplying them at first cost and charges. They had previously been necessitated to buy inferior articles, highly adulterated, at enormous prices, making their purchases at small grocery and grog shops, chiefly on credit; and their butcher's meat was generally little better than skin and bone. By the time the arrangements to provide for the whole circle of their wants in food, clothing, &c., &c., were completed, some of the larger families were earning two pounds per week, and the heads of these families told me that my new arrangements to supply their wants saved them in price ten shillings weekly, besides the great difference between deteriorated and the most inferior qualities, and the best unadulterated articles. The grocery and grog shops speedily disappeared, and the population soon relieved themselves from the debts previously contracted to them.

All the houses in the village, with one hundred and fifty acres of land around it, formed parts of the establishment, all united, and working together as one machine, proceeding day by day with

the regularity of clockwork. The order of the whole was such, that Mr. Henry Hase, the well-known cashier for so many years of the Bank of England, and who re-organised the arrangements of the bank, when on his first visit to me, after he had examined the whole with great minuteness and continually increasing interest as he advanced in his task, said—" Mr. Owen, this must " be the work of some generations. How long has it been in " progress to attain this high perfection of systematic order?" I informed him it had been entirely conceived by me and constructed under my immediate direction in sixteen years, no one knowing the results which I had in view while proceeding with the several parts to dovetail one with the other to form an entire whole. He was so much gratified by the extended systematic order, that as long as he lived he came every year with Mrs. Hase to visit me at Braxfield, my place of residence, which was at a convenient distance from the establishment, so as not to be annoyed by it, while the house was situated in the midst of beautiful scenery.

I have already mentioned the measures which I adopted for the detection and prevention of theft, and for registering the conduct of the workpeople, and the beneficial effects which resulted. The poor workpeople were exposed to the strongest temptations and their thefts were encouraged by the cotton weavers who were numerous in the neighbourhood of the establishment. The detection of the parties purloining was misery to them and most annoying to me, who knew how their characters had been ill-formed, and the unfavourable surroundings in which they were placed in this particular. My object was to prevent, not to punish crime; and by the plan which I adopted, I could detect the loss of a single bobbin in any one of the four sets of hands through which they had daily to pass. Thus was theft effectually *prevented*, and while this change was in progress I never had one punished, although many were detected.

There were four large mills filled with machinery old and ill-arranged. This was replaced and the whole newly arranged. Under the old arrangements the stairs were continually crowded with carriers with baskets, conveying the produce of the lower into the higher rooms, and with others meeting them with the empty skips and baskets. I therefore devised means, until then unpractised, to take all up and bring all down without the use of stairs.

I was greatly averse to punishments, and much preferred as far as possible simple means to render punishment unnecessary as it is always unjust to the individual. To prevent punishment by the overlookers and masters of departments who had been accustomed to whip and strap the children and young people, and who often from ignorance abused their authority, I invented what the people soon called a telegraph, which I have already described. This was the preventor of punishment. There was no beating,—no abusive language. I passed daily through all the

rooms, and the workers observed me always to look at these telegraphs,—and when black I merely looked at the person and then at the colour,—but never said a word to one of them by way of blame. And if any one thought the inferior colour was not deserved by him as given, it was desired that complaint should be made to me. But this seldom occurred. Now this simple device and silent monitor soon began to show its effects upon the character of the workers. At first a large proportion daily were black and blue, few yellow, and scarcely any white. Gradually the blacks were changed for blue, the blues for yellow, and the yellows for white. And for many years the permanent daily conduct of a very large majority of those who were employed, deserved and had No. 1 placed as their character on the books of the establishment. Soon after the adoption of this telegraph I could at once see by the expression of countenance what was the colour which was shown. As there were four colours there were four different expressions of countenance most evident to me as I passed along the rooms.

Never perhaps in the history of the human race has so simple a device created in so short a period so much order, virtue, goodness, and happiness, out of so much ignorance, error, and misery. How lamentable is it that the priesthood of the world and the governments of nations are yet ignorant of the immense happiness and goodness which they could so easily create by adopting simple and obvious means to *prevent* ignorance, poverty, crime, disunion, and misery; instead of encouraging by their unwise conduct and proceedings the increase of poverty, crime, disunion, and wretched destitution, and then adopting the most unjust and cruel laws to punish in the helpless those evils to society which their unwise teaching and governing have previously created.

Whenever the trial shall be honestly made and persevered in, to govern the population of the world on its true principle, and by practical measures to prevent ignorance, poverty, disunion, crime, and misery, it will be found to be an easy task and most economical to make all nations and peoples good, wise, and continually increasing in happiness.

The simple expedient of the little coloured telegraphs did me another essential service. I had promised my new partners, who generally were men of truly benevolent dispositions, and who desired to improve the condition of the working classes in their way, that I would buy the business in which we were about to unite our interests, give them five per cent. per annum for the capital which they thus entrusted to my direction, while I continued my plans and views for the general amelioration of all classes at home and abroad. In this pursuit, as I had to visit London often during the sittings of parliament, and thus to be absent in person from New Lanark for weeks and sometimes months, it was necessary for me to make my arrangements to

prevent the establishment suffering by my absence so long from it. The arrangements made for this purpose were such, that I had an accurate daily return sent to me of the detailed results in every department of the manufacturing process, by which I knew the real results of our daily progress by an almost instant inspection of figures on half a sheet of paper, more readily than I could have known them without such daily report by the most close daily personal attention ; and as the daily report of each coloured telegraph was entered in the character books every night, all knew that on my return to the establishment I should inspect these books and see how every one had behaved on each day of my absence.

I had divided the establishment into four general departments, and had taken great pains and had given much attention to train the four persons whom I placed at the head of each of these departments to understand my views respecting them and the mode of governing those placed under their immediate direction. Upon leaving the establishment when I expected to be absent for a long period, it was my practice to call these four together, and to explain fully what I wished to have done in each department during my absence. And on my return I uniformly found my wishes fulfilled, and my instructions faithfully followed.

I also adopted the same practice with the teachers in the three gradations of the schools, and with as much success as I could expect from young persons of both sexes, inexperienced in a correct knowledge of human nature, and therefore not always capable of making the due allowance for the varied natural character of each child.

I had before this period acquired the most sincere affections of all the children. I say of all—because every child above one year old was daily sent to the schools. I had also the hearts of all their parents, who were highly delighted with the improved conduct, extraordinary progress, and continually increasing happiness of their children, and with the substantial improvements by which I gradually surrounded them. But the great attraction to myself and the numerous strangers who now continually visited the establishment, was the new infant school ; the progress of which from its opening I daily watched and superintended, until I could prepare the mind of the master whom I had selected for this, in my estimation, most important charge,—knowing that if the foundation was not truly laid, it would be in vain to expect a satisfactory structure.

It was in vain to look to any old teachers upon the old system of instruction by books. In the previous old school room I had tried to induce the master to adopt my views ; but he could not and would not attempt to adopt what he deemed to be such a fanciful “new-fangled” mode of teaching, and he was completely under the influence of the minister of the parish, who was him-

self also opposed to any change of system in teaching children, and who considered that the attempt to educate and teach infants was altogether a senseless and vain proceeding. I had therefore, although he was a good obstinate "dominie" of the old school, reluctantly to part with him, and I had to seek among the population for two persons who had a great love for and unlimited patience with infants, and who were thoroughly tractable and willing unreservedly to follow my instructions. The best to my mind in these respects that I could find in the population of the village, was a poor simple-hearted weaver, named James Buchanan, who had been previously trained by his wife to perfect submission to her will, and who could gain but a scanty living by his now oppressed trade of weaving common plain cotton goods by hand. But he loved children strongly by nature, and his patience with them was inexhaustible. These, with his willingness to be instructed, were the qualities which I required in the master for the first rational infant school that had ever been imagined by any party in any country; for it was the first practical step of a system new to the world;—and yet with all my teaching of all classes of the public, it is still little understood in principle, and not at all yet conceived in practice, although the high permanent happiness through futurity of our race depends upon the principle and practice in all their purity being correctly carried into execution by all nations and people.

Thus the simple-minded kind-hearted James Buchanan, who at first could scarcely read, write, or spell, became the first master in a rational infant school. But infants so young, also required a female nurse, to assist the master, and one also who possessed the same natural qualifications. Such an one I found among the numerous young females employed in the cotton mills, and I was fortunate in finding for this task a young woman, about seventeen years of age, known familiarly among the villagers as "Molly Young," who of the two, in natural powers of mind, had the advantage over her new companion in an office perfectly new to both.

The first instruction which I gave them was, that they were on no account ever to beat any one of the children, or to threaten them in any manner in word or action, or to use abusive terms; but were always to speak to them with a pleasant countenance, and in a kind manner and tone of voice. That they should tell the infants and children (for they had all from one to six years old under their charge,) that they must on all occasions do all they could to make their playfellows happy,—and that the older ones, from four to six years of age, should take especial care of younger ones, and should assist to teach them to make each other happy.

These instructions were readily received by James Buchanan and Molly Young, and were faithfully adhered to by them as long as they remained in their respective situations.

The children were not to be annoyed with books ; but were to be taught the uses and nature or qualities of the common things around them, by familiar conversation when the children's curiosity was excited so as to induce them to ask questions respecting them.

The room for their play in bad weather was sixteen feet by twenty, and sixteen feet high.

The school room for the infant instruction was of the same dimensions, and was furnished with paintings, chiefly of animals, with maps, and often supplied with natural objects from the gardens, fields, and woods,—the examination and explanation of which always excited their curiosity and created an animated conversation between the children and their instructors, now themselves acquiring new knowledge by attempting to instruct their young friends, as I always taught them to think their pupils were, and to treat them as such.

The children at four and above that age showed an early desire to understand the use of the maps of the four quarters of the world upon a large scale, which were purposely hung in the room to attract their attention. Buchanan, their master, was first taught their use, and then how to instruct the children for their amusement,—for with these infants everything was made to be amusement.

It was most encouraging and delightful to see the progress which these infants and children made in real knowledge, without the use of books. And when the best means of instruction or forming character shall be known, I doubt whether books will be ever used before children attain their tenth year. And yet without books they will have a superior character formed for them at ten, as rational beings, knowing themselves and society in principle and practice, far better than the best informed now know these subjects at their majority, or the mass of the population of the world know them at any age.

Human nature, its capacities and powers, is yet to be learned by the world. Its faculties are unknown, unappreciated, and therefore misdirected, and wasted lamentably in all manner of ways, to the grievous injury of all our race through every succeeding generation.

When the beautiful and most wonderful organs, faculties, propensities, powers, and qualities of humanity, for the attainment of high excellence and happiness, shall be understood, and shall be rationally taught by one generation to its successor, truth will be the only language among men, and the pure spirit of enlightened charity and love will pervade the entire of the human race. And how simple is truth and real knowledge, when un-mixed with the errors and prejudices of ignorance, and with a want of knowing how to apply practical measures to bring truth and knowledge into the common affairs of life ! Here, with the

most simple means as agents, two untaught persons, not having one idea of the office in which they were placed, or of the objects intended to be attained, accomplished, unknown to themselves, results which surprised, astonished, and confounded the most learned and wise, and the greatest men of their generation. James Buchanan and Molly Young, by being for some time daily instructed how to treat the infants and children committed to their charge within the surroundings which had been previously created and arranged for them, produced results, unconsciously to themselves, which attracted the attention of the advanced minds of the civilised world—results which puzzled the most experienced of them, to divine the power which could mould humanity into the beings they came to see.

After some short time they were unlike all children of such situated parents, and indeed unlike the children of any class in society. Those at two years of age and above had commenced dancing lessons, and those of four years of age and upwards singing lessons,—both under a good teacher. Both sexes were also drilled, and became efficient in the military exercises, being formed into divisions, led by young drummers and fifers, and they became very expert and perfect in these exercises.

But to teach dancing, music, and military discipline to these infants and children, was an abomination to the society of Friends, and I now had three partners who were Friends, and who were among the most distinguished in their society—John Walker, of Arno's Grove,—Joseph Foster, of Brownley—both men of high, liberal, and superior minds, with the kindest dispositions,—and William Allen, a man of great pretensions in his sect, a very busy, bustling, meddling character, making great professions of friendship to me, yet underhandedly doing all in his power to undermine my views and authority in conducting the new forming of the character of the children and of the population at New Lanark. Yet such were the extraordinary good effects produced by these un-quaker-like proceedings, that not a word was said by any of them for some years after our partnership commenced, and it was only after a lapse of some years that William Allen made objections, saying that his society did not approve of them.

Now, as I had anticipated, dancing, music, and military discipline, conducted on the principles of charity and kindness to all of humankind, were among the best and most powerful surroundings for forming a good and happy character, that could be introduced. As a proof of these results,—when Joseph Foster and William Allen came from London, as they did occasionally, to visit me at the establishment at New Lanark, I often found them in the dancing and singing rooms when the exercises were going on, and enjoying the new scenes of happiness, which, as Quakers from birth, they had never previously witnessed. Dancing,

music, and the military discipline, will always be prominent surroundings in a rational system for forming characters. They give health, unaffected grace to the body, teach obedience and order in the most imperceptible and pleasant manner, and create peace and happiness to the mind, preparing it in the best manner to make progress in all mental acquisitions.

From this rational infant school have arisen all the unsuccessful attempts to form a second with similar results.

The second attempt to form one was made by the Marquis of Lansdowne,—Lord Brougham,—John Smith, Banker, M.P.,—Benjamin Smith, M.P.,—Henry Hase, Esq., cashier of the Bank of England,—and, I believe, James Mill, afterwards of the India House. Lord Brougham, John Smith, and Henry Hase, had frequently visited New Lanark and enjoyed the goodness, happiness, and intelligence of the children in these rational surroundings, constituting the institution for the formation of this new character; and being benevolent men, they naturally desired that so much goodness and happiness should be if possible extended to all other poor children. They asked me whether, if they could form a party to establish one in London, I would give them James Buchanan to be the master of their school. I replied—"Most willingly—for I have pupils who can take his place without any injury to my school."

I had thought, from the daily instruction which when at the establishment I had as it were drilled into him for years, that he could now act from himself in a practice which under my direction, with the aid he received from Molly Young, appeared so easy to execute. But I found he could proceed no further in the practice than he had done for sometime.

The gentlemen named formed a party to carry the proposed scheme into practice, and a school was erected and furnished, and James Buchanan and his family went to London, and he was appointed master, with full powers over the school.

I now had to appoint and instruct a successor to James Buchanan, and soon one of the new trained pupils, who had passed through our schools, and who was therefore much in advance of his former master as a scholar and in habits, became greatly his superior, and by his youth and vigour, aided by a fine enthusiasm in the cause, which I had been enabled to create in him, a rapid advance and improvement were made in the first year after James Buchanan had left the school, and he, James Buchanan, never afterwards saw it.

Now I expected he would have had his new school in Westminster equal to the one he had been so much accustomed to for so long a period. But though he was a willing servant, to attend to the instructions given to him, as far as his good-natured limited powers would admit, it proved that he had neither mind nor energy to act from himself. It was sometime after this second

school was established and in full action, before I could leave New Lanark, having to train my new young master to direct the infant school in my absence. This young man had been systematically trained through our three schools in the institution for forming character, and his character had been well-formed. He had imbibed the true spirit of the system, and was eager to be taught the means to carry the improvements which I wished into practice. He was full of faculty for the employment, and at sixteen years of age was the best instructor of infants I have ever seen in any part of the world.

While these matters were in progress at New Lanark, the fame of its infant school and of the institution for the formation of character was noised abroad and created much excitement, and travellers of distinction, home and foreign, came increasingly year by year, to see what they called the wonders of New Lanark.

Knowing that inspection alone could give any adequate impression of the results produced here, I freely opened the whole establishment to the full investigation of all comers. I said to the public—"Come and see, and judge for yourselves." And the public came—not by hundreds, but by thousands annually. I have seen as many at once as seventy strangers attending the early morning exercises of the children in the school. At this period the dancing, music, military discipline, and geographical exercises, were especially attractive to all except "very pious" Christians. Yet even these last could not refrain from expressing their wonder and admiration at the unaffected joyous happiness of these young ones,—children of the common working cotton-spinners.

Being always treated with kindness and confidence, and altogether without fear, even of a harsh word from any of their numerous teachers, they exhibited an unaffected grace and natural politeness, which surprised and fascinated strangers, and which new character and conduct were to most of them so unaccountable, that they knew not how to express themselves, or how to hide their wonder and amazement.

These children, standing up, seventy couples at a time, in the dancing room, and often surrounded with many strangers, would with the utmost ease and natural grace go through all the dances of Europe, with so little direction from their master, that the strangers would be unconscious that there was a dancing master in the room.

In their singing lessons, one hundred and fifty would sing at the same time,—their voices being trained to harmonise; and it was delightful to hear them sing the old popular Scotch songs, which were great favourites with most strangers, from the unaffected simplicity and heart feeling with which these songs were sung

by these children, whose natures had been naturally and rationally cultivated.

In their military exercises they went through their evolutions with precision equal, as many officers of the army stated, to some regiments of the line ; and at their head in their marchings were six and sometimes eight young fifiers, playing various marches. The girls were thus disciplined, as well as the boys, and their numbers were generally nearly equal. And it may be here remarked, that being daily brought up together, they appeared to feel for and to treat each other as brothers and sisters of the same family ; and so they continued until they left the day schools at the age of twelve.

Their lessons in geography were no less amusing to the children themselves and interesting to strangers. At a very early age they were instructed in classes on maps of the four quarters of the world, and after becoming expert in a knowledge of these, all the classes were united in one large class and lecture room, to go through these exercises on a map of the world so large as almost to cover the end of the room. On this map were delineated the usual divisions of the best maps, except there were no names of countries or cities or towns ; but for the cities and towns were small but distinct circles to denote their places—the classes united for this purpose generally consisted of about one hundred and fifty, forming as large a circle as could be placed to see the map. A light white wand was provided, sufficiently long to point to the highest part of the map by the youngest child. The lesson commenced by one of the children taking the wand to point with. Then one of them would ask him to point to such a district, place, island, city, or town. This would be done generally many times in succession ; but when the holder of the wand was at fault, and could not point to the place asked for, he had to resign the wand to his questioner, who had to go through the same process. This by degrees became most amusing to the children, who soon learned to ask for the least thought-of districts and places, that they might puzzle the holder of the wand, and obtain it from him. This was at once a good lesson for one hundred and fifty,—keeping the attention of all alive during the lesson. The lookers on were as much amused, and many as much instructed, as the children, who thus at an early age became so efficient, that one of our Admirals, who had sailed round the world, said he could not answer many of the questions which some of these children not six years old readily replied to, giving the places most correctly.

This room was also their class reading apartment. It was forty feet by twenty, and twenty-two feet in height,—with a gallery at one end to accomodate strangers. At these lessons from six to eight masters and mistresses were usually present, who

were quite tenacious enough about their reading according to rule.

From this room strangers were taken to the adjoining apartment, (the great writing, accounting, and lecture room,) in which were 250 or 300 children busily engaged at their respective desks, writing or accounting; and, like the reading, according to the best modern arrangements. This apartment was ninety feet long, forty wide, twenty-two high, with a gallery on three sides, and with a pulpit, from which to lecture, at one end.

It was from this pulpit that I addressed an audience of about 1,200 when I opened the institution. When I had delivered about one-half of my address, I sat down, and immediately a chorus of music was heard, but no one saw whence it proceeded, and all were greatly surprised. Musicians and singers had been placed in the adjoining apartment, from which a door opened in the gallery; and the music thus softened, appeared, as many of the audience expressed themselves, like divine music, they not knowing how or whence it came.

This institution for the formation of character, with the establishment of New Lanark generally, while I kept its immediate direction, was considered by the more advanced minds of the world one of the greatest modern wonders. Its results after I had united all its various parts as one whole, working day by day, year after year, for a quarter of a century, with the regularity of a well-constructed time-piece, attracted the attention of the governments and priesthoods of the world, and all of them were sorely puzzled to discover the cause and means by which those results were created and maintained.

Among the more distinguished of the thousands who came to see, examine, and criticise these previously unheard-of proceedings, were the late Emperor of Russia, with nine or ten of his nobles and attendants, and among them his favorite friend and physician, Sir Alexander Crichton. They remained my visitors for two nights. The Emperor was much pleased with my two youngest sons, who were then at home. At his meals he always would have one on his right hand and the other on his left, and he had one at each hand while going through the establishment, and while viewing the various beautiful natural scenes immediately around the establishment, including the now celebrated falls of the Clyde.

The Emperor (at this time the Grand Duke Nicholas,) was, as I was informed, recommended to visit the establishment by his mother, the reigning Empress, who had been much interested with the results produced in it, having had an account of them from the Duke of Holstein Oldenburgh, a near relative of the imperial family, and who, with his brother, had some time before spent several days with me, taking a great interest, day by day, while they remained my guests, in thoroughly examining for

themselves every part of this complicated, but to all observers easy-working machine, of a scholastic and manufacturing society, of a population of 2,500 souls, provided in a superior manner with all they required at prime cost, without any trouble or loss of time to one family in the village.

Before the Grand Duke left me he kindly inquired what I intended to do with my two sons. Not being aware of the intention of the Grand Duke to offer to take them under his patronage and protection, I simply replied—"To train them as cotton manufacturing"—in consequence of which answer they were retained to be made useful independent practical scientific men, instead of being made dependent on court favour, and subjected to all the evils of courtly favour or disfavour, as might have happened to them.

At that time there was an outcry and great alarm created by the Malthusians, who asserted that Great Britain was over-peopled, and that the sufferings of the poor and the want of employment for so many of the working classes arose from an excess of population. The modern political economists were daily forcing these notions prominently on the public. In a two hours' conversation with the Grand Duke before he left me, he said, "As your country is over-peopled, I will take you and two millions of population with you, and will provide for you all in similar manufacturing communities." I thanked his Imperial Highness for this most liberal offer;—but being then independent in pecuniary matters, and much attached to New Lanark and its population, both now so much of my own creation, I also declined this most liberal imperial offer. The rejection of his intended kindness to my two sons, and my thus declining this magnificent offer, I have no doubt left an unpleasant feeling of independence of courtly favour. And in two other instances, with members of this highly talented imperial family, I unintentionally, from ignorance of courtly etiquette, must have appeared to act rudely to them.

At an earlier period the Grand Duchess of Oldenburg, afterwards Queen of Wirtemberg, visited London. She had heard from the Duke of Holstein Oldenburg the full particulars respecting the New Lanark Establishment, and that I was then in London on a visit with my partner, Mr. Walker, of Arno's Grove, Southgate; but as I then had much public business to transact in London, I was resident at his town house, 49 Bedford Square. The Grand Duchess having learned I was in town, sent her chief attendant to invite me to visit her, and appointed an early hour the following morning for my visit. I went accordingly, and was not only politely, but kindly and frankly received. She requested me to sit on the sofa on which she was sitting, and our conversation was continued without interruption for full two hours. This was at the period when the allied powers and their armies were in

Paris. Her brother, the Emperor Alexander, was, with the Sovereigns of Austria and Prussia, engaged there in preparing the treaty of peace, to establish permanent harmony in Europe, and he was considered to be liberal in his views, and friendly to all kinds of improvements. I was desirous to explain to the Duchess my New Views of Society, which she appeared readily to accept; and I wished her to interest her relative the Emperor in these views for the general improvement of society. She said the Emperor was very desirous to promote liberal views generally throughout society, as far as his position would admit; but that he could not do altogether as he wished. He could go only so far with improvements in Russia, as he could carry the leading nobles with him; but his success in the termination of this long war would give him more power to act according to his wishes. She would explain my views to him on her return home. She then began to talk of the great pleasure expressed by the Duke of Holstein Oldenburgh with their visit to me while they were my guests, and she entered freely into conversation respecting family matters and domestic interests, gradually becoming easy and familiar in her manner, as with an equal. I was at this time a mere cotton-spinning manufacturer, unacquainted yet with the etiquette of courts, and especially with that of imperial families, and not then knowing that in such interviews the move to terminate the visit should always come from the imperial personage. Ignorantly and innocently supposing I had trespassed too long on the time and patience of her Imperial Highness, I concluded the interview by rising and taking my leave of her,—on which I perceived too late the error I had committed, seeing the mixed surprise and disappointment expressed in the countenance of the Grand Duchess.

After the late Emperor of Russia's visit with his nobles, came Princes John and Maximilian of Austria,—Foreign Ambassadors,—many bishops,—and clergy innumerable,—almost all our own nobility,—learned men of all professions from all countries,—and wealthy travellers for pleasure or knowledge of every description. But the establishment was at all times as freely open to the inspection and close examination of the merely inquisitive seeker for some fault to publish it, or to the intelligent traveller on foot who sought for knowledge to promote its practice, as to those of high rank and distinction.

These visits of inspection were valuable lessons to me of human nature in all its varieties of manners, habits, prejudices, and knowledge; the latter of which I endeavoured to collect from each, according to their measure of it. It was a matter of deep interest to me to observe the effects which these to all new measures in practice made upon each visitor. Some of these effects made a stronger impression on my mind than others, and as I have occasionally related them, they have not yet escaped my

memory. And as a few of them may interest a portion of the public, I will now relate them.

A very intelligent and evidently well-disposed clergyman came to visit the schools especially, having heard so many extraordinary reports of them, to which he could not give credit. After a calm, patient, and evidently deeply interested attention to all he saw, and a full examination of all the proceedings in the three schools, and then through the whole establishment,—he said to me, with great feeling in his manner—“ Mr. Owen—what I have “ seen here has interested me most deeply. I came here a sceptic to “ your views of humanity. But what I have witnessed to-day “ is altogether a new human nature to me. It is so strange and “ incomprehensible to me, how you have obtained such results, “ that if my brother, in whose honest integrity I have not the “ slightest doubt, had told me on his personal knowledge that “ they existed, I could not have believed him. Nothing short of “ my own full inspection, examination, and ocular demonstration, “ could have removed my scepticism, and have left the delightful “ impression which I have received.”

On another occasion, of a visit from a lady of the highest rank of our own nobility, who with her party came to see what were now called the far-famed wonders of New Lanark,—after inspecting the dancing, music, and all the other lessons and exercises out of doors of the infants and children in their play-ground, while attentively witnessing their kindness of manner to each other, their unaffected, unrestrained, joyous happiness, and remembering their proficiency in their indoor exercises, this lady said to me, with tears in her eyes—“ Mr. Owen, I would give any money if my “ children could be made like these.” And truly those who were trained from infancy through these schools were by far the most attractive, and the best and happiest human beings I have ever seen. Their manner was unaffectedly graceful, and, when spoken to by strangers, naturally polite, with great innocent simplicity. The total absence of all fear, and full confidence in and affection for their teachers, with the never ceasing expression of perfect happiness, gave these children of working cotton-spinners a character for their age superior to any I have yet seen,—but yet not nearly equal to that which will be *universally* produced, when the surroundings before and after birth shall be made rational for the formation of character and the conducting of society.

My own children—seven of whom grew to manhood and womanhood knowing nothing of punishment through their lives—were, and those living are, such as few parents have ever been blessed with. Yet were they in some respects without the peculiar advantages which I was enabled to give to what I called my great family of associated children.

My good and kind-hearted wife, in consequence of knowing how much time I spent among this great family, and seeing the

great mutual affection which existed between them and myself, would jokingly say—"Why you love those children better than "your own!" And no one who was with them as much as I was, could avoid having a great affection for them. And although some were of course more affectionate and attractive in their natural character than others, my instructions to their teachers were, that they should never show partiality for any,—for it would be doing injustice to the others. This, as I felt by myself, was not a very easy task for the teachers to learn and practice; but after some time it was pretty well adhered to.

Let society adopt common sense surroundings and measures to form a good and superior character for all children from their birth, and none will be able to refrain from loving them; and this is the only mode under heaven by which man can be made to love his neighbour as himself, and only under the practice of the federated family commonwealths and federated nationalities.

The other incident vividly on my memory was the visit of the late Lord Stowell and his daughter—afterwards Lady Sidmouth. They came one day late in the afternoon, and the gate keeper of the entrance into the working part of the establishment came to me while I was engaged in the superintendence of some of the operations, and said that "Lord Stewart" and his daughter wished to see the establishment. Not knowing who Lord Stewart was, I said—"Request them to come, and conduct them here." They came, and I commenced to show them the machinery, and while thus engaged, a servant came from Braxfield, which was about a quarter of a mile from the centre of these multitudinous operations, to announce dinner, and I said—"My Lord, will you take "a family dinner with me, and afterwards we can see more of the "works and the evening proceedings of the adults in the "schools?" His Lordship, turning to his daughter, said—"What do you say? Shall we accept Mr. Owen's invitation?" "Yes, by all means," was her reply.

After dinner, over our wine, the conversation turned to politics and the state of the country,—when I observed that it was much to be regretted that there was not one superior statesman living, to do justice to the enormous means which the country possessed to secure its permanent prosperity and the happiness of its population. "What!" said his Lordship,—“Do you not "think there is *one* superior statesman, equal to this task?" laying great emphasis on the word *one*. "No, my Lord,—there "does not appear to me *one* competent to this task." The conversation continued animated for sometime, the ladies being absent.

We then returned to the works, to see the evening instruction and amusements of the adult part of the population, after the business of the day had terminated. Some were at reading,—some at writing lessons,—others, more advanced, were reading for their pleasure. Some were in the dancing, and some attending

the music rooms,—all busily engaged according to their inclinations. All this amused and interested his Lordship and his daughter, and when these visits had terminated, they returned to to their hotel at Old Lanark.

While his Lordship was dining with me, his servant was dining with my servants in the hall; and on my return home after the departure of my guests I learned, to my surprise, that it was not Lord Stewart but Lord Stowell, who had but lately been Sir William Scott. In the morning I went to Old Lanark to call to ask my last night's visitors to come to see the infant and the other day schools, which I said were in reality the most interesting parts of the establishment; and also to apologise to his Lordship for calling him Lord Stewart. Their time, he said, would not permit them to return to New Lanark to see the infant and other schools, of which they had heard so much; for their engagements compelled them to proceed on their journey immediately after they had concluded breakfast. His Lordship added jocularly—"We members of the government are very like highwaymen; for we change our names so often that its no wonder "we are not known, or that one is often mistaken for another."

It would however be endless here to enumerate the persons of distinction, for birth, talent, or wealth, who visited the establishment; and the numbers coming continually increased while I remained to conduct it. Some who were more connected with particular events I must enumerate.

Dr. Hammel, the Russian collector of knowledge for his court, was often a visitor with me, and his visits were always acceptable, and instructive on many subjects.

The present Baron Goldsmid, then a young married man, hearing of the success in teaching children, and especially infants, asked to come and stay sometime with me, to see and learn the principles and practices, that he might apply them in the education of his young family as they came and as they grew up. He applied himself with great industry to his task, and his success was equal to his industry. After remaining sometime, he returned, and communicated the knowledge which he had seen in practice to Mrs. now Lady Goldsmid, one of the best of wives and mothers; and together they trained and educated a family of eight, as nearly according to the system of New Lanark, as a conscientious adherence to the Jewish religion would admit. Often have I been an inmate on the most friendly terms in this family—many times for weeks together; but on no one occasion did I ever hear an unpleasant expression between the young persons composing the family, or between parents and children,—and this through a period of nearly, if not quite, half a century.

Among the many foreign Ambassadors who came was the *good* Baron Just, the Ambassador for so many years of the late King of Saxony to this and other countries. He was now about to

terminate his official duties at our court, and to retire into private life, for which he told me he had at length obtained his sovereign's consent. Baron Just was a very interesting character, and a truly good and most unassuming philanthropist. He came to visit me, staid sometime, and took a deep interest in the investigation of my views and of their application to the population of New Lanark. He expressed his hearty approbation of all he witnessed, and said he should never forget what he had heard and seen. This was an expression which I so often heard from my visitors, that I received it as their impression for the time, and I remembered it only as the expression of the natural feelings of the parties at the moment. But not long after the Baron left me, he returned to Dresden, and to my great surprise I received from the King, with complimentary letters from the government, through the Prime Minister and Baron Just, a large gold medal of merit, with the impress of his Majesty; and for which I have always felt that I made a very inadequate reply. I was engaged in working with long foresight for the emancipation of the population of the world, and especially of the ill-directed and ill-placed working classes. I was jealous and fearful of too much courtly favour, as it might impede my future progress. I therefore never until long after made this royal gift public; knowing that my so doing would retard my progress in gaining the confidence of the men whom I intended to instruct and direct for their good at a future period.

My public proceedings had now attracted the attention of several members of our royal family. The Duke of York sent a messenger to request I would visit him. But I could never discover the object which his Royal Highness had in view; for our communication was very common place, and without interest to me. Their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Kent and Sussex sometimes came to me while residing in Bedford Square, and once especially they came to see the cubes which I had invented to exhibit to the eye the proportionate amount of the different classes of society according to Mr. Colquhoun's division of them in his "Resources of the British Empire." On this particular occasion the Royal Dukes brought some of their friends among the nobility to see these cubes, which, simple as they were, the public deemed a useful curiosity. I placed these cubes on the table in the order of their bulk, to explain them to the royal personages and the noblemen present. The cube representing the working class was put the lowest, and the series gradually ascended to the cube representing the Royal Family and Lords Spiritual and Temporal, with their families; and when I placed this last cube on the top, it appeared so strikingly insignificant, compared with all below, and especially when compared with the cubes representing the working and the pauper classes, that the Duke of Sussex impulsively pushed the elbow of his

royal brother, saying—"Edward, do you see that?" And the whole party for the moment seemed confused, feeling and seeing the real weakness of their class as to numbers, compared with all the others.

From that period I was often with one or other of these Royal Dukes, or more frequently with both together, at Kensington Palace. But more of these liberal royal brothers in my subsequent proceedings. I must now return to narrate other events connected with the infant school.

When James Buchanan went to London to organise and take charge of the first infant school, intended to be after the model of the original school at New Lanark, which had attracted and was attracting so much attention at home and abroad, I had to remain at the establishment much longer than usual, to instruct my young new infant-school-master in the advanced measures which I wished him to adopt, finding him to possess the right spirit and much good talent for the task. He so rapidly took up my views, that in a short period the school and children were greatly improved and in advance of the state in which they were when James Buchanan left his situation.

But simple and weak-minded as poor Buchanan was, I had taken so much time and trouble to instruct him, and had so endeavoured continually to arouse his energies to perceive the importance of the task committed to him, that I fully expected he would in his new position organise and establish his new school after the model of the first, with which he had been made so familiar in its practice. But great were my surprise and horror when I first visited the second infant school, which was situated in Westminster, and was under the auspices of great names and good men, but who themselves knew nothing of the requisite practice, and could not therefore give poor Buchanan the aid and support which he required, and without which it was now evident to me he could do little or nothing that was efficient. On entering the school, the first object which I saw was *Mrs.* Buchanan, whom I had never seen in the New Lanark school, brandishing a whip, and terrifying the children with it! Buchanan I saw in another part of the room, apparently without authority or influence, and as much subject to his wife as the children. Upon my unexpected appearance an attempt was made to hide the whip, but the countenances of the children were so different from the open, frank, and happy expression of my children at New Lanark, that they at once told me their position, and the extent of ignorant management to which they had to submit. The room was something of the form of one of the New Lanark infant rooms, but the school was governed in the spirit and manner of the old irrational schools, with the difference only that the children were younger than those received in the old schools.

While this school was thus so grossly mis-managed by *Mrs.*

Buchanan and her husband, (though said to be after the model of New Lanark, to which it had no resemblance,) a person, afterwards well known as William Wilderspin, came frequently to see James Buchanan and his wife, and to see their operations in the school.

The Society of Friends, hearing so much of the New Lanark infant school from the public press, confirmed by their respected and known members, John Walker, Joseph Foster, and William Allen,—became desirous of having one under their own immediate patronage; and they erected a school in Spitalfields, and appointed William Wilderspin to be the master of it. Being informed of this third school, I went to see it, and on conversing with Wilderspin, I learned he had been often to see the Westminster school. I told him that was a very inferior model to copy; and finding him very desirous and willing to learn, and much more teachable than my first master, having much more talent and tact for the business, I gave him general and minute instruction how to act with the children, and to govern them without punishment, by affection and undeviating kindness. He seemed fully to appreciate this attention to him, and requested I would come as often as I could to instruct him and give him the benefit of my experience. I did so, and had great pleasure in thus teaching him, finding that no part of my instruction was disregarded, but that what I recommended was faithfully followed. And he became an apt disciple of the spirit and practice of the system, so far as the outward and material mode was concerned. But as a first step towards forming a rational character for a rational system of society, he had no powers of mind to comprehend it. And I did not attempt to advance his knowledge so as to unfit him to act under the patronage of his then supporters.

When Wilderspin had attained such proficiency in managing the infants as his imperfect acquirements admitted, he published a work explanatory of what he had accomplished, and recommended the system to the attention of the public. And in the first edition (for he afterwards published several editions,) he acknowledged his great obligation to me for my attention and the trouble I had taken to instruct him in a knowledge of the spirit and practice of the system. So far Wilderspin was honest and sincere; and had it not been for the so-called pious and the would-be over-righteous, he most likely would have continued so; for as long as I visited him there was no appearance to the contrary. Subsequent events, as we shall see, proved that he could not resist the temptations held out to him by the religious, or those who professed to be so.

I have dwelt so long on the infant school established at New Lanark, because it was the first rational step ever carried into practice towards forming a rational character for the human race;

and because of the many important subsequent measures to which it gave rise, and which will be narrated in their order of time. These which have been stated were but preliminary measures, of little importance in comparison with those which succeeded; but they will serve to make the events which followed better understood.

I have now to narrate the public proceedings which by my means were set in action in 1817, and which aroused the attention of the civilised world, alarmed the governments, astounded the religious sects of every denomination, and created an excitement in all classes, such as seldom occurs, except in cases of revolution. It was the public announcement of a new and strange system of society, by an ordinarily educated cotton spinning manufacturer. It was a proceeding unprecedented in the annals of history, and its consequences have been fermenting to this day, and are continuing to ferment, throughout society, and will now advance without retrogression until they shall so regenerate the human mind, that it shall be "born again," and will entirely change society over the world, in spirit, principle, and practice, giving new surroundings to all nations, until not one stone of the present surroundings of society shall be left upon another. For in consequence of this change "old things will entirely pass away and all will become new."

The proceedings which first publicly announced to the world the rational and only true system of society for the human race, occupied the excited attention of the civilised world especially during the summer and autumn of 1817, and to a considerable extent afterwards, until I left this country in 1824, to go to the United States to sow the seeds of it in that new fertile soil—new for material and mental growth,—the cradle of the future liberty of the human race—a liberty yet so little understood by the present population of the United States, as well as by that of *all the old states*. *Liberty* is a word continually used, but nowhere yet understood. For true liberty can exist only in a society based on a true knowledge of humanity, and constructed to be consistent with that foundation, in all its parts and as a whole. This will constitute the rational system of society, which is to give practically the greatest individual liberty that human nature can enjoy. Because it will of necessity make each one good, wise, and happy; and such only can ever be trusted with the full amount of individual liberty.

This was the announcement of that new state of existence upon earth, which, when understood and applied rationally to practice, will cordially unite all as one good and enlightened family,—will enable all rapidly to progress in knowledge and wisdom, and to enjoy without interruption the highest earthly happiness to which man can attain.

The proceedings connected with these first public meetings,

which I held in the city of London Tavern, were minutely and accurately narrated in all the London morning and evening newspapers, published for general news at that period. And in this work the *Times* took the leading interest. And until the meeting at which I emphatically and solemnly, at the risk of all that men hold dear, even to life itself, denounced in the strongest terms all the religions as they were taught to the world, the *Times* was the warmest in my praise and in praise of the measures which I recommended,—often giving columns in the same paper to the development of the system as I gave it to the public—as may be seen by referring to its pages from the 30th of July to the 10th of September, 1817.

The attention of the public was first called to these extraordinary proceedings by the publication of my report to the committee for the relief the manufacturing and labouring poor, his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury (Sutton) in the chair. This report being considered by that committee to be too large and important in a national view for their consideration, requested me to present it to the Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Laws, then sitting with the foregone determination to rob the poor of their just and until then their legal rights,—that is the right to efficient relief when unable to work or to find employment, and that that relief should be given in accordance with the dictates of humanity for suffering poverty, and not in the cruel manner in which, it is now scantily doled out to them in the present practice at many workhouses.

The animus of this Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Law might be deduced from the fact that I was known by all the members of the committee to possess at least as much practical knowledge of the working classes and of the cases of poverty among them, as any witness which they examined, and was now considered an authority on the subject. Yet, as I have already stated, this committee debated for two whole days, with closed doors, whether or not I should be examined by them; and at the end of the second day's debate it was decided by a small majority, after I had been invited to attend the committee for examination, that I should *not* be examined. The cause of this was evident. The majority of the members (who had made up their minds, influenced by the Malthusian irrational notions of over-population, to depress the poor out of existence, instead of finding them employment at decent living wages,) knew that my evidence would go far to defeat their object, by recommending my own remedy for poverty and crime,—namely, “a rational education, and reproductive employment by the nation, for those who were unable to have themselves so instructed, or to find employment, and that they should be treated like human beings, and not as the out-casts of society.”

The proceedings connected with this announcement of a new system for governing the affairs of men, excited so much interest in the public mind, that in addition to their publication *in extenso* in every London morning and evening newspaper, I generally purchased *thirty thousand* additional copies, and had one copy sent to the minister of every parish in the kingdom,—one to every member of both houses of parliament,—one to each of the chief magistrates and bankers in each city and town,—and one to each of the leading persons in all classes.

But these were not sufficient to satisfy the general public with the proceedings connected with my public meetings, and with my announcement of a new system in principle, spirit, and practice, for the government of the human race. To meet this extraordinary excitement in the general public, I published three broad sheets, numbered one, two, and three, containing the details of these public proceedings, as published in the *Times* and in the other London morning and evening papers. Of these I published forty thousand copies; and such was the eagerness to procure them, that the forty thousand were called for in three days, and I was then constrained to stop so expensive a process,—for I found that these meetings, and giving them the extra publicity necessary for the great ultimate object which I had in contemplation, had already in two months required from me four thousand pounds—newspapers then costing 7d. and 8d. each.

Intending to pave the way to supersede the present false and wicked system, as I had discovered it to be, by the true and good system for governing the human race and new-forming the character of all humanity, I knew it was useless to wage a little or a covert war against a system established through the proceedings of all past times in the minds and habits of the present generation, and that ultimate success could be anticipated only from an open front attack, taking the bull by the horns, and fairly pitting truth, so far denounced by all parties, against falsehood supported by the powers of this world—rightly declared to be the “powers of darkness”—for the populations of all nations had been, and even now are, governed by thick mental darkness.

I well knew that the man who should have the temerity to openly denounce this system of thick mental darkness, must anticipate the opposition of that power, by and through all its darkest means of acting. My mind, however, was made up for the contest, whatever might be its consequences.

I must now refer for particulars to these printed papers—one, two, and three, which are given in the appendix. Numbers one and two contain the documents which prepared the public for the first of these meetings, and which were published, as will be seen on reference, on the 30th of July and on the 9th and 10th of August, 1817, while they announced the meeting to be held

on the 14th of the same month. These explanatory notices were widely published by the London newspapers, and created universal excitement; for before the hour of meeting on the 14th, the large room of the "City of London Tavern," in which all great public meetings were then held, was crammed to its utmost, the wide stairs crowded to excess, and hundreds waiting outside to gain admittance. And during the meeting many thousands came who were obliged to return, there being no chance of entrance for them. The meeting created the deepest interest, and was conducted with calm order. While I delivered the address there was a silence of riveted attention. But towards the conclusion of the meeting, the violent and most ignorant of the democracy, so-called, endeavoured to excite a tumult, and did create disorder. But those who came with a view to investigate and to attend to business rationally, soon put an end to it by moving an adjournment.

The next day the public were surprised to see the meeting reported in every London morning and evening newspaper, and my address accurately given in each. This was one of the occasions when I purchased upwards of thirty thousand newspapers in the day, and forwarded them, with my name printed on the corner of the wrapper. Each paper was also franked by some member of parliament; and these were franked by Lord Lascelles, the then most influential member of the House of Commons, who had previously so much assisted me in the preliminary measures to introduce my bill for the relief of children and others employed in manufactories, mills, &c., and who was afterwards Earl of Harewood.

On this occasion I sent more extra newspapers than usual, and had the addresses previously prepared, so that they went in such numbers to the post office, that the secretary had to send an official minute to the Treasury, saying that Mr. Owen had sent so many extra newspapers, that all the mail coaches of the kingdom had to be delayed twenty minutes beyond their regular time of leaving London. I was informed that the stoppage of the mails, and the publication of my address *in extenso* in every morning and evening paper of the day, (I believe of sixteen papers,) had seriously alarmed the government, which I by no means intended to do; for the government had been on all occasions most friendly to me, and I afterwards learned from the Dean of Westminster, who had been private secretary to Lord Liverpool for some time, that his lordship and many of his cabinet were converts to the New Views which I advocated.

On being informed of this alarm of the government, which was heightened by all the London and many of the provincial newspapers being loud in praising my measures, and giving great aid to the circulation of them among all classes, making me decidedly the most popular man of the day,—I asked Lord Li-

verpool for an interview, two days before the second meeting, which had been adjourned to the 21st of August to give all parties sufficient time to take their measures in opposition to it. The interview was immediately appointed for twelve o'clock the next day at his Lordship's private house. The door was opened before I had time to ring the bell, and I was shown at once into the apartment of the private secretary, who was then Mr. Peel, afterwards the talented and celebrated prime minister,—the second Sir Robert Peel,—who on my entering arose, and said with great deference in his manner, "My Lord Liverpool will see you immediately,"—and then remained standing while I was seated for two or three minutes, when Lord Liverpool came hastily from his private room adjoining, to request me to walk in.

I mention these particulars here to show the effect which my extraordinary popularity produced on the government; and it was equally paramount with the population of all classes.

Lord Liverpool gave me a seat, and with considerable diffidence and agitation in his manner, said—"Mr. Owen, what is your wish?"—in a tone of voice and with an expression of countenance as much as to say,—“your wishes shall be gratified.” And I believe the government would have given me any place or station, or almost anything I should ask; for it was evident that they felt they were at my mercy. Such had been the influence of surrounding circumstances, one succeeding another, and over which I had had but little control; and I was as much surprised by these new and strange events and proceedings as the government and the people. But this popularity produced a different effect upon me than to cause me to think of any private advantage or worldly consideration. I had pondered well after the first meeting, what course to pursue to gain ultimately the great object which it was indelibly impressed on my mind that I must endeavour against all hazards to attain,—that is, the change of a false, wicked, and most cruel system of society, creating misery to all,—for the true, just, merciful, and good system of society, that will ultimately secure the permanent progress in knowledge and wisdom and the unceasing happiness and rational enjoyment of all.

I knew that the population of the world, in spirit, principle, and practice, was unprepared for the change which I foresaw must be the ultimate destiny of the human race. I had calmly considered the obstacles to be overcome, to give a new mind and new habits to all of human kind. I had discovered that the great obstacle to all substantial and lasting progress and improvement among men, was the Religions of the nations of the earth, and that unless this difficulty could be overcome, mankind must remain in perpetual bondage to the most gross and childish ignorance—an ignorance destructive of all the rational faculties of humanity.

I knew the deep-seated prejudices of all people in favour of

their respective religions, and that millions were prepared to die rather than to abandon them. But I knew also that until they could be made to abandon them, for a consistent practical religion, based on different ideas of the Great Creating Power of the Universe,—man could not be made to attain to the rank of a reasonable, rational, and happy being.

After the first meeting, several of the religious papers were loud in calling upon me to declare my views of religion, and in their demands to know what religion I professed. Under all these considerations I communed with myself what course I should pursue at the adjourned meeting, and I had decided upon that course before this interview with the prime minister. I therefore replied to his Lordship's question, that all I desired was, that his Lordship and his cabinet would allow their names to be upon the committee of investigation which I should propose at the meeting the next day, with an equal number of the leading members of the opposition in both houses, if my proposed resolutions should be carried.

On my saying this, I never saw any one so immediately relieved from an apparent great anxiety,—and his Lordship replied in the most confiding manner, "Mr. Owen, you have full liberty to make any use of our names you desire and which you may think useful to your views, short of implicating us as a government," I thanked his Lordship, who came with me into the private secretary's apartment, when Mr. Peel again arose and stood until I left Lord Liverpool, who at my departure was a very different man from what he appeared when the interview commenced.

But what was the course which I had determined to pursue at the adjourned meeting, which now excited the greatest interest throughout the metropolis and the country? What I intended to say was too important to be left to the inaccuracy of reporters at a public meeting; and all the conductors of the daily morning and evening papers had applied to me for copies of what I intended to say in my address the next day. In order that no one might have a preference over the others, I told them that if they would come to me when my address should be about half delivered, they should be supplied with copies of the whole address. I had therefore sixteen copies made of the address as I intended to deliver it, having a blank space left in them by the copiers, for me afterwards to fill up before I gave them to the parties applying for them at the meeting, and these I filled in the morning before going to the meeting. I gave no one the least idea of what my intentions were, because I knew that no one was then prepared to comprehend my motives, views, and conduct, and that every one would, with their mind and feelings, have strongly advised a different mode of proceedings.

Knowing that what I should say at the meeting would be published the next day in every London morning and evening news-

paper, that the public mind was highly excited upon the subject, and that what should be said by me would be widely circulated over the civilised world ;—and knowing also that unless a death-blow could be given to all the existing false religions of the world, there could be no hope for man's liberation from the bondage of ignorance, disunion, and misery ;—and feeling that in my then position I was the only individual living who had the slightest chance to accomplish such a task,—I resolved to dare the deed, knowing that it was at that period at the hazard of life only that it could be done ; and my determination was, at a particular part of my address, to denounce and reject all the religions of the world.

When I went to this meeting, ever-to-be remembered in the annals of history, no one except myself had any notion of what I intended to do and to say in the part of the address alluded to. The public mind of the metropolis on the morning previous to the commencement of the meeting was in a most excited state. The then friends of my views, so far as I had disclosed them, came in continually increasing numbers,—the great majority of these being of the best disposed among the upper classes in church and state, and of the upper portion of the middle classes, who were sincerely desirous to improve the condition of the poor and working classes, if it could be done in order, in peace, and without a revolution of violence.

At this period I had had no public intercourse with the operatives and working classes in any part of the two Islands,—not even in the metropolis. They were at this time strangers to me and to all my views and future intentions. I was at all periods of my progress, from my earliest knowledge and employment of them, their true friend. While their democratic and much mistaken leaders taught them that I was their enemy, a friend to all in authority, and that I desired to make slaves of them in these villages of unity and mutual co-operation.

On the other hand, my opponents had been most industrious in marshaling their forces, and they were led to the meeting by the popular orators of the day, and these were encouraged in their opposition by the leading active members of the then popular school of modern political economy.

This meeting was densely crowded, although held at noon, and again hundreds and thousands had to be disappointed who could not gain admittance, and many waited until five o'clock before any moved to allow of their entrance, and even afterwards, until its dismissal at seven, it remained crowded ; for as soon as any retired, others who were waiting immediately occupied their places.

Knowing what I intended to do, I went alone, that no one might be implicated in my proceedings. When I went to this meeting I was on the morning of that day by far the most popu-

lar individual in the civilised world, and possessed the most influence with a majority of the leading members of the British cabinet and government. I went to the meeting with the determination by one sentence to destroy that popularity, but by its destruction to lay the axe to the root of all false religions, and thus to prepare the population of the world for the reign of charity in accordance with the natural laws of humanity,—or, in other words, in accordance with all facts and common sense or consistent reason.

I commenced my address, and continued amidst much applause and cheering from the friends of the cause which I advocated, until I approached that part in which I denounced all the religions of the world as now taught; when by my manner I prepared the audience for some extraordinary proceeding. And when in a firm voice I said—"A more important question has never been put to the sons of men—Who can answer it? Who dares 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 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 lasts! 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 shall know that I have lived for an important purpose. Then, my friends! I tell you, that hitherto you have been prevented from knowing what happiness really is, solely in consequence of the errors—gross errors.—" The meeting here became excited to the highest pitch of expectation as to what was to follow; and a breathless silence prevailed, so that not the slightest sound could be heard. I made a slight pause, and, as my friends afterwards told me, added a great increase of strength of feeling and dignity to my manner, of which at the time I was wholly unconscious, and in that state of mind I finished the sentence, as stated in paper No. 3, (see report of this address, in the appendix,) and I then again paused for some seconds, to observe the effects of this unexpected and unheard-of declaration and denouncement of all existing religions, in one of the most numerous public meetings of all classes ever held in the British metropolis under cover and at mid-day.

My own expectations were, that such a daring denouncement in opposition to the deepest prejudices of every creed, would call down upon me the vengeance of the bigot and superstitious, and that I should be torn to pieces in the meeting. But great was my astonishment at what followed. A pause ensued, of the most profound silence, but of noiseless agitation in the minds of all,

—none apparently knowing what to do or how to express themselves. All seemed thunderstruck and confounded. My friends were taken by surprise, and were shocked at my temerity, and feared for the result. Those who came with the strongest determination to oppose me, had, as they afterwards stated to me, their minds changed as it were by some electric shock, and the utmost mental confusion seemed to pervade the meeting, none venturing to express their feelings; and had I not purposely paused and waited some demonstration from the audience, I might have continued my address in the astonished silence which I had produced. But when I did not proceed, and while I evidently waited for some expression of the feeling of the audience, after the long pause in silence, about half-a-dozen clergymen, who had attentively listened to all I had said, deemed it incumbent upon them on account of their profession to attempt to lead the meeting by a few low hisses. But these, to my great astonishment, were instantly rebutted by the most heartfelt applause from the whole of the meeting, with the exception stated, that I ever witnessed, before or since, as a public demonstration of feeling.

I then said to the friends near me—"the victory is gained. "Truth openly stated is omnipotent."

I then proceeded, and finished my address, which was again loudly cheered. A long debate followed, by those who desired to defeat my proposed resolution; but it was evident that the great majority of the meeting who had been present from its commencement desired the resolution to be carried, for the appointment of a committee to investigate my plans for the relief of the poor.

My opponents seeing this, now sent out their emissaries to bring in numbers to fill the places of those gradually retiring, and the political economists, whose leaders were there, determined to speak against time, and to keep the meeting open until the workpeople could be brought, when coming from their work at seven o'clock, to vote without knowledge of what had been said or done. By this time the respectable part of the audience had been tired out, or had left and gone to their dinner. I had accomplished my object, and was now indifferent what became of the resolution, knowing that for a considerable time I had destroyed my popularity with those who had been taught to believe and not to *think*, and these were legion. When the vote was taken, there was great confusion, for much excitement had been created by those who were opposed to giving real and permanent relief to the poor and working classes. Even at the conclusion the majority were decidedly in my favour;—but, to terminate the meeting peaceably, I decided that the resolution was negatived, and then terminated the meeting.

I have from that day to this considered that day the most important of my life for the public:—the day on which bigotry, superstition, and all false religions, received their death blow. For

from that day to this they have been gradually losing their strength and power, and dying their natural death in all advanced minds over the world, and soon they will cease to make the human race irrational, divided, and wicked, and to retain them in ignorance of God or nature, of themselves, and of the road to wisdom and happiness.

The deed was done. Truth had escaped, as it were by a miracle, from the hitherto never unfixed grasp of the false religions of the nations of the earth. And it was sent on the wings of the press to the people of all lands, in such manner as ultimately to destroy all falsehood, bigotry, superstition, disunion, ignorance, crime, and misery, and to insure a continued progress without retrogression of knowledge, union, wisdom, and happiness.

Few, if any, had the slightest idea of the effects which these proceedings were to produce over the public mind of the world. Their influence commenced immediately, has continually increased from that day to this, and will continue to increase until the old system of the world shall cease from the earth, and truth, charity, and wisdom, shall govern the human race to the end of time.

In all my travels subsequently into foreign countries, these meetings had prepared for me a kind and reverential reception among the highest and most advanced minds with whom I came into communication. In Jamaica,—St. Domingo,—Mexico,—the United States,—and the Continent of Europe,—they were a perpetual passport of introduction to the most distinguished for talent and station, and prepared a reception for me everywhere, which I had not anticipated, being unconscious at the time of the effects of their influence upon these parties whom I had been trained and educated by my previous antecedents to think so very much my superiors. It was only after a long experience of this kind of reception from the highest in rank, station, and elevation of mind, that I became fully conscious of the undying effects which they had produced. These continued results tended to confirm me in the irresistible power of truth, when unmixed with error and declared openly without fear of man. But at home the old adage was confirmed, that “a prophet has no honour in his own country.”

From this eventful day to the world, the religious and party underlings were set to work to counteract by all their usual means these daring proceedings on the part of a mere manufacturer of cotton. It was true that I was deemed, and was often styled about this period, the prince of cotton-spinners. But what of that? I was a mere cotton-spinner;—a man of trade;—one whose business was to endeavour to buy cheap and sell dear, and to take, according to mercantile notions, every “fair” advantage of the ignorance and weakness of my fellow-traders. The machinations, secret and open, of the religious sects in our

country, now commenced, and they continued to increase until these parties found they had done all they could against my name and influence. And now they are surprised that all they have said and done has had so little permanent effect upon the reflecting and superior members of society.

My political opponents were also not idle in their opposition. But their proceedings were frank and open, and never unkind or unpleasantly hostile. They were however numerous and powerful, for they included all who thought the union of the human race in family commonwealths impracticable, and who preferred the individual system, whether the social was or was not practicable.

But my friends were also alarmed, and many of them terrified, at what they called my daring temerity, in direct opposition to the deepest impressions made on the minds and habits of so large a portion of the population of all countries; and some were ever afterwards afraid of my society, because of the religious prejudices which were arising against me.

As a proof of the impression which my declaration at the last meeting against all the religions of the world had made on the British public, my friend Henry Brougham, since known as Lord Brougham, and Lord Chancellor of England, saw me the day after the meeting walking in the streets of the metropolis, and came to me, saying—"How the devil, Owen, could you say "what you did yesterday at your public meeting! If any of us" (meaning the then so-called Liberal party in the House of Commons,) "had said half as much, we should have been burned "alive,—and here are you quietly walking as if nothing had occurred!"

It is true that at that time no other individual could have ventured upon this open attack upon all that most men hold so dear, except at the risk of character, fortune, and life; and when I went to the meeting I felt uncertain whether I should return alive. It was my antecedents alone which saved me, and my enthusiasm in the cause which I had espoused alone sustained me through the trying crisis, and gave me the victory over the prejudices of the human race. But I never felt more strongly than at this period, that none of the power which carried me through these measures with the success which attended them was of my own creating, and that not the least merit was in any way due to me.

On calmly recurring to these three addresses, it is now evident to me, through the experience which time has given, that the knowledge of the good and superior Spirit which directed and controlled all my public proceedings, was at the period when they occurred far in advance of the age; but that these proceedings were then necessary to arouse society from its then lethargic state of insanity, inflicted upon all by the repulsive and absurd religions of the world, and to prepare its population gradually to

overcome the sevenfold bandage of prejudice, with which the antecedents of man's existence upon the earth had enveloped his rational faculties and reasoning powers. My public proceedings at this period (1817,) were considered to be several hundreds, some said thousands of years in advance of that period; and they were at least fifty years in advance; for it is only now, with all my incessant public teaching, that these inexpressibly important truths to the human race begin to be understood by the most advanced minds in any part of the world. How little even yet do the unreflecting portion of our race (and this is more than ninety-nine in every hundred,) know of the immense—of the incalculable difference for human progress and happiness between the repulsive or individual system for governing the affairs of men and forming their character, and the attractive or united system! It is the difference between heaven and hell upon the earth. The one has amply succeeded in producing the latter;—the other, when adopted in practice in its entirety and full purity, will in high perfection produce the former; and heaven will universally reign over the earth to the end of time. But it was necessary that all the various sufferings of hell should be experienced in time, and narrated for eternity, in order that the succeeding everlasting joys of heaven might be increased and heightened by the contrast. And thus recorded, will hell, or the sufferings of the past period of our race, be held in eternal memory, to give the highest practical enjoyment to all possessing immortal life. And this is the everlasting good which evil has been destined to produce; for without this hell, heaven could not be comprehended. And thus will arise the greatest good out of the greatest evil; and the Supreme Power of Creation will be justified to the universe. My earliest thoughtful impressions were, and they have been published in some of my early writings, that the evils experienced on earth were to serve as a foil or contrast to increase the happiness of heaven.

The impression made on the foreign mind by the wide circulation of the new world of ideas for practice, so openly advocated by me in these ever-to-be-remembered meetings, was such as to bring many foreigners to see me and the now far-famed New Lanark schools and establishment. Among the first was Julian de Paris, at that period well known in France; and remembered by me from his attentions whenever I afterwards visited Paris, and also from a little incident which occurred on his first coming into the village. On that occasion he enquired for me at the entrance of the works, in which I was engaged explaining the system and showing the practice to several distinguished strangers; and when we were passing from one part of the works to another, he came to me and requested to know where he could find my father, as he was told in the lodge he was in the mills or schools. I suppose I must then have appeared in his eyes young for my

years; for when I jocularly told him that I and my father were one, he seemed lost for a moment, and much confused. But he said—"Are you indeed the Mr. Owen who held those extraordinary public meetings in London?" I assured him it was none other; and it was some time before he recovered from his surprise and regained his self-possession.

Soon after this, came Professor Pictet, the celebrated *savant* of Geneva, one of the best and most learned men of his age, and who for his many superior qualities will be long remembered in Switzerland, especially at Geneva, and also in Paris, in which city he was a prominent official character for many years. He came to invite me to Paris, and to Switzerland and the continent generally; assuring me of a kind and warm reception from the first men of the day in France, Switzerland, and Germany. He said that his particular friend Cuvier, the celebrated French naturalist, and Secretary to the French Academy in Paris, would come over and meet us in London, and we could return with him to Paris. He remained some time with me, and I was greatly pleased with him, and he appeared to be, as he said he was, highly gratified with his visit; taking deep interest in the school and in the establishment generally; but especially in the school; for he had been for four years one of the four Commissioners of Education for France, as well as having been ten years a Tribune of the same country.

We went together to London, where I transacted much business with my professed disciples, previous to my intended visit to the continent, that they might promote my "New Views" in my absence.

I had informed him that I knew nothing of the French or of any other language than my own. He said that would make no difference. He would be my constant companion and interpreter on my journey. And he knew personally almost all the leading and distinguished men on the continent.

I however took letters of introduction from the French and other foreign ministers, and from leading personages; and his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, on being informed by me that I was going to Paris, said he would give me an introduction to his friend the Duke of Orleans, (afterwards King Louis Philippe,) if I desired to see and converse with him, and which letter I received with pleasure. At the time appointed M. Cuvier arrived, with Madame Cuvier and her daughter,—for Madame had been previously married, and was a widow with this one daughter when she was married to M. Cuvier.

At this period it was intended to make this now most celebrated *savant* a minister of state, and he came to England with a view to make himself acquainted with our laws and mode of governing. He appeared to be soon satisfied, for he did not remain long in England. A French frigate was sent to bring him and his party to France. M. Cuvier, his lady and daughter,

with Professor Pictet and myself, made up the whole of the party, and after landing at Calais, we travelled in the same carriage to Paris, where we arrived and settled ourselves to remain some weeks.

I was now immediately introduced into the midst of the highest learned political men and women of France and other countries then in Paris.

My first visit was to the Duke of Orleans, to whom the Duke of Kent's letter gave me a ready and welcome introduction. The Duke received me more as a friend than as a stranger, commencing by expressing his high regard and friendship for his Royal Highness of Kent and Strathern, and then entering familiarly into a narrative, confidential at that period, of the delicate position which he held in relation to the other and then reigning branch of the Bourbon family.

At this period the political state of parties in France was peculiar. The Bourbons reigned by the external powers of Europe, but France was Buonapartist, and a truce appeared to have taken place between the parties, for at the time of my visit the leading men of both were upon friendly terms. But the Duke said—"The reigning family are jealous of me. They are afraid of my liberal principles. I am watched, and I feel it necessary to be guarded in my private and public conduct. I therefore live very quietly, and take no active part in any of the movements of the day. But I observe all that takes place, and the day may come when I may have more liberty to act according to my views of the necessities of the times." He was at this time a thoughtful watchful character, and rather timid than otherwise. My views were too well known, he said, to allow him openly to appear to countenance me; and all my movements would be known whilst in France. My friend and companion Professor Pictet was not then with me, for the Duke spoke English well and most fluently, and our interview was most private. It continued for upwards of an hour; but afterwards I had no personal communication with him during my then stay in Paris.

The next day the Professor proposed that we should visit the Prime Minister, to whom I was introduced by the Professor, and I presented my letter from the French Ambassador in London. We were cordially received, and had a long and by degrees a frank and friendly interview,—the Minister expressing his high admiration of my practical measures at New Lanark, of which he had heard many accounts from several parties who had witnessed them, all of whom were lavish in their praises of what they had seen. And he said he was deeply interested as a statesman in my late public proceedings in London, which, he added, were he was sure too profound and too advanced for immediate adoption. But he said they were true, and would be, after many conflicts, ultimately universally adopted, and would.

become the practice of the world. The Minister seemed much disinclined to terminate the interview, which continued an unusual length of time, and when we departed he came with us through three apartments *en suite* connected with his own most private reception room. Not being yet initiated in the customs and forms of courts and courtiers, I thought nothing of this, but supposed it to be of common occurrence; but upon leaving the house, the Professor said, "I have never seen that done before. I have been, during fourteen years residence in France, very often with the chief Minister, and frequently with persons of distinction. On leaving, the Ministers come to their own door, and take leave. When they deem it necessary to pay more than usual attention, they come through the first room and then take leave. If they intend to the visitor much respect, they come through the two rooms, and then take formal leave. But I never before saw the Minister accompany his visitors through the three apartments, and attend to them as he did to us on this occasion." And in this manner was the inexperienced cotton-spinner initiated into the so-called great ways of the great world.

I was next introduced by my friends Cuvier and Pictet to La Place, the wide world known astronomer. And then to Alexander Von Humboldt, who then was in Paris pursuing his scientific investigations. And we four—La Place, Cuvier, Pictet, and myself, afterwards often met at the house of one or other of the two first, to converse freely upon public affairs interesting to the population of all countries. La Place and Cuvier were at the head of their respective sciences. Professor Pictet was at the head of the *savans* of Europe. And I was now considered by these men as the advanced mind in a practical knowledge of human nature and the science of society. It was to me at first most surprising to discover, in La Place and Cuvier especially, but less so in Pictet, their childish simplicity on all subjects relative to human nature and to the science of society. They sought my society eagerly, to question me on these subjects, apparently quite new to their study, they having so long had their minds fixed on their own respective sciences, that they had never entered the field of investigation on these subjects, so familiar to me. While I had been as far behind in a knowledge of their subjects, so familiar to them, and which they themselves had extended, to the gratification of the learned world. They seemed to have lived to this period in worlds of their own. For they appeared to be devoid, out of their own made world, of a knowledge of the common every day world. It was a common report at this time that Professor Cuvier had been on his return from London immediately made one of the ministers of state; but that from some cause or other he remained minister for one day only. Probably, if this was true, it was because governing.

especially at that period, was so foreign and opposed to his own studies and associations of ideas. M. Alexander Humboldt was less frequently one of our *coterie*; but I never met him without a strong liking and attraction for the quiet unobtrusive simplicity of his manner, and his willingness to impart the valuable knowledge which he possessed without any appearance of ostentation, a knowledge which he had with so much industry so well acquired. He always seemed to me to be a full true man, without any of the ordinary failings of humanity. And I have never met him since without these impressions of his character being more strongly confirmed.

Professor Pictet seemed to be much respected by all parties, and he was on friendly terms with the leaders of the more liberal views, and especially with those men who had survived and had passed with credit through the revolution, and who were generally respected and esteemed among the liberal statesmen of the day.

Some of these names I especially remember. One was Count de Boissy d'Anglas, who, upon my being introduced to him, received me, to my no little surprise, with open arms and a salute on each cheek, from a rougher chin than I had ever so encountered,—for he was the first man from whom I received such a salute. I found he was a warm and ardent disciple of mine,—open, frank, and honest in the avowal of his principles, and in his adherence to rational liberty.

Another was Camille Jourdain, so well known through all stages of the revolution. He appeared (agreeing with Professor Pictet's statement of him, and they had been long known to each other,) to have been one of the superior men engaged in that extraordinary struggle for liberty, a thing so little understood by all the contending parties, and less practised by them when in power. There were, throughout this dreadful contest, no indications of a knowledge of human nature, of charity for humanity, or of wisdom in conduct. It was severe general suffering, to produce small results.

A third on my memory was the Duke de la Rochefoucault, who had from patriotic motives established on his estate in the country, what at that time in France was considered a large cotton spinning manufactory. He wished me to see it, and took me with him into the country. I examined the whole business as then carried on at the Duke's risk and with his capital. I found by this investigation, that I was manufacturing the same numbers or fineness of yarn or thread, but of much better quality, at the New Lanark establishment in Scotland, at fourpence per pound cheaper than the Duke's. One penny per pound upon the annual produce at that time at New Lanark, was £8,000 sterling—which sum multiplied by four, gives a gain upon the same quantity, over the Duke's, of thirty-two thousand pounds per year. Evidently therefore the Duke required a high duty on

English (British,) cottons to enable him, and all similarly situated, to proceed. But it was equally evident that the French people had to pay this duty to their own manufacturers, to enable them to continue their works.

I had what was then called the honour of a sitting in the celebrated French Academy, of which my constant friend, Cuvier, was secretary.

And thus for six weeks did the Professor and myself luxuriate amidst the *élite* of the most distinguished men then in Paris; and I lost no opportunity of obtaining the best thoughts of these superior characters, and here I discovered for the first time one advantage from not knowing any other than my native language.

I had continually the highly learned and gifted Professor Pictet for my companion and interpreter, well known to all the foremost men in France, from his long official residence in it, and, liberal as he was, so much respected for his attainments and high character, that he was the only person allowed by Napoleon to import monthly a box of English publications unopened and duty free. With such a friend, guide, and interpreter, our visits were always to men and women of high standing for some eminent qualities, and our conversations were therefore always on the investigation of some important knowledge, worth the trouble and time of interpreting. And, from one cause or another, I was made during this period, through the Professor's means and others, the lion of Paris. Knowing the defects of early education, the little instruction I had received from others, the little I really knew of the mind, habits, and manners of the great world, and being then and for a long time afterwards unconscious of the deep and wide-spread impressions which had been made by my publications on the formation of character, my practical measures so long pursued at New Lanark, and latterly my public meetings and proceedings in London,—I was continually at a loss to account for the extraordinary deference and attention which was paid to me by all these parties. But so it was.

After this effective sojourn of six weeks in Paris under these favourable circumstances, adding greatly to my experience of the learned and great world, the Professor and myself, joined before setting out by my sisters-in-law, proceeded towards the Professor's native country and his home in Geneva. Our journey was one of every day pleasure. In the course of it two events occurred to add to my experience, and which made an impression on my memory, although they were of a light nature.

On crossing the Jura, the weather being warm and pleasant, we walked much to enjoy the pure air and grand scenery before and around us, and the carriage slowly followed us at some distance. The Professor and myself were cosily engaged in some interesting discussion, walking slowly, my sisters walking on at some distance in advance of us. They were dressed in the English

fashion of the time, and they passed an ordinary house, at which were standing at the door three or four young women well dressed in their fashion. We were so much behind, and being dressed as travellers usually were who passed that way, we did not appear to these natives to belong to the ladies who had just passed by them, and they were making merry with the strange dresses and appearance of the strangers, and the Professor heard them say—"Did you ever see such frightful dresses? How could people think of wearing them!" I think my sisters on that occasion wore riding habits and hats, expecting to ride some part of the day on mules. We passed on, and soon joined our advanced party, and the first thing my sisters said was—"Did you ever see such frights? How could any people so disfigure themselves?" My sisters-in-law were at this time young travellers in a foreign country, and had not yet been in Switzerland, to see, to them, the still greater variety of strange costumes. "Yes," I replied, "we saw them, and heard their strongly expressed surprise at the frights who had just passed, and they making merry with the strange figures you had made yourselves." This was a lesson which they never afterwards forgot.

Shortly after this occurrence, and when we had walked until we had made ourselves very warm, we had to cross a cold clear running stream, at which the Professor took out a pocket handkerchief, dipped it in the stream, and while it was saturated with water, put one corner of it into his mouth and then threw it over his fine bald head. I exclaimed—"Professor! what are you doing? You will give yourself a death cold!" He smiled, and said, "I am experienced in these matters. Although very cold water is dangerous taken internally when thus heated, it is most refreshing when applied on the outside and on the head as you now see, and it carries off the extra heat in the most agreeable manner." And so I discovered it was in his case; for at every stream we passed he repeated the same operation, and appeared indeed to be greatly relieved by it from the effects of heat during the remainder of the day's journey.

Our first view of Mont Blanc before we entered Switzerland made a deep and lasting impression upon those of the party who had not before seen it. The atmosphere was most favourable for seeing it to the greatest advantage in its most magnificent beauty, with tints as various as the rainbow. The Professor, who had passed and re-passed the point of view very often, said he had had never seen it to greater advantage. We therefore entered this country of endless magnificent and beautiful scenery, with favorable prepossessions, and were during our stay never disappointed.

On our arrival at Geneva we found that the Professor had arranged to make everything most convenient for our comfort. He

had residing with him his daughter, Madame Prevost, a charming highly gifted woman, just such as it was natural to suppose that the beloved daughter of the Professor, brought up under his immediate tuition, would be. I say beloved,—because it was delightful to witness the affection which was most evident in every look and word between them.

I was gradually introduced to all the *elite* in and around Geneva. The brother of the Professor was the celebrated statesman of Geneva, who negotiated on the part of Switzerland, and obtained advantages and privileges which were deemed important, with the congress of sovereigns met in 1818 at Aix-la-Chapelle. Among many others, I was also introduced during this visit to Madame Neckar, the sister of Madame de Stael, the celebrated opponent of Napoleon I. Madame Neckar was the widow of M. Neckar, the well-known minister in France, and she was esteemed superior in many respects to her better known sister. She was on the most friendly terms with the Professor's family, was often of our party, and we as frequently with her, for her society was always interesting and highly instructive and suggestive.

The Professor had made my "New Views of Society" very popular at Geneva, and they were always the favourite topic of conversation with Madame Neckar and the Professor's daughter, who were never tired of pursuing it through all its ramifications, to its beautiful results, ending in the practice of the Millennium over the Earth, and the cordial union of the race as one superior and highly enlightened family.

At this time Captain Hall, the well-known visitor to Napoleon at St. Helena, arrived at Geneva, full of the, to him, important event of twenty minutes conversation with so great a personage. He had made a narrative of this visit, so minute, and worked up with so much dramatic effect, that upon every occasion when we met him in different parties he occupied about two hours in giving the details, and as they were given each time pretty much in the same order, and often in the same words and phrases, the two ladies mentioned were after they had once heard it especially annoyed. The Captain's mind was one of detail, and he evidently attached the greatest importance to this, to him, wonderful event. While the minds of these ladies were in search of principles which could be applied in practice to permanently benefit humanity.

I could not help observing on these occasions how little a mind of detail comprehends the mind formed and accustomed to generalization. The first comprehends little of the associations of ideas in the mind of the latter; while the latter often under-values the utility in practice of the first. In many cases where these qualities are unmixed, one being wholly accustomed to details, and the other to generalise, the parties cannot understand each other.

In this case Captain Hall had no interest in those subjects which were thought to be so important by some of his impatient listeners.

I now took my sisters-in-law to see the most prominent scenes of nature's beauty in these Cantons, so full of such scenes, and which have been so often described as to be familiar to every reader and continental traveller. While on this excursion, stopping at a hotel about midway up the shore of the lake of Geneva, we were met by my old and greatly respected friend Mr. Joseph Strutt of Derby, with his two daughters. Thus meeting, we agreed to prolong our stay there another day beyond our previous intention. I had promised a morning visit the next day to Mademoiselle de Stael, the daughter of the celebrated authoress, and afterwards the wife of the Duke———. We therefore arranged to dine on my return at three o'clock, and I left my sisters and our friend to enjoy themselves in that beautiful situation in their own way, while I went early to Copec, the seat of the renowned Madame de Stael, who had but lately died, leaving her only daughter to lament this great bereavement.

On my arrival I found among other visitors Monsieur Sismondi, and entering at once into a conversation mutually interesting, time was unnoticed, until I recollected my engagement to return and dine with my friends the Strutts and my sisters-in-law at the hotel, eight miles distant, at three o'clock,—when, taking out my watch, I discovered it was five o'clock, and I did not arrive at the hotel until six. But my friend very kindly excused my oversight under the circumstances in which I was placed. I met the same friend some weeks afterwards at Frankfort, when we remained in the same hotel,—and I just now recollect that one day while Mr. Strutt and myself were sitting after dinner there, it occurred to us that it might be possible perhaps, it being a superior hotel, for us to obtain a bottle of the genuine old hock, grown upon Prince Metternich's estate. Calling in the hotel keeper, we asked if such a matter was practicable. He said "I could obtain but six bottles of a particularly good vintage,—it being divided among many,—and I will with pleasure," (I believe we had become favourites with the landlord,) "let you have one bottle. But the price is high." "We will give your own price, and shall be obliged in addition." The bottle was brought, and certainly, in the estimation of Mr. Strutt and myself, it was the most delicious wine we had ever drunk. Its price was ten francs.

When my sisters had seen all they desired to see in Switzerland, they left me to pass over into Italy, and I rejoined the Professor, after first paying a visit to my partner, Mr. John Walker of Arno's Grove, Middlesex, and his family, who had taken up their residence for some time on the banks of the lake of Lucerne. While remaining with them, I went with two of his sons to the top of

Mount Rigel, and we arrived there in time to see that splendid sight the sun rising, in a morning most favourable for seeing it to great advantage, displaying gradually all the beauties of that enchanting distant mountain and lake prospect, including parts of nearly all the Cantons.

Of Mr. John Walker, just mentioned, I shall have occasion to speak in a future portion of these memoirs.

On my return to Professor Pictet's at Geneva, we first made a visit to the three then most noted schools for the poor in Switzerland. The first was Father Oberlin's, a Catholic school, conducted in a truly Catholic spirit by this good father of the church, and with as little sectarian spirit in his proceedings as was practicable while he remained a member of his sect. This was a large school, well filled with the poorer class of children, well conducted on charitable principles, according to the old mode of teaching; but it was quite evident that the heart of this good man was in it, and he had laboured hard and long to bring it to the state in which it was when I visited him at Friburgh, where the school was situated. This excellent man, when informed by Professor Pictet of my school and establishment which he had seen and so frequently examined, became greatly interested to know how I obtained such extraordinary results, and became anxious to learn how to obtain them as I had done. His school consisted of boys of the usual age at which boys were sent at this time to school. I told him the plan which I pursued was a very simple one, and was obtained by a close and accurate study of human nature, not from books, (for these were very generally worse than useless,) but from the infant, child, youth, and man, as formed under a false fundamental principle, as was evident by the entire past history of the human race. To form the most superior character for the human race, the training and education should commence from the birth of the child; and to form a good character they must begin systematically when the child is one year old. But much has been done rightly or wrongly before that period. From that age no child should be brought up isolated. Every child should now be placed in the first division of a school for infants of from one to three years of age, and from thirty to fifty in number,—the latter number easily to be superintended by a properly chosen female,—instead of, as at present, one or two or three infants of such age being thoroughly spoiled by the attendance upon them of young persons wholly ignorant of human nature. In this first division the foundation of a good and rational character may be easily laid, by attending to the formation of every habit, to their manner, their disposition, and their conduct to each other; and in this respect I gave them but one rule or lesson for practice, and that was, from their entrance into the school, to endeavour to make each other very happy. And it is surprising how soon and how effectually this practice is acquired

under a superintendent possessing the required unceasing love for children, and who has been properly instructed before commencing the task. These children, to be well trained and educated, should never hear from their teacher an angry word, or see a cross or threatening expression of countenance. The tone of voice and manner should be, impartially to them all, kind and affectionate. They should be out of doors in good air at play, as much as the weather and their strength will admit. When beginning to be tired of play in their play-ground, they should be taken within the school room, and amused by the teacher, by showing and explaining to them some useful object within their capacity to comprehend,—and a young active well-taught teacher will easily find and provide something that they will be interested in seeing and in hearing it explained. While awake they should be actively occupied either at this amusement or at play; and thirty to fifty infants, when left to themselves, will always amuse each other without any useless childish toys. In our rational infant school in New Lanark, a mere child's toy was not seen for upwards of twenty years. When however any infant felt inclined to sleep, it should be quietly allowed to do so.

Punishment, in a rationally conducted infant school, will never be required, and should be avoided as much as giving poison in their food.

The second division, from three to six, should continue to be treated in the same manner, except that their walks into the country should be frequent, and the objects brought to them for examination and explanation should be advanced in interest in proportion to the previous acquirements of the children, and to their age for better understanding them.

Books in infant schools are worse than useless. But at six, so trained and educated, a solid foundation will have been formed for good habits, manners, disposition, and conduct to others, and, so far, a consistent and rational mind will be given, varying in many particulars in different individuals, but all good and natural, according to their respective organizations.

No marks of merit or demerit should be given to any; no partiality shown to any one. But attention to each should be increased in proportion to natural defects or deficiency of any kind, physical or mental. "I see by your school," I continued, "that it is after this age that you, like other masters of schools, receive your pupils. But to a great extent the character is made or marred before children enter the usual school room."

The good father, feeling the truth of what I had stated, was yet anxious for more of my experience in forming character, and more anxious from the too favourable accounts which the Professor had given of what he had so often witnessed at New Lanark during his visits to me. I therefore proceeded, and stated that infants so treated, trained, and educated from one year

of age, would at six compare without disadvantage, in mind, manner, and conduct, with young persons as usually treated, trained, and educated with books, at ten and twelve years of age, or even yet older. And I advised him to add, if practicable under his circumstances, such an infant school to his present one. But he said—"I have no means; and it is with great difficulty I can procure funds to maintain what I have, and to do so has cost me many sleepless nights." On leaving him I said—"You are making great exertions to obtain, under the system in which I see you must act, but limited and very partial results."

The great earnestness and benevolence of this industrious poor *curé* of the Catholic church, labouring under many disadvantages, interested me very much.

He said he was most at a loss to know how I had succeeded in avoiding punishment altogether in the New Lanark schools. I told him the secret was in the first division of the infant school, from one to three, in which school the affections of the children were secured to their instructors; and that when their affections are obtained, the children will always with pleasure to themselves exert their natural powers to their utmost extent. This result is most easily obtained by commencing the formation of character from one year of age, with numbers about the same age united. When human nature shall be understood by the public, the advantages of this early formation of character will be duly appreciated, and every child when a year old will be placed in a rational infant boarding school.

This good benevolent man eagerly enquired if there were any such infant boarding schools,—for I told him that mine were day schools only, and were in consequence imperfect for the formation of the best character which could be formed; but that society was not yet so far advanced as to admit of the best character being formed. This, I told him, could be obtained only under an entire change of society in spirit, principle, and practice. He said—"do you think that change can ever be effected?" I replied that my settled conviction was that it could; that I saw all the steps in practice by which the change could be made in peace and most advantageously for every individual, of every class and rank, over the world; and that I should never cease my efforts to forward this change as long as life and health would admit. "But," he said, "you will be opposed by all religions and governments, and by the people whom they govern, and whose educated prejudices in favour of existing practices will be a difficulty insurmountable in your way." "So I am told," I answered, "by men of all parties. But my knowledge of human nature leads me to know that conviction does not depend upon the will of the individual; but that it depends upon the strongest impression which can be made upon his mind; and I hope by degrees to create new impressions

"upon the most advanced minds, and that they will gradually make similar impressions upon the general public mind."

"You must have great faith in the truth of your principles, to resolve upon such a course of conduct, against such obstacles as you must meet by the way. I, however, wish you all the success you desire, without much expectation that it is possible for any one to overcome the prejudices and apparent interests to be encountered from all sects and parties in all countries."

Thus we concluded our visit to the first Swiss poor school which I had seen.

Our next visit was to Yverdun, to see the advance made by Pestalozzi—another good and benevolent man, acting for the benefit of his poor children to the extent of his knowledge and means. He was doing, he said, all he could to cultivate the heart, the head, and the hands of his pupils. His theory was good, but his means and experience were very limited, and his principles were those of the old system. His language was a confused *patois*, which Professor Pictet could but imperfectly understand. His goodness of heart and benevolence of intention were evident in what he had done under the disadvantages which he had to encounter. His school, however, was one step in advance of ordinary schools, or the old routine schools for the poor in common society, and we were pleased with it as being this one step in advance, for the rudiments of common school education for the poor, without attention to their dispositions and habits, and without teaching them useful occupation, by which to earn a living, are of little real utility. We left him, being much pleased with the honest homely simplicity of the old man. His one step beyond the usual routine had attracted and was attracting the attention of many who had previously known only the common routine.

Professor Pictet now said he would take me to a former partner of Pestalozzi, but a man very superior to him in talent and attainments, who had also a poor school, and another for pupils of the more wealthy and of the upper classes, even sons of princes. We therefore went to Hofwyl, and I was introduced by M. Pictet to M. de Fellenberg, in such a manner as to induce him to open his house and his heart to me, so as to make us very speedily acquainted with each other's views, and to place me at once at ease and at home with him. Here the Professor and I remained partaking of M. de Fellenberg's hospitality for three days,—the Professor and M. de Fellenberg being previously old and much attached friends. I found M. de Fellenberg a man of no ordinary mould,—possessing rare administrative talent, and a good knowledge of human nature as formed under the existing system of society, but alive to its many errors and defects. After minutely inspecting his admirably conducted school of instruction and labour for the poor, under the immediate care of M. Verdi,

and the schools of the upper class, with the improved cultivation which he had introduced on his estate around the establishment,—all of which we found in order, and the schools two or three steps in advance of any I had yet seen in England or on the continent,—we spent the remainder of the three days in considering what could be done to bring society out of its present delusion and error.

The Professor and M. de Fellenberg had both minds far in advance of things as they were, and were quite willing to proceed onward as fast and as far as their surroundings would permit them to proceed. They were in each other's confidence. The Professor had become a true convert to my views, and before the third day of our stay, M. de Fellenberg also became a disciple of the "new views." We then considered how far the Hofwyl Establishment could be made to assist to prepare the way for the entire change which I contemplated. M. de Fellenberg had pupils of high rank from Russia and from various parts of Germany. But his known strong inclination to liberal, not to say democratic principles, had created in the neighbouring despotic powers a suspicion that he might go too far in instilling these advanced liberal views into the minds and habits of his pupils. His school had been therefore placed under the *surveillance* of three commissioners, of German, Prussian, and Russian appointment, and their examinations of the schools were quarterly or half yearly. One of these examinations took place while we were there, but it did not occupy much time, it being known to the Professor and M. de Fellenberg that the commissioners were friendly to them both. But there was indeed nothing that intelligent men could reasonably object to.

The Professor explained to M. de Fellenberg the extraordinary results, as he considered them, which were produced in the new infant school at New Lanark; and in our conversation on this subject I strongly recommended him to commence an infant school in his establishment. At this time he had no boys in his school under ten years of age. He had never before heard of a rational infant school; but he greatly approved of the principles and practices of it, as they were explained to him by the Professor and myself; and he seemed much inclined to introduce one into his establishment, if he could make the necessary arrangements for one to unite harmoniously with the general arrangements now in practice and in progress. I learned afterwards that to add such a nursery as would be necessary in his situation, as well to build suitable infant schools with play-ground, would too much derange his domestic and other arrangements, to permit him without great inconvenience and a large addition to his capital, which could not be easily obtained, to add properly constructed accommodations for this purpose, and that he rightly judged that it was better not to commence, unless he could do

justice to the system; and he had at this time as much upon his hands as any one man could direct with the superior success which he desired, and with his limited capital.

My two eldest sons, Robert Dale and William, were now, the first sixteen, and the second fourteen years of age. They had received as good a private training and education as could be given to them by the aid of well-selected governesses and tutors, and their characters and habits, physical and mental, had been so far formed on rational principles, that I had no fears to send them from home to acquire foreign languages, and to yet farther pursue useful studies, and to become more practically acquainted with the ways of men in the old world,—so different in many respects to the half new world in which alone to this time they had been trained and so far educated.

Knowing by experience the importance of the surroundings in which all parties, but especially the young, are placed, I looked everywhere for the best in which to place my sons, to complete their training and education. I had seen nothing to equal the existing and projected arrangements or surroundings at this establishment; and on consulting with the Professor, he approved of my intention to propose to M. de Fellenberg to receive my two sons. There then had never been an English boy among his pupils, and he said he should have peculiar pleasure in receiving my two sons, as they had had a previous training and education at New Lanark. The terms were high, but not more than the superior house and school arrangements made necessary for the support of the pupils. I agreed to send my sons and place them under M. de Fellenberg's especial care and direction. I have ever remembered this visit with unmixed pleasure, from the gratification I experienced in the friendly, frank, confidential communication of mind to mind on all subjects, enhanced by the mutual confidence each had in the other.

When the Professor and I were with my partner, Mr. John Walker, it was arranged,—as I intended to visit Frankfort, and to be at Aix-la-Chapelle during the Congress of Sovereigns speedily to be held there, and as Professor Pictet had been my travelling companion and interpreter for several months,—that Mr. Walker, who most kindly wished to promote my views, which I was going to promulgate in Frankfort and Aix-la-Chapelle, should take the place of the Professor, and should assist me in Germany, as the Professor had aided me in France and Switzerland; and that I should return to the Professor on my way homeward. I very reluctantly parted from a friend who had been so kindly attentive and so essentially serviceable to me, with the peculiar views which I entertained, and in which he so thoroughly united, that wherever we went he tried to anticipate my wishes. But a more willing, amiable, and accomplished successor could scarcely be ima-

gined, than the one I was so fortunate as to meet with in my friend and partner Mr. John Walker, with whom I had previously spent many a happy day at his residence, Arno's Grove, Southgate, Middlesex, where an occurrence took place which was deeply impressed on my memory, and the relation of which, with previous explanations, may hereafter be useful to many.

Mr. Walker was born of very wealthy parents of the society of friends, and by them was carefully trained as such until he was twelve years of age. At that age a highly gifted artistic and scientific gentleman, not of the society, but upon very friendly terms with the family, observing the superior and teachable qualities of his young friend, as he called him, pressed the parents to permit him to take their son to Rome, to which city he was going, and where he intended to remain to study the arts and sciences, and, seeing that young John had a strong natural taste for both, he would, if they would permit him to go with him, give him every advantage that Rome could offer to promote his progress in all his studies. The parents consented, and the pupil remained many years with his mentor, during which he made extraordinary progress in all the arts and sciences, for, with great natural abilities, continued study was his delight, and while he was progressing it was a constant source of happiness to him. How long he remained in Rome and afterwards travelling to acquire additional knowledge with his experienced accomplished friend, I do not recollect, but it was a long period. He told me that during his stay the impression made upon his youthful mind by the extraordinary splendour and getting up of high mass, to engage the feelings of the inexperienced, were so overpowering to the senses, that he was on one of these occasions nearly tempted to become a Catholic, and but just escaped by the advice of his friend from openly declaring himself to be a convert. He said that always afterwards, whenever the moments of his delirium, as he called it, recurred to him, it was a source of the highest satisfaction to him that he then escaped the delusion. Such however were the attainments which he acquired under the direction of this accomplished and experienced mentor, that on his return to England he was readily elected member of the Royal Society; but such was his natural retiring timidity, that only confidential friends living with him under his own most hospitable roof had any idea of his varied great acquirements. His fortune was ample,—he had married a lady in all ways most suitable to him,—and their esteem and affection for each other were ever evident through every day's proceeding. When I first knew them, on Mr. Walker's becoming my partner with others in the New Lanark Establishment, his country house was Arno's Grove, purchased by him from Lord Newman, as far as I remember, and his town house was 49 Bedford Square, which he allowed me to occupy as my

home when my public proceedings detained me in London, making occasional visits to Arno's Grove when the family were absent from London.

He had at this time a large family of fine well-grown and highly educated sons and daughters ;—he had carriages and horses in the best condition ;—an extensive and well-selected library in his town and in his country residence ;—a rare and very expensive museum of choice specimens of nature in every department ;—and at Arno's Grove a more extensive and select arrangement of exotic plants from all climates than could be found in any private establishment at that time in the kingdom,—having one hundred and fifty acres chiefly in pleasure grounds around his house.

Knowing all these particulars, and that he had an ample fortune to establish all his children in various professions and in wealthy and successful mercantile or manufacturing establishments, (being decided as he informed me that all should have some occupation,) I had a question on my mind to ask him while on one of my visits to him at Arno's Grove, to ascertain whether what I considered to be an universal fact had any exception. From reflecting upon the false base on which the human-made character of all through past generations to the present had been formed, and on which society in all its varieties over the world had been and was to this day constructed,—I had been compelled to believe that character so formed and society so constructed could not produce one happy man or woman, without some drawback or cause of unhappiness. But in Mr. Walker's case I could not discover any private cause of unhappiness, and I was in consequence most desirous to be informed as to this fact.

Walking one day alone with him in his oak wood, at some distance from the house, while in an interesting conversation (for all his conversations were highly interesting and instructive,) upon the inconsistencies of society and the miseries which it created, I said—" My impressions are, and have been for a considerable time, that society falsely based as it ever has been could not create one truly happy man or woman, except in some cases from unconscious ignorance, when all the animal wants of our nature are satisfied ; but since I have become so well acquainted with you, your surroundings, and your history, I think I have discovered one who is intelligent and is yet, in all his private and individual relations, not only without cause of unhappiness, but in the actual possession of uninterrupted of rational enjoyment."

I then asked the question whether I was correct or not, for information on the subject which so much occupied my thoughts—the renovation of society by an entire change of system from its base, in principle, spirit, and practice.

He said—"I am conscious of your motives," and with the most natural simplicity and feeling in his manner he added—"I am not happy." I had enumerated to him the many superior surroundings, of family, fortune, and position, which he possessed, and his numerous sources of intellectual enjoyment, and that I could discover nothing left for him to wish for, all his family being at this time in strong health. In continuation he said—"All this is true; and with respect to these surroundings I have nothing more to wish for; but yet I am not happy."

"May I, without intruding upon private or family feelings, ask the cause?" He replied—"To one so well acquainted with human nature as you are, I willingly answer your question. My parents were very wealthy; they had but myself and a sister to provide for; my fortune was therefore ample beyond my means of lavish expenditure in pursuit of knowledge in every direction, and subsequently for the highest comfort of my family; and the confidential union between us is, as you have now so often witnessed, complete. But now that all these things have been attained in a superior and most satisfactory manner, nothing being deficient that wealth can give, I feel daily the necessity of some regular occupation, to call daily for active exertion, and to force me, as it were, into physical and mental activity."

I said—"I can readily comprehend the want you feel, and am satisfied that it is a law of nature that happiness is unattainable through life except our physical and mental powers are daily exercised to the point of temperance."

"It is," he said, "from my own experience in this matter, that I seek employment for all my sons, that they may not be subjected later in life to the want of daily occupation."

Such was the man who volunteered to be my companion and interpreter in Germany.

We at once proceeded to Frankfort, where we remained until the meeting of the Congress of Sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle, to which I intended to present memorials on the present state and future prospects of society.

I wrote at Frankfort the two memorials which I intended to present, and had them printed for private circulation previous to the meeting of Congress, and they were printed in English, French, and German, in the same pamphlet.

The Germanic Diet was now sitting in Frankfort, and was attended at this time by the representatives of twenty-two different governments. My letters introduced me to all the prominent learned and political characters now in the city, and it was crowded with strangers expecting the arrival of the Sovereigns and their Ambassadorial attendants from many courts. But I had also, from my friend the late celebrated Nathan Rothschild, an especial letter to the late well-known Frankfort banker, the

friend and host of the Emperor Alexander of Russia, M. Bethman, to whom I was much indebted for many attentions while I remained in that city.

The secretary to the Congress of Sovereigns had arrived to wait the coming of the Emperors, Kings, &c., &c. He was the well-known politician M. Gentz, learned in all the policy of the leading despots of Europe, and in their full confidence, and therefore he had been appointed by them for this office of high trust and position.

M. Bethman and the members of the Germanic Diet were, as I afterwards discovered, desirous to hear what could be said by this celebrated politician, the secretary to the Congress of Sovereigns, in favour of the old system of society, in opposition to what I had to say in advocating the new system, which it was now known was the object of my visit to Frankfort.

To bring about a discussion between us, M. Bethman had arranged to give a sumptuous dinner or banquet to all the members of the Diet, and to invite the secretary and myself. The secretary, no doubt, was in the secret of this arrangement, but I had not the least suspicion of it. The dinner was the most superb and complete in all its qualities and accompaniments of any I had ever partaken of. My own habits having through life been very temperate and simple, in conformity with the laws of health, I could not avoid perceiving in this mode of life the causes of many diseases and of premature death. It would be a useful lesson to know how many who sat with me at that table are now living.

When dinner was over, the conversation was soon so directed as to engage the secretary and myself in a regular discussion, to which the others were attentive listeners, and in which they were apparently much interested.

As the discussion proceeded from one point to another, I stated that now, through the progress of science, the means amply existed in all countries, or might easily be made to exist on the principle of union for the foundation of society; instead of its present foundation of disunion, to saturate society at all times with wealth, sufficient to amply supply the wants of all through life. What was my surprise to hear the reply of the learned secretary! "Yes," he said, and apparently speaking for the governments, "we know that very well; but we do not want the mass to become wealthy and independent of us. How could we govern them if they were?"

This short speech opened my eyes at once to the impracticability of the present system of society in Europe being maintained under a rational system of education and employment for the people. They would soon become too wise, too wealthy, and too powerful, to be so irrationally treated, trained, educated, employed, governed, and placed, as they are now under every form of government in practice. And it should be now universally

and most emphatically made known to the population of the world, that if it were treated, trained, educated, employed, and placed, in accordance with the most plain dictates of common sense, crimes would terminate, the miseries of humanity would cease, wealth and wisdom would be universal, and man would everywhere become a peaceable superior animal in all his animal nature, and yet more superior in his intellectual, moral, spiritual, and united practical nature.

After this confession by the secretary, the discussion lost much of its interest in my mind; for I had discovered that I had a long and arduous task before me, to convince governments and governed of the gross ignorance under which they were contending against each other, in direct opposition to the real interests and true happiness of both. I now foresaw that the prejudices which I had to overcome in all classes in all countries were of the most formidable character, and that, in addition to illimitable patience and perseverance, it would require the wisdom said to be possessed by the serpent, with the harmlessness of the dove, and the courage of the lion.

I had passed the rubicon, and was strongly impressed to proceed onward in a straight course, without turning to the right or to the left until the great object of my life was attained, or to die in pursuing the attempt. Having written the memorials which I intended to present to the Congress of Sovereigns, being on friendly terms with many of the diplomatic persons at this eventful period in Frankfort, I was visited one day by the Russian Ambassador, a German, and a fine open-hearted frank character by nature, and thus friendly when not engaged in diplomatic discussions with diplomatists. I had the intended memorials in Mss. preparing for the printer, and I read them to him, that I might have the benefit of his opinion respecting them. When he heard me read—"That I was not influenced in these proceedings by considerations of wealth, privileges, or honours, for these already appear to me as the playthings of infants,"—he suddenly started back, expressing great emotion and surprise. I said, "I see you think the words you have read are too strong for sovereigns"—"Oh no!" he replied, "I am too delighted to hear them; for that is the only way to make any useful impression on such kind of fellows." He spoke English well, but I do not know whether he understood our meaning when he applied the term "fellows" to Emperors, Kings, &c., &c., &c.

Another kind-hearted person was then connected with the Russian Embassey, waiting the arrival of the Emperor Alexander. This was Baron de Krudener, son of the celebrated Madame de Krudener, the spiritualist, living in Switzerland, whom the Emperor used to visit and consult through spiritual agencies respecting his mundane proceedings.

This young man became much attached to me, and gave me as much useful information respecting passing events as he knew or could collect for me, keeping me well posted up as to the arrivals of the many great personages who were daily coming from all parts of Germany to pay their respects to the Emperor, his sovereign.

He informed me that the Prince of Tour and Taxis had arrived at my hotel, and being a relative of the Emperor, visits would immediately be exchanged between them. The Prince went to pay his respects to the Emperor, and had not long returned before the Emperor came to return the visit. He was met on entering the public entrance leading to the Prince's suite of apartments, and I witnessed their meeting; which appeared to be most friendly and cordial. The Emperor remained with the Prince about twenty minutes.

I had in the meantime provided myself with a copy of my memorials, intending to present them to the Emperor as he returned from his visit to the Prince. I offered them to him, but his dress fitted so tightly to his person, that, having no pockets, he had no place in which he could put so large a packet. He was evidently annoyed by the circumstance, and said, as I thought angrily, "I cannot receive it—I have no place to put it in. Who are you?"—"Robert Owen," was my reply. "Come to me in the evening at Mr. Bethlman's,"—and he passed on.

I did not like his manner of speaking to me, and did not go; which I afterwards regretted, for he was naturally amiable, and as kind-hearted as the surroundings of despotism would admit; and I then might have influenced him to some public beneficial purpose, for my influence among European governing parties was, as I learned afterwards, far greater than I was conscious of. But being a true lover of equal rights in the human race, I never could refrain from firmly repelling in manner what I deemed unnecessary assumption in any one.

I had previously written a letter to the Emperor, and Count Capo D'Istria, his secretary, was directed to inform me that the Emperor of Russia was overwhelmed with engagements during his short stay in Frankfort, but that he would if possible give me an audience. I had several interesting interviews with Count Capo D'Istria, and I found him highly talented, and strongly inclined to investigate the most advanced liberal principles, expressing a strong desire that the time had arrived when the views which I entertained, and which I fully explained to him, could be generally adopted in practice.

I may here remark, that in all my intercourse with the ministers of despotic powers, I uniformly found them in principle favourably disposed to the introduction in practice of the new system of society, and that they gave me all the facilities and aid which their position would admit.

My visit to Frankfort was an important event. It enlarged my views of the errors of the existing system of society, and of the thralldom to each other to which governments and governed were subjected, and how little both knew of the means by which their liberty of mind and action were to be obtained. My sympathy for both governments and people, under every form of government, was in consequence greatly increased; and my determination to unfetter both, and by simple truth to set the nations free, not by force, but by reason, was yet more strongly increased.

But every step in advance required a deep insight into the effects produced on the minds of all classes in different countries by their respective surroundings.

I discovered that I had to oppose the educated prejudices and apparent interests of all parties, with the habits created by the irrational surroundings emanating in all countries from the error on which society from its commencement had been founded and to this day constructed. My mission, then, was to bring forward the most important truths for man to know, and to bring them forward in such manner as to create the least angry excitement practicable, and to make a lasting impression on the public mind, so as gradually to undermine all that a system grossly false in principle, repulsive in spirit, and evil in practice, had for so long a period established in all nations and among all people. My letters written from this city to my wife at this period, will explain the feelings with which I pursued the object which so deeply engaged my thoughts.

As soon as the sovereigns met I hastened to Aix-la-Chapelle, and there completed the two memorials to the Governments of Europe and America. I then applied to Lord Castlereagh, the representative, with the Duke of Wellington, of the British government at this Congress. Lord Castlereagh in the most friendly manner promised to present these documents to Congress under the most favourable circumstances. He did so; and it was stated to me in confidence on my return to Paris, by one of the ministers of the government, that those two memorials were considered the most important documents which had been presented to the Congress during its sittings.

As soon as I received the assurance from Lord Castlereagh that he would take charge of the memorials and present them at the most favourable period to gain the attention of the great powers then assembled, I left Aix-la-Chapelle, to return to M. Pictet in Switzerland.

I should have previously stated that my kind friend, Mr. Walker, left me at Frankfort, circumstances having occurred to make it necessary for him to return to his family.

On returning to Geneva, I learned there was to be a meeting of the Swiss National Society of Natural History to be held in Lausanne at that period, and that Professor Pictet, my friend, and

so long my companion, was the president. He said all the most eminent men from the different Cantons would be present, besides many distinguished strangers; and he proposed that I should accompany him, to which proposal, as one of my objects of travel was to meet and confidentially converse with men of mind of every cast of character, I readily consented.

The members, from eighty to ninety in number, assembled on the Sunday, and the meeting commenced on the Monday morning, and terminated on Saturday evening. We all breakfasted, dined, and supped together, and the meeting at meals and for business appeared like the meeting of a friendly family party, although composed of members of opposing creeds and politics.

I was truly gratified with the spirit which prevailed among these parties from their meeting to their separation. I did not during the entire week hear an angry word or witness an unkind feeling among these learned men, met to promote useful knowledge in the spirit of charity and kindness. Among such a number of *savans*, each occupied for so long a period in giving and receiving valuable scientific discoveries, I never before or since witnessed so much unbroken harmony, or so little ignorant selfishness.

Early in the week I was requested to explain my views to the meeting. They appeared to create a lively sensation and much interest among the members, and were the subject of much conversation while we remained at Lausanne. I was unanimously elected an honorary member of the society, and no doubt through the kindness of Professor Pictet, who was almost revered by the members, as the promoter of science, and a father in kindness and benevolence to them all.

I was made one of lions of the meeting. The celebrated friend and tutor of the Emperor Alexander was of the number, and received much notice. His name has escaped my memory.

Many matters now requiring my attention in England and Scotland, I was obliged to hasten my departure homeward, and after remaining a few days longer in Geneva with the Professor and his most interesting daughter, and visiting his circle of select friends, I most reluctantly took leave of the man who had rendered me so many important services, and who had shown me attentions and kindness which could not be surpassed.

On my arrival in Paris I met with renewed attention from the friends and parties whom I had left there, and by one of the ministers I was told that my two memorials had been presented to Congress, and that copies were immediately forwarded to the French government, and that they were acknowledged by the members of the Congress to be the most important documents that had been received during its sittings. The subjects of these memorials were new to the members, and opened to them a wide field for

investigation and reflection. They were also prophecies which are now fulfilling in part, and will ultimately become truthful to their full extent.

I found several years afterwards that these two memorials had made an extraordinary impression on the Sovereigns who were present, and upon the representatives of those governments whose Sovereigns and heads were not present. As society progresses the subjects of these memorials will have to be considered by all governments and people.

By this visit to the continent of Europe the general interest which had been excited by the extensive publication of my proceedings in the previous year in the City of London Tavern was greatly increased, and to this day it remains, more or less, to influence both governments and people. Important general truths, openly declared, without mystery, mixture of error or fear of man, and not promulgated for private, but for the public good, will always produce their natural effects, especially when given in the true spirit of charity and love for all.

On my arrival in England I found myself at once in the midst of most exciting proceedings.

The measures which I had adopted had aroused fears in various quarters for the continued maintenance of old established prejudices and long protected vested interests, known to rest on no solid base, and to be opposed to the general interests of society.

New Lanark had become generally known, was popular, and its popularity was daily increasing. The New Rational Infant School which I had invented, and its unheard-of results, were blazed abroad, and excited great interest; as also were the measures which I had adopted to obtain relief for children and others so unwisely employed and oppressed by over work in our manufactories, by a bill in parliament to stay these evils.

Now all these measures, coming from one who had in the most public manner, in mid-day, denounced all the religions of the world as now taught, as being the great obstacle to all permanent substantial improvement, the origin of all crime, and the cause of many of the most grievous evils in human existence, was far too much to be permitted without the whole power of the religious world being aroused to stay my course, and if possible to destroy the individual who had the temerity thus single-handed openly to oppose the greatest power of human creation, supported by the prejudices implanted in society during many centuries.

The cause of the individual thus placed seemed to all utterly hopeless. But from his first daring onset he had, contrary to his own anticipations, not only escaped without personal danger, but for the daring act itself had received, from one of the most nu-

merous and exciting public meetings ever held under cover in the metropolis of the British empire, the most heart felt overwhelming applause perhaps ever witnessed.

But how was this ?—for the applause was almost unanimous from all parties, friends and foes. It was not that these parties approved of a deed so daring against all the religions of the world, and of course against all the constituted authorities of the earth ; but all present were conscious that on entering that meeting I was beyond comparison the most generally popular character living, and all were at once, (as many of my former opponents in principle afterwards acknowledged to me,) struck, as it were by an electric shock, with the magnitude of the self-sacrifice which I had thus made to truth, intended for the benefit of the human race.

To that hour my society was courted by the most distinguished for talent, goodness, and station, and my influence with those in power was deemed to be greater than that of any private individual, being at this period well known personally to the leading members of both houses of parliament, and favoured by most of them. The audience upon that occasion were conscious that in a few minutes I had destroyed this unequalled popularity, the growth of many years.

To that hour all the London morning and evening daily newspapers were unitedly warm in my praises, and in advocating my views for the relief of the poor, and for ameliorating the condition of the children and others employed in our manufactories. The impression of this great self-sacrifice was such on the meeting, that I had even after this daring denouncement for a considerable time a large majority in favour of the resolution which I proposed, to appoint a committee of the leading men of both parties to fully investigate the new views which I advocated. But the leaders of the out of doors violent party had come there determined to prevent its being carried ; and finding the majority strong against them, they agreed among themselves to speak against time. The house had been crammed full from eleven o'clock in the morning, many having come to secure seats even earlier, and this most excited meeting had continued until four o'clock, and the motion was going to be put, when these out-and-out opponents raised such a clamour against putting the resolution to the meeting, that for the sake of quietness and order they were allowed to go on speaking until about seven o'clock. Many of the most respectable part of the meeting left, for they were disgusted with this unreasonable proceeding ; for these violent men had sent out scouts to bring in their men to occupy the seats of those who had been fairly tired out with speeches having no real reference to the subject before them.

But my mission for the hour and the day had been accomplished. I was satisfied, and was indifferent, or rather wished

that the resolution should be lost, which it was not even yet by numbers ; but, yielding to the clamour, I advised my friends to permit the negative to be declared, rather than longer detain the meeting.

The Rubicon was now passed, and I had my future measures to consider and adopt.

The next day, as I had previously arranged, all the daily morning and evening papers had my address to the meeting published accurately, word for word. But the *Times* newspaper on this day for the first time had an article in addition opposed to my views, written I had reason to believe by a clergyman of the Church of England.

By such a publication in all the newspapers my main point was gained, and I purchased that day more than thirty thousand additional newspapers, and sent them to the leading characters over the kingdom. Thus making such an open attack on the combined superstitions of the world as was never before made, or as never could have been made by any one except under the peculiar and extraordinary circumstances in which I was placed when I went to that meeting.

I was fully aware of the powers of darkness against which I had to contend, clothed in the religious garb of all the superstitions in the world. I was quite conscious of the innumerable ramifications of vested interests and of the customs and habits of the various countries in favour of things as they were, and of the strong dislike to change. In addition to all these, I had made an impression on the minds of many of my friends, that I had destroyed my influence with the public for ever. In their opinion I had entered the meeting clothed in the garb of the highest and most valuable popularity, and I had left it disrobed of the entire garment, and henceforward to be an isolated unnoticed individual, without a thread of popularity for my use through life.

These sayings, however, influenced me not. I had previously made up my mind, not only to the loss of popularity, but to the loss of liberty, fortune, and life ; and I therefore considered I was the gainer of a great victory over prejudice, superstition, and the powers of the old system of falsehood, ignorance, poverty, disunion, and crime ; and I felt not only strong in the power of truth, but conscious that by patience, perseverance, and consistency in the course which I had adopted, ultimate success was certain.

It is an extraordinary fact, that under the innumerable contests in which I was destined to encounter the prejudices or superstition of all parties for so many years, I never once felt the slightest mis-giving or doubt that I should in the course of time overcome every obstacle, and that sooner or later the population as one man would admit the great and all-important truth for the permanent progress and happiness of all of human kind, " that the " character of man is before and from birth formed for him," and

that, with this knowledge, comprehended in all its bearings, a good, useful, and most valuable character might with ease and pleasure be formed by society for every one from birth, and to some important extent even before birth, so as to improve the germ or natural organisation before birth in an increasing ratio through every succeeding generation.

With this impression deeply seated in the inmost recesses of my mind, no obstacle, no temporary defect, no abuse from the press or religions, created the slightest discouragement to my onward progress. Knowing how the characters of all were formed *for* them, their abuse and violence only created a sympathy for them in proportion to their ignorance, and to the misery which that ignorance necessarily inflicted upon them.

But on my return to England I soon found I must prepare for the full extent of opposition which my so public uncompromising denunciations against all the religions of the world naturally excited. And this opposition continued without ceasing for upwards of thirty years, following my footsteps wherever I went, using all the unfair means of established power and prejudices to frustrate every attempt I made to practically benefit poor suffering ill-used humanity.

My antecedents, however, were a tower of strength to me, and enabled me whenever I was openly attacked to come off victor. But nothing short of these could for so long a period have sustained any one against the extended unfair means adopted by the, no doubt in many cases, sincerely pious, and bigoted, of all the religious sects, trained to believe that by so doing, they, poor creatures, were doing their supposed God a great service!

But my antecedents were unassailable. I had steadily for more than a quarter of a century governed one population in England of five hundred and another in Scotland of two thousand five hundred, and had produced, by a new mode of governing by love and wisdom, results never before witnessed, and a degree of happiness for twenty years, among the latter, never previously known to be experienced by any workpeople in any part of the world.

I had been Lancaster's first and most confided-in patron as long as he remained in England. I had given him a thousand pounds to aid him in the founding of his germ of education for the poor in England, Ireland, and Scotland. (See his various letters to me in my "Correspondence.")

I had offered a similar sum to Dr. Bell's committee for aiding him, if they would open their schools for children of all denominations, as Lancaster and his committee had done, but only half that amount if they continued to exclude all except those of the Church of England. As I have before stated, this offer was debated two days in full committee, and ultimately it was decided by a small majority to continue to exclude all dissenters from the

Church and to accept only the five hundred pounds. But in twelve months afterwards I had the satisfaction to learn that the practice which I had advocated was adopted.

I had caused a bill to be brought into Parliament to give the best relief that such a despotic and evil devised system as our manufacturing system is would admit, and I exhibited in the manufactory which I directed at New Lanark the practice recommended in the bill as I first had it introduced by Sir Robert Peel into the House of Commons, where it was allowed by him to be so altered as to be of little or no real utility.

And I had now sacrificed every worldly consideration to perform a deeply impressed conscientious conviction of a duty; deemed far more important to perform than the preservation of life itself.

These antecedents now constituted a shield which so protected me that no party in Church or State ever ventured to make an open attack upon me, or to impugn my motives.

But the word "infidel" was the watch-word of attack with all my opponents, and by attributing all that the imagination could be made to receive to be the worst of wickedness or the essence of evil, the objects of the deluded pious and of the bigot were to a certain extent successful for many years against the progress of the system which I advocated, and which I have never ceased to advocate even to this day, knowing that the principles, spirit, and practice, were too true and good to be ultimately overcome by all the powers of darkness and of mystification. My confidence that truth and goodness would, by patience and perseverance, overcome falsehood and evil, was never for a moment shaken; and let me ask where now is the power that will fairly and openly attempt to defend the principle, spirit, and universal practice of the old system, by which the population of the world ever has been, and is at this day, so grossly mis-governed, or will attempt to disprove the divine truth, spirit, and practice, of the system for the speedy change of the present wretched mode of forming the character and governing the population of the world, and to obtain the permanent happiness of our race?

I challenged to friendly debate the advanced minds of the world, to meet me at the Congress which I called to commence the 14th. May, 1857, to disprove what I have said of the old system, or to deny the plain and obvious facts from the knowledge of which the glorious new existence of man will arise and be established for ever.

Opposed by the underlings of the church, by the conscientious pious, and by the bigoted and ignorant of all parties, especially by the cruel Malthusian political economists, yet have I been continually sustained by the best and the most advanced and independent among all classes.

The most valuable of these, while he lived, was his Royal

Highness the late Duke of Kent, whose real character for the last four years of his life is yet but little known to the public. His letters addressed to me, about thirty of them, will show the power and goodness of that mind which, had he lived to reign, would have given all his influence to have peaceably established truth in principle, spirit, and practice, throughout the British Empire, and by the success of such a change in governing, would have induced all other governments to imitate his.

In 1815 I first submitted to his Royal Highness the "New Views of society," by which a new and very superior character could be permanently given to the human race. He immediately studied the subject, with a mind truly desirous of discovering the truth for useful practical application. He daily witnessed and strongly felt the hollowness, worthlessness, and hourly annoyances of what the world called greatness, and he ardently longed that simple nature in all its truthfulness should attain and assert her rightful dominion over the ignorant, undeveloped assumptions of man, flattered to his injury and to the destruction of common sense in all his associations of ideas and conduct, and made continually, by being trained in a false and wicked system, to call good evil and evil good, and thus to prevent the possibility of that union of the human race, through which alone happiness can ever be attained.

During the period from 1815, and to the time of the ever-to-be lamented death of his late Royal Highness, I often resided at 49 Bedford Square, the town residence of my friend and partner John Walker of Arno's Grove.

Their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Kent and Sussex, who at this period were much united in affection and pursuits, occasionally looked in upon me to study the model which I had there, of the first new surroundings in which I proposed to place the poor and working classes, to train them out of their inferior habits, and to give good and superior ones to their children; and also to see and draw their own conclusions from inspecting the cubic proportions of the different classes of society, which I had directed to be made to exhibit to the eye the contrast between the amounts in numbers of the governing and the governed classes.

On some of these visits the royal dukes would bring with them some members of the higher nobility. On one occasion the Duke of Kent observed one of them to point significantly to the great difference between the very small cube which represented the governing powers, (the Royal Family and House of Peers,) and the various classes governed by them, and looking at the duke, as much as to say is not this rather a dangerous and levelling exhibition? The duke caught the expression, and said—"I see you imagine I have not studied this subject, and that I do not foresee its ultimate results. I know these will be a much more just equality of our race, and an equality that will give much

“ more security and happiness to all, than the present system can give to any ; and it is for this reason that I so much approve of it and give it my support.”

And his Royal Highness was consistent in this conduct to the day of his departure into the sphere of spirits.

Many of the so-called strong (sceptical) minds of the world will object to this last phrase “ sphere of spirits.” But I am compelled by the evidence of my senses to know that spirits occupy space, called by them spheres, and that they communicate with their friends here on earth, in their natural character, except that they are not visible as when living. I have had the unspeakable gratification and happiness of being visited by the spirit of his Royal Highness, who communicated with me in precisely his manner and phrasiology as when conversing with me formerly, and spoke of his former domestic relations and interests, and gave me more valuable and important information respecting the spheres and past events and personages than I could have conceived to be possible.

This may be new to many who cannot believe in any thing new which they cannot comprehend.

A committee was formed to promote my “ New Views,” and the Duke was its chairman. Public meetings of much interest were held with the same objects. His Royal Highness presided at these public meetings, and a better chairman for such meetings has seldom been seen ; for as a chairman over an audience of strong conflicting opinions, he was, in his manner and mode of conducting it, so faultless as to satisfy all parties with his fairness and just impartiality. His sudden and premature departure hence made a great difference in the manner in which I had afterwards to carry on my contest with the old system. But no doubt, like all other proceedings throughout the universe, it was necessary, and for the best, to assist to bring about future events in the due order of nature.

His Royal Highness died but a short period after he had arranged personally with me to come in the spring with the Duchess and the infant princess (our present so justly loved and popular Queen,) to spend three months quietly with me at Braxfield, my then residence, beautifully situated on the banks of the Clyde, surrounded on all sides by romantic scenery, and at a convenient distance from New Lanark then unique in its arrangements and in its results, to produce as much goodness and happiness in a working population as the existing system of ignorance, falsehood, and evil, would admit.

During this intended visit we had proposed to consider in what manner the change of system could be gradually and peaceably made, so that, if possible, none should be injured, but all should be benefited by the change. The Duke's mind was one of high integrity, and of great firmness when he felt strongly

that he was in the true path of right principle and beneficial practice, and his judgment and foresight greatly exceeded the aristocratic mind of Europe at that period. His letters evince the goodness of his disposition and his anxious desire to improve the condition of the suffering classes, and he well knew that all classes were suffering in different ways, and every suggestion which he made proved his practical knowledge of the present state of society, and of the difficulties to be overcome before the public mind could be fully prepared for such an entire change as he foresaw must be effected in principle, spirit, and practice, before any real substantial permanent good could be effected for society.

It was a great privilege to converse confidentially on these subjects with his Royal Highness, whose charity for the trained and educated weakness of all classes was a prominent feature in his character, which contained all the essential qualities for a great and successful reformer, without violence.

After he had studied the "New Views of Society," and other works which I had written explanatory of the principles and spirit of the system for new forming the human character from birth and in part even before birth, and for new governing the human race, and when he had conversed much with me on these subjects, which, when he fully comprehended them, appeared to take full possession of his mind, he was desirous to learn from the best sources how these "New Views" worked in practice. He had heard much in their favour from a variety of visitors to New Lanark, but he wanted fuller detailed accounts from parties on whose experience and unbiased judgment he could rely. He therefore first sent Dr. Henry Gray Macnab, his friend and honorary physician, requesting him to visit the establishment, and to remain sufficiently long to make himself fully master of all he saw, and to report to him accordingly.

The Doctor came, and made his report.

The Duke's friend General Desaix was in Scotland. His Royal Highness had a high opinion of the General's experience and knowledge of the world, and of his integrity and judgment, and the Duke wished to have such a General's opinion, to compare it with that of his honorary physician. The General soon succeeded the physician in his visit; made his examination during many days; and made his report also in person to the Duke. After the Duke's last letter, wishing to see me in London, I visited him at Kensington, when he informed me that Dr. Macnab was so pleased and satisfied when all the results in practice, that he was become quite an enthusiast in the cause, and would do all in his power to promote it, and that he intended to print and publish an account of what he had seen — which he did. And that General Desaix was equally delighted with the to him

wonderful arrangement of a system formed of so many parts, and yet dovetailed into one whole, working day by day in perfect harmony, and the minds and conduct of the children in the three schools and the workpeople in every department appearing to form an essential part of that harmony. And both agreed that they never witnessed so much oneness of feeling and so much satisfied happiness in any population, or indeed, they added, anything approaching to it in these respects.

"I am therefore," the Duke continued, "now, for myself, fully satisfied with the principles, spirit, and practice of the system which you advocate for new forming the human character, so far as human means are concerned, and for new governing the human race, and I acknowledge myself to be a full and devoted convert to your philosophy, in principle, spirit, and practice. But," his Royal Highness continued, "we must act with prudence and foresight. The English are emphatically a practical people, and practice has great influence over them. I will with my family visit you, as I have long wished to do, and will remain a sufficient time to convince all parties that I had leisure and every opportunity to examine and observe the working in detail of every part of the system, and that what I state to the public meetings which we will hold on my return, and to Parliament in my place in the House of Peers, is from my own closely inspected and fully examined knowledge; and this will do more to prevent small cavil and mere talking opposition than any other mode that could be now adopted."

I cordially agreed with his Royal Highness, and it was so decided. We parted—and little did I suppose it was the last time I should see him in his earthly life.

He presided as chairman of my committee for the last time on the first of December, 1819. In the address of the committee to the public on that day, (which is given in the Appendix,) the true character of the Duke is given by those who had so often witnessed his devotion to the cause which he foresaw was destined ultimately to change the condition of the human race, from all that was inconsistent and irrational, in forming their character by society, in producing and distributing wealth, in attempts to create union, goodness, knowledge, wisdom, love, charity, and happiness,—to all that will be consistent and rational in all these particulars.

And here I must do justice to the firm integrity and strong sense of justice of his Royal Highness, and give some account of a branch of the Royal Family which, from a variety of causes, some of them mysterious, have suffered since the death of his Royal Highness poverty and destitution, which have called into action the characteristic quality for firmness or sometimes obstinacy of the Royal Family, and which obstinacy lost to this coun-

try the colonies of the now United States, destined to change the condition of nations, confused as it is at this day between slavery and a new state of existence, the latter being certain to prevail.

The branch of the Royal Family alluded to has been known as Mrs. Serries, afterwards as the Princess Olive of Cumberland, and now as Mrs. Lavinia Serries, the only child of the latter.

From the documents existing and carefully preserved, there can be no doubt of the legal claim of this family to their being the direct descendants of the Duke of Cumberland, brother to his Majesty George III., and entitled to his rank and property. His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent introduced Mrs. Serries to me as his cousin, and as legally entitled to the rank of Princess Olive of Cumberland. He was deeply interested in her cause, and in that of her only daughter and child Lavinia.

The Duke in his younger and inexperienced days, had, like all young princes of his time, outrun his income, and now suffered the inconveniences arising from a heavy debt. The "New Views of Society" had opened his mind, naturally a very honest and sincere one, to a new world of superior existence for man upon the earth, and he became most desirous to adopt a new mode of life for himself, that he might the most effectually aid to promote the change from all which now appeared to him to be error, to that which his new convictions compelled him to believe was true and right. The reading and studying of my four first essays on the New View of Society and the formation of character, produced a similar effect upon Lord Liverpool, the then prime minister, upon several members of his cabinet, and many other men of note and consideration.

In consequence of this new mind being thus formed for his Royal Highness, he was determined to do as much justice to his creditors as his position would admit, and he limited himself to a comparatively small income, giving up a large proportion of it to gradually extinguish the debt which he had previously incurred, and it was ultimately discharged with interest, except several sums which at his request I advanced to relieve the wants of his cousin, and which, if I had taken from him a legal document for the amount, would also have been paid. But when in the month of November previous to his demise he offered and even pressed me to receive his note of hand for six months, when he proposed to pay me, I resolutely declined doing so, having the fullest confidence in his word, and never supposing, with his strong health and constitution, that there could be any risk of the continuance of his life.

I see he requests me in one of his letters at that date, to advance on his account to Mrs. Serries three hundred pounds, and a letter to me from Mrs. Serries contains an acknowledgement of five hundred pounds received from me by her on account of

his Royal Highness and at his request. Also another sum of one hundred pounds; and in other letters sums not especially stated.

At this period I was making money rapidly, and set little value upon it, except for its use to forward the great cause which so much occupied my attention, and it was not my intention at that time, knowing the Duke's limited means of expenditure, to ask for its return, until I should myself feel the want of it. He made me, as may be seen by his letters, acquainted with his financial affairs and domestic interests.

These things are now past; and looking back through the vista of so many years, I have asked myself why was the life of his Royal Highness thus cut short, and the world deprived of the first sovereign who was a convert to truth and to the just rights of humanity, and who possessed firmness which when in power would have stimulated him to attempt to bring over the aristocracy to his views of gradually reforming society for the permanent benefit of all?

The reply is, as it now appears to me, that that aristocracy of powerful and wealthy families would not then have been prepared by a sufficient progress in general society to second his desires; that he would have been opposed by the then all powerful church and state interests; that contests and confusion would have arisen, and matters would not have been to-day so far advanced by the sovereign's premature attempt at reformation, as the civilised world, and especially the British Empire, now are, under the comparatively peaceable reign of her Majesty, and the gradual increase of scientific knowledge and real liberty, which have progressed in so remarkable a manner since she ascended the throne.

And, little as the ignorant learned, and therefore presumptuous in opposing all new knowledge beyond their previously taught acquirements, may be prepared to believe in Spiritual existences, I have the best evidence of my senses to know, that spirits do exist, and that they communicate now, in the best manner that their new state will admit, with the friends whom they have left living in their earthly form upon the earth. And from the highly gratifying communications which I have had from time to time with the spirit of his Royal Highness, I have reason to believe that from his departure hence he has had a fatherly watchful care over his daughter and her family, and over the interests of the British people. Also that he has had a strong affectionate brotherly interest in all the affairs and proceedings of the King of the Belgians.

The statement now made will surprise many whose minds have not yet been prepared for this advanced period of new knowledge so little anticipated by the learned universities, scientific men, and the philosophers and statesmen of the world.

The learned conservatives, in church, state, and literature, who

so strenuously hold fast to old things which are to pass away, cannot admit into their minds new truths, based on new facts, previously unknown and unsuspected by them.

To communicate in a material manner with our past and now (except on particular occasions and by particular persons,) invisible relatives and friends, is an idea as monstrous to receive by the so-called enlightened of this day, as the monstrous statement of Galileo in his day, to the learned of that period, that the earth was not flat, but was a sphere in diurnal and annual motions of immense velocities. J

But yet more, (to prove the irrational state to which a fundamental error has forced even men of advanced knowledge under this old system,) when facts too strong for the mind to resist are seen and felt to force conviction, there is not sufficient moral courage openly to declare the truths which they are thus compelled to know.

Such has never been the constitution of my mind. It could never take without examination anything asserted for truth; and when convinced by the evidence of my senses, through the practical investigation of facts, of an important truth, the knowledge of which would benefit the population of the world, I have never hesitated on account of public opinion to make it widely known, and I yet continue the practice.

I therefore now declare that no one, with sound judgment and a sincere desire to discover truth, can fairly and fully investigate the subject of these new material manifestations, proceeding from some new cause, hitherto unknown to and unsuspected by the public, without being convinced that these manifestations do actually come from the spirits of our departed friends, relatives, and others, and not from any other source, and that the communications thus made are in many cases highly important to the best permanent interests of society, and most gratifying and delightful to those who receive these manifestations from their loved friends and relatives. |

Of this character have been my communications with the spirits of many past worthies, who evidently possess a strong desire to improve the condition of the population of the world.

Among these, in an especial manner, I have to name the apparent very anxious feelings of the spirit of his Royal Highness the late Duke of Kent, (who early informed me there were no titles in the spiritual spheres into which he had entered,) to benefit, not a class, a sect, a party, or any particular country, but the whole of the human race through futurity. And in this feeling he seemed to be strongly united with the spirit of my friend and warm disciple President Jefferson, and his particular friend the celebrated Benjamin Franklin. These three spirits have frequently come together to communicate to me the most interesting and valuable knowledge, with occasional notices of persons who when } 36

living were dear to these superior spirits. But never upon any occasion was there a trivial idea expressed by either of them.

At one important *seance* these three spirits came in company with the spirits of Channing, Chalmers, Shelly, Byron, and several of the old prophets; and on this occasion the spirits of eight of my deceased relatives were also present. Each one communicated with me through distinct different raps, in their strongly marked characters as when in life upon the earth.

The object of these extraordinary communications from the invisible spheres of spirits is uniformly stated by each of these advanced spirits, when asked separately and at different times, to be to reform the world and to unite the population as one family or one man.

The spirit of the Duke of Kent has uniformly expressed for me the same kindness, confidence, and affection, so evident in his manner while alive upon the earth.

I doubt not the truth of the frequent statements of these superior spirits, that these manifestations shall be increased more and more, until all sceptics shall be convinced of their reality, and the world shall be reformed and re-generated in character, conduct, and spirit.

But I must now return to my material history.

I had published a letter addressed to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the union of Churches and Schools, which letter was printed and widely circulated, and it produced a powerful effect on the public mind, and prepared many members of both houses of parliament to begin to think it a duty not longer to be resisted to take some thought and to adopt some means to introduce national education into their legislative proceedings.

This letter will be now useful to be republished, in the present confused, disordered, and irrational contests engaging public notice upon this all-important subject. And it is inserted in the Appendix.

The public meetings which created so much excitement in 1817,—my memorials to the Sovereigns assembled in Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle,—my public letter to the manufacturers,—and this to the Archbishop of Canterbury,—with the bill for the relief of children, which was yet only in progress in the House of Commons, had aroused in many a great desire that an experiment should be made of one community, or that Parliament should at least fully investigate the principles and plans which I advocated and proposed. But the church, then all powerful, and a large majority of the old aristocracy, had now combined to prevent, to the extent of their means, direct and indirect, any public or Parliamentary investigation; and as far as possible the church took measures to prevent the circulation of my writings.

My four first Essays on a New View of Society and the formation of character had gone through five superior large editions, and all the leading and most respectable publishers were desirous of having their names to the work, and there those names are on the few copies remaining in the hands of friends and in public and private libraries.

But now the booksellers throughout the two Islands were warned by the supposed friends of the church, that if they sold Mr. Owen's works, they should not sell any of theirs; and from that time my works were not to be had at any so-called respectable booksellers in Great Britain or Ireland. And from this cause those esteemed the most respectable publishers were deterred from publishing any of my works, even those to which they had been previously so ambitious to put their names—works which had passed the ordeal of our government, and had been submitted by it to the most learned universities and the most prominently learned men in the civilized world, who found no error in them:—works which, with my other proceedings, converted Lord Liverpool, (the then Prime Minister,) and Lady Liverpool, who in consequence requested to be admitted to our interviews, and who took an interested part in our conversation; for she had a superior mind, with a kind and most amiable disposition.

At one of these interviews in Fife House she said “ Mr. Owen, “ we have had a young man lately come into our office, who appears of much promise. His name is Peel, and he is the eldest “ son of Sir Robert Peel.” This was in 1815, when Mr. Peel had been lately made private secretary to Lord Liverpool—the same who in my next interview with Lord Liverpool, when I entered the private secretary's apartment to wait the announcement of my arrival to his Lordship, immediately stood up, and remained standing until Lord Liverpool himself came to request me to come into his own apartment. The same who became the well-known Sir Robert Peel, Prime Minister of the British government.

But yet more,—the works which all the so-called most respectable publishers and booksellers were, on account of their substantial worldly interests, obliged to decline to publish or sell, Lord Sidmouth, while secretary of state for the home department, requested copies of, for each of the English bishops; which I gave him, and which he distributed to the bishops, the same works of which the Archbishop of Armagh, when Mr. Edgworth, the author, and father of the celebrated Miss Edgworth, was present, knowing what Lord Sidmouth had done, requested from me copies for all the Irish bishops, which I gave him, and which induced the Irish bishops, when I visited Ireland, almost as one man to give me the most kind and hospitable reception.

These works had also been translated into foreign languages, and very many editions were published in the United States,

where also they had prepared for me a warm national reception. For, as I have before stated, in 1816, when John Quincy Adams was the United States ambassador in London, he applied to me, as these works were then widely circulating among the higher ranks and much commended, to know if I wished them to be introduced into the United States, for if I did, he should shortly return there, and if I would intrust him with copies for the President and his cabinet, and for the governor of each State in the Union, he would assure me that they should be faithfully delivered. I was gratified by the request; and afterwards, when in the United States, I found he had punctually performed his promise. And these rejected works of the booksellers, and of course of the publishers, made me the lion of the time when I made the voyage and first visited the United States. They gave me a ready introduction to all the Presidents of the Republic, from John Adams downwards, and with him, Jefferson, Madison, Munro, John Quincy Adams, General Jackson, and Mr. Van Buren, by all of whom I was admitted into their confidence, and from whom I obtained their best thoughts, and the unbiassed results of their valuable experience. President Washington was dead before my first arrival; but I was kindly welcomed and cordially received by his near relative Judge Washington, of the Supreme Court of the United States. The particulars of these interesting events will be given in future volumes of my life, should my earthly life be spared to write them.

These works, imperially bound, were also gladly received by every sovereign in Europe, and by Napoleon the First when in the Island of Elba, in which he had time to study them, and did so, as I was afterwards informed by Major General Sir Neil Campbell, who had been applied to at the request of Napoleon by Berthier, (the Emperor's friend and favourite,) to learn if Sir Neil knew anything of the author, which at that time he did not. It was stated that these works, in which the erroneous warlike proceedings of Napoleon were animadverted upon, had so far changed his views, that he said, should he be allowed by the other European Powers to remain quiet on the throne of France, he would do as much for peace as he had previously done in war.

Yet these works, so esteemed by the leading minds of the world, I was, through the influence of the church and other religious sects, henceforth obliged to publish through the cheap and fearless liberal radical publishers; and so with all my works written since, or to be written, as I have for some time been my own publisher, against all the poor mistaken powers of darkness, who yet dare not permit the light of truth to be seen, although they would themselves become speedily great gainers through the knowledge which the light of truth would bring to them. But their deeds are yet too dark to bear this light.

The increase, however, of true charity, arising from the know-

ledge how their characters have been mis-formed for them, will now soon make a great change for them in the minds and feelings of all parties, when real mental liberty shall be attained, and truth for the first time in the history of the human race shall be set free from the tyranny of ignorance and superstition; and then knowledge, kindness, charity, love, and wisdom, shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the seas.

All may be assured that this glorious period is near at hand, and that the new spiritual manifestations are destined to be the great lever in this movement, and that the stone with which the builders up of society refused to build, will become the chief stone of the corner.

Notwithstanding the combined underhand opposition of the Church and all other religious sects, aided on all occasions by the Malthusian modern political economists, the principles which I advocated, and the public practices, opened to all parties at home or from abroad, which I continued to pursue without turning to the right side or to the left, made great way daily with the thoughtful and disinterested among all classes.

The poor law guardians in Leeds were in difficulties about maintaining their increasing poor, arising from a want of employment for those willing and able to work. They had turned their attention to the plans which I had so publicly spread abroad by my various publications, and I was requested to visit Leeds and give them a more full and detailed explanation of the practical measures which I recommended. In consequence I took there my model of the proposed new surroundings in which to place the working classes, and thus, if rationally followed up, to destroy poverty for ever from the face of the earth.

On my arrival in Leeds, a public meeting was called, and the Mayor (George Banks, Esq.,) presided. [See his letters.] The meeting was crowded to excess. I explained my views, not only by word, but through the model, to the eye, the best of all modes of instruction. The meeting became enthusiastic in its applause, and was unanimous in its favour and warm approval, as intelligent unprejudiced minds must ever be, and which was afterwards evinced by the practical measures which the poor law guardians immediately commenced. [See Mr. Robert Oastler's and Mr. John Cawood's letters, which will be published in my correspondence.]

They determined to appoint three delegates, upon whose practical knowledge, judgment, and integrity, they could depend, to visit New Lanark, and to report what was the actual practice in that now far-farmed establishment. Mr. Edward Baines, proprietor of the *Leeds Mercury*, and father of the present Right Hon. M. T. Baines, and of the present editor of the *Leeds Mercury*, (of whom I will afterwards speak,)—Mr. John Cawood, a wealthy manufacturer, and an important and very active member of the town council,—and Mr. Robert Oastler, a highly respected citizen

of Leeds, and father of the afterwards popular and well-known Richard Oastler,—were the delegates appointed.

These gentlemen came—fully and closely examined the schools, mills, machine manufactories, brass and iron foundries, and the unique village arrangements for providing food and clothes, and the pleasure grounds, &c., for the improvement, comfort, and happiness of the workpeople, the great majority, about 2,500, remaining stationary inhabitants of the village, all of which was the property of the company. The report made by these gentlemen on their return, was printed and widely circulated, and it is a full answer to the many would-be opposing objections; because the superior condition of the schools, mills, and establishment generally, was effected without religious interference, and solely the dictates of common sense, applied to the study of human nature, of its natural wants, and of the easy natural means of supplying those wants, as far as the irrationality of all religions would admit of these remedies being applied. (The printed authentic report, as made by these three gentlemen, is given in the Appendix.)

All of these gentlemen while living, although differing from me in their religious views, were ever most kind and hospitable to me whenever I afterwards visited Leeds, and when I was with them their greatest pleasure seemed to be to converse about the schools, people, and establishment, at New Lanark, as being the most advanced working, and the best and happiest population they had seen, and they could not conceive how such results were attained.

I was often much amused with earnest and sincere religious persons who came to visit and inspect the schools and establishment. After expressing their astonishment and great delight with the wonderful results, as they called them, which they saw, so complicated, and yet combined in such a manner as to work together with the regularity and harmony of clockwork, they would say—"Ah! Mr. Owen, if you would but add to all these beautiful proceedings our religious views, your establishment would be perfect, and there would be nothing more to wish for."

I would then put a few questions to them in this manner—"You approve of what you have seen in practice throughout all the departments of the establishment—schools, mills, village stores, and the appearance and manners of the people?"

"Yes; nothing that I have seen elsewhere," (or something similar in meaning,) "can be compared with the order, system, and arrangement of the whole, or with the evident harmony and delight of the children, or the apparent self-satisfaction and happiness of the workpeople."

"But," I continued, "you are very desirous I should introduce your religious views?"

"Yes; that is the only thing now required."

I then would ask the well-meaning party, whether Churchman, Catholic, Dissenter, Quaker, (or whatever might be the religious belief which they had been taught,) whether they had ever seen such practical results produced by any persons possessing their religious opinions? "No, they had not"—was the answer without exception, from every one; and the number of those well-intentioned kind-hearted men and women who came with the hope of converting me, each to their own peculiar religious views, and thus to save me from everlasting perdition, was very great, and continued so until I left the establishment.

My final reply to all these kind friends was—"When you can show me a similar practice created by those of your belief, I will then investigate your particular views of religion more fully than I have yet done. But I have most conscientiously examined all the religious faiths of which I could obtain authentic information, yours among the number, and I have not yet discovered one of them that was calculated to produce the practice which you have so highly approved. You very naturally, as you have been taught, desire my practice with your faith and religious prejudices. My experience leads me to know that your religious views and this practice are incompatible. They are like oil and water, and never can be made to unite. Your mind has been so trained and educated from infancy, that you would conscientiously prefer your faith without the practice, to having that practice without the faith. I know this from having been much in the interior of the various sects of religious minds, and knowing well the limited circle of their ideas."

I preferred the good and happy practice without these sectarian faiths, to any of them without the practice of goodness and happiness.

Knowing well that pure love and charity, the only foundation for real goodness and happiness among the human race, and all the religions of the world as they have been taught to this day, are directly opposed to each other, and never can be united, my plans were all laid to gradually supersede these religions of opposing repulsive and irrational faiths, by the practical religion of love and charity for our race, irrespective of colour, country, class, sect, sex, party, or difference in natural organisation or constitution; and thus to attain happiness, the great object of humanity, as well as of all that have life.

The religions of the world are and ever have been the real cause of all falsehood, disunion, and crime, and of all the miseries of the human race, as is so obvious at this day to all who can observe, reflect, and deduce sound or rational conclusions from such observations and reflections.

This subject must be now fairly met in front, and without the shadow of turning from the direct road to real knowledge, good-

ness, and happiness; for until this perpetual source of falsehood, disunion, crime, and all the miseries which these evils necessarily force upon the human race, be removed, it would be most vain and useless to attempt or to talk of measures to give wisdom, wealth, goodness, and happiness, to the human race.

Where now, among what people, shall we go to find the language of truth, and the practice of union, love, and charity? And yet all these religions *profess* to teach truth, union, love, and charity.

To all whose minds by false training and educating have been made irrational, not to say insane, what I am writing will appear as an unknown language, not one word or idea of which can they comprehend. And who has not from birth been thus injured, physically and mentally, by a false training and education, and by false human external conditions?

Humanity has ardently desired truth, union, goodness, love, charity, liberty, equality, and fraternity. *All* these are necessary ingredients for the attainment of rationality, wisdom, wealth, goodness, and happiness. Shall we find these *natural virtues* and their *results* among the old nations of the world, in China, Japan, India, Persia, or in more modern nations—Russia, Turkey, Austria, France, Prussia, or any of the other European kingdoms and principalities; or in Popedom, or in Great Britain, or in the United States?

Listen, my friends of the human race, to the first voice of truth that has ever been fully spoken to you, and this universal truth shall set all nations free, and make man for the first time in his history, from his creation, a rational, good, wise, and happy being, having love and charity for all of his race, and through that knowledge of himself which can alone create universal love and charity, all will be united as one man, and each will thus, with the highest pleasure to every one, acquire the essence of the wisdom of all. And man will hereafter perpetually progress in wisdom, love, and happiness. Listen and open your ears and your minds to receive the most important truths that man has yet spoken to man.

All the Religions of the World are based on total ignorance of all the fundamental laws of humanity, and of the facts of undeviating perpetual occurrence.

Hence their hatred of truth, the *All Good of Humanity*. Hence the two most advanced nations of modern times are now governed by falsehood, fraud, and force, and the population of Great Britain are held in such physical and mental (that is religious) bondage, that at this day, called an enlightened period of human existence, all, from the highest to the lowest in power and intellect, are afraid and dare not to speak the truth openly and fully before their fellow men. And no wonder that all are thus cowed, and made so grossly irrational, when it is discovered that all re-

ligions are based on the false notions that man makes his own qualities of body and mind ; that he can believe or disbelieve at his pleasure ; and that he can love and hate at the dictates of others, or against his own natural feelings.

These gross falsehoods are the sole cause of all disunion and crime, and now of ignorance and poverty and all their evil consequences.

Seeing and knowing this, and that the religions of the world, so deeply rooted as they are made to be by early training, are the horrid monsters, and united are the real demons of humanity, which swallow up all its rationality and happiness, can you, my reader, after one moment's reflection on what has been written in these pages, wonder that I should think so little of all worldly considerations, and of life itself, as I did when in the great public meeting held in the metropolis in August, 1817, I so openly and fearlessly dared to denounce all the religions of the world, as containing too much error to admit of happiness even in paradise itself, were any of them to be suffered to enter to disunite its inhabitants, to create crime, and to destroy love and charity.

Fully conscious, as I am, of the misery which these religions have created in the human race, which they now create, and which they must create while supported by the authorities of the world and a public opinion of ignorant presumption, I would now, if I possessed ten thousand lives and could suffer a painful death for each, willingly thus sacrifice them, to destroy this Moloch, which in every generation destroys the rationality and happiness of about a thousand millions of my poor suffering fellow men and women.

This knowledge and this feeling will explain, not only the cause of that denouncement in 1817, but that of the forty years undeviating contest which I have waged against this monster of ignorance and wickedness ; for from the time I made that, to the world, astounding declaration against all the religions of the world, to the period when I write these lines, it will in six months be just *forty years* that I may say " I have been grieved with this generation," while it has been passing through the wilderness of ignorance and gross superstitions.

During this period, as I fully anticipated, I have been reviled, denounced as an infidel, and opposed in every one of my various attempts to liberate the human mind from slavery, and from all poverty or the fear of it.

Yet when I consider the magnitude of my supposed offending against what has hitherto been taught as true and good, I am surprised at the small amount of evil which I have suffered, and the extent of inward and outward happiness which I have enjoyed.

Unknowning in what form or manner the Intelligence and Power exists, which creates, un-creates, and recreates all forms

eternally throughout the universe—an Intelligence and Power far beyond the faculties of humanity hitherto to comprehend—yet am I compelled to believe that this Intelligence directs all things within the universe to produce the best possible ultimate results that the eternal elements of the universe will admit. And this supreme Creating Mind, Intelligence, Energy, or call it what you will, has to me, in a wondrous manner, directed all my measures, without a particle of merit being in any way due to me, so as to enable me to sustain this long contest, not only without physical or mental injury, but, as far as I can judge from my knowledge of human nature under its present most unfavourable conditions and surroundings, with a greater degree of continually sustained happiness than has fallen to the lot of any I have known.

This may have arisen from the convictions which I have been compelled to receive respecting humanity, and how the created and educated character of all men has been forced upon them.

With this knowledge I have been obliged to feel pity and compassion for the characters called the worst, in proportion to their defects created for them by the ignorance of society, and for my most violent opponents, knowing that they thought they were doing their duty by opposing what they had been taught to call an infidel—yet such an infidel as would at any time willingly have sacrificed his life for the happiness of all.

The enjoyment of my life has been greatly promoted by the undoubted love and untiring kindness of all with whom I have ever lived, and of a numerous association of disciples, from whom I have continually received the most pleasant attentions, in many cases amounting to a devotion to which I was in no way entitled; and I have often warned them against the injurious influence of *names* upon the independence of mind and of free thought on all subjects.

I have had much difficulty in convincing many that the authority given to names had been through all past ages most injurious to the human race, and that at this day their weakness of intellect was destructive of mental power and independence. That *truth* required no name for its support; it substantially supported itself. But that falsehood and error always required the authority of names to maintain them in society, and to give them ready currency with those who never reflected or thought for themselves. Had it not been for the baneful influence of the authority given to names, this false, ignorant, unjust, extravagant, cruel, and misery-producing system, of individual interest opposed to individual interest, and of national interests opposed to national interests, could not have been thus long maintained through the centuries which have passed. The immense—the incalculable superiority of the true, enlightened, just, economical, merciful, and happiness-producing system, of union between individuals, nations, and tribes, over the earth, would have been long

since discovered and practised, and the Millennial state of man upon the earth would have been now in full vigour and established for ever.

What division, hatreds, miseries, and dreadful physical and mental sufferings, have been produced by the names of Confucius, Bramah, Juggernaut, Moses, Jesus, Mahomet, Penn, Joe Smith, Mother Lee, &c., &c., &c.! If any of these could have imagined that their names should cause the disunion, hatred, and suffering, which their poor deluded followers and disciples have experienced, how these good or well-intentioned persons would have lamented that they had ever lived to implant such deadly hatred between man and man, and to cause so much error and false feeling between those whose happiness can arise only from universal union of mind and co-operation in practice, neither of which can any of the religions of the world as now taught and practiced ever produce.

Listen! men of *all* religions, and especially the authorities and present directing powers of each! and let what I am going to say sink deep into your minds, and ponder well upon every word which shall be stated.

The reign of all your religions is coming to an end. I trust it will be a peaceful and happy termination for yourselves, and a joyful one for all the nations of the earth. And should it not be so, it will be because you have been trained and educated from birth in error, and have thus been made to be obstinate in error, against glaring universal facts, right reason from those facts, and against the plainest dictates of common sense.

"What!" you will all now naturally exclaim, "are you going to deprive us of our long cherished religion, on which our hopes of heaven depend, and by which loss you will leave the human mind baseless for good, and a wild waste of errors and of misery?"

No! my friends, I am not going to deprive you of religion; only of its errors; for true religion can alone create and secure permanently the goodness, the wisdom, (which includes knowledge and its right application to all human affairs,) and the everlasting happiness of man through all his changes through eternity.

"What," you will now ask, "is this *true* religion?"

It is the essence of all your religions, freed from the garbage with which man in his inexperience of his own nature, and while his reasoning faculties have been undeveloped and in the progress of their growth, has more or less surrounded the modicum of truth in each, which all of you have most innocently called and believed to be the *true* religion. This essence is the spirit of pure undefiled universal love and charity for man, applied to daily practice in voice, manner, and act, and of love for that energy and power which composes, decomposes, and recomposes perpetually the elements of the universe, and which is called God, or by some term similar in signification; but which term or word, so used,

makes a different impression upon minds differently combined by nature, and differently trained and educated.

Now, as man can do no good to this, to us, yet mysterious ever-acting power throughout the universe, or God, man has no other rational means of showing his love to God, except through his unceasing love in daily practice to man, and in showing mercy to all that has life, as far as is practicable with safety to his own life and rational existence.

Now this true religion of love and charity, evident in voice, manner, and act, daily to all of human-kind, and in showing mercy to all sentient life, will create an entirely *new system* in forming the character of the human race, in constructing society through all its ramifications, and in governing all human affairs. This great change, as it will be given to the world through me as the human agent, would be, according to past unfortunate custom, called the "Owenian" system of society. Now "Owenian" has no more meaning than any of the names of authority through past ages, and which have created such deadly feud, hatred, and sufferings between different divisions of the human race; and in future every means should be adopted to prevent this most lamentable practice through the future history of man upon the earth.

This new state of existence may be called "The Millennium;" or "The Rational State of Human Existence;" or "The Natural State of man, arising from his Physical and Mental powers being rationally developed;" or "The Union of Humanity for the Happiness of all;" or "The Brotherhood of the Human Race;" or by any other yet more expressive designation. But avoid personal names, as you would avoid a serpent or a hungry boa constrictor.

I will now return to the narrative of my life. The establishment at New Lanark had created great excitement among the active public, making many friends and many opponents—and well it might.

Its friends saw in the distance a possible escape from disunion, sin, and misery. Its opponents saw in the distance the destruction of their so much cherished sectarianism, vested interests, and private property. These were powerful forces on both sides.

I soon perceived that the enlightened good were arranging themselves on the one side, the ignorant and prejudiced good, with the ignorantly selfish, on the other. The first in favour of of my "New View," the last in favour of "things as they are."

I find on referring to my correspondence, that my "Observations on the Manufacturing System," and the measures which I had proposed to remedy some of the great evils which it had produced, and to prevent the yet greater which it was in its present state calculated to create, had made a favourable impression for me among all the members of the cabinet, particularly with Lords

Liverpool, Sidmouth, and Castlereagh, and Mr. Canning, the Queen, Prince Regent, Dukes of York, Cumberland, Kent, Sussex, Cambridge, and Gloucester, Prince Leopold, Princess Charlotte, Duchess of Kent, and in fact with all the members of the Royal Family, and with considerable numbers among the highest nobility and most distinguished men and women of the day,—as will be seen when my correspondence is published.

My Essays on the "New View of Society and the formation of Character," had, as I have stated, now passed through five superior editions, had been translated into French and German, and had attracted the attention of the leading European and American governments, and were well received by most of them, and not opposed by any of them. [See the letters of my foreign correspondents, addressed to myself and to my friend and partner, and agent with foreign governments, John Walker, Esq., of Arno's Grove, Southgate, Middlesex.]

I had also with me Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Thornton, and Mr. Charles Grant, Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and father of Lord Glenelg, who, with his brother the eloquent member of parliament, who had afterwards an official appointment in India, were most friendly to my views, and to a greater or less extent aided and promoted them; as also did, perhaps to a somewhat less extent, on account of his sectarian views, Mr. Zachary Macaulay, father of the present celebrated historical and former eloquent M.P.

Among innumerable others who took a lively interest in aiding my measures, were Lord Lauderdale, of whom more hereafter. Also the Marquis, and especially the Marchioness of Hastings, while the Countess of Loudon, and after her marriage with the Marquis; the Earl of Harrowby; his brother Mr. Rider; John Smith, Esq., M.P.; Mr. Hoare, Senior, banker; Henry Hase, chief cashier of the Bank of England; Mr. Nathan Rothschild, the celebrated founder of his house, and the truly good and excellent Madame Rothschild, of both of whom, more hereafter; Mr., now Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, his lady, and their family, of whom also more hereafter; Sir Charles Gray, late Governor of Jamaica, of whom I shall give an anecdote subsequently.

To these may be added, as especial friends, Viscount and Viscountess Torrington, Sir William de Crespigny, Mr., afterwards Sir Robert Liston, our, at the time, most efficient Ambassador to many courts—see later in my history an interesting account of him in one of his visits to me.

Of men of great practical knowledge who were much interested in my views and practical measures, were Mr. William Strutt, of Derby, father of the lately made Lord Belper, and his brother Joseph, two men whose talents in various ways and whose truly benevolent dispositions have seldom been equaled.

And as friends, although not disciples, the wealthy Richard Arkwright; Mr. Samuel Oldknow; the Marslands, of Stockport, Samuel and Peter; Mr. Simpsom; Messrs. Macconel and Kenedy of Manchester; Messrs. Gott, Banks, Goodman, Cawood, Baines, &c., of Leeds; all at the time brother cotton-spinners. [See their letters.]

Among the literary men and women who were friendly to my views, were Mrs. Fletcher, so long, and I believe still considered Queen of the Unitarians, of whom more hereafter; Miss Edgworth, Miss Porter, William Godwin, William Roscoe, Thomas Clarkson, of anti-slavery memory, and many of the liberal writers of the day, whose names, except that of John Minter Morgan, do not now occur to me.

Among those who were very friendly, but were opposed to me on some points of political economy or politics, were the Rev. Mr. Malthus; James Mill, of the India House, and the friend of Jeremy Bentham, my partner in the New Lanark establishment, of whom more hereafter; Messrs. David Ricardo, M.P.; Joseph Hume, M.P.; Francis Place; Major ———; Thomas Attwood, M.P.; &c., &c.

Among the leading radical reformers who were personally very friendly, but yet were opposed to my "New Views of Society" were Sir Francis Burdett, M.P.; Major Cartwright; Henry Hunt, M.P.; William Cobbett, M.P.; Feargus O'Connor, M.P.; Mr. John Frost; Mr. Ernest Jones; and many others.

My knowledge of the formation of character enabled me to know how their characters were formed, and therefore enabled me to differ from them in opinion and yet to do justice to their good intentions, although their measures always appeared to me to arise from want of a comprehensive knowledge of human nature and society, and from their supposing that violence and force could effect any permanent good, while mind remained unconverted.

In fact, my "New Views of Society," and their application to practice, imperfect as it was at New Lanark, had aroused the dormant mind of the sectarian and sceptic world to investigate a new mine of knowledge, which, if followed through all its various ramifications, would lead to an entire change in principle, spirit, and practice; but for such a radical change in thought and action, when these changes were first openly and fully announced to the wondering world, now forty years ago, it was not prepared. And it has required the constant action of forty years upon the public mind of the civilised world, to prepare it for this change, which ultimately no power on earth can prevent or now much retard.

This statement is thus confidently made, from a thorough knowledge that the existing falsely based system of society is permanently, in principle, spirit, and practice, highly injurious to

every one of every rank and class, from the highest to the lowest, and from the most learned to the most ignorant; and that the proposed truly based new system of society, for forming character, creating wealth, reconstructing society, and governing all the affairs of men, will insure, without chance of failure, the permanent well-being, well-doing, and perpetual progress in wealth, knowledge, wisdom, union, and happiness, of the human race.

Perceiving these results, the best and most advanced minds at home and abroad have been at once attracted to the truth and inestimable value of the new system, when I have had an opportunity of fully explaining it to them. But they have, in many cases, said—"We do not see how it is to be introduced into practice." Or "It is too true, good, and beautiful, to be adopted by the present ignorant, deceptive, and selfish population in all countries." Or, "The system which you advocate, although true in principle, and however desirable, is, in the present state of society, impracticable."—Or some such conclusion. While the more advanced practical men were really desirous to see the experiment carried into execution.

[See the subscriptions in Great Britain and Ireland for this object, and the letters of approbation of my views for practice and the expressions of desire to see the new system as I advocated it carried fairly into execution.]

But the period for the adoption of this advanced phase in the history of humanity, was not come.

To clear away the rubbish of prejudices, so deeply implanted in all minds by the errors of the existing false and most baneful system for forming character and governing the population of the world, required not only the open decided public attack which I had made upon all the superstitions of the world, but a continued incessant attack on the errors of the whole system, in principle, spirit, and practice, for the forty years which have elapsed since that ever memorable denunciation of this undeveloped and misery-creating system was made.

And it is now only that these prejudices have been sufficiently overcome in the advanced minds of the world, to admit of the new and true system of society being advocated, to produce a beneficial result for practice upon the public.

I see by reference to my letters, that I attended a public meeting with the first Sir Robert Peel, to prevent if possible his son's measure, as chairman of the Bullion committee, to return to cash payments.

Sir Robert was too much a man of business not to perceive the gross injustice of this measure, and the great suffering it would inflict upon a large portion of the middle and lower classes; and seeing and knowing the certainty of these results, he came to me in great agitation, to ask me to go with him to the meeting, to endeavour to create a public feeling against it, suffi-

ciently strong to prevent the evils which his then inexperienced son and those friendly to his measures were about to bring upon the country.

When will those called practical men learn that now, were it not for the error of making gold and silver money, and wealth private property, there would be no poverty or fear of it; but that all might, with health, ease, and pleasure, superabound at all times, without contest or competition, in the use and enjoyment of the most valuable wealth; and that, too, by the most simple yet beautiful surroundings, which will be gradually developed as I proceed with my life.

At this meeting Sir Robert Peel the elder said, to show the injustice of this measure,—“Its operation on society will be to “double my property and the property of all other capitalists; “while it will injure the operative producers and debtors in the “same proportion, and, by its gradual operations of returning to “cash payments, will double the national debt, or, which is the “same thing, will double the amount of real wealth which will be “required to pay the interest of it.”

I have seldom seen a man in public so excited by strong affectionate feelings as Sir Robert Peel was on this occasion, from the magnitude of the evil which he foresaw his favorite son was about to bring upon the most helpless portion of the population of his country. He told the meeting, with a faltering voice and tears in his eyes, that this was the first time there had been a difference of opinion between him and his son Robert,—who was afterwards the well-known prime minister, and who, if he had lived, would have undone all which he had erroneously done through Conservative association in his younger and inexperienced life.

Visiting the father very often at his house in Upper Grosvenor Street, especially from 1815 to 1820, I occasionally met his son, who was then young in the ministry, but without practical knowledge, yet full of Oxford learning and injurious prejudices. The contrast at this time between the practical knowledge of the father and son, was most obvious. But the natural talent of the son, with his growing experience, led him by degrees to overcome the many disadvantages of an Oxford formation of character, and especially that of commoners with the nobility—both being much injured by the assumption of the one and the submission of the other, and also by the extent of false or useless learning, as it is called, which is forced into the minds of all who are educated at Oxford and Cambridge.

In the years 1817, '18, and '19, many public meetings were held to promote more or less directly the peculiar measures which I recommended, and the new views in principle which I advocated.

At the meetings held in '18 and '19, his Royal Highness the

Duke of Kent usually presided as chairman, assisted by his brother the Duke of Sussex, although the latter was a decided Whig politician, and after the death of the Duke of Kent, whose mind was too expanded and independent to be limited within the bounds of party politics, his brother became an out-and-out supporter of the Whig party, and most faithful to it, from his desire to give his aid to what he deemed to be the most liberal practical party in his day.

The result of one of these public meetings, at which the Duke of Kent presided, was to appoint a committee to promote the views which I had publicly advocated for the relief of the poor and to *prevent* poverty and ignorance by national employment for useful purposes, and by a good national education, or a right formation of character. [See, in the Appendix, the proceedings and speeches explanatory of the objects of these meetings, and of the committee, as published in the newspapers at the time, with the names of the committee, and of the subscribers to the fund for carrying the plan proposed for trial into practice.]

The interest produced in the metropolis, throughout the two islands, and abroad, was for a time intense among all classes, and especially with the suffering classes. The subject was debated in both houses of parliament, and Lord Liverpool with several of his cabinet were very desirous that it should be fully investigated by parliament. But this measure, so truly important for all parties throughout the empire, was frustrated through the means which I little anticipated.

Lord Lauderdale at this time was one of the most, if not the most active and influential member of the House of Peers. I had become a great favorite with him, was often his visitor, and so much did he desire my conversation and to listen to the explanation of my views, that he ordered his servants always to say he was at home when I called, and if he should be in bed at the time, which was frequently the case, I was to be shown to his bedroom; and our conversations were sometimes long continued while he lay talking and listening to me. This familiar intimacy continued for some time, until one day he asked me how I intended to make my arrangements to give education and useful constant employment to all the poor and working classes.

I had now had engraved at a considerable expense a beautiful picture of these proposed arrangements as they appear when generally adopted, as I expected they would be by the country, on account of the immense improvement it would make in the condition of the poor and working classes, and the still greater improvement which would be produced by these new surroundings in the condition of all classes.

I told his Lordship I would at my next visit bring him one of

these engravings, and would explain the whole subject to him. This I did at our next meeting a few days afterwards.

No intelligent unprejudiced mind could avoid being struck with the simplicity, order, and arrangement of this plan for the working classes, at that time as well as now, to train their children for a new, higher, and much superior state of earthly existence, and to enable these children to be beneficial associates with the children of all classes.

His Lordship was thus struck with the combination of these proposed new surroundings, for training, educating, and usefully employing the poor and working classes. He examined it in silence for some time; when he suddenly exclaimed—"Oh! I see it all! Nothing can be more complete for the poor and working classes. But what will become of *us*?" meaning the aristocracy.

Lord Lauderdale had mind and penetration sufficient to perceive how completely this plan would destroy poverty, gradually instruct and elevate the working class, and ultimately make them independent of the upper classes and of the aristocracy. But he had not the strength of mind and capacity to continue the investigation to its necessary results, or he would have discovered that in the most gradual and peaceable manner this plan would have, in the most natural way in which the change from a false and inferior to a true and superior system can be made, immensely improved the permanent condition of every class, and secured wisdom, goodness, and happiness, to the human race through futurity.

Had Lord Lauderdale pursued the investigation to its natural ultimate results, he would have perceived that this change from evil to good can be effected only by a rational formation of character from birth, and useful employment or occupation through life, within surroundings made to be in accordance with the laws of humanity or of man's natural constitution.

The subject of my new views was brought before the two houses by petitions to both, signed in its favour by the nobility and gentry of the county of Lanark, of both parties, by several of its presbyteries, and some of them unanimously, by the members of the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and by influential persons of all parties in the county, to whom my proceedings and experiment were well known.

In both houses the motion that the petition should be taken into consideration was moved and seconded by a leading influential member from each of the two great parties which then divided both houses into ministerialists and their opponents; and an interesting debate took place, for which see Hansard's Parliamentary Reports and the London leading newspapers of that day.

In the House of Commons Mr. William Smith, the then popu-

lar member for Norwich, took up the petition while the subject was under debate in the house, and said—"Mr. Speaker,—I have been carefully examining this petition, and it is the most extraordinary petition I have ever seen presented to this house. It is signed by the leading members of the aristocracy, of the church, the gentry, merchants, and manufacturers, and in fact by persons of all classes and sects in politics and religion, and I therefore, not having previously known anything of its contents, am at a loss to know what can induce these incongruous parties so numerously to sign this petition."

In the House of Lords it was evident that Lord Liverpool and the leading members of his cabinet were favorable to the full investigation of the subject, and the debate was taking that turn, when Lord Lauderdale arose, and with marked emphasis in his manner and tone of voice, said—"My Lords,—I know Mr. Owen, and I have examined his plan for the relief of the working classes, as he has published it to the world, and I now tell your Lordships, that if you countenance Mr. Owen and his New Views, there is no government in Europe that can stand against them."

This declaration from a peer of the highest influence in the house, decided the course which government must take in both houses, much to their regret, for they heartily inclined to have the principles and plans which I had so openly placed before the public, fairly tried under the auspices of their administration.

In consequence of this speech of Lord Lauderdale's, the speakers, both ministerial and their opponents, in both houses, made most complimentary speeches in my favour, and would not vote directly against my application for full investigation into the measures which I proposed, and the motion was lost in both houses by a motion to proceed to the order of the day.

This speech of Lord Lauderdale decided the question for that period among the aristocracy, and of course with all under their influence, which directly or indirectly included all deemed fashionable or respectable.

To this period I had access to all the ministers, and was on friendly terms with the most influential of them. My essays on a new view of society had been very popular, and had passed rapidly through five superior editions; my bill introduced into the House of Commons by the first Sir Robert Peel for the relief of young children and others employed in manufactories had greatly tended to increase my popularity, and although by my open denouncement of all the religions of the world as now taught, this was materially diminished with many, and particularly with all bigots having the contracted views of their sectarian creeds, yet with superior minds at home and abroad I found that that declaration had produced the effects which I intended, to a far greater extent than I had anticipated.

It was from this period that all the respectable booksellers were under the necessity to decline selling my works, and that a strong undermining opposition commenced among sectarians of every creed, and among small minds among all parties, to whom my views in principle and practice were opposed.

Yet the truth and beauty of these views in principle, and their promise of so many advantages in practice, with my antecedents of actual practice at Manchester, and now of twenty years at New Lanark, with my self-sacrifice by my public declaration of there being too much error in all the religions of the world to enable them to make man good, wise, and happy, retained for me a high place in the estimation of the more advanced and independent minds, and a strong feeling of regard and approbation by women of superior attainments and goodness of dispositions in every rank of life.

My model of proposed new surroundings to give education and permanent employment to the poor and working classes continued to be visited by many persons of high rank and distinction of both sexes, natives and foreigners, and this year (1819,) I was invited by the ever-to-be-esteemed and honoured Mr. Coke, of high agricultural fame, at Holkham, to his celebrated annual sheep shearing, and to accompany our mutual friend, his Excellency Richard Rush, the then much respected ambassador in London from the United States. We went together, were most hospitably received by Mr. Coke, and during our stay of some days we received especial marks of his attention, although his house was filled with visitors of the highest rank and liberal talent.

The superior Americans were great favorites with Mr. Coke. We were at this time fifty guests in his house, and about seven hundred of the leading friends to agricultural improvements from every part of the kingdom were invited, and were accommodated around by his neighbours, and chiefly tenants of superior standing for agricultural acquirements.

In the house with us were the Duke of Sussex; the present Duke of Bedford, then Lord Tavistock; Lord Bradford; Sir Francis Burdett; Joseph Hume, M.P.; and many other M.P's., foreigners, and strangers, whose names I have forgotten.

The order, arrangement, and harmony, with which this aggregation of so many guests within, and of important operations without, day after day, were conducted, with the kind attention of Mr. Coke to every one, and his fine manly self-possession in directing and explaining to his visitors his agricultural experiments and their successful progress, gained the hearts and admiration of every one who had the pleasure of being present at this last most interesting and extraordinary exhibition and gathering of liberal men from all parts of the kingdom and from abroad.

Mr. Coke was no ordinary man. He was a decided honest

Republican in principle, and no respecter of persons merely on account of their rank. Upon this occasion Mr. Rush and myself were especially noticed by him during our visit, and he seemed to take pleasure in giving as much of his confidence. He told us that when he came into possession of the Holkham estate, it was let at 3s. per acre. This price he thought too low, and he required an advance of two shillings per acre. The tenants said they could not afford to give 5s. per acre for land so unproductive, and at this period the county of Norfolk imported considerable quantities of wheat. Mr. Coke told them that if they could not afford to give 5s. an acre, he would take the estate into his own hands, and would try what he could make of it. And he told us he was then receiving 25s. an acre for the whole estate, from farmers who had become wealthy while paying that rent; and that the income of the estate had risen from a low figure when he came into possession of it, to an income exceeding fifty thousand a year, and that through his aid and example Norfolk *exported* large quantities of wheat; proving how much one man of earnest purpose can accomplish when his powers are rightly directed.

Being accustomed in my own proceedings to great order and systematic arrangement on an extensive scale, I was yet surprised to witness the order and arrangement of Mr. Coke's proceedings, day after day, on the present occasion, when so many new measures required his personal attention. I expressed to Mr. Coke my surprise at seeing no hurry or confusion, while, in the most calm and self-possessed state of mind, he attended day by day to fifty visitors, several of them of high distinction, within his house, and seven hundred during the day who were out visitors, but to whom also he was not wanting in every required attention; and I asked the secret of this unique appearance in the management of such varied and extensive operations.

He said—"I rise at five o'clock, and go into the office of Mr. Blackie, my steward, and there we quietly arrange the business for the day, and we take an early breakfast, during which the letters and papers by post are brought to me; I examine my own, and attend to those which require immediate replies; assort those for my guests in the house, who, as you see, breakfast punctually at nine o'clock, and while they are at breakfast, as you have witnessed, I bring in the letters and give to each his own." This he did, and while going round the table he had something kind and appropriate to say to every one, making no perceptible distinction between royalty and the untitled.

Mr. Coke continued—"While I attend to you at breakfast time, the out-of-door business of the day is in active progress. First that for our attention after breakfast and during the morning, and while we are attending to this," (and every morning was fully occupied, as well as every afternoon and evening,) "the

“business for the afternoon and evening is in preparation; and
“so far you have seen no bustle and confusion; and by the
“same means I hope you will not perceive any to the end of
“these public proceedings; for each day’s operations have been
“considered, and as well foreseen as my experience and this es-
“tablishment will admit.”

And so we found it, though on the third, the great and last day of the public exhibition, all were yet more surprised to see how he managed matters to get through that multitudinous hard day’s work. On this morning, the first thing after breakfast was to examine the process of flax spinning on the lawn, by the peasantry of the estate; and an interesting sight it was to see so many healthy happy looking faces so actively occupied in the various processes of this domestic manufacture, and so expert in every operation, clean in their dress and person, and well conducted in manner, answering the questions put to them with great propriety, without any appearance of degrading servility, exhibiting an independence and self-respect taught them by Mr. Coke’s strong republican principles.

While this inspection was going on, the carriages and horses were preparing to take the company to see the results of the various improvements and new experiments made on several of his principal farms. The Duke of Sussex and some of the older personages of distinction went with him in an open barouche with four horses. About seven hundred gentlemen and noted agriculturists were on horseback. Mr. Coke had provided Mr. Rush and myself with horses, and requested we would keep near him the whole day. His practice on this occasion was to ride at a good speed, heading the party, to the farm on which he intended to show and explain the new improvements he had lately made, or experiments in progress. When the party had had time to examine the details of what had been done or was doing, Mr. Coke formed the party into a circle around him, and then, in a strong clear voice, explained to those in the carriages and on horseback the process which had been pursued, and the results, and this he did on farm after farm, in a masterly manner most satisfactorily to all present.

After thus examining the operations of several farms at some distance from each other, we were requested to alight and to enter a good-looking house on one of the largest farms; and in this house we found a sumptuous luncheon prepared for the company, which surprised many by its completeness in appearance; and its substantial good qualities, and seemed to be enjoyed by all.

After thus again going from farm to farm, we had to return homeward at good speed to dress for an early three o’clock dinner. And this was the great day of this unique festival and exhibition.

All the company were invited to dine in this extensive and

most hospitable mansion. It was said that on that day seven hundred gentlemen of England, and some foreigners, dined at tables at which all could see and hear what was said and done; for the prizes for the superior inventions of all things for agricultural purposes, which were brought there from all parts of the kingdom for competition, were to be given by Mr. Coke to each inventor or improver who had merited these prizes, so liberally offered to all competitors.

It was also known that in addition to large quantities of other wines and liquors, a pipe of port was drunk at dinner.

The first business after the cloths were drawn, was the commencement of an arduous task for any one except our host, whose constitution, talents, and self-possession, made extraordinary exertions apparently easy to him.

He had around him a number of distinguished guests, accustomed to public speaking, and he seemed determined on this occasion to call their respective powers into useful action. He began by giving an explanatory statement of the more public and useful qualities of the person whose health he intended to propose, commencing with his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, to whom, for his professed liberal views and popular bearing, he seemed much attached; and this caused, as was anticipated, a speech in reply.

In these preliminary complimentary speeches by Mr. Coke, he seemed quite at home, and was most happy in his individual applications to each of his guests thus called into especial notice. Among these were the noblemen present, Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Hume, &c., &c., whose speeches were published afterwards in some of the newspapers of the day.

Mr. Rush and myself were also thus noticed. Mr. Rush, as Mr. Coke anticipated, made one of the most telling and best speeches of the day, and it was well received by the company. As to myself, I never could make an after dinner speech in which it was necessary to speak of personal good qualities, for I had so often published my conviction that our characters were before and from birth formed for us, and that there could not be any personal merit or demerit, that I could not, consistently with my well-known views on this subject, say anything in after dinner speeches satisfactory to myself, nor, consequently, to others. I therefore avoided them whenever it was practicable.

The healths and speech making having concluded, Mr. Coke had then to call up the parties entitled to receive the prizes awarded to them. And calling up one by one, he made most appropriate speeches to each on giving the prizes, of which there were many, and several were given to those living on his own estates.

Mr. Coke then invited the company to go and examine the

inventions for which the prizes had been awarded ; and as these machines were various and numerous, their examination required explanation from their inventors, and this occupied much of the time and attention of Mr. Coke, who appeared to be everywhere to assist when asked for his opinion or advice.

A painting was shown of my model of the proposed new villages of union and co-operation for the poor to give them employment and relief from poverty, or the preliminary new surroundings by which to train all, beginning with the lowest, for the rational or Millennial State of Existence upon Earth. This painting was a rough sketch, hastily executed on canvas, put on rollers, and sent down to me from London.

When I was explaining it to the company, the Earl of Albemarle, one of guests, and a near neighbour to Mr. Coke, and who became the next year father-in law to Mr. Coke, asked me upon what scale it was drawn, but no scale had been sent with it, as it was enlarged in all its proportions from the model. I was therefore puzzled for a reply, for I had no means there of knowing.

I mention this, to show the necessity when anything new, and especially when anything opposed to old favoured notions, is brought forward, for great attention to be given to meet every probable objection, even the most frivolous.

After this examination of new inventions, the company returned to the house to tea, which was no sooner over than we were invited to go to the actual sheep-shearing, first to see the quality and condition of the sheep, and then to witness the process of shearing them, which was most skilfully done, upon sheep which attracted great attention and much approbation from the judges appointed to inspect them.

In all this, Mr. Coke was active and ready to answer all the numerous questions put to him, either for information or from curiosity, never appearing in the least hurried or unwilling to attend to any one who desired to address him, or inattentive to the suggestions of any experienced parties seeking information wherever it could be obtained.

The evening was far advanced before this part of the business was concluded, and we were summoned home to supper, and the company commenced this meal at eleven o'clock. The party were not seated formally according to rank or station, but promiscuously ; and it so happened that I sat next to Mr. Coke on his right, and as at his request I had been near him the whole day, witnessing his multifarious duties and his attentions to everything as it came in regular succession, and seeing him now calm, collected, and untired, after this unceasing action of body and mind, I said to him " I am truly surprised, after seeing what you " have passed through to-day, that you appear as though it had " been an ordinary every-day proceeding."

He said in reply—"I am really so little tired, that I could now begin the business of the day over again."

He was now sixty-nine, and his constitution was superior to most men's at forty. His habits were all good, and his daily exercise well calculated to give and to sustain such a constitution.

This was the last public day of this year's sheep-shearing; and events soon occurred afterwards to make it the last sheep-shearing at Holkham.

The out-visitors now dispersed in all directions; but Mr. Coke detained his home guests some days longer to enjoy relaxation and amusement, and quietly to see and examine his well-conducted estate and immense private establishment.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent had made an engagement, as before stated, to come with the Duchess and her infant to spend three months with me at Braxfield, to make himself fully master of the practical measures which I had adopted at New Lanark for new-forming the character of the young from infancy, re-forming the character of the adults, and new-governing the whole population. And at this meeting the Duke of Sussex and Mr. Coke agreed also to visit me in the spring for the same object.

In consequence of these engagements I laid in an additional quantity of choice wines, and made my other arrangements suitable to provide for the expected distinguished guests.

So long as Prince Edward lived there was a strong brotherly attachment between him and the Duke of Sussex. Where one was, the other was generally present, on all public occasions, and in their private interviews with parties on business.

These proposed visits were not destined to be made. The sudden premature death of Prince Edward, and the unexpected marriage of Mr. Coke, were the causes which deprived me of the pleasure of the association with some of the foremost and best minds in their station of those days, and of the immediate benefit which the rational social system of society would have derived from such minds seeing its preliminary practice to be so effective for good even while opposed by so many prejudices of the old system, and carried into execution under the many disadvantages of a cotton mill establishment. The effect of the happiness produced in the entire population, and the new character formed for the children at that establishment, could not have failed to make an impression on those minds, which, through their independent instrumentality, would have fixed public attention upon such new and important facts, and would have given great facilities to the spread over the civilized world of the knowledge of the principles and practices which could produce such extraordinary beneficial and happy results; and more especially as Lord Liverpool's administration, then in power, was most favourable to my views, although not in sufficient power to contend

against the church and the most bigoted and least informed of the public.

No—that system which, in spirit, principle, and practice, is to introduce and establish the Millennial state of goodness and happiness upon earth, was not to be introduced and established by the patronage of persons of rank and station. These could not give stability to falsehood or error, or to any system based on either. While truth, which can withstand the test, and ultimately resist all power opposed to it, requires no patronage of persons nor any factitious aid. Truth, to be permanent, must stand alone on its own foundation. If it needs the aid of names, it is not that unchanging eternal truth which is ultimately to control the human mind, and to govern the population of the world through future ages.

This is that truth which the nations of the earth now seek, and which by seeking they will assuredly find. It is that truth which, when fully understood and consistently applied in practice, will make all to become good, wise, and happy. And such is the GREAT TRUTH “That the character of man, divine and human, is formed for him without his knowledge, and may now be well formed from birth for all.”

This truth requires no name for its support. All facts declare it. The whole history of man sustains and confirms it. And it will overcome all the prejudices established against it through the ages which have passed. It is that glorious truth which will set the nations free, and will secure the future happiness of our race.

The new system of society for the re-forming of man and reconstruction of society over the world, was not to be patronised by rank or station, or by any name whatever. Its truth of principle and inestimable value for practice are to establish and maintain it over the earth, overcoming every prejudice and all kinds of opposition. In fact, it was far above and beyond the reach of patronage. I was, however, at the time greatly disappointed to be deprived of the familiar society of men so friendly to my views, for whom I had the greatest regard and esteem, and from whom at that period I had anticipated much assistance in promoting my great object of securing the permanent progress and happiness of the human race.

I have said that after the third public day the guests of Mr. Coke were inclined for relaxation from serious business, and to amuse themselves.

The Duke of Sussex was at this period Grand Master of the Freemasons of England, and it was proposed that he should hold a lodge, and should make members of those who were not already masons. A party came to me to request my name to their list. I said I had always avoided becoming a member of any society for amusement, which I imagined was now the chief object of

Freemasonry. I had hitherto declined being made a member, and requested now to be excused. The parties said, as it was a harmless society, and tended to create good fellowship and humanity among the members, they would be much pleased if I would consent to be made a member with them. I said if there was nothing ridiculous in the process, I would not resist their wishes. The Duke of Sussex was very frequently present with the Duke of Kent when he came to me, and more frequently when I visited the latter at Kensington Palace, and was therefore well acquainted with my views and objects. When he was told by the parties who came to me that they had obtained my consent to have my name added to the list for new membership, he said—"No, by all that is good, were he to witness our ceremonies he would make us all to appear fools. His objects are of a character too serious and extended for him to be occupied with our trifling amusements." So I escaped being let into the secrets of Freemasonry.

My duties now called me to the metropolis, to attend to the Factory Bill then in the House of Lords; to watch Sir William De Crespigny's motion in the House of Commons to take my subject into its consideration, and to attend to the public meeting which I had called, to be held in the Freemason's Tavern, and to be presided over by his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, and also to attend to explain my model of proposed new surroundings for the poor and working classes who could not themselves find employment.

These occupations, and superintending the establishment at New Lanark by directions to the heads of the various departments by correspondence, occupied my time daily from early to late. The public meetings are recorded in the published accounts in the newspapers of the time, and the proceedings in both houses of parliament on my petition for my "New Views" to undergo parliamentary investigation, are given in Hansard's parliamentary proceedings, and also the progress of both houses in spoiling my Factory Bill for the relief of children and others employed most injuriously as to age and time in cotton and other factories over the two islands.

In addition, I had to attend the committee appointed at the public meeting to promote my objects,—a committee of which his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent was chairman, and who was the most punctual attendant of all its members. The committee consisted of a long list of the most prominent liberal noblemen and gentlemen, chiefly members of both houses of parliament, and of the principal foreign ministers resident in London, as will be seen on referring to the published list of their names given in the Appendix.

But yet to add to these varied occupations, I was under the following circumstances induced to offer myself a candidate to

represent in the House of Commons the Royal Burghs of Lanark, Selkirk, Peebles, and Linlithgow.

At the previous general election I published an address to the electors of those burghs, which I published merely for a model address, such as I deemed all candidates for membership in the House of Commons ought to issue, if they intended to benefit their constituents and their country. [See this advertisement in the newspapers of that period.]

But not supposing I had any chance of succeeding, not having any intention of canvassing the boroughs, or of being a candidate, I thought no more of it, and continued to attend the parliamentary committees on the Factory Bill, as it was strongly opposed, and often by the most unfair means, by almost all the cotton spinners and manufacturers in the kingdom, except Messrs Arkwright, the Strutts, and the Fieldens.

I neither visited nor wrote to nor communicated in any manner with one of the Burghs, and the thought of being a candidate in reality never entered my mind.

To my surprise, on my return home some weeks afterwards, I learned that the Burghs had been kept open for me for a fortnight after my advertisement appeared in the London daily papers, and that if I had returned home during that period, I should have been elected free of cost. This was news which took me by surprise, and I regretted my want of this knowledge at the proper time.

But now, while occupied in London as previously mentioned I was informed of the demise of Sir John Buchanan Riddle, who had become member at the last election, and the circumstances just narrated induced me at once to issue an advertisement, [see Appendix,] and could I have proceeded immediately, my success would have been certain. But I was so continually engaged day by day with attending to the multiplied engagements of important business, that I was under the necessity of neglecting either the more immediate public business, or my apparent private interest in canvassing the Burghs, although my views in becoming an M.P. were solely to promote great public measures for the permanent benefit of all classes, and especially of the unemployed and uneducated classes. It was at this period, too, I see by documents which have come into my hands, that I had to attend to the Leeds party, who sent deputies to New Lanark to examine and report the result of their investigation—a subject which I have previously mentioned, and more details of which will be given in the volume of my correspondence, in the letters of the Mayor of Leeds (Mr. George Banks,) Mr. Baines, Mr. Cawood, and Mr. Robert Oastler, and in the published report of the deputies who were the three last named gentlemen, all men of high standing for integrity,—which report is given in the Appendix.

From Leeds I proceeded towards home; but I had to make

many calls of interest on my journey. Mail coaches were now general, and in these I usually travelled on my journeys from Scotland to and from London. On one of these journeys, about this period, I was travelling from London to the North, and was the only inside passenger in the coach when it arrived at Newark, where horses were changed; and while this process was going on, both doors of the mail coach were at the same time opened, and a gentleman came in on each side, and they commenced a conversation together. The countenance of one of them immediately impressed me that I had an intelligent and interesting companion, who was seated opposite to me. The strangers sat together, and as they immediately entered into a conversation upon general topics of the day, I concluded they were friends who were travelling together. Their conversation continued for some time, when one said something to my supposed intelligent companion, who was opposite to me, which induced him to say—"Why that is Owenism! Who would ever think of anything so absurd?" At this I opened my ears, and I heard this subject canvassed between them, and I soon found that the intelligent opponent knew little of Owenism, as he called the notions which he had received of it.

I then said to him—"Pray what is this Owenism about which you are conversing?" My intelligent companion very readily replied, stating the usual mistakes given to the public by those who thought they had an interest in opposing my views, or who had not sufficient capacity to comprehend them. I listened as a stranger to the full explanation of his received ideas upon the subject, and they were truly absurd; enough so to call forth his first exclamation against Owenism.

When he concluded, I said—"I must be quite in error upon this subject, for my ideas of it are very different from those you have just stated." "Then," he said, "will you have the kindness to explain your views of it?" I said, "Willingly,"—and I entered fully into its principles and practices, and these we discussed with animation and interest for nearly three hours, when at last he said I am sure you are Spence, (the advocate at that time of an equal division of land,) or else Owen.

I then told him who I was, and while we pursued our journey our conversation continued with increasing interest, when, previous to our arrival at Heworth, he said—"I am a barrister returning from the Circuit, and I am going to visit my brother and his family, who live a few miles from Newcastle, and you must come and visit them. I will promise you a hearty welcome and a pleasant party." I thanked him and said I would endeavour, on some of my journeys from Scotland to London, to accept his kind offer.

I thought the invitation was a momentary travelling impulse, such as are sometimes acted upon and as soon repented of. But

he continued urging his request until our arrival at Newcastle, where he stopped at his usual hotel, and the mail drove on to another, where the passengers were accustomed to have supper.

While we were eating our supper, in came my newly-found friend, and he seemed so earnest and anxious that I should remain there all night, and should go with him to his brother's in the morning, that I at length yielded to his solicitations. This was then Mr. Charles Grey, since Sir Charles Grey, and late Governor of Jamaica; a man as much equal to that task as governors of colonies usually are, and only some very untoward circumstances could prevent his success. I made the visit with him next morning, and it proved all he had promised, to its full extent; and I was detained two or three days.

On proceeding afterwards from Newcastle to Carlisle, I had to call upon Lord Brougham, (then well-known as Henry Brougham,) who had interested himself in investigating my views, and who often endeavoured to have them investigated in Parliament.

Mentioning Lord Brougham reminds me of an amusing occurrence which happened to me sometime afterwards on one of my journeys from London to Scotland. I was in the mail coach alone on one occasion, when it stopped to change horses at Mucclesfield, and while it stopped, (it was a fine warm day,) a gentleman in evening dress mounted the box, looking at me as he passed to get up. He said something to the coachman, and he soon came down again, and entered the coach. In the meantime a crowd was collecting around the coach, and there was much stir without. No sooner had the gentleman seated himself, than he said—"I am very happy, my Lord, to meet you again so soon." I was a little surprised with my new title, and replied—"You are under some mistake. Whom do you take me for?" "Lord Brougham." "You are indeed in error. I have no such claim." "Oh, he said, "Your Lordship wishes to travel incognito." "You are really mistaken," I replied. "That cannot be," he rejoined, "for I dined with your Lordship only three weeks since;" and I could not convince this positive gentleman of his mistake.

He had told the coachman not to proceed until he returned to him, and during this period the crowd around the coach continually increased, all eager to catch a sight of my Lord Brougham; and as no one was there to undeceive them, they were as much pleased and gratified as though they had seen the true Lord himself, and when the coach started, I was greeted with the hurras of the wondering people, who had, as they supposed, seen a Lord, and that Lord, Lord Brougham.

Such were the people at that day. They are now become somewhat wiser.

While I was busily engaged in attending to the parliamentary

committee and to other public matters in London, I received intelligence from New Lanark that one of our four large cotton mills had been burned, and all engaged in it were by this accident thrown out of employment. I had immediately to make arrangements to give them occupation, without their being obliged to seek work elsewhere, and to leave the establishment, which to them, from the happiness they now experienced, would have appeared the greatest of misfortunes. I gave the necessary instructions for this purpose, and as soon as I could leave the public matters in which I was engaged, I returned home to see my instructions carried fully into execution, and not one left the establishment on account of this accident, which, when it occurred, created in those who were employed in that department of the establishment the greatest distress and sad forebodings of what would become of them.

This fire occurred at the end of November, 1819, and I left London after my last personal communication with the Duke of Kent, my tried friend and best disciple, and of whose death after my return home I was so soon informed.

Little did I then anticipate, that after regretting his death for more than thirty years, his good and kind and enlightened Spirit should take the first opportunity that a medium for such communications offered, to communicate with me and to give me information of deep interest and most important for me to know. And to come in his so well known character to me, and with his usual kindness and consideration for others, in whose well-doing and well-being he continued to occupy himself, exhibiting the same affection and friendship for them, which he so strongly possessed when in his earthly form upon the earth.

His whole spirit proceeding with me has been most beautiful; making his own appointments; meeting me on the day, hour, and minute he named; and never in one instance (and these appointments were numerous as long as I had mediums near me upon whom I could depend,) has this Spirit not been punctual to the minute he had named.

The unwisely taught, and therefore strongly prejudiced against these new manifestations, cannot believe in their reality, and I greatly pity them. They know not the pleasure and the knowledge which they lose. Some of the most gratifying and satisfying moments of my existence have been when in direct communication with my departed relatives and friends since they left their earthly forms in their graves. These and congenial spirits are now actively engaged in preparing the population of the world for the greatest of all changes in the history of humanity while on the earth in its visible form. And they smile at the puny efforts of the poor mis-taught of the present generation to stay their progress in this heavenly work.

Man, through all the ages which are past, has been created

to desire happiness without ceasing. The desire is to day as strong as ever; and the period rapidly approaches when that desire will be gratified to an extent not yet to be imagined by unregenerated man. But of this, more hereafter.

Hastening my departure from the public business which engaged my attention in London, I arrived at home about the middle of December, and was occupied for sometime in completing the new required arrangements consequent on the burning of the mill, so as to give useful and productive employment to all who were thrown idle by that event. This occupied me for some weeks, and the election for the Burghs, for which I had declared myself a candidate, being fixed to take place soon after this, I had, after giving the candidates opposed to me all the benefit of a long first canvass, to visit the Burghs, and see what chance remained for me.

I found that through my delay in London four of the old Lanark voters upon whom I had every reason to depend, had, by being feasted, kept intoxicated, and by other means known at this time to most candidates, been bribed over to my opponent, and by this very unexpected proceeding I discovered this majority of four would be against me, and Lanark was the returning borough.

On my canvass in the other Burghs in which I was kindly assisted by my good friend Admiral Sir Robert Otway, we found Selkirk and Peebles positively engaged to Mr. Monteith, my friendly opponent, and that Linlithgow had declared for me. I thus knew that I should lose the election by my four turn-coat Lanark voters; but with twenty to one I was the popular candidate with the people, and much were they disappointed at the result. It was however a fortunate result; for my proceedings with the two committees of the Houses of Parliament, and with the general members of both Houses, made it more than doubtful that my time as a member would have been much mis-employed. [For these election proceedings see my correspondence with my family, with Mr. Boyd the Mayor of Linlithgow, and Lords Liverpool and Melville.] I may add that while I was a candidate, Sir Robert Peel, the late premier, wrote to me for my support of the government, expecting my election to be certain.

As an indication of the feelings of the inhabitants of the town of Old Lanark at this period, after I had been more than twenty years their near and always active neighbour, see their invitation to a public dinner previous to the election. See also the letters from the magistrates and town council of the burgh of Linlithgow, in addition to the Mayor's; and it must be remembered that I made it a condition that not one shilling should be expended for me to bribe one voter in either of the burghs. When this election was over, which I lost by four voters, who had promised me their votes, but who were bribed to break their promise, I was during the spring, summer, and autumn, over-

whelmed with visitors to see the establishment, and among these many of high consideration at home and abroad, from all of whom, and I do not know one exception, their expressions were of wonder and delight, in seeing that which they never expected to witness on earth—a large promiscuous population of work-people happy and highly contented, and their children's characters formed for them better than the character of the children of the same age had ever been formed; for it had been formed on the principle of charity and love and kindness, without punishment.

Affection for each other, and affection and esteem for their instructors, were deeply imbedded in the mind and feelings of these children, and they were during the whole period of their instruction the most innocent and happy children yet made under any system ever yet attempted, by which to form the character of humanity.

The precept or principle of action taught to them from their first day's entrance into the school, ("that they should always endeavour to make each other happy,") the youngest infant easily received, and was as easily induced, by the example of those previously so instructed, to apply the precept to undeviating practice. And this principle and practice might with incalculable benefit to all of our race be so deeply impressed at this early period on all infants, that it would become a habit never to be forgotten or unused in the every day transactions of life.

This experiment with the children of all the population of New Lanark cannot be estimated too highly by the advanced minds of the age in all countries; for it at once opens the path by which all from their birth may have the divine parts of their nature so cultivated by their immediate predecessors, that all shall acquire good habits only, and a character as good as the divine parts of each and the existing knowledge of humanity will admit; and these now united in the training, educating, employing, placing, and governing of each, (for all these enter into the formation of the character of every one,) will produce such a change in the condition of society and of humanity, as can be expressed only by a change from a pandemonium to a paradise.

Let the authorities of this age now turn their attention to this subject, and they will discover that they have attained the knowledge of a moral lever by which they can with ease remove ignorance, poverty, disunion, vice, crime, evil passions, and misery, from mankind. Place the human race from birth within superior spiritual and material surroundings, and the evils and sufferings of humanity will be no longer experienced, and will be retained on record only to enhance the pleasures of this new existence for man.

The arrangements to well-form the character of each will of necessity include the entire arrangements to well-form and con-

duct society ; for there can be no part of society which does not enter into the formation of the character of every one.

That which I introduced as new in forming the character of the children of the working class may be thus stated—

1st.—No scolding or punishment of the children.

2nd.—Unceasing kindness in tone, look, word, and action, to all the children without exception, by every teacher employed, so as to create a real affection and full confidence between the teachers and the taught.

3rd.—Instruction by the inspection of realities and their qualities, and these explained by familiar conversations between the teachers and the taught, and the latter always allowed to ask their own questions for explanations or additional information.

4th.—These questions to be always answered in a kind and rational manner ; and when beyond the teacher's knowledge, which often happened, the want of knowledge on that subject was at once to be fully admitted, so as never to lead the young mind into error.

5th.—No regular in-door hours for school ; but the teachers to discover when the minds of the taught, or their own minds, commenced to be fatigued by the in-door lesson, and then to change it for out-of-door physical exercise in good weather ; or in bad weather for physical exercise under cover, or exercises in music.

6th.—In addition to music, the children of these workpeople were taught and exercised in military discipline, to teach them habits of order, obedience, and exactness, to improve their health and carriage, and to prepare them at the best time, in the best manner, when required, to defend their country at the least expense and trouble to themselves.

They were taught to dance, and to dance well, so as to improve their appearance, manner, and health. I found by experience that for both sexes the military discipline, dancing, and music, properly taught and conducted, were powerful means to form a good, rational, and happy character ; and they should form part of the instruction and exercise in every rationally formed and conducted seminary for the formation of character. They form an essential part of the surroundings to give good and superior influences to the infants, children, and youth, as they grow towards maturity.

7th.—But these exercises to be continued no longer than they were useful and could be beneficially enjoyed by the taught. On the first indications of lassitude, to return to their in-door mental lessons, for which their physical exercises had prepared them, and to which, if properly conducted, they will always return with renewed pleasure. And to receive physical or mental exercise and instruction may always be made to be highly gratifying to the children, when they are rationally treated.

8th.—To take the children out to become familiar with the productions of gardens, orchards, fields, and woods, and with the domestic animals and natural history generally, is an essential part of the instruction to be given to the children of the working classes; and this was the practice in my time with the children at New Lanark.

9th.—It was quite new to train the children of the working class to think and act rationally, and to acquire substantial knowledge which might be useful to them through after life.

10th.—It was quite new to place the child of the working man within surroundings superior to those of the children of any class, as was done in a remarkable manner at New Lanark, by placing them during the day in the first and best institution for the formation of the character of the children of workpeople ever thought of or executed.

But it must be yet some time before these new practical proceedings for the children of the producers of wealth can be duly appreciated; or their importance for the advancement and permanent benefit of society can be comprehended.

It is however time to return to my narrative.

In 1819 another panic occurred in the commercial world, arising from the effects of the proceedings of the Bullion Committee of the House of Commons, under the late Sir Robert Peel as chairman.

These men knew no more than infants what they were legislating about, and had no knowledge of the amount of most unnecessary misery and severe suffering which they by their ignorance were about to inflict upon millions of their fellow subjects over the British Empire.

This was the second panic which they produced, to be followed by one yet much more severe in 1825, and to be succeeded at intervals by others, until this absurd artificial monetary system of gold and silver shall be abolished, and the human powers, aided by science, shall be set free to produce wealth unfettered by the folly of statesmen and legislators.

Such was the distress in 1819, produced artificially, that thousands upon thousands of the working classes were out of work and starving, and the smaller tradesmen were involved in ruin as they always are when the working class is unemployed.

At this time many active young men between twenty and thirty years of age came to seek employment from me, and would willingly have accepted four or five shillings per week for their services. But our establishment was always fully supplied with our stationary population, who were continued by me without any diminution of their wages for twenty-five years.

Among other districts over the kingdom, the county of Lanark suffered from a great surplus of unemployed workpeople, and it having been noticed that there was no distress or complaint

among this population of New Lanark, and that there had not been any for twenty years, I was called upon at a great meeting of the county of Lanark, to express my opinion as to the cause, and to point out an effectual cure for this now felt to be a great evil threatening the prosperity and peace of the kingdom.

In obedience to this request of the county I made a report explanatory of the causes of distress, and included a statement of the means by which a permanent remedy for the want of employment might be beneficially introduced, by society being re-constructed and rationally arranged. And in this report, for the first time, I explained the science of constructing a rational system of society for forming the character and governing human nature beneficially for all of our race.

It was from this report that Fourier obtained all his knowledge respecting the formation of a society limited in number to form a *practical* community; but not knowing the true foundation on which to base society, he made a confused medley of old and new notions, which never can be combined to work permanently together with harmony.

A knowledge of this scientific development of society was forced upon me by thirty years of extensive practice through various departments of the business of real life, and by much study to overcome the many obstacles which stood in the way of combining a scientific arrangement of society to *prevent* the innumerable evils inflicted by error on the human race.

The report thus presented to the public meeting of the county of Lanark, the late Duke of Hamilton, Lord Lieutenant of the County, presiding, and reported upon by six of the leading members of the county, (see in the Appendix this report and the official proceedings of these county meetings respecting them,) was the first publication ever given to the world which explained, even in outline, the circle of the practical science of society to form a good and superior character for all, to produce abundance of superior wealth for all, to unite all as members of one superior enlightened family, and to surround the human race with superior physical and mental conditions, or with surroundings to call forth and highly educate all the superior faculties of humanity, and to place all the animal propensities of our nature in their healthy and beneficial subjection to the higher organs, qualities, and powers, so as to make man in the aggregate physically and mentally healthy, good, wise, consistent, rational, and happy.

But when this report was first given to the world, in 1820, the world was quite unprepared to receive or to comprehend such a circle of scientific principles and practices, to work together in harmony to produce health, wealth, unity, wisdom, goodness, and happiness, for all.

Even now, after a lapse of thirty-seven years of continual instruction against old deep-rooted errors and habits, society is

scarcely prepared to believe in the possibility of the attainment of so much unity, wisdom, goodness, and happiness, for all humanity. Men have hitherto been trained, educated, and placed, only within the shell of individual ignorance and habits, and have yet but little clear conception of universal truths, or of the immense new powers to be derived from the united mind and action of our race, directed by wisdom and sound practical knowledge, in the pure spirit of love and charity for the artificial and educated differences of all of humankind.

The glorious period when this spirit and this knowledge shall universally prevail is near at hand, and now approaches with giant strides.

Let these high considerations now open the hearts and expand the minds of all to receive and understand these great truths, and to perceive with how much ease, when once in the right path, the population of this globe may be made superior, physically and mentally, and may be trained and placed so as to enable them all by the exercise of their rational faculties to become by degrees, after one or two preparatory generations, superior rational beings, compared with any of the existing races of men.

It was in this year when all things were rapidly progressing, day by day, at New Lanark, the people highly satisfied, and their children the best and happiest of human beings, that one of my partners, William Allen, returned from the continent of Europe, where he had come personally into communication with the Emperor Alexander of Russia and with some other crowned heads, which turned his head into a wrong channel for usefulness. His mind was limited to Quaker prejudices and the Lancastrian system of defective education, which I had materially assisted to make what it was, but the limited minds and religious prejudices of Lancaster's committee would not allow it to proceed further, and William Allen in particular thought this small step the perfection of education.

On his return he wished to depreciate all my proceedings, because I had denounced so publicly all the superstitions and false religions of the world; and he began to sow the seeds of disunion between the popular religions of my partners and my more expanded views of the true religion in practice.

He recommended the abandonment of my mode, (to this period so eminently successful in forming a superior and happy character for all the children in New Lanark, and which had contributed so much to improve it and to make their parents happy and highly satisfied with their condition and position,) for his petty Quaker notions and his supposed superior benefits to be derived from religion and by superseding my liberal modes of natural instruction, by his restricted small ideas of a quaker education, without music, dancing, or military discipline, all so essential to form a good and superior rational character.

For some time I paid little attention to his crude and prejudiced notions, and I proceeded in my usual course for two or three years; but finding his pretensions to great sanctity and a tender conscience about music, dancing, and military exercises, I gradually perceived the necessity for a separation at no distant day, and in a few years this took place.

In the interim I proceeded in my usual course to forward by all the means in my power the great object of my life, the improvement of the condition of humanity, without distinction of colour, country, class, or creed; knowing that a part could never be permanently benefited except through measures that would secure the happiness of all through future ages.

In the early part of this year, 1820, I was deprived of the aid of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, as I have previously stated, by his sudden premature death.

But from the magistrates and inhabitants of the Burghs of Lanark and Linlithgow I received much complimentary notice, (see their letters,) to compensate me for the loss of my election for these and their two connected Burghs of Selkirk and Peebles; an election lost to me by four votes only,—and votes which had been promised to me, but which were bribed by my opponents, while I had positively declined to bribe a single voter.

In my canvass on this occasion I was accompanied and much assisted by admiral Sir Robert Otway, who was much interested for my success.

Had I succeeded and taken my seat in the House of Commons, I do not know that my ultimate success would have been advanced by it; for society at that time was not sufficiently prepared for so great a change as I have always contemplated. Yet many efforts were made by many friends of my views to bring them into notice and practice, and considerable progress was made in keeping the subject before the public; but the loss of my earnest and devoted and most valued friend and patron, His Royal Highness Prince Edward, to the cause I had undertaken, could not be replaced by any other party, and checked for some time the rapid progress which my "New Views" were making notwithstanding the great obstacle which I had made to retard their progress, by my so public denouncement of all the superstitions of the world, each falsely called by its supporters "the true religion."

But this depression was only of short duration. My official report called for by the county of Lanark a few months after the death of the Royal Duke, and the public measures taken thereon, again aroused public attention to the consideration of the subject; and after this report, with the report of the committee appointed by the county to examine and report upon it, had been published and widely circulated at home and abroad, the subject again became popular, and during the years '20, '21, '22, and '23,

especially excited in England, Scotland, Ireland, on the continent of Europe, and in the United States, an intense interest, and which, although with less prominent intensity, has been to this day working in all directions through the public mind of the world, until it has now, in all reflecting sound thinking minds, utterly destroyed all faith or belief in the untenable foundation on which all society has been constructed, or in the possibility that it can ever produce a consistent or rational character, unity, prosperity, and happiness, among any portion of the human race, divided and separated as they now are by ignorant and superstitious notions, creating universal repulsive feelings between man and man and nation and nation.

In proof of the great interest felt at this period in favour of my "New Views of Society," see the proceedings of the county of Lanark to petition both houses of Parliament to take the subject into their most grave consideration—petitions signed, as no other petitions have since been signed, by the leading noblemen, gentlemen, and freeholders, of both political parties, the two universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, some entire Presbyteries, and most of the clergy, all being long well acquainted with the extraordinary beneficial results produced at New Lanark by the consistent application to practice of the principles which I so publicly advocated.

Perhaps no evidence could be stronger in favour of new principles and their practices, directly opposed to all popular prejudices, than these so numerous and generally signed petitions by all the contending parties in churches and state throughout this most learned, wealthy, and popular county in Scotland.

It was when these petitions were presented, and were evidently favoured by Lord Liverpool's administration, that to prevent their probable adoption, Lord Lauderdale made his celebrated telling speech, to stop the progress of the petition to the House of Peers.

When he rose in his place, after perceiving that Lord Liverpool was inclined to favour the petition, he said, with most marked emphasis, "My Lords,—I know Mr. Owen well; and I know his plans; having studied them for some time. And I can assure your Lordships that if you give any countenance to Mr. Owen and his plans, no government in Europe can stand against them."

This decided the fate of the petitions in both houses, and in both the previous question was moved. And although I have petitioned both houses session after session to take this subject into their consideration, and although it is the most important that can ever be brought before them, yet to this day they have, civilly, it is true, declined to do so.

But it was otherwise with the public at home and abroad. Our home nobility and men and women of superior acquirements and

reflecting minds, and foreigners of high positions, came to New Lanark in increasing numbers and with increased desire to investigate the principles and practice by which it was governed. The French academy voted me their thanks for my report to the county of Lanark, which was translated, with my "Essays on the Formation of Character," into French and German; and great excitement was made throughout Europe by that report and the petitions respecting it by the county to which it was presented. [See the various documents given on these matters in the appendix. It will be seen from them that no one could have been more flattered than I was during this period by these private and public proceedings, showing how strongly human nature desires truth in principle and equal justice in practice.]

The report which excited all this interest was perhaps the first publication that ever gave a full view of society in its whole extent, including every department of real life necessary for the happiness of our race. It was the first time that the outlines of a science of society were given to the world, and the reasons explained for each part in this new combination; and it was after the circulation of this report that the imaginative Fourier imagined his notions for forming a practical community society, mixing old and new principles and practices, which never can continue long to work together.

The reason why this official report of mine to the county of Lanark excited so much general interest, was because I commenced at the foundation of society, and, without regard to any existing popular prejudices, explained in simple, open, and direct terms, the several parts forming the entire circle of human requirements to form a full science of society, to attain and maintain perpetual prosperity, unity, and happiness.

It is now only, however, that the advanced minds of the age begin to comprehend so new a state of human existence; and even yet there are but few so far developed as to be enabled to encompass and compare two totally different systems for forming the character of and governing mankind; systems based on opposing principles and practices, antagonistic to each other in spirit and in the whole arrangements of the business of life.

How many have yet been trained and educated to venture upon such an investigation? How many minds are now unfettered to enter upon it without prejudice in favour of the old false and evil system, or unprejudiced against the new, true, and good system for the government of mankind?

And yet the old, of necessity, leads to a pandemonium; while the new leads direct to a perpetual paradise on earth,—to the true practical Millennial state of human existence.

The one has created and maintained individual selfishness, which, in spirit, principle, and practice, is opposed to the formation of a rational character, and to the well-being, well-doing,

and happiness of all of every colour, country, creed, and class, and of every one upon the earth.

It is remarkable that no one ever attempted to disprove the statement of this report and the reasoning thereon; and who will now attempt the task? None will venture upon it; because it will soon be discovered that it is founded upon self-evident truths, with self-evident deductions from those truths, and they will remain such to the end of time. By reference to documents, I find that it called forth the creation of the "British and Foreign Philanthropic Society," established with the view of forwarding the knowledge of the principles and practices which I advocated; and it will be seen by the names of the parties attached to this society as its officers, how widely spread and formidable these views had become, and by my correspondence how strong was the desire to have a model community commenced.

I was so beset from all quarters of the liberal portion of society, to commence this experiment in this country, that, although I felt that the public was only partially prepared for it, I at length consented that a subscription should be tried to carry it into execution; little expecting that the fund required could be raised—for I asked seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds for this purpose, and to my surprise fifty thousand pounds were subscribed, I declined for some time to commence with less than two hundred and fifty thousand; but many of my more ardent friends had become so confident of the success of the experiment, that they would not be satisfied unless I would permit them to commence, and would give them my assistance. So many of these were sincere good men, most ardent in the cause, and willing to make great personal and pecuniary sacrifices to attain the object of their wishes, that I felt constrained to agree to see whether an experiment could at that time be made in Scotland with any reasonable chance of success. And Mr. J. A. Hamilton the younger, of Dalziel, who was one of the most ardent admirers of the New Views in principle and practice, having so often seen their superior effects on the children and matured population of New Lanark, took every method in his power to induce me to commence the first model community on his lands of Motherwell, a few miles from New Lanark, and being supported by many others equally ardent and active in the cause, it was determined to commence a community on his property, on as favourable terms as he could make on entailed property.

The preliminary measures occupied much time during 1822, '23, and part of '24, as will be seen by my correspondence.

While these preparations were in progress I was strongly invited to visit Ireland, which at this period was in a state bordering on barbarism, from the ignorant contention derived from religious hatreds and conflicts and political strifes between Conservatives

and so-called Liberals, then better known as Tories, Whigs, and Radicals. Tempting offers and strong requests from highly influential parties at length induced me to visit this island of striking contrasts in the condition of its population, and in the practical working of a government made up of such contending materials. And surely such a medley of absurdity was not likely to produce any better practical results. It was a real Babel of religious and political confusions; all parties and interests contending against each other, making the island a Pandemonium; while a little truth and common sense would have made it a paradise.

But as the narrative of my proceedings in Ireland, with the published documents connected with them, would too much extend this volume, I will here conclude this first division of my life—requesting my readers to study attentively the various divisions of the appendix, in which will be found the chief of my publications up to the period of my visit to the Sister Island.

Since writing the preceeding pages, which have been written at different and sometimes at distant periods, I have been reminded of several occurrences deserving notice in this volume.

One of these is, the accidental discovery, by Francis Place, when he was re-arranging his library and putting out what he deemed useless and worthless printed papers, as these were being swept out, of an old pamphlet, written 150 years before by John Bellars. As Mr. Place was at that time much interested in my "New Views" he immediately brought this pamphlet to me, saying—"I have made a great discovery—of a work advocating "your social views a century and a half ago."

This was the only copy known to be in existence, and I begged it of him, and told him I would print one thousand copies of it for distribution, and that I would give the author the credit of originating the idea, although mine had been forced upon me by the practice of observing facts, reflecting upon them, and trying how far they were useful for the every-day business of life.

I had the thousand copies printed, and I widely circulated them, with the printed papers giving the account of my great public meetings in 1817, at one of which, as previously stated, I denounced all the superstitions (then called religions,) which were forced upon different nations over the world. [A copy of the Pamphlet referred to will be found in the Appendix.]

In referring to my expenses in preparing for, carrying on, and circulating the particulars of those meetings, I find my expenditure for these purposes in July and August of that year exceeded four thousand pounds.

Having now discovered the all over-powering influences of

education, rightly understood, in forming the character of every one. In May, 1818, I wrote a public letter addressed to my friend the Archbishop of Canterbury, "On the Union of Churches and Schools," which also will be found in the supplement Appendix.

I may here refer to the Educational Conference lately got up (in June of the present year, 1857,) by the church of England, in opposition to, and intended to counteract the effects of, the prior "Congress of the Advanced Minds of the Age," which I had called to consider "the best peaceable practical mode of superseding the present false, criminal-producing, and evil system, for the government of the population of the world, by the true, criminal-destroying, or good system of society, for perpetually governing all of the human race."

At the time when this Educational Conference was called, it was known by all the advanced minds of the age, through my previous public proceedings, that I had by my public meetings and my public lectures in this country for more than ten years instructed the working classes, and that, by my numerous publications on the subjects connected with a superior formation of character, I had taken a most active part and a prominent lead in preparing the public mind for an entire change of system in training the human race from birth. And more especially was it known to the leading philanthropists of the last sixty years, that I had for more than a quarter of a century applied the new principles for forming a good and superior character for our race, most successfully to practice at New Lanark in Scotland, upon all the children of a population of between two and three thousand,—and where for that period my establishment and proceedings were freely open to the public, natives and foreigners, without distinction, and were visited by thousands annually. And here my visitors of all nations and ranks saw to their astonishment gradations of many hundred children, from one to twelve years of age, in the day time, and in the evening young men and women and persons of all ages, in a newly created institution for the formation of character, enjoying more happiness under this new training, without fear of punishment, and making a greater progress in useful knowledge, than had been seen at any former period in any age or country.

The spirit, the principle, the practice, and the surroundings, were all new to the world; and the infant schools which I invented and introduced into most successful practice were the first practical step ever taken towards the introduction of a rational system for forming and governing the human race, to lead it to the true millennial state of existence upon earth.

Now all of this must have been well known to the parties calling this extraordinary Educational Conference in the present year; and yet I was not called to assist, nor was my name once mentioned in the whole proceedings of the three days, until I made

an attempt to speak on the last day—when I intended to make known and to explain to those present the most important discovery ever yet made known by man to man.

But, no doubt for an ulterior wise purpose, the parties present were insanely determined that I should not be heard.

While they were making their unseemly efforts to prevent my speaking, I could but pity their feelings and errors, knowing that I possessed the means to make myself heard through the four quarters of the world.

But seeing their alarm lest I should speak, I satisfied myself with asking Mr. Edward Baines of Leeds one question, and with his ready and frank reply, that he never in his life had seen so beautiful a sight as my establishment at New Lanark. This was seen by him before the bigotry and sectarian notions of the limited mind and views of William Allen had, as one of my partners, interfered, no doubt from good intentions, to substitute as far as he could his own narrow-minded views, for those beyond sects or parties, and which appeared to all other persons so superior to anything they had ever seen or had imagined could ever be seen in practice.

It is true, some of the heads of the church who were present on this to-be-remembered occasion, knew that my fixed determination had been, and was, to show good cause why this wretched system for the government of humanity should be as speedily as possible peaceably superseded by the true and good universal system for the *prevention* of *evil* of all kinds, and for the establishment of all that will be substantially good through futurity for the human race.

But instead of being afraid of this great and all-glorious change, they would, if they could comprehend it in its full extent and consequences, hail it with the greatest joy, and be among the first to prepare for its introduction.

If their fears had not overwhelmed them at the moment, surely the phalanx of talent, learning, station, and power, present at this Conference, could have effectively replied to one unsupported old man!

But no! Their fears dictated that truth, spoken "without mystery, mixture of error, or fear of man," would prevail; and even then, after Mr. Baines had replied to my question, it did prevail in many minds.

I had also forgotten to mention the "Sketch of the origin and proceedings of the Shakers," which I published with my other pamphlets in 1817. This narrative of the successful practice of these singular people, in the United States of North America, shows that even by a very inferior community life, wealth could be so easily created for all, that after a comparatively short period all the members obtained abundance without money and without price, and were removed from the fear of want, know-

ing by experience that they could and would be supplied with all things necessary for health and comfort with the regularity of the seasons. And these parties have now proved for many years to be far more correct in morals and conduct than populations similar in number living under the individual competitive system. This "Sketch" is re-printed in the Appendix.

The communities of these Shakers, based on public without private property, have exhibited the *second* step of progress in practice to prepare for the millennial state of existence.

The *first* step was to form a superior physical and mental character for all; the *second* to create abundance of wealth for all; and the *third* step will be to unite the two first, by basing society on its true principle, and by placing all within such arrangements of surroundings as will well-form the character, create the wealth, and cordially unite all in one interest and feeling over the world; which may now be easily attained in practice by the most beautiful new combinations of surroundings.

That no doubts may be left on the mind of the reader, respecting the high permanent importance in principle and practice of the long-continued experiment which I made at New Lanark, to form a new and superior character for all the children of that population, and to new-form the character of their parents and of all the older part of the same population, the following authentic documents are also given in the supplement Appendix.

1st.—The address of the inhabitants of New Lanark to myself, and my answer—January, 1817.

2nd.—The address of the same to my partners, Messrs. Foster, Allen, and Gibbs,—May, 1818,—and their answer.

3rd.—An extract from the *Morning Post* of the 5th of May, 1817, contrasting the system which I had invented and adopted at New Lanark, with that recommended by Mr. Curwen, M.P.

4th.—An address from myself to the working classes, dated 29th March, 1819, and published in the *Star* newspaper on the 15th April, 1819.

5th.—The opening speech of His Royal Highness the late Duke of Kent, as Chairman of the Public Meeting held in the Freemason's Hall, on the 26th of June, 1819, and the debates at that meeting.

6th.—The Report of the Commission appointed in July, 1819, by the Guardians of the poor of Leeds, to visit New Lanark and to report respecting the means adopted there to remove the cause of poverty and pauperism and to well-educate children.

7th.—See also, in my Correspondence, a letter of William Tooke, Esq., 18th November, 1819, relative to the same royal personage as acting chairman of my committee. And a second dated the 30th of the same month.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

MR. OWEN'S SPEECH AT A PUBLIC DINNER
AT WHICH HE PRESIDED, GIVEN
TO JOSEPH LANCASTER AT
GLASGOW IN 1812.

APPENDIX A.

MR. OWEN'S SPEECH

At a public dinner at which he presided, given to Joseph Lancaster at Glasgow in 1812. See page 107.

[An imperfect Report of this Speech having appeared at the time in the newspapers, the following copy was published subsequently in the *New Harmony Gazette*, Vol. 1, No. 18; Jan. 25th, 1826.]

GENTLEMEN,—

In rising to address you on this occasion, I feel how very inadequate I am to the task which I wish to perform. The situation is altogether new to me. I am unaccustomed to public speaking; and nothing but a strong sense of duty, added to Mr. Lancaster's particular request, should have induced me to accept the chair. I beg, therefore, to entreat the utmost stretch of your indulgence to what I shall attempt to say.

The principal object of this meeting is, to promote the cause of giving a good and proper education to those who would otherwise receive a bad and improper one. By education I now mean, the instruction, of all kinds, which we receive from our earliest infancy until our characters are generally fixed and established.

It is, however, necessary, that the *value* of this object should be considered, as well as the means of putting it into execution.

Much has been said and written in relation to education; but few persons are yet aware of its real importance in society; and certainly it has not acquired that prominent rank in our estimation which it deserves; for, when duly investigated, it will be found to be, *so far at least as depends on our operations*, the primary source of all the good and evil, misery and happiness, which exist in the world.

In proof of which, let us in imagination cast our eyes over the surface of the earth, and observe the different appearances, bodily and mental, which the inhabitants of the various regions present.

From whence do these general bodily and mental differences proceed? Are they inherent in our nature, or do they arise from the respective soils on which we are born?

Evidently from neither. They are wholly and solely the effects of that education which I have described. Man becomes a wild ferocious savage, a cannibal, or a highly civilised and benevolent being, according to the circumstances in which he may be placed from his birth.

It is an important point, then, for us to consider, whether we have any influence over these circumstances; if we can command any of them; and if we can, to what extent.

Let us, then, suppose, that, wishing, to try the experiment, we were to convey a number of infants, so soon as they were born, from this country into distant regions, deliver them to the natives of those countries, and allow them to remain among them. Can we suppose the result to be uncertain? No, they would become, one and all, like unto those natives, whatever their characters might be.

In the same manner, were an exchange of any given number of children to be made at their birth, between the Society of Friends, of which our worthy guest, Joseph Lancaster, is a member, and the loose fraternity which inhabit St. Giles' in London, the children of the former would grow up like the members of the latter, prepared for every degree of crime, while those of the latter would become the same temperate good moral characters as the former.

If such were to be the consequences, (and surely no one will doubt them,) then we can materially command those circumstances which influence character; and if we proceed on this principle, keeping it steadily in view, much more may be yet accomplished for the improvement of society, than has been hitherto even attempted.

We now come to the immediate application of the principle.

There are in this city and suburbs many thousand children, who, from their situation, must generally be trained to vicious habits and to poverty, unless you, gentlemen, and our fellow-citizens, step forth to prevent the evil.

I do not hesitate to say, the remedy is now in your power. You possess the means, and I trust you will not withhold them.

The object is no less than to remove gross ignorance and extreme poverty, with their attendant misery, from your population; and to make it rational, well-disposed, and well-behaved.

You may ask—How have we the means now in our power? I reply, our friend here, Joseph Lancaster, has prepared them ready to our hands; his important improvements and discoveries in education, when properly applied, will enable us easily, amply, and effectually, to accomplish it.

And it is on this ground, and this alone, we can effect a speedy

and radical improvement in society ; for until we begin with that class in the community from whence servants and operatives are usually obtained, it is in vain to expect correct habits and sentiments in any other class. It is from close and minute observation particularly directed to the subject, I state, that the characters of children, in almost every family, are materially influenced through life by those with whom they early associate, and particularly by servants. These impress their sentiments and opinions upon the young mind at a time when an almost indelible impression is made, which is scarcely ever afterwards wholly effaced.

Here is the radical evil ; and our first object should be to destroy it.

Give but a rational education, now easily to be accomplished, to all those in the lower walks of life, and the character of the whole community will rise many degrees ; and, while none can suffer by this measure, all must be essentially benefited.

But this cannot be effected by individual exertion. It requires our collective force to accomplish it ; and fortunately this will be found equal to its attainment.

Let us, then, take every means in our power to interest all those who have any weight or influence in the city, to enter heartily into the support and extension of the Lancastrian system of education for the poor, until every child of that class shall find a place in one of the schools.

There, in a manner peculiar to the system, they must learn the habits of obedience, order, regularity, industry, and constant attention, which are to them of more importance than merely learning to read, write, and account, although we all know and feel the advantages which these have given to each of us.

By attaining this object we shall secure the well-being of the rising generation, and we shall also secure much more.

The schools which will contain the younger children in the day time, will likewise serve for evening and Sunday schools ; at which times those who may be past the proper age for the first, and strangers who may come amongst us, may be instructed.

The consequences of such a combined system of discipline and education among the poorer classes will be, as I have previously stated, most beneficial throughout the community ; but unless it can be made general, a comparatively small part of the intended good will be attained.

It will be almost in vain to well-educate the few, if they are to spend the greater part of their time among the ignorant and the vicious many. The manners and habits of the latter will continually counteract our good intentions to the former.

What I now recommend is no fanciful theory : it is easily reducible into practice. You now have, or with a little exertion you may have, all the funds which are necessary ; there are individuals ready and willing to undertake the task of management ;

and I think I may engage, with your countenance and assistance, that the whole shall be speedily put into execution.

But we must not longer lose sight of the primary cause of this meeting.

Without our friend here, Joseph Lancaster, this extraordinary man, whom Providence seems to have created for this great and good purpose, all our attempts would have been useless; indeed such a work as the one under consideration, without his aid, would have appeared so impracticable, that it would not have had a beginning.

I therefore refrain from attempting to express to him our feelings in words; this, I am sure, would be impossible:—his health we cannot drink—it would not be in unison with the tenets of the very respectable religious community of which he is a member; but I beg leave to propose that we offer him our sincere thanks and gratitude by general acclamation.

APPENDIX B.

**ESSAYS ON THE FORMATION OF
CHARACTER.**

[*Copy of Original Title to First Edition.*]

A New View of Society ;

OR,

ESSAYS

ON THE PRINCIPLE OF THE

FORMATION OF THE HUMAN CHARACTER,

AND

THE APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLE

TO

PRACTICE.

“ Any character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by applying certain means ; which are to a great extent at the command and under the controul, or easily made so, of those who possess the government of nations.”

BY ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S JUSTICES OF PEACE FOR
THE COUNTY OF LANARK.



London :

PRINTED FOR CADELL AND DAVIES, STRAND ;

BY RICHARD TAYLOR AND CO., PRINTERS' COURT, SHOE LANE

1813.

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[The First Essay was written in 1812, and published early in 1813. The Second was written and published at the end of 1813. The Third and Fourth were written about the same time, and circulated among the principal political, literary, and religious characters in this country and on the Continent, as well as among the governments of Europe, America, and British India. They were first printed for sale (Second Edition,) in July 1816. The Third Edition was published in 1817, and the Fourth in 1818. These were in royal octavo. Many other Editions in various sizes have since been issued in England and in America. The name of the Author was given after the first publication of the First and Second Essays.]

In the title to the Second Edition, published in 1816, and in subsequent editions "THE PRINCIPLE OF" was omitted, and after the word "Character," was written—

"PREPARATORY TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A
" PLAN FOR GRADUALLY AMELIORATING
" THE CONDITION OF MANKIND."

And the following list of publishers was given—

LONDON :

" PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER ROW; CADELL & DAVIES, STRAND; J. HATCHARD, PICCADILLY; MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET; CONSTABLE & CO., AND
" OLIPHANT & CO., EDINBURGH; SMITH & SONS, AND BRASH
" AND REID, GLASGOW; AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

APPENDIX B.

ESSAYS ON THE FORMATION OF CHARACTER.

[*Original Dedication of First Essay. Omitted in subsequent Editions.*]

TO

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, Esq., M.P

MY DEAR SIR,—

IN contemplating the public characters of the day, no one among them appears to have more nearly adopted in practice the principles which this Essay develops than yourself.

In all the most important questions which have come before the senate since you became a legislator, you have not allowed the mistaken considerations of sect or party to influence your decisions; so far as an unbiassed judgment can be formed of them, they appear generally to have been dictated by comprehensive views of human nature, and impartiality to your fellow-creatures. The dedication, therefore, of this Essay to you, I consider not as a mere compliment of the day, but rather as a *duty* which your benevolent exertions and disinterested conduct demand.

Yet permit me to say that I have a peculiar personal satisfaction in fulfilling this *duty*. My experience of human nature, as it is now trained, does not, however, lead me to expect that even *your* mind, without personal inspection, can instantaneously give credit to the *full* extent of the *practical advantages* which are to be derived from an undeviating adherence to the principles displayed in the following pages. And far less is such an effect to be anticipated from the first ebullition of public opinion.

The proposer of a *practice* so new and *strange* must be content for a time to be ranked among the *good kind of people*, the speculatists and visionaries of the day, for such it is probable

will be the ready exclamations of those who merely skim the surface of all subjects ; exclamations, however, in direct contradiction to the fact, that he has not brought the practice into public notice until he patiently for twenty years proved it upon an extensive scale, even to the conviction of inspecting incredulity itself.

And he *is so content*, knowing that the result of the most ample investigation and free discussion will prove to a still greater extent than he will yet state, the beneficial consequences of the introduction of the principles for which he now contends.

With confidence, therefore, that you will experience this conviction, and, when experienced, will lend your aid to introduce its influence into *legislative practice*, I subscribe myself, with much esteem and regard,

My dear Sir,

Your obliged and obedient Servant,

ROBERT OWEN.

New Lanark Mills.

[*Original Dedication of Second Essay. Second Dedication of the Four Essays in subsequent Editions.*]

TO THE BRITISH PUBLIC.

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,—

I dedicate this Essay to you, because your primary and most essential interests are deeply involved in the subjects of which it treats.

You will find errors described, and remedies proposed ; but as those errors are the errors of our forefathers, they call for something like veneration from their successors. You will therefore not attribute them to any of the individuals of the present day ; neither will you for your own sakes wish or require them to be prematurely removed. Beneficial changes can alone take place by well-digested and well-arranged plans temperately introduced and perseveringly pursued.

It is however an important step gained when the cause of evil is ascertained. The next is to devise a remedy for the evil, which shall create the least possible inconvenience. To discover that remedy, and try its efficacy in practice, have been the employments of my life ; and having found what experience proved to be safe in its application, and certain in its effects, I am now anxious you should all partake of its benefits.

But be satisfied, fully and completely satisfied, that the principles on which the New View of Society is founded are true; that no specious error lurks within them, and that no sinister motive now gives rise to their publicity. Let them therefore be investigated to their foundation. Let them be scrutinized with the eye of penetration itself; and let them be compared with every fact which has existed from the earliest knowledge of time, and with all those which now encircle the earth. Let this be done to give you full confidence, beyond the shadow of doubt or suspicion, in the proceedings which are or may be recommended to your attention. For they will bear this test; and such investigation and comparison will fix them so deep in your hearts and affections, that never more but with life will they be removed from your minds, and your children's from the end of time.

Enter therefore fearlessly on the investigation and comparison, startle not at apparent difficulties, but persevere in the spirit and on the principles recommended; you will then speedily overcome those difficulties, your success will be certain, and you will eventually firmly establish the happiness of your fellow-creatures.

That your immediate and united exertions in this cause may be the means of commencing a new system of acting, which shall gradually remove those unnecessary evils which afflict the present race of men, is the ardent wish of

Your fellow subject,

THE AUTHOR.

[*Address prefixed to Third Essay.*]

TO THE SUPERINTENDENTS OF MANUFACTORIES,
AND TO THOSE INDIVIDUALS GENERALLY, WHO,
BY GIVING EMPLOYMENT TO AN AGGREGATED
POPULATION, MAY EASILY ADOPT THE MEANS
TO FORM THE SENTIMENTS AND MANNERS OF
SUCH A POPULATION.

LIKE you, I am a manufacturer for pecuniary profit. But having for many years acted on principles the reverse in many respects of those in which you have been instructed, and having found my procedure beneficial to others and to myself, even in a pecuniary point of view, I am anxious to explain such valuable principles, that you and those under your influence may equally partake of their advantages.

In two Essays, already published, I have developed some of these principles, and in the following pages you will find still more of them explained, with some detail of their application to

practice under the peculiar local circumstances in which I took the direction of the New Lanark Mills and Establishment.

By those details you will find that from the commencement of my management I viewed the population, with the mechanism and every other part of the establishment, as a system composed of many parts, and which it was my duty and interest so to combine, as that every hand, as well as every spring, lever, and wheel, should effectually co-operate to produce the greatest pecuniary gain to the proprietors.

Many of you have long experienced in your manufacturing operations the advantages of substantial, well-contrived, and well-executed machinery.

Experience has also shown you the difference of the results between mechanism which is neat, clean, well-arranged, and always in a high state of repair; and that which is allowed to be dirty, in disorder, without the means of preventing unnecessary friction, and which therefore becomes, and works, much out of repair.

In the first case the whole economy and management are good; every operation proceeds with ease, order, and success. In the last, the reverse must follow, and a scene be presented of counteraction, confusion, and dissatisfaction among all the agents and instruments interested or occupied in the general process, which cannot fail to create great loss.

If, then, due care as to the state of your inanimate machines can produce such beneficial results, what may not be expected if you devote equal attention to your vital machines, which are far more wonderfully constructed?

When you shall acquire a right knowledge of these, of their curious mechanism, of their self-adjusting powers; when the proper main-spring shall be applied to their varied movements,—you will become conscious of their real value, and you will readily be induced to turn your thoughts more frequently from your inanimate to your living machines; you will discover that the latter may be easily trained and directed to procure a large increase of pecuniary gain, while you may also derive from them high and substantial gratification.

Will you then continue to expend large sums of money to procure the best devised mechanism of wood, brass, or iron; to retain it in perfect repair; to provide the best substance for the prevention of unnecessary friction, and to save it from falling into premature decay?—Will you also devote years of intense application to understand the connection of the various parts of these lifeless machines, to improve their effective powers, and to calculate with mathematical precision all their minute and combined movements?—And when in these transactions you estimate time by minutes, and the money expended for the chance of increased gain by fractions, will you not afford some of your attention to consider whether a portion of your time and capital would not be

more advantageously applied to improve your living machines? From experience which cannot deceive me, I venture to assure you, that your time and money so applied, if directed by a true knowledge of the subject, would return you, not five, ten, or fifteen per cent. for your capital so expended, but often fifty, and in many cases a hundred per cent.

I have expended much time and capital upon improvements of the living machinery; and it will soon appear th time andat the money so expended in the manufactory at New Lanark, even while such improvements are in progress only, and but half their beneficial effects attained, are now producing a return exceeding fifty per cent., and will shortly create profits equal to cent. per cent. on the original capital expended in them.

Indeed, after experience of the beneficial effects from due care and attention to the mechanical implements, it became easy to a reflecting mind to conclude at once, that at least equal advantages would arise from the application of similar care and attention to the living instruments. And when it was perceived that inanimate mechanism was greatly improved by being made firm and substantial; that it was the essence of economy to keep it neat, clean, regularly supplied with the best substance to prevent unnecessary friction, and by proper provision for the purpose to preserve it in good repair; it was natural to conclude that the more delicate, complex, living mechanism, would be equally improved by being trained to strength and activity; and that it would also prove true economy to keep it neat and clean; to treat it with kindness, that its mental movements might not experience too much irritating friction; to endeavour by every means to make it more perfect; to supply it regularly with a sufficient quantity of wholesome food and other necessaries of life, that the body might be preserved in good working condition, and prevented from being out of repair, or falling prematurely to decay.

These anticipations are proved by experience to be just.

Since the general introduction of inanimate mechanism into British manufactories, man, with few exceptions, has been treated as a secondary and inferior machine; and far more attention has been given to perfect the raw materials of wood and metals than those of body and mind. Give but due reflection to the subject, and you will find that man, even as an instrument for the creation of wealth, may be still greatly improved.

But, my friends, a far more interesting and gratifying consideration remains. Adopt the means which ere long shall be rendered obvious to every understanding, and you may not only partially improve those living instruments, but learn how to impart to them such excellence as shall make them infinitely surpass those of the present and all former times.

Here, then, is an object which truly deserves your attention;

and, instead of devoting all your faculties to invent improved inanimate mechanism, let your thoughts be, at least in part, directed to discover how to combine the more excellent materials of body and mind, which, by a well devised experiment, will be found capable of progressive improvement.

Thus seeing with the clearness of noon-day light, thus convinced with the certainty of conviction itself, let us not perpetuate the really unnecessary evils which our present practices inflict on this large proportion of our fellow-subjects. Should your pecuniary interests somewhat suffer by adopting the line of conduct now urged, many of you are so wealthy that the expense of founding and continuing at your respective establishments the institutions necessary to improve your animate machines would not be felt. But when you may have ocular demonstration, that, instead of any pecuniary loss, a well-directed attention to form the character and increase the comforts of those who are so entirely at your mercy, will essentially add to your gains, prosperity, and happiness, no reasons, except those founded on ignorance of your self-interest, can in future prevent you from bestowing your chief care on the living machines which you employ. And by so doing you will prevent an accumulation of human misery, of which it is now difficult to form an adequate conception.

That you may be convinced of this most valuable truth, which due reflection will show you is founded on the evidence of unerring facts, is the sincere wish of

THE AUTHOR

[*Original Dedication of Fourth Essay. First Dedication of the Four Essays in subsequent Editions.*]

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT
OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

SIR,—

THE following pages are dedicated to Your Royal Highness, not to add to the flattery which through past ages has been addressed to those of our fellow men who have filled elevated situations ; but they claim your protection because they proceed from a Subject of the empire over which you preside, and from one who disregards every inferior consideration in order that he may accomplish the greatest practical good to that empire.

Your Royal Highness, and all who govern the nations of the

world, must be conscious that those of high rank, as well as those in the inferior stations of life, now experience much misery.

The Essays, of which these pages constitute the Fourth, have been written to show that the true origin of that misery may be traced to the ignorance of those who have formerly ruled, and of those whom they governed; to make that ignorance known and evident to all; and to sketch the outlines of a practical Plan of Government, founded altogether on a preventive system, and derived from principles directly opposed to the errors of our forefathers. And should the outlines which have been sketched be formed into a legislative system, and adhered to without deviation, the most important benefits may be anticipated, both to the subjects of these realms and to the human race.

Your Royal Highness and those who direct the policy of other nations have been taught that you have duties to execute; but which, with the highest ability and best intentions, under the prevailing systems of error, cannot be performed.

Hence the dissatisfaction of those for whose benefit Governments were or ought to have been first established, and the perplexity and danger of those who govern.

And it is concluded with a confidence equal to certainty itself, that the principles unfolded in these Essays are competent to develop a practice which, without much apparent change, or any public disorder, shall progressively remove the difficulties of those who in future may rule, and the discontent of those who may be governed.

The language now addressed to Your Royal Highness is the result of a patient and extensive experience of human nature; of human nature, not indeed as it is explained in legendary tales of old, but as it now may be read in the living subject—in the words and actions of those among whom we exist.

It is true that many myriads of human beings have been conscientiously deceived; and, it may be said, it is most probable that another may be now added to the number: it is equally true, however, that similar language has been applied to many, and might have been applied to all who have been the instruments of beneficial improvements.

It may be said that the principles herein advocated, may nevertheless, like the former millions which have misled mankind, originate in error; in the wild and perverted fancy of a well-meaning enthusiasm. They have, however, not only been submitted to several of the most intelligent and acute minds of the present day, and who, although urged to the task, have candidly declared they could find no fallacy in the inductions, but they are such as few, if any, will venture to deny, or scruple to declare that they already admit.

And if these principles shall demonstrate themselves to be in unison with every existing fact which can now be examined and

compared, they will ere long prove themselves to be of a permanent and substantial value beyond any of the discoveries which have previously been made.

Great, however, as the advantages may prove, the introduction of principles and practices so new, without being well understood, may create a momentary ferment.

To prevent the possibility of any such evil, the leaders of all the sects and parties in the state are invited to canvass these principles, and to endeavour to prove error in them, or evil in the consequences which might follow from their admission into practice.

The encouragement of such fair discussion and examination of these principles is all that is now solicited from Your Royal Highness.

And should that discussion and examination prove them to be erroneous, they will then be, as they ought to be for the public good, universally condemned. On the contrary, should they bear the test of that investigation to which they are now earnestly submitted, and be found, without a single exception, uniformly consistent with all the known facts of the creation, and consequently true; then, under the auspices of Your Royal Highness's Administration, will mankind naturally look for the establishment of a practical System of Government which can introduce and perpetuate such important public advantages.

That these principles, if true, may give birth to the measures which they immediately recommend; and that Your Royal Highness and the Subjects of these Realms, and the Rulers and Subjects of all other Realms, may in the present age enjoy the advantages of them in practice, is the sincere wish of

Your Royal Highness's faithful Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

ESSAYS ON THE FORMATION OF CHARACTER.

FIRST ESSAY.

“ Any general character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by the application of proper means ; which means to are a great extent at the command and under the control of those who have influence in the affairs of men.”

ACCORDING to the last returns under the Population Act, the poor and working classes of Great Britain and Ireland have been found to exceed fifteen millions of persons, or nearly three-fourths of the population of the British Islands.

The characters of these persons are now permitted to be very generally formed without proper guidance or direction, and, in many cases, under circumstances which directly impel them to a course of extreme vice and misery ; thus rendering them the worst and most dangerous subjects in the empire ; while the far greater part of the remainder of the community are educated upon the most mistaken principles of human nature, such, indeed, as cannot fail to produce a general conduct throughout society, totally unworthy of the character of rational beings.

The first thus unhappily situated are the poor and the uneducated profligate among the working classes, who are now trained to commit crimes, for the commission of which they are afterwards punished.

The second is the remaining mass of the population, who are now instructed to believe, or at least to acknowledge, that certain principles are unerringly true, and to act as though they were grossly false ; thus filling the world with folly and inconsistency, and making society, throughout all its ramifications, a scene of insincerity and counteraction.

In this state the world has continued to the present time ; its evils have been and are continually increasing ; they cry aloud for efficient corrective measures, which if we longer delay, general disorder must ensue.

“ But,” say those who have not deeply investigated the subject, “ attempts to apply remedies have been often made, yet all of them have failed. The evil is now of a magnitude not to be controlled ; the torrent is already too strong to be stemmed ; and we can only

“ wait with fear or calm resignation to see it carry destruction in its course, by confounding all distinctions of right and wrong.”

Such is the language now held, and such are the general feelings on this most important subject.

These, however, if longer suffered to continue, must lead to the most lamentable consequences. Rather than pursue such a course, the character of legislators would be infinitely raised, if, forgetting the petty and humiliating contentions of sects and parties, they would thoroughly investigate the subject, and endeavour to arrest and overcome these mighty evils.

The chief object of these Essays is to assist and forward investigations of such vital importance to the well-being of this country, and of society in general.

The view of the subject which is about to be given has arisen from extensive experience for upwards of twenty years, during which period its truth and importance have been proved by multiplied experiments. That the writer may not be charged with precipitation or presumption, he has had the principle and its consequences, examined, scrutinised, and fully canvassed, by some of the most learned, intelligent, and competent characters of the present day : who, on every principle of duty as well as of interest, if they had discovered error in either, would have exposed it ;—but who, on the contrary, have fairly acknowledged their incontrovertible truth and practical importance.

Assured, therefore, that his principles are true, he proceeds with confidence, and courts the most ample and free discussion of the subject ; courts it for the sake of humanity—for the sake of his fellow creatures—millions of whom experience sufferings which, were they to be unfolded, would compel those who govern the world to exclaim—“ Can these things exist and we have no knowledge of them ?” But they do exist—and even the heart-rending statements which were made known to the public during the discussions upon negro-slavery, do not exhibit more afflicting scenes than those which, in various parts of the world, daily arise from the injustice of society towards itself ; from the inattention of mankind to the circumstances which incessantly surround them ; and from the want of a correct knowledge of human nature in those who govern and control the affairs of men.

If these circumstances did not exist to an extent almost incredible, it would be unnecessary now to contend for a principle regarding Man, which scarcely requires more than to be fairly stated to make it self-evident.

This principle is, that “ *Any general character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by the application of proper means ; which means are to a great extent at the command and under the control of those who have influence in the affairs of men.*”

The principle as now stated is a broad one, and, if it should be found to be true, cannot fail to give a new character to legislative proceedings, and such a character as will be most favourable to the well-being of society.

That this principle is true to the utmost limit of the terms, is evident from the experience of all past ages, and from every existing fact.

Shall misery, then, most complicated and extensive, be experienced, from the prince to the peasant, throughout all the nations of the world, and shall its cause and the means of its prevention be known, and yet these means withheld? The undertaking is replete with difficulties which can only be overcome by those who have influence in society: who, by foreseeing its important practical benefits, may be induced to contend against those difficulties; and who, when its advantages are clearly seen and strongly felt, will not suffer individual considerations to be put in competition with their attainment. It is true their ease and comfort may be for a time sacrificed to those prejudices; but, if they persevere, the principles on which this knowledge is founded must ultimately universally prevail.

In preparing the way for the introduction of these principles, it cannot now be necessary to enter into the detail of facts to prove that children can be trained to acquire "*any language, sentiments, belief, or any bodily habits and manners, not contrary to human nature*"

For that this has been done, the history of every nation of which we have records, abundantly confirms; and that this is, and may be again done, the facts which exist around us and throughout all the countries in the world, prove to demonstration.

Possessing, then, the knowledge of a power so important, which when understood, is capable of being wielded with the certainty of a law of nature, and which would gradually remove the evils which now chiefly afflict mankind, shall we permit it to remain dormant and useless, and suffer the plagues of society perpetually to exist and increase?

No: the time is now arrived when the public mind of this country, and the general state of the world, call imperatively for the introduction of this all-pervading principle, not only in theory, but into practice.

Nor can any human power now impede its rapid progress. Silence will not retard its course, and opposition will give increased celerity to its movements. The commencement of the work will, in fact, ensure its accomplishment; henceforth all the irritating angry passions, arising from ignorance of the true cause of bodily and mental character, will gradually subside, and be replaced by the most frank and conciliating confidence and good-will.

Nor will it be possible hereafter for comparatively a few individuals, unintentionally to occasion the rest of mankind to be sur-

rounded by circumstances which inevitably form such characters as they afterwards deem it a duty and a right to punish even to death; and that, too, while they themselves have been the instruments of forming those characters. Such proceedings not only create innumerable evils to the directing few, but essentially retard them and the great mass of society from attaining the enjoyment of a high degree of positive happiness. Instead of punishing crimes after they have permitted the human character to be formed so as to commit them, they will adopt the only means which can be adopted to prevent the existence of those crimes; means by which they may be most easily prevented.

Happily for poor traduced and degraded human nature, the principle for which we now contend will speedily divest it of all the ridiculous and absurd mystery with which it has been hitherto enveloped by the ignorance of preceding times: and all the complicated and counteracting motives for good conduct, which have been multiplied almost to infinity, will be reduced to one single principle of action, which, by its evident operation and sufficiency, shall render this intricate system unnecessary, and ultimately supersede it in all parts of the earth. That principle is *the happiness of self, clearly understood and uniformly practised; which can only be attained by conduct that must promote the happiness of the community.*

For that Power which governs and pervades the universe has evidently so formed man, that he must progressively pass from a state of ignorance to intelligence, the limits of which it is not for man himself to define; and in that progress to discover, that his individual happiness can be increased and extended only in proportion as he actively endeavours to increase and extend the happiness of all around him. The principle admits neither of exclusion nor of limitation; and such appears evidently the state of the public mind, that it will now seize and cherish this principle as the most precious boon which it has yet been allowed to attain. The errors of all opposing motives will appear in their true light, and the ignorance whence they arose will become so glaring, that even the most unenlightened will speedily reject them.

For this state of matters, and for all the gradual changes contemplated, the extraordinary events of the present times have essentially contributed to prepare the way.

Even the late Ruler of France, although immediately influenced by the most mistaken principles of ambition, has contributed to this happy result, by shaking to its foundation that mass of superstition and bigotry, which on the continent of Europe had been accumulating for ages, until it had so overpowered and depressed the human intellect, that to attempt improvement without its removal would have been most unavailing. And in the next place, by carrying the mistaken selfish principles in which mankind have been hitherto educated to the extreme in practice, he

has rendered their error manifest, and left no doubt of the fallacy of the source whence they originated.

These transactions, in which millions have been immolated, or consigned to poverty and bereft of friends, will be preserved in the records of time, and impress future ages with a just estimation of the principles now about to be introduced into practice; and will thus prove perpetually useful to all succeeding generations.

For the direful effects of Napoleon's government have created the most deep-rooted disgust at notions which could produce a belief that such conduct was glorious, or calculated to increase the happiness of even the individual by whom it was pursued.

And the late discoveries and proceedings of the Rev. Dr. Bell and Mr Joseph Lancaster, have also been preparing the way, in a manner the most opposite, but yet not less effectual, by directing the public attention to the beneficial effects, on the young and unresisting mind, of even the limited education which their systems embrace.

They have already effected enough to prove that all which is now in contemplation respecting the training of youth may be accomplished without fear of disappointment. And by so doing, as the consequences of their improvements cannot be confined within the British Isles, they will for ever be ranked among the most important benefactors of the human race. But henceforward to contend for any new exclusive system will be in vain: the public mind is already too well informed, and has too far passed the possibility of retrogression, much longer to permit the continuance of any such evil.

For it is now obvious that such a system must be destructive of the happiness of the excluded, by their seeing others enjoy what they are not permitted to possess; and also that it tends, by creating opposition from the justly injured feelings of the excluded, in proportion to the extent of the exclusion, to diminish the happiness even of the privileged: the former therefore can have no rational motive for its continuance.

If, however, owing to the irrational principles by which the world has been hitherto governed, individuals, or sects, or parties, shall yet by their plans of exclusion attempt to retard the amelioration of society, and prevent the introduction into PRACTICE of that truly just spirit which knows no exclusion, such facts shall yet be brought forward as cannot fail to render all their efforts vain.

It will therefore be the essence of wisdom in the privileged class to co-operate sincerely and cordially with those who desire not to touch one iota of the supposed advantages which they now possess; and whose first and last wish is to increase the particular happiness of those classes, as well as the general happiness of society. A very little reflection on the part of the privileged will ensure this line of conduct; whence, without domestic revolution—without war or bloodshed—nay, without prematurely dis-

turbing any thing which exists, the world will be prepared to receive principles which are alone calculated to build up a system of happiness, and to destroy those irritable feelings which have so long afflicted society,—solely because society has hitherto been ignorant of the true means by which the most useful and valuable character may be formed.

This ignorance being removed, experience will soon teach us how to form character, individually and generally, so as to give the greatest sum of happiness to the individual and to mankind.

These principles require only to be known in order to establish themselves; the outline of our future proceedings then becomes clear and defined, nor will they permit us henceforth to wander from the right path. They direct that the governing powers of all countries should establish rational plans for the education and general formation of the characters of their subjects. *These plans must be devised to train children from their earliest infancy in good habits of every description (which will of course prevent them from acquiring those of falsehood and deception). They must afterwards be rationally educated, and their labour be usefully directed. Such habits and education will impress them with an active and ardent desire to promote the happiness of every individual, and that without the shadow of exception for sect, or party, or country, or climate. They will also ensure, with the fewest possible exceptions, health, strength, and vigour of body; for the happiness of man can be erected only on the foundations of health of body and peace of mind.*

And that health of body and peace of mind may be preserved sound and entire, through youth and manhood, to old age, it becomes equally necessary that the irresistible propensities which form a part of his nature, and which now produce the endless and ever multiplying evils with which humanity is afflicted, should be so directed as to increase and not to counteract his happiness.

The knowledge however thus introduced will make it evident to the understanding, that by far the greater part of the misery with which man is encircled *may* be easily dissipated and removed; and that with mathematical precision he *may* be surrounded with those circumstances which must gradually increase his happiness.

Hereafter, when the public at large shall be satisfied that these principles *can* and *will* withstand the ordeal through which they must inevitably pass; when they shall prove themselves true to the clear comprehension and certain conviction of the unenlightened as well as the learned; and when, by the irresistible power of truth, detached from falsehood, they shall establish themselves in the mind, no more to be removed but by the entire annihilation of human intellect; then the consequent practice which they direct shall be explained, and rendered easy of adoption.

In the meantime, let no one anticipate evil, even in the slightest degree, from these principles; they are not innoxious only,

but pregnant with consequences to be wished and desired beyond all others by *every* individual in society.

Some of the best intentioned among the various classes in society may still say, "All this is *very delightful and very beautiful in theory*, but *visionaries* alone expect to see it *realized*." To this remark only one reply *can* or *ought* to be made; that *these principles have been carried most successfully into practice*.

(The beneficial effects of this practice have been experienced for many years among a population of between two and three thousand at New Lanark, in Scotland; at Munich, in Bavaria; and in the Pauper Colonies, at Fredericks-oord.)

The present Essays, therefore, are not brought forward as mere matter of speculation, to amuse the idle visionary who *thinks* in his closet, and never *acts* in the world; but to create universal activity, pervade society with a knowledge of its true interests, and direct the public mind to the most important object to which it can be directed,—to a national proceeding for rationally forming the character of that immense mass of population which is now allowed to be so formed as to fill the world with crimes.

Shall questions of merely local and temporary interest, whose ultimate results are calculated only to withdraw pecuniary profits from one set of individuals and give them to others, engage day after day the attention of politicians and ministers; call forth petitions and delegates from the widely spread agricultural and commercial interests of the empire;—and shall the well-being of millions of the poor, half-naked, half-famished, untaught, and untrained, hourly increasing to a most alarming extent in these islands, not call forth *one* petition, *one* delegate, or *one* rational effective legislative measure?

No! for such has been our education, that we hesitate not to devote years and expend millions in the *detection* and *punishment* of crimes, and in the attainment of objects whose ultimate results are, in comparison with this, insignificance itself: and yet we have not moved one step in the true path to *prevent* crimes, and to diminish the innumerable evils with which mankind are now afflicted.

Are these false principles of conduct in those who govern the world to influence mankind permanently? And if not, *how*, and *when* is the change to commence?

These important considerations shall form the subject of the next Essay.

ESSAYS ON THE FORMATION OF CHARACTER.

SECOND ESSAY.

*The Principles of the Former Essay continued, and applied in part
to Practice.*

"It is not unreasonable to hope that *hostility* may cease, even where *perfect agreement* cannot be established. If we cannot reconcile all opinions, let us endeavour to unite all hearts."—MR. VANSITTART'S LETTER TO THE
REV. DR. HERBERT MARSH.

GENERAL principles only were developed in the First Essay. In this an attempt will be made to show the advantages which may be derived from the adoption of those principles into practice, and to explain the mode by which the practice may, without inconvenience, be generally introduced.

Some of the most important benefits to be derived from the introduction of those principles into practice are, that they will create the most cogent reasons to induce each man "to have charity for *all* men." No feeling short of this can indeed find place in any mind which has been taught clearly to understand that children in all parts of the earth have been, are, and everlastingly will be, impressed with habits and sentiments similar to those of their parents and instructors; modified, however, by the circumstances in which they have been, are, or may be placed, and by the peculiar organisation of each individual. Yet not one of these causes of character is at the command, or in any manner under the control, of infants, who (whatever absurdity we may have been taught to the contrary,) cannot possibly be accountable for the sentiments and manners which may be given to them. And here lies the fundamental error of society; and from hence have proceeded, and do proceed, most of the miseries of mankind.

Children are, without exception, passive and wonderfully contrived compounds; which, by an accurate previous and subsequent attention, *founded on a correct knowledge of the subject*, may be formed collectively to have any human character. And although these compounds, like all the other works of nature, possess endless varieties, yet they partake of that plastic quality, which, by perseverance under judicious management, may be ultimately moulded into the very image of rational wishes and desires.

In the next place these principles cannot fail to create feelings which, without force or the production of any counteracting motive, will irresistibly lead those who possess them to make due allowance for the difference of sentiments and manners, not only among their friends and countrymen, but also among the inhabitants of every region of the earth, even including their enemies. With this insight into the formation of character, there is no conceivable foundation for private displeasure or public enmity. Say, if it be within the sphere of possibility that children can be trained to attain *that* knowledge, and at the same time to acquire feelings of enmity towards a single human creature? The child who from infancy has been rationally instructed in these principles, will readily discover and trace *whence* the opinions and habits of his associates have arisen, and *why* they possess them. At the same age he will have acquired reason sufficient to exhibit to him forcibly the irrationality of being angry with an individual for possessing qualities which, as a passive being during the formation of those qualities, he had not the means of preventing. Such are the impressions these principles will make on the mind of every child so taught; and, instead of generating anger or displeasure, they will produce commiseration and pity for those individuals who possess either habits or sentiments which appear to him to be destructive of their own comfort, pleasure, or happiness; and will produce on his part a desire to remove those causes of distress, that his own feelings of commiseration and pity may be also removed. The pleasure which he cannot avoid experiencing by this mode of conduct will likewise stimulate him to the most active endeavours to withdraw those circumstances which surround any part of mankind with causes of misery, and to replace them with others which have a tendency to increase happiness. He will then also strongly entertain the desire "to do good to *all* men," and even to those who think themselves his enemies.

Thus *shortly, directly, and certainly* may mankind be taught the essence, and to attain the ultimate object, of all former *moral* and *religious* instruction.

These Essays, however, are intended to explain that which is *true*, and not to attack that which is *false*. For to explain that which is true may permanently improve, without creating even temporary evil; whereas to attack that which is false, is often productive of very fatal consequences. The former convinces the judgment when the mind possesses full and deliberate powers of judging; the latter instantly arouses irritation, and renders the judgment unfit for its office, and useless. But why should we *ever* irritate? Do not these principles make it so obvious as to place it beyond any doubt, that even the present irrational ideas and practices prevalent throughout the world are not to be charged as either a fault or a culpable error of the existing generation?

The immediate cause of them was the partial ignorance of our forefathers, who, although they acquired some vague disjointed knowledge of the principles on which character is formed, could not discover the connected chain of those principles, and consequently knew not how to apply them to practice. They taught their children that which they had themselves been taught, that which they had acquired, and in so doing they acted like their forefathers; who retained the established customs of former generations until better and superior were discovered and made evident to them.

The present race of men have also instructed their children as they had been previously instructed, and are equally unblameable for any defects which their systems contain. And however erroneous or injurious that instruction and those systems may now be proved to be, the principles on which these Essays are founded will be misunderstood, and their spirit will be wholly misconceived, if either irritation or the slightest degree of ill-will shall be generated against those who even tenaciously adhere to the worst parts of that instruction, and support the most pernicious of those systems. For such individuals, sects, or parties have been trained from infancy to consider it their duty and interest so to act, and in so acting they merely continue the customs of their predecessors. Let truth unaccompanied with error be placed before them; give them time to examine it and to see that it is in unison with all previously ascertained truths; and conviction and acknowledgment of it will follow of course. It is weakness itself to require assent *before* conviction; and *afterwards* it will not be withheld. To endeavour to force conclusions without making the subject clear to the understanding, is most unjustifiable and irrational, and must prove useless or injurious to the mental faculties.

In the spirit thus described we therefore proceed in the investigation of the subject.

The facts which by the invention of printing have gradually accumulated now show the errors of the systems of our forefathers so distinctly, that they must be, when pointed out, evident to all classes of the community, and render it absolutely necessary that new legislative measures be immediately adopted to prevent the confusion which must arise from even the most ignorant being competent to detect the absurdity and glaring injustice of many of those laws by which they are now governed.

Such are those laws which enact punishments for a very great variety of actions designated crimes; while those from whom such actions proceed are regularly trained to acquire no other knowledge than that which compels them to conclude that those actions are the best they could perform.

How much longer shall we continue to allow generation after generation to be taught crime from their infancy, and, when so taught, hunt them like beasts of the forest, until they are

entangled beyond escape in the toils and nets of the law? when, if the circumstances of those poor unpitied sufferers had been reversed with those who are even surrounded with the pomp and dignity of justice, these latter would have been at the bar of the culprit, and the former would have been in the judgment seat.

Had the present Judges of these realms been born and educated among the poor and profligate of St. Giles's or some similar situation, is it not certain, inasmuch as they possess native energies and abilities, that ere this they would have been at the head of their *then* profession, and, in consequence of that superiority and proficiency, would have already suffered imprisonment, transportation, or death? Can we for a moment hesitate to decide, that if some of those men whom the laws dispensed by the present Judges have doomed to suffer capital punishments, had been born, trained, and circumstanced, as these Judges were born, trained, and circumstanced, that some of those who had so suffered would have been the identical individuals who would have passed the same awful sentences on the present highly esteemed dignitaries of the law.

If we open our eyes and attentively notice events, we shall observe these facts to multiply before us. Is the evil then of so small magnitude as to be totally disregarded and passed by as the ordinary occurrences of the day, and as not deserving of one reflection? And shall we be longer told "that the convenient time to attend to inquiries of this nature is not yet come: that other matters of far weightier import engage our attention, and it must remain over till a season of more leisure?"

To those who may be inclined to think and speak thus, I would say—"Let feelings of humanity or strict justice induce you to devote a few hours to visitsome of the public prisons of the metropolis, and patiently inquire, with kind commiserating solicitude, of their various inhabitants, the events of their lives and the lives of their various connections. They will tales unfold that *must* arrest attention, that will disclose sufferings, misery, and injustice, upon which, for obvious reasons, I will not now dwell, but which previously, I am persuaded, you could not suppose it possible to exist in any civilised state, far less that they should be permitted for centuries to increase around the very fountain of British jurisprudence." The true cause, however, of this conduct, so contrary to the general humanity of the natives of these Islands, is, that a practical remedy for the evil, on clearly defined and sound principles, had not yet been suggested. But the principles developed in this "*New View of Society*," *will point out a remedy which is almost simplicity itself, possessing no more practical difficulties than many of the common employments of life; and such as are readily overcome by men of very ordinary practical talents.*

That such a remedy is easily practicable, may be collected from the account of the following very partial experiment.

In the year 1784 the late Mr. DALE, of Glasgow, founded a manufactory for spinning of cotton, near the falls of the Clyde, in the county of Lanark, in Scotland; and about that period cotton mills were first introduced into the northern part of the kingdom.

It was the power which could be obtained from the falls of water that induced Mr. DALE to erect his mills in this situation; for in other respects it was not well chosen. The country around was uncultivated; the inhabitants were poor and few in number; and the roads in the neighbourhood were so bad, that the Falls, now so celebrated, were then unknown to strangers.

It was therefore necessary to collect a new population to supply the infant establishment with labourers. This, however, was no light task; for all the regularly trained Scotch peasantry disdained the idea of working early and late, day after day, within cotton mills. Two modes then only remained of obtaining these labourers; the one, to procure children from the various public charities of the country; and the other, to induce families to settle around the works.

To accommodate the first, a large house was erected, which ultimately contained about five hundred children, who were procured chiefly from workhouses and charities in Edinburgh. These children were to be fed, clothed, and educated; and these duties Mr. DALE performed with the unwearied benevolence which it is well known he possessed.

To obtain the second, a village was built; and the houses were let at a low rent to such families as could be induced to accept employment in the mills; but such was the general dislike to that occupation at the time, that, with a few exceptions, only persons destitute of friends, employment, and character, were found willing to try the experiment; and of these a sufficient number to supply a constant increase of the manufactory could not be obtained. It was therefore deemed a favour on the part even of such individuals to reside at the village, and, when taught the business, they grew so valuable to the establishment, that they became agents not to be governed contrary to their own inclinations.

Mr. DALE's principal avocations were at a distance from the works, which he seldom visited more than once for a few hours in three or four months; he was therefore under the necessity of committing the management of the establishment to various servants with more or less power

Those who have a practical knowledge of mankind will readily anticipate the character which a population so collected and constituted would acquire. It is therefore scarcely necessary to state, that the community by degrees was formed under these circumstances into a very wretched society: every man did that which

was right in his own eyes, and vice and immorality prevailed to a monstrous extent. The population lived in idleness, in poverty, in almost every kind of crime; consequently, in debt, out of health, and in misery. Yet to make matters still worse,—although the cause proceeded from the best possible motive, a conscientious adherence to principle,—the whole was under a strong sectarian influence, which gave a marked and decided preference to one set of religious opinions over all others, and the professors of the favoured opinions were the privileged of the community.

The boarding-house containing the children presented a very different scene. The benevolent proprietor spared no expense to to give comfort to the poor children. The rooms provided for them were spacious, always clean, and well ventilated; the food was abundant, and of the best quality; the clothes were neat and useful; a surgeon was kept in constant pay, to direct how to prevent or cure disease; and the best instructors which the country afforded were appointed to teach such branches of education as were deemed likely to be useful to children in their situation. Kind and well-disposed persons were appointed to superintend all their proceedings. Nothing, in short, at first sight seemed wanting to render it a most complete charity.

But to defray the expense of these well-devised arrangements, and to support the establishment generally, it was absolutely necessary that the children should be employed within the mills from six o'clock in the morning till seven in the evening, summer and winter; and after these hours their education commenced. The directors of the public charities, from mistaken economy, would not consent to send the children under their care to cotton mills, unless the children were received by the proprietors at the ages of six, seven, and eight. And Mr. DALE was under the necessity of accepting them at those ages, or of stopping the manufactory which he had commenced.

It is not to be supposed that children so young could remain, with the intervals of meals only, from six in the morning until seven in the evening, in constant employment, on their feet, within cotton mills, and afterwards acquire much proficiency in education. And so it proved; for many of them became dwarfs in body and mind, and some of them were deformed. Their labour through the day and their education at night became so irksome, that numbers of them continually ran away, and almost all looked forward with impatience and anxiety to the expiration of their apprenticeship of seven, eight, and nine years, which generally expired when they were from thirteen to fifteen years old. At this period of life, unaccustomed to provide for themselves, and unacquainted with the world, they usually went to Edinburgh or Glasgow, where boys and girls were soon assailed by the innumerable temptations which all large towns present, and to which many of them fell sacrifices.

Thus Mr. DALE's arrangements, and his kind solicitude for the comfort and happiness of these children, were rendered in their ultimate effect almost nugatory. They were hired by him and sent to be employed, and without their labour he could not support them; but, while under his care, he did all that any individual, circumstanced as he was, could do for his fellow-creatures. The error proceeded from the children being sent from the workhouses at an age much too young for employment. They ought to have been detained four years longer, and educated; and then some of the evils which followed would have been prevented.

If such be a true picture, not overcharged, of parish apprentices to our manufacturing system, under the best and most humane regulations, in what colours must it be exhibited under the worst?

Mr. DALE was advancing in years: he had no son to succeed him; and, finding the consequences just described to be the result of all his strenuous exertions for the improvement and happiness of his fellow-creatures, it is not surprising that he became disposed to retire from the cares of the establishment. He accordingly sold it to some English merchants and manufacturers; one of whom, under the circumstances just narrated, undertook the management of the concern, and fixed his residence in the midst of the population. This individual had been previously in the management of large establishments, employing a number of work-people, in the neighbourhood of Manchester; and, in every case, by the steady application of certain general principles, he succeeded in reforming the habits of those under his care, and who always, among their associates in similar employment, appeared conspicuous for their good conduct. With this previous success in remodeling English character, but ignorant of the local ideas, manners, and customs, of those now committed to his management, the stranger commenced his task.

At that time the lower classes in Scotland, like those of other countries, had strong prejudices against strangers having any authority over them, and particularly against the English, few of whom had then settled in Scotland, and not one in the neighbourhood of the scenes under description. It is also well known that even the Scotch peasantry and working classes possess the habit of making observations and reasoning thereon with great acuteness; and in the present case those employed naturally concluded that the new purchasers intended merely to make the utmost profit by the establishment, from the abuses of which many of themselves were then deriving support. The persons employed at these works were therefore strongly prejudiced against the new director of the establishment,—prejudiced, because he was a stranger, and from England,—because he succeeded Mr. DALE, under whose proprietorship they acted almost as they liked,—because his religious creed was not theirs,—and because they concluded that the works would be governed by new laws and regu-

lations, calculated to squeeze, as they often termed it, the greatest sum of gain out of their labour.

In consequence, from the day he arrived amongst them every means which ingenuity could devise was set to work to counteract the plan which he attempted to introduce; and for two years it was a regular attack and defence of prejudices and mal-practices between the manager and the population of the place, without the former being able to make much progress, or to convince the latter of the sincerity of his good intentions for their welfare. He, however, did not lose his patience, his temper, or his confidence in the certain success of the principles on which he founded his conduct.

These principles ultimately prevailed: the population could not continue to resist a firm well-directed kindness, administering justice to all. They therefore slowly and cautiously began to give him some portion of their confidence; and as this increased, he was enabled more and more to develop his plans for their amelioration. It may with truth be said, that at this period they possessed almost all the vices and very few of the virtues of a social community. Theft and the receipt of stolen goods was their trade, idleness and drunkenness their habit, falsehood and deception their garb, dissensions, civil and religious, their daily practice; they united only in a zealous systematic opposition to their employers.

Here then was a fair field on which to try the efficacy in practice of principles supposed capable of altering any characters. The manager formed his plans accordingly. He spent some time in finding out the full extent of the evil against which he had to contend, and in tracing the true causes which had produced and were continuing those effects. He found that all was distrust, disorder, and disunion; and he wished to introduce confidence, regularity, and harmony. He therefore began to bring forward his various expedients to withdraw the unfavourable circumstances by which they had hitherto been surrounded, and to replace them by others calculated to produce a more happy result. He soon discovered that theft was extended through almost all the ramifications of the community, and the receipt of stolen goods through all the country around. To remedy this evil, not one legal punishment was inflicted, not one individual imprisoned, even for an hour; but checks and other regulations of prevention were introduced; a short plain explanation of the immediate benefits they would derive from a different conduct was inculcated by those instructed for the purpose, who had the best powers of reasoning among themselves. They were at the same time instructed how to direct their industry in legal and useful occupations, by which, without danger or disgrace, they could really earn more than they had previously obtained by dishonest practices. Thus the difficulty of committing the crime was increased, the detection afterwards

rendered more easy, the habit of honest industry formed, and the pleasure of good conduct experienced.

Drunkenness was attacked in the same manner ; it was discountenanced on every occasion by those who had charge of any department : its destructive and pernicious effects were frequently stated by his own more prudent comrades, at the proper moment when the individual was soberly suffering from the effects of his previous excess ; pot and public houses were gradually removed from the immediate vicinity of their dwellings ; the health and comfort of temperance were made familiar to them : by degrees drunkenness disappeared, and many who were habitual bacchanalians are now conspicuous for undeviating sobriety.

Falsehood and deception met with a similar fate : they were held in disgrace : their practical evils were shortly explained ; and every countenance was given to truth and open conduct. The pleasure and substantial advantages derived from the latter soon overcame the impolicy, error, and consequent misery, which the former mode of acting had created.

Dissensions and quarrels were undermined by analagous expedients. When they could not be readily adjusted between the parties themselves, they were stated to the manager ; and as in such cases both disputants were usually more or less in the wrong, that wrong was in as few words as possible explained, forgiveness and friendship recommended, and one simple and easily remembered precept inculcated, as the most valuable rule for their whole conduct, and the advantages of which they would experience every moment of their lives ; viz :—" That in future they should " endeavour to use the same active exertions to make each other " happy and comfortable, as they had hitherto done to make each " other miserable ; and by carrying this short memorandum in their " mind, and applying it on all occasions, they would soon render " that place a paradise, which, from the most mistaken principle, " of action, they now made the abode of misery." The experiment was tried : the parties enjoyed the gratification of this new mode of conduct ; references rapidly subsided ; and now serious differences are scarcely known.

Considerable jealousies also existed on account of one religious sect possessing a decided preference over the others. This was corrected by discontinuing that preference, and by giving an uniform encouragement to those who conducted themselves well among all the various religious persuasions ; by recommending the same consideration to be shown to the conscientious opinions of each sect, on the ground that all must believe the particular doctrines which they had been taught, and consequently that all were in that respect upon an equal footing, nor was it possible yet to say which was right or wrong. It was likewise inculcated that all should attend to the essence of religion, and not act as the world was now taught and trained to do ; that is, to overlook

the substance and essence of religion, and devote their talents, time, and money, to that which is far worse than its shadow, sectarianism ; another term for something very injurious to society, and very absurd, which one or other well-meaning enthusiast has added to *true religion*, which, without these defects, would soon form those characters which every wise and good man is anxious to see.

Such statements and conduct arrested sectarian animosity and ignorant intolerance ; each retains full liberty of conscience, and in consequence each partakes of the sincere friendship of many sects instead of one. They act with cordiality together in the same departments and pursuits, and associate as though the whole community were not of different sectarian persuasions ; and not one evil ensues.

The same principles were applied to correct the irregular intercourse of the sexes :—such conduct was discountenanced and held in disgrace ; fines were levied upon both parties for the use of the support fund of the community. (This fund arose from each individual contributing one-sixtieth part of their wages, which, under their management, was applied to support the sick, the injured by accident, and the aged.) But because they had once unfortunately offended against the established laws and customs of society, they were not forced to become vicious, abandoned, and miserable ; the door was left open for them to return to the comforts of kind friends and respected acquaintances ; and, beyond any previous expectation, the evil became greatly diminished.

The system of receiving apprentices from public charities was abolished ; permanent settlers with large families were encouraged, and comfortable houses were built for their accommodation.

The practice of employing children in the mills, of six, seven, and eight years of age, was discontinued, and their parents advised to allow them to acquire health and education until they were ten years old. (It may be remarked, that even this age is too early to keep them at constant employment in manufactories, from six in the morning to seven in the evening. Far better would it be for the children, their parents, and for society, that the first should not commence employment until they attain the age of twelve, when their education might be finished, and their bodies would be more competent to undergo the fatigue and exertions required of them. When parents can be trained to afford this additional time to their children without inconvenience, they will, of course, adopt the practice now recommended.)

The children were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, during five years, that is, from five to ten, in the village school, without expense to their parents. All the modern improvements in education have been adopted, or are in process of adoption. (To avoid the inconveniences which must ever arise from the introduction of a particular creed into a school, the children are

taught to read in such books as inculcate those precepts of the Christian religion, which are common to all denominations.) They may therefore be taught and well-trained before they engage in any regular employment. Another important consideration is, that all their instruction is rendered a pleasure and delight to them; they are much more anxious for the hour of school-time to arrive than to end; they therefore make a rapid progress; and it may be safely asserted, that if they shall not be trained to form such characters as may be most desired, the fault will not proceed from the children; the cause will be in the want of a true knowledge of human nature in those who have the management of them and their parents.

During the period that these changes were going forward, attention was given to the domestic arrangements of the community.

Their houses were rendered more comfortable, their streets were improved, the best provisions were purchased, and sold to them at low rates, yet covering the original expense, and under such regulations as taught them how to proportion their expenditure to their income. Fuel and clothes were obtained for them in the same manner; and no advantage was attempted to be taken of them, or means used to deceive them.

In consequence, their animosity and opposition to the stranger subsided, their full confidence was obtained, and they became satisfied that no evil was intended them; they were convinced that a real desire existed to increase their happiness upon those grounds alone on which it could be permanently increased. All difficulties in the way of future improvement vanished. They were taught to be rational, and they acted rationally. Thus both parties experienced the incalculable advantages of the system which had been adopted. Those employed became industrious, temperate, healthy, faithful to their employers, and kind to each other; while the proprietors were deriving services from their attachment, almost without inspection, far beyond those which could be obtained by any other means than those of mutual confidence and kindness. Such was the effect of these principles on the adults; on those whose previous habits had been as ill-formed as habits could be: and certainly the application of the principles to practice was made under the most unfavourable circumstances. (It may be supposed that this community was separated from other society; but the supposition, would be erroneous, for it had daily and hourly communication with a population exceeding its own number. The royal borough of Lanark is only one mile distant from the works; many individuals came daily from the former to be employed at the latter; and a general intercourse is constantly maintained between the old and new towns.)

I have thus given a detailed account of this experiment, although a partial application of the principles is of far less importance than a clear and accurate account of the principles them-

selves, in order that they may be so well understood as to be easily rendered applicable to practice in any community and under any circumstances. Without this, particular facts may indeed amuse or astonish, but they would not contain that substantial value which the principles will be found to possess. But if the relation of the narrative shall forward this object, the experiment cannot fail to prove the certain means of renovating the moral and religious principles of the world, by showing whence arise the various opinions, manners, vices, and virtues of mankind, and how the best or the worst of them may, with mathematical precision, be taught to the rising generation

Let it not, therefore, be longer said that evil or injurious actions cannot be prevented, or that the most rational habits in the rising generation cannot be universally formed. In those characters which now exhibit crime, the fault is obviously not in the individual, but the defects proceed from the system in which the individual was trained. Withdraw those circumstances which tend to create crime in the human character, and crime will not be created. Replace them with such as are calculated to form habits of order, regularity, temperance, industry; and these qualities will be formed. Adopt measures of fair equity and justice, and you will readily acquire the full and complete confidence of the lower orders. Proceed systematically on principles of undeviating persevering kindness, yet retaining and using, with the least possible severity, the means of restraining crime from immediately injuring society; and by degrees even the crimes now existing in the adults will also gradually disappear: for the worst formed disposition, short of incurable insanity, will not long resist a firm, determined, well-directed, persevering kindness. Such a proceeding, whenever practised, will be found the most powerful and effective corrector of crime, and of all injurious and improper habits.

The experiment narrated shows that this is not hypothesis and theory. The principles may be with confidence stated to be universal, and applicable to all times, persons, and circumstances. And the most obvious application of them would be to adopt rational means to remove the temptation to commit crimes, and increase the difficulties of committing them; while, at the same time, a proper direction should be given to the active powers of the individual; and a due share provided of uninjurious amusements and recreation. Care must also be taken to remove the causes of jealousy, dissensions, and irritation; to introduce sentiments calculated to create union and confidence among all the members of the community; and the whole should be directed by a persevering kindness, sufficiently evident to prove that a sincere desire exists to increase, and not to diminish, happiness.

These principles, applied to the community at new Lanark, at first under many of the most discouraging circumstances, but

persevered in for sixteen years, effected a complete change in the general character of the village, containing upwards of two thousand inhabitants, and into which, also, there was a constant influx of new comers. But as the promulgation of new miracles is not for present times, it is not pretended that under such circumstances one and all are become wise and good; or, that they are free from error. But it may be truly stated, that they now constitute a very improved society; that their worst habits are gone, and that their minor ones will soon disappear under a continuance of the application of the same principles; that during the period mentioned, scarcely a legal punishment has been inflicted, or an application been made for parish funds by any individual among them. Drunkenness is not seen in their streets; and the children are taught and trained in the institution for forming their character without any punishment. The community exhibits the general appearance of industry, temperance, comfort, health, and happiness. These are and ever will be the sure and certain effects of the adoption of the principles explained; and these principles, applied with judgement, will effectually reform the most vicious community existing, and train the younger part of it to any character which may be desired; and that, too, much more easily on an extended than on a limited scale. To apply these principles, however, successfully to practice, both a comprehensive and a minute view must be taken of the existing state of the society on which they are intended to operate. The causes of the most prevalent evils must be accurately traced, and those means which appear the most easy and simple should be immediately applied to remove them.

In this progress the smallest alteration, adequate to produce any good effect, should be made at one time; indeed, if possible, the change should be so gradual as to be almost imperceptible, yet always making a permanent advance in the desired improvements. By this procedure the most rapid practical progress will be obtained, because the inclination to resistance will be removed, and time will be given for reason to weaken the force of long-established injurious prejudices. The removal of the first evil will prepare the way for the removal of the second; and this facility will increase, not in an arithmetical, but in a geometrical proportion; until the directors of the system will themselves be gratified beyond expression with the beneficial magnitude of their own proceedings.

Nor while these principles shall be acted upon can there be any retrogression in this good work; for the permanence of the amelioration will be equal to its extent.

What then remains to prevent such a system from being immediately adopted into national practice? Nothing, surely, but a general destitution of the knowledge of the practice. For with the certain means of preventing crimes, can it be supposed that British legislators, as soon as these means shall be made evident,

will longer withhold them from their fellow-subjects? No: I am persuaded that neither prince, ministers, parliament, nor any party in church or state, will avow inclination to act on principles of such flagrant injustice. Have they not on many occasions evinced a sincere and ardent desire to ameliorate the condition of the subjects of the empire, when practicable means of amelioration were explained to them, which could be adopted without risking the safety of the state?

For some time to come there can be but one practicable, and therefore one rational reform, which without danger can be attempted in these realms; a reform in which all men and all parties may join—that is, a reform in the training and in the management of the poor, the ignorant, the untaught and untrained, or ill-taught and ill-trained, among the whole mass of British population; and a plain, simple, practicable plan which would not contain the least danger to any individual, or to any part of society, may be devised for that purpose.

That plan is a national, well-digested, unexclusive system for the formation of character and general amelioration of the lower orders. On the experience of a life devoted to the subject, I hesitate not to say, that the members of any community may by degrees be trained to live *without idleness, without poverty, without crime, and without punishment*; for each of these is the effect of error in the various systems prevalent throughout the world. *They are all necessary consequences of ignorance.*

Train any population rationally, and they will be rational. Furnish honest and useful employments to those so trained, and such employments they will greatly prefer to dishonest or injurious occupations. It is beyond all calculation the interest of every government to provide that training and that employment; and to provide both is easily practicable.

The first, as before stated, is to be obtained by a national system for the formation of character; the second, by governments preparing a reserve of employment for the surplus working classes, when the general demand for labour throughout the country is not equal to the full occupation of the whole: that employment to be on useful national objects from which the public may derive advantage equal to the expense which those works may require.

The national plan for the formation of character should *include* all the modern improvements of education, without regard to the system of any one individual; and should not *exclude* the child of any one subject in the empire. Anything short of this would be an act of intolerance and injustice to the excluded, and of injury to society, so glaring and manifest, that I shall be deceived in the character of my countrymen if any of those who have influence in church and state should now be found willing to attempt it. Is it not indeed strikingly evident even to common observers,

that any further effort to enforce religious exclusion would involve the certain and speedy destruction of the present church establishment, and would even endanger our civil institutions?

It may be said, however, that ministers and parliament have many other important subjects under discussion. This is evidently true; but will they not have high national concerns always to engage their attention? And can any question be brought forward of deeper interest to the community than that which affects the formation of character and the well-being of every individual within the empire? A question, too, which, when understood, will be found to offer the means of amelioration to the revenues of these kingdoms, far beyond any practical plan now likely to be devised. Yet, important as are considerations of revenue, they must appear secondary when put in competition with the lives, liberty, and comfort of our fellow-subjects; which are now hourly sacrificed for want of an *effective legislative measure to prevent crime*. And is an act of such vital importance to the well-being of all to be longer delayed? *Shall yet another year pass in which crime shall be forced on the infant, who in ten, twenty, or thirty years hence shall suffer DEATH for being taught that crime?* Surely it is impossible. Should it be so delayed, *the individuals of the present parliament, the legislators of this day*, ought in strict and impartial justice to be amenable to the laws for not adopting the means in their power to prevent the crime; rather than the poor, untrained, and unprotected culprit, whose previous years, if he had language to describe them, would exhibit a life of unceasing wretchedness, arising *solely* from the errors of society.

Much might be added on these momentous subjects, even to make them evident to the capacities of children: but for obvious reasons the outlines are merely sketched; and it is hoped these outlines will be sufficient to induce the well-disposed of all parties cordially to unite in this vital measure for the preservation of every thing dear to society.

In the next Essay an account will be given of the plans which are in progress at New Lanark for the further comfort and improvement of its inhabitants; and a general *practical* system be described, by which the same advantages may be gradually introduced among the poor and working classes throughout the United Kingdom.

ESSAYS ON THE FORMATION OF CHARACTER.

THIRD ESSAY.

The Principles of the Former Essays applied to a Particular Situation.

“ Truth must ultimately prevail over error.”

AT the conclusion of the Second Essay, a promise was made that an account should be given of the plans which were in progress at New Lanark for the further improvement of its inhabitants; and that a practical system should be sketched, by which equal advantages might be generally introduced among the poor and working classes throughout the United Kingdom.

This account became necessary, in order to exhibit even a limited view of the principles on which the plans of the author are founded, and to recommend them generally to practice.

That which has been hitherto done for the community at New Lanark, as described in the Second Essay, has chiefly consisted in *withdrawing some of those circumstances which tended to generate, continue, or increase early bad habits; that is to say, undoing that which society had from ignorance permitted to be done.*

To effect this, however, was a far more difficult task than to train up a child from infancy in the way he should go; for that is the most easy process for the formation of character; while to unlearn and to change long acquired habits is a proceeding directly opposed to the most tenacious feelings of human nature.

Nevertheless, the proper application steadily pursued did effect beneficial changes on these old habits, even beyond the most sanguine expectations of the party by whom the task was undertaken.

The principles were derived from the study of human nature itself, and they could not fail of success.

Still, however, very little, comparatively speaking, had been done for them. They had not been taught the most valuable domestic and social habits: such as the most economical method of preparing food; how to arrange their dwellings with neatness, and to keep them always clean and in order; but, what was of infinitely more importance, they had not been instructed how to train their children to form them into valuable members of the

community, or to know that principles existed, which, when properly applied to practice from infancy, would ensure from man to man, without chance of failure, a just, open, sincere, and benevolent conduct.

It was in this stage of the progress of improvement, that it became necessary to form arrangements for surrounding them with circumstances which should gradually prepare the individuals to receive and firmly retain those domestic and social acquirements and habits. For this purpose a building, which may be termed the "New Institution," was erected in the centre of the establishment, with an enclosed area before it. The area is intended for a play-ground for the children of the villagers, from the time they can walk alone until they enter the school.

It must be evident to those who have been in the practice of observing children with attention, that much of good or evil is taught to or acquired by a child at a very early period of its life ; that much of temper or disposition is correctly or incorrectly formed before he attains his second year ; and that many durable impressions are made at the termination of the first twelve or even six months of his existence. The children, therefore, of the uninstructed and ill-instructed, suffer material injury in the formation of their characters during these and the subsequent years of childhood and of youth.

It was to prevent, or as much as possible to counteract, these primary evils, to which the poor and working classes are exposed when infants, that the area became part of the New Institution.

Into this play-ground the children are to be received as soon as they can freely walk alone ; to be superintended by persons instructed to take charge of them.

As the happiness of man chiefly, if not altogether, depends on his own sentiments and habits, as well as those of the individuals around him ; and as any sentiments and habits may be given to all infants, it becomes of primary importance that those alone should be given to them which can contribute to their happiness. Each child, therefore, on his entrance into the play-ground, is to be told in language which he can understand, that " he is never " to injure his play-fellows ; but that, on the contrary, he is to contribute all in his power to make them happy." This simple precept, when comprehended in all its bearings, and the habits which will arise from its early adoption into practice, *if no counteracting principle be forced upon the young mind*, will effectually supersede all the errors which have hitherto kept the world in ignorance and misery. So simple a precept, too, will be easily taught, and as easily acquired ; for the chief employment of the superintendants will be to prevent any deviation from it in practice. The older children, when they shall have experienced the endless advantages from acting on this principle, will, by their example, soon enforce the practice of it on the young strangers :

and the happiness which the little groups will enjoy from this rational conduct, will ensure its speedy and general and willing adoption. The habit also which they will acquire at this early period of life by continually acting on the principle, will fix it firmly ; it will become easy and familiar to them, or, as it is often termed, natural.

Thus, by merely attending to the evidence of our senses respecting human nature, and disregarding the wild, inconsistent, and absurd theories in which man has been hitherto trained in all parts of the earth, we shall accomplish with ease and certainty the supposed Herculean labour of forming a rational character in man, and that, too, chiefly before the child commences the ordinary course of education.

The character thus early formed will be as durable as it will be advantageous to the individual and to the community ; for by the constitution of our nature, when once the mind fully understands that which is true, the impression of that truth cannot be erased except by mental disease or death ; while error must be relinquished at every period of life, whenever it can be made manifest to the mind in which it has been received. This part of the arrangement, therefore, will effect the following purposes :

The child will be removed, so far as is at present practicable, from the erroneous treatment of the yet untrained and untaught parents.

The parents will be relieved from the loss of time and from the care and anxiety which are now occasioned by attendance on their children from the period when they can go alone to that at which they enter the school.

The child will be placed in a situation of safety, where, with its future school-fellows and companions, it will acquire the best habits and principles, while at meal times and at night it will return to the caresses of its parents ; and the effects of each are likely to be increased by the separation.

The area is also to be a place of meeting for the children from five to ten years of age, previous to and after school-hours, and to serve for a drill ground, the object of which will be hereafter explained ; and a shade will be formed, under which in stormy weather the children may retire for shelter.

These are the important purposes to which a play-ground attached to a school may be applied.

Those who have derived a knowledge of human nature from observation, know, that man in every situation requires relaxation from his constant and regular occupations, whatever they be : and that if he shall not be provided with or permitted to enjoy innocent and uninjurious amusements, he must and will partake of those which he can obtain, to give him temporary relief from his exertions, although the means of gaining that relief should be most pernicious. For man, irrationally instructed, is ever influ-

enced far more by immediate feelings than by remote considerations.

Those, then, who desire to give mankind the character which it would be for the happiness of all that they should possess, will not fail to make careful provision for their amusement and recreation.

The Sabbath was originally so intended. It was instituted to be a day of universal enjoyment and happiness to the human race. It is frequently made, however, from the opposite extremes of error, either a day of superstitious gloom and tyranny over the mind, or of the most destructive intemperance and licentiousness. The one of these has been the cause of the other; the latter the certain and natural consequence of the former. Relieve the human mind from useless and superstitious restraints; train it on those principles which facts, ascertained from the first knowledge of time to this day, demonstrate to be the only principles which are true; and intemperance and licentiousness will not exist; for such conduct in itself is neither the immediate nor the future interest of man; and he is ever governed by one or other of these considerations, according to the habits which have been given to him from infancy.

The Sabbath, in many parts of Scotland is not a day of innocent and cheerful recreation to the labouring man; nor can those who are confined all the week to sedentary occupations, freely partake, without censure, of the air and exercise to which nature invites them, and which their health demands.

The errors of the times of superstition and bigotry still hold some sway, and compel those who wish to preserve a regard to their respectability in society, to an overstrained demeanour; and this demeanour sometimes degenerates into hypocrisy, and is often the cause of great inconsistency. It is destructive of every open, honest, generous, and manly feeling. It disgusts many, and drives them to the opposite extreme. It is sometimes the cause of insanity. It is founded on ignorance, and defeats its own object.

While erroneous customs prevail in any country, it would evince an ignorance of human nature in any individual to offend against them, until he has convinced the community of their error.

To counteract, in some degree, the inconvenience which arose from the misapplication of the Sabbath, it became necessary to introduce on the other days of the week some innocent amusement and recreation for those whose labours were unceasing, and in winter almost uniform. In summer, the inhabitants of the village of New Lanark have their gardens and potatoe grounds to cultivate; they have walks laid out to give them health and the habit of being gratified with the ever-changing scenes of nature;—for those scenes afford not only the most economical, but also the most innocent pleasures which man can enjoy; and all men may be easily trained to enjoy them.

In winter the community are deprived of these healthy occupations and amusements; they are employed ten hours and three quarters every day in the week, except Sunday, and generally every individual continues during that time at the same work: and experience has shown that the average health and spirits of the community are several degrees lower in winter than in summer; and this in part may be fairly attributed to that cause.

These considerations suggested the necessity of rooms for innocent amusements and rational recreation.

Many well-intentioned individuals, unaccustomed to witness the conduct of those among the lower orders who have been rationally treated and trained, may fancy such an assemblage will necessarily become a scene of confusion and disorder; instead of which, however, it proceeds with uniform propriety; it is highly favourable to the health, spirits, and dispositions of the individuals so engaged; and if any irregularity should arise, the cause will be solely owing to the parties who attempt to direct the proceedings being deficient in a practical knowledge of human nature.

It has been and ever will be found far more easy to lead mankind to virtue, or to rational conduct, by providing them with well-regulated innocent amusements and recreations, than by forcing them to submit to useless restraints, which tend only to create disgust, and often to connect such feelings even with that which is excellent in itself, merely because it has been judiciously associated.

Hitherto, indeed, in all ages and in all countries, man seems to have blindly conspired against the happiness of man, and to have remained as ignorant of himself as he was of the solar system prior to the days of Copernicus and Gallileo.

Many of the learned and wise among our ancestors were conscious of this ignorance, and deeply lamented its effects; and some of them recommended the partial adoption of those principles which can alone relieve the world from the miserable effects of ignorance.

The time, however, for the emancipation of the human mind had not then arrived: the world was not prepared to receive it. The history of humanity shows it to be an undeviating law of nature, that man shall not prematurely break the shell of ignorance; that he must patiently wait until the principle of knowledge has pervaded the whole mass of the interior, to give it life and strength sufficient to bear the light of day.

Those who have duly reflected on the nature and extent of the mental movements of the world for the last half century, must be conscious that great changes are in progress; that man is about to advance another important step towards that degree of intelligence which his natural powers seem capable of attaining. Observe the transactions of the passing hours; see the whole mass of mind in full motion; behold it momentarily increasing in

vigour, and preparing ere long to burst its confinement. But what is to be the nature of this change? A due attention to the facts around us, and to those transmitted by the invention of printing from former ages, will afford a satisfactory reply.

From the earliest ages it has been the practice of the world to act on the supposition that each individual man forms his own character, and that therefore he is accountable for all his sentiments and habits, and consequently merits reward for some and punishment for others. Every system which has been established among men has been founded on these erroneous principles. When, however, they shall be brought to the test of fair examination, they will be found not only unsupported, but in direct opposition to all experience, and to the evidence of our senses.

This is not a slight mistake, which involves only trivial consequences; it is a fundamental error of the highest possible magnitude; it enters into all our proceedings regarding man from his infancy; and it will be found to be the true and sole origin of evil. It generates and perpetuates ignorance, hatred, and revenge, where, without such error, only intelligence, confidence, and kindness, would exist. It has hitherto been the Evil Genius of the world. It severs man from man throughout the various regions of the earth; and makes enemies of those who, but for this gross error, would have enjoyed each other's kind offices and sincere friendship. It is, in short, an error which carries misery in all its consequences.

This error cannot much longer exist; for every day will make it more and more evident *that the character of man, is, without a single exception, always formed for him; that it may be, and is, chiefly, created by his predecessors; that they give him, or may give him, his ideas and habits, which are the powers that govern and direct his conduct. Man, therefore, never did, nor is it possible he ever can, form his own character.*

The knowledge of this important fact has not been derived from any of the wild and heated speculations of an ardent and ungoverned imagination; on the contrary, it proceeds from a long and patient study of the theory and practice of human nature, under many varied circumstances; it will be found to be a deduction drawn from such a multiplicity of facts, as to afford the most complete demonstration.

Had not mankind been mis-instructed from infancy on this subject, making it necessary that they should unlearn what they have been taught, the simple statement of this truth would render it instantly obvious to every rational mind. Men would know that their predecessors might have given them the habits of ferocious cannibalism, or of the highest known benevolence and intelligence; and by the acquirement of this knowledge they would soon learn that, as parents, preceptors, and legislators united, they possess the means of training the rising generations

to either of those extremes; that they may with the greatest certainty make them the conscientious worshippers of Juggernaut, or of the most pure spirit, possessing the essence of every excellence which the human imagination can conceive; that they may train the young to become effeminate, deceitful, ignorantly selfish, intemperate, revengeful, murderous,—of course ignorant, irrational, and miserable; or to be manly, just, generous, temperate, active, kind, and benevolent,—that is intelligent, rational, and happy. The knowledge of these principles having been derived from facts which perpetually exist, they defy ingenuity itself to confute them; nay, the most severe scrutiny will make it evident that they are utterly unassailable.

Is it then wisdom to think and to act in opposition to the facts which hourly exhibit themselves around us, and in direct contradiction to the evidence of our senses? Inquire of the most learned and wise of the present day, ask them to speak with sincerity, and they will tell you that they have long known the principles on which society has been founded to be false. Hitherto, however, the tide of public opinion, in all countries, has been directed by a combination of prejudice, bigotry, and fanaticism, derived from the wildest imaginations of ignorance; and the most enlightened men have not dared to expose those errors which to them were offensive, prominent, and glaring.

Happily for man this reign of ignorance rapidly approaches to dissolution; its terrors are already on the wing, and soon they will be compelled to take their flight, never more to return. For now the knowledge of the existing errors is not only possessed by the learned and reflecting, but it is spreading far and wide throughout society; and ere long it will be fully comprehended even by the most ignorant.

Attempts may indeed be made by individuals, who through ignorance mistake their real interests, to retard the progress of this knowledge; but as it will prove itself to be in unison with the evidence of our senses, and therefore true beyond the possibility of disproof, it cannot be impeded, and in its course will overwhelm all opposition.

These principles, however, are not more true in theory than beneficial in practice, whenever they are properly applied. Why, then, should all their substantial advantages be longer withheld from the mass of mankind? Can it, by possibility, be a crime to pursue the only practical means which a rational being can adopt to diminish the misery of man, and increase his happiness?

These questions, of the deepest interest to society, are now brought to the fair test of public experiment. It remains to be proved, whether the character of man shall continue to be formed under the guidance of the most inconsistent notions, the errors of which for centuries past have been manifest to every reflecting rational mind; or whether it shall be moulded under the direction

of uniformly consistent principles, derived from the unvarying facts of the creation ; principles, the truth of which no sane man will now attempt to deny.

It is then by the full and complete disclosure of these principles, that the destruction of ignorance and misery is to be effected, and the reign of reason, intelligence, and happiness, is to be firmly established.

It was necessary to give this development of the principles advocated, that the remaining parts of the New Institution, yet to be described, may be clearly understood. We now proceed to explain the several purposes intended to be accomplished by the School, Lecture Room, and Church.

It must be evident to those who have any powers of reason yet undestroyed, that man is now taught and trained in a theory and practice directly opposed to each other. Hence the perpetual inconsistencies, follies, and absurdities, which every one can readily discover in his neighbour, without being conscious that he also possesses similar incongruities. The instruction to be given in the School, Lecture Room, and Church, is intended to counteract and remedy this evil ; and to prove the incalculable advantages which society would derive from the introduction of a theory and practice consistent with each other. The uppermost story of the New Institution is arranged to serve for a School, Lecture Room, and Church. And these are intended to have a direct influence in forming the character of the villagers.

It is comparatively of little avail to give to either young or old "precept upon precept, and line upon line," *except the means shall be also prepared to train them in good practical habits.* Hence an education for the untaught and ill-taught becomes of the first importance to the welfare of society ; and it is this which has influenced all the arrangements connected with the New Institution.

The time the children will remain under the discipline of the playground and school, will afford all the opportunity that can be desired to create, cultivate, and establish, those habits and sentiments which tend to the welfare of the individual and of the community. And in conformity to this plan of proceeding, the precept which was given to the child of two years old, on coming into the playground, "that he must endeavour to make his companions happy," is to be renewed and enforced on his entrance into the school : and the first duty of the schoolmaster will be to train his pupils to acquire the practice of always acting on this principle. It is a simple rule, the plain and obvious reasons for which, children at an early age may be readily taught to comprehend, and as they advance in years, become familiarised with its practice, and experience the beneficial effects to themselves, they will better feel and understand all its important consequences to society.

Such then being the foundation on which the practical habits of the children are to be formed, we proceed to explain the superstructure.

In addition to the knowledge of the principle and practice of the above-mentioned precept, the boys and girls are to be taught in the school to read well, and to understand what they read ; to write expeditiously a good legible hand ; and to learn correctly, so that they may comprehend and use with facility the fundamental rules of arithmetic. The girls are also to be taught to sew, cut out, and make up useful family garments ; and, after acquiring a sufficient knowledge of these, they are to attend in rotation in the public kitchen and eating rooms, to learn to prepare wholesome food in an economical manner, and to keep a house neat and well arranged.

It was said that the children are to be taught to read well, and to understand what they read.

In many schools, the children of the poor and labouring classes are never taught to understand what they read ; the time therefore which is occupied in the mockery of instruction is lost. In other schools, the children, through the ignorance of their instructors, are taught to believe without reasoning, and thus never to think or to reason correctly. These truly lamentable practices cannot fail to indispose the young mind for plain, simple, and rational instruction.

The books by which it is now the common custom to teach children to read, inform them of anything except that which, at their age, they ought to be taught ; hence the inconsistencies and follies of adults. It is full time that this system should be changed. *Can man, when possessing the full vigour of his faculties, form a rational judgment on any subject, until he has first collected all the facts respecting it which are known ? Has not this been, and will not this ever remain, the only path by which human knowledge can be obtained ?* Then children ought to be instructed on the same principles. They should first be taught the knowledge of facts, commencing with those which are most familiar to the young mind, and gradually proceeding to the most useful and necessary to be known by the respective individuals in the rank of life in which they are likely to be placed ; and in all cases the children should have as clear an explanation of each fact as their minds can comprehend, rendering those explanations more detailed as the child acquires strength and capacity of intellect.

As soon as the young mind shall be duly prepared for such instruction, the master should not allow any opportunity to escape, that would enable him to enforce the clear and inseparable connection which exists between the interest and happiness of each individual and the interest and happiness of every other individual. This should be the beginning and end of all instruction ;

and by degrees it will be so well understood by his pupils, that they will receive the same conviction of its truth, that those familiar with mathematics now entertain of the demonstrations of Euclid. And when thus comprehended, the all prevailing principle of known life, the desire of happiness, will compel them without deviation to pursue it in practice.

It is much to be regretted that the strength and capacity of the minds of children are yet unknown; their faculties have been hitherto estimated by the folly of the instruction which has been given to them; while, if they were never taught to acquire error, they would speedily exhibit such powers of mind, as would convince the most incredulous how much the human intellect has been injured by the ignorance of former and present treatment.

It is therefore indeed important that the mind from its birth should receive those ideas only which are consistent with each other, which are in unison with all the known facts of the creation, and which are therefore true. Now, however, from the day they are born, the minds of children are impressed with false notions of themselves and of mankind; and in lieu of being conducted into the plain path leading to health and happiness, the utmost pains are taken to compel them to pursue an opposite direction, in which they can attain only inconsistency and error.

Let the plan which has now been recommended be steadily put in practice from infancy, *without counteraction from the systems of education which now exist*, and characters, even in youth, may be formed, that in true knowledge, and in every good and valuable quality, will not only greatly surpass the wise and learned of the present and preceding times, but will appear, as they really will be, a race of rational or superior beings. It is true, this change cannot be instantaneously established; it cannot be created by magic, or by a miracle; it must be effected gradually—and to accomplish it finally, will prove a work of labour and of years. For those who have been mis-instructed from infancy, who have now influence and are active in the world, and whose activity is directed by the false notions of their forefathers, will of course endeavour to obstruct the change. Those who have been systematically impressed with early errors, and conscientiously think them to be truths, will of necessity, while such errors remain, endeavour to perpetuate them in their children. Some simple but general method, therefore, becomes necessary to counteract as speedily as possible an evil of so formidable a magnitude.

It was this view of the subject which suggested the utility of preparing the means to admit of evening lectures in the New Institution; and it is intended they should be given, during winter, three nights in the week, alternately with dancing.

To the ill-trained and ill-taught these lectures may be made invaluable; and these are now numerous; for the far greater

part of the population of the world has been permitted to pass the proper season for instruction without being trained to be rational ; and they have acquired only the ideas and habits which proceed from ignorant association and erroneous instruction.

It is intended that the lectures should be familiar discourses, delivered in plain impressive language, to instruct the adult part of the community in the most useful practical parts of knowledge in which they are deficient, particularly in the proper method of training their children to become rational creatures ; how to expend the earnings of their own labour to advantage ; and how to appropriate the surplus gains which will be left to them, in order to create a fund which will relieve them from the anxious fear of future want, and thus give them, under the many errors of the present system, that rational confidence in their own exertions and good conduct, without which, consistency of character or domestic comfort cannot be obtained, and ought not to be expected. The young people may be also questioned relative to their progress in useful knowledge, and allowed to ask for explanations. In short, these lectures may be made to convey, in an amusing and agreeable manner, highly valuable and substantial information to those who are now the most ignorant in the community ; and by similar means, which at a trifling expense may be put into action over the whole kingdom, the most important benefits may be given to the labouring classes, and through them, to the whole mass of society.

For it should be considered that *the far greater part of the population belong to or have risen from the labouring classes ; and by them the happiness and comfort of all ranks, not excluding the highest, are very essentially influenced* : because even much more of the character of children in all families is formed by the servants, than is ever supposed by those unaccustomed to trace with attention the human mind from earliest infancy. It is indeed impossible that children in any situation can be correctly trained, until those who surround them from infancy shall be previously well-instructed ; and the value of good servants may be duly appreciated by those who have experienced the difference between the very good and very bad.

The last part of the intended arrangement of the New Institution remains yet to be described. This is the Church and its doctrines ; and they involve considerations of the highest interest and importance ; inasmuch as a knowledge of truth on the subject of religion would permanently establish the happiness of man ; for it is the inconsistencies alone, proceeding from the want of this knowledge, which have created, and still create, a great proportion of the miseries which exist in the world.

The only certain criterion of truth is, that it is ever consistent with itself ; it remains one and the same under every view and comparison of it which can be made ; while error will not stand

the test of this investigation and comparison, because it ever leads to absurd conclusions.

Those whose minds are equal to the subject will, ere this, have discovered, that the principles in which mankind have been hitherto instructed, and by which they have been governed, will not bear the test of this criterion. Investigate and compare them ; they betray absurdity, folly, and weakness ; hence the infinity of jarring opinions, dissensions, and miseries, which have hitherto prevailed.

Had any one of the various opposing systems which have governed the world and disunited man from man, been true, without any mixture of error,—that system, very speedily after its public promulgation, would have pervaded society, and compelled all men to have acknowledged its truth.

The criterion however which has been stated, shows, that they are all, without an exception, in part inconsistent with the works of nature ; that is, with the facts which exist around us. Those systems therefore must have contained some fundamental errors ; and it is utterly impossible for man to become rational, or enjoy the happiness he is capable of attaining, until those errors are exposed and annihilated.

Each of those systems contain some truth with more error : hence it is that no one of them has gained, or is likely to gain, universality.

The truth which the several systems possess, serves to cover and perpetuate the errors which they contain ; but those errors are most obvious to all who have not from infancy been taught to receive them.

Is proof demanded ? Ask, in succession, those who are esteemed the most intelligent and enlightened of every sect and party, what is their opinion of every other sect and party throughout the world. Is it not evident that, without one exception, the answer will be, that they all contain errors so clearly in opposition to reason and equity, that he can only feel pity and deep commiseration for the individuals whose minds have been thus perverted and rendered irrational ? And this reply they will all make, unconscious that they themselves are of the number whom they commiserate.

The doctrines which have been taught to every known sect, combined with the external circumstances by which they have been surrounded, have been directly calculated, and could not fail, to produce the characters which have existed. And the doctrines in which the inhabitants of the world are now instructed, combined with the external circumstances by which they are surrounded, form the characters which at present pervade society.

The doctrines which have been and now are taught throughout the world, must necessarily create and perpetuate, and they do create and perpetuate, a total want of mental charity among

men. They also generate superstitions, bigotry, hypocrisy, hatred, revenge, wars, and all their evil consequences. For it has been and is a fundamental principle in every system hitherto taught, with exceptions more nominal than real, "That man will possess merit, and receive eternal reward, by believing the doctrines of that peculiar system ; that he will be eternally punished if he disbelieves them ; that all those innumerable individuals also, who, through time, have not been taught to believe other than the tenets of this system, must be doomed to eternal misery." Yet nature itself, in all its works, is perpetually operating to convince man of such gross absurdities.

Yes, my deluded fellow men, believe me, for your future happiness, that the facts around us, when you shall observe them aright, will make it evident, even to demonstration, that all such doctrines must be erroneous, because THE WILL OF MAN HAS NO POWER WHATEVER OVER HIS OPINIONS ; HE MUST, AND EVER DID, AND EVER WILL BELIEVE WHAT HAS BEEN, IS, OR MAY BE IMPRESSED ON HIS MIND BY HIS PREDECESSORS AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH SURROUND HIM. It becomes therefore the essence of irrationality to suppose that any human being, from the creation to this day, could deserve praise or blame, reward or punishment, for the prepossessions of early education.

It is from these fundamental errors, in all systems which have been hitherto taught to the mass of mankind, that the misery of the human race has to so great an extent proceeded ; for, in consequence of them, man has been always instructed from infancy to believe impossibilities,—he is still taught to pursue the same insane course, and the result still is misery. Let this source of wretchedness, this most lamentable of all errors, this scourge of the human race, be publicly exposed ; and let those just principles be introduced, which prove themselves true by their uniform consistency and the evidence of our senses ; hence insincerity, hatred, revenge, and even a wish to injure a fellow-creature, will ere long be unknown ; and mental charity, heartfelt benevolence, and acts of kindness to one another, will be the distinguished characters of human nature.

Shall then misery most complicated and extensive be experienced, from the prince to the peasant, in all nations throughout the world, and shall its cause and prevention be known, and yet withheld ? The knowledge of this cause, however, cannot be communicated to mankind without offending against the deep-rooted prejudices of all. The work is therefore replete with difficulties, which can alone be overcome by those who, foreseeing all its important practical advantages, may be induced to contend against them.

Yet, difficult as it may be to establish this grand truth generally throughout society, on account of the dark and gross errors in which the world to this period has been instructed, it will be

found, whenever the subject shall undergo a full investigation, that the principles now brought forward cannot, by possibility, injure any class of men, or even a single individual. On the contrary, there is not one member of the great family of the world, from the highest to the lowest, that will not derive the most important benefits from its public promulgation. And when such incalculable, substantial, and permanent advantages are clearly seen and strongly felt, shall individual considerations be for a moment put in competition with its attainment? No! Ease, comfort, the good opinion of part of society, and even life itself, may be sacrificed to those prejudices; and yet the principles on which this knowledge is founded must ultimately and universally prevail.

This high event, of unequalled magnitude in the history of humanity, is thus confidently predicted, because the knowledge whence that confidence proceeds is not derived from any of the uncertain legends of the days of dark and gross ignorance, but from the plain and obvious facts which now exist throughout the world. Due attention to these facts, to these truly revealed works of nature, will soon instruct, or rather compel mankind to discover the universal errors in which they have been trained.

The principle, then, on which the doctrines taught in the New Institution are proposed to be founded, is, that they shall be in unison with universally revealed facts, which cannot but be true.

The following are some of the facts, which, with a view to this part of the undertaking, may be deemed fundamental:—

That man is born with a desire to obtain happiness, which desire is the primary cause of all his actions, continues through life, and, in popular language, is called self-interest.

That he is also born with the germs of animal propensities, or the desire to sustain, enjoy, and propagate life; and which desires, as they grow and develop themselves, are termed his natural inclinations.

That he is born likewise with faculties which, in their growth, receive, convey, compare, and become conscious of receiving and comparing ideas.

That the ideas so received, conveyed, compared, and understood, constitute human knowledge, or mind, which acquires strength and maturity with the growth of the individual.

That the desire of happiness in man, the germs of his natural inclinations, and the faculties by which he acquires knowledge, are formed unknown to himself in the womb; and whether perfect or imperfect, they are alone the immediate work of the Creator, and over which the infant and future man have no control.

That these inclinations and faculties are not formed exactly alike in any two individuals; hence the diversity of talents, and the varied impressions called liking and disliking which the same external objects make on different persons, and the lesser varie-

ties which exist among men whose characters have been formed apparently under similar circumstances.

That the knowledge which man receives is derived from the objects around him, and chiefly from the example and instruction of his immediate predecessors.

That this knowledge may be limited or extended, erroneous or true; limited, when the individual receives few, and extended when he receives many, ideas; erroneous, when those ideas are inconsistent with the facts which exist around him, and true when they are uniformly consistent with them.

That the misery which he experiences, and the happiness which he enjoys, depend on the kind and degree of knowledge which he receives, and on that which is possessed by those around him.

That when the knowledge which he receives is true and un-mixed with error, although it be limited, if the community in which he lives possesses the same kind and degree of knowledge, he will enjoy happiness in proportion to the extent of that knowledge. On the contrary, when the opinions which he receives are erroneous, and the opinions possessed by the community in which he resides are equally erroneous, his misery will be in proportion to the extent of those erroneous opinions.

That when the knowledge which man receives shall be extended to its utmost limit, and true without any mixture of error, then he may and will enjoy all the happiness of which his nature will be capable.

That it consequently becomes of the first and highest importance that man should be taught to distinguish truth from error.

That man has no other means of discovering what is false, except by his faculty of reason, or the power of acquiring and comparing the ideas which he receives.

That when this faculty is properly cultivated or trained from infancy, and the child is rationally instructed to retain no impressions or ideas which by his powers of comparing them appear to be inconsistent, then the individual will acquire real knowledge, or those ideas only which will leave an impression of their consistency or truth on all minds which have not been rendered irrational by an opposite procedure.

That the reasoning faculty may be injured and destroyed during its growth, by reiterated impressions being made upon it of notions not derived from realities, and which it therefore cannot compare with the ideas previously received from the objects around it. And when the mind receives these notions which it cannot comprehend, along with those ideas which it is conscious are true and which yet are inconsistent with such notions, then the reasoning faculties become injured, the individual is taught or forced to believe, and not to think or reason, and partial insanity or defective powers of judging ensue.

That all men are thus erroneously trained at present, and hence the inconsistencies and misery of the world.

That the fundamental errors now impressed from infancy on the minds of all men, and from whence all their other errors proceed, are, that they form their own individual characters, and possess merit or demerit for the peculiar notions impressed on the mind during its early growth, before they have acquired strength and experience to judge of or resist the impression of those notions or opinions, which, on investigation, appear contradictions to facts existing around them, and which are therefore false.

That these false notions have ever produced evil and misery in the world ; and that they still disseminate them in every direction

That the sole cause of their existence hitherto has been man's ignorance of human nature : while their consequences have been all the evil and misery, except those of accidents, disease, and death, with which man has been and is afflicted : and that the evil and misery which arise from accidents, disease, and death, are also greatly increased and extended by man's ignorance of himself.

That, in proportion as man's desire of self-happiness, or his self-love, is directed by true knowledge, those actions will abound which are virtuous and beneficial to man ; that in proportion as it is influenced by false notions, or the absence of true knowledge, those actions will prevail which generate crimes, from whence arises an endless variety of misery ; and, consequently, that every rational means should be now adopted to detect error, and to increase true knowledge among men.

That when these truths are made evident, every individual will necessarily endeavour to promote the happiness of every other individual within his sphere of action ; because he must clearly, and without any doubt, comprehend such conduct to be the essence of self-interest, or the true cause of self-happiness.

Here, then, is a firm foundation on which to erect vital religion, pure and undefiled, and the only one which, without any counteracting evil, can give peace and happiness to man.

It is to bring into practical operation, in forming the characters of men, these most important of all truths, that the religious part of the Institution at New Lanark will be chiefly directed, and such are the fundamental principles upon which the Instructor will proceed. They are thus publicly avowed before all men, that they may undergo discussion and the most severe scrutiny and investigation.

Let those, therefore, who are esteemed the most learned and wise, throughout the various states and empires in the world, examine them to their foundation, compare them with every fact which exists, and if the shadow of inconsistency and falsehood

be discovered, let it be publicly exposed, that error may not more abound.

But should they withstand this extended ordeal, and prove themselves uniformly consistent with every known fact, and therefore true, then let it be declared, that man may be permitted by man to become rational, and that the misery of the world may be speedily removed.

Having alluded to the chief uses of the play-ground and exercise rooms, with the School, Lecture Room, and Church, it remains, to complete the account of the New Institution, that the object of the drill exercises, mentioned when stating the purposes of the play-ground, should be explained; and to this we now proceed.

Were all men trained to be rational, the art of war would be rendered useless. While, however, any part of mankind shall be taught that they form their own characters, and shall continue to be trained from infancy to think and act irrationally,—that is, to acquire feelings of enmity, and to deem it a duty to engage in war against those who have been instructed to differ from them in sentiments and habits,—even the most rational must, for their personal security, learn the means of defence; and every community of such characters, while surrounded by men who have been thus improperly taught, should acquire a knowledge of this destructive art, that they may be enabled to over-rule the actions of irrational beings, and maintain peace.

To accomplish these objects to the utmost practical limit, and with the least inconvenience, every male should be instructed how best to defend, when attacked, the community to which he belongs. And these advantages are only to be obtained by providing proper means for the instruction of all boys in the use of arms and the arts of war.

As an example how easily and effectually this might be accomplished over the British Isles, it is intended that the boys trained and educated at the Institution at New Lanark shall be thus instructed; that the person appointed to attend the children in the play-ground shall be qualified to drill and teach the boys the manual exercise, and that he shall be frequently so employed; that afterwards, fire arms, of proportionate weight and size to the age and strength of the boys, shall be provided for them, when also they might be taught to practise and understand the more complicated military movements.

This exercise, properly administered, will greatly contribute to the health and spirits of the boys, give them an erect and proper form, and habits of attention, celerity, and order. They will, however, be taught to consider this exercise, an art rendered absolutely necessary by the partial insanity of some of their fellow-creatures, who, by the errors of their predecessors, transmitted through preceding generations, have been taught to acquire feel-

ings of enmity, increasing to madness, against those who could not avoid differing from them in sentiments and habits; that this art should never be brought into practice except to restrain the violence of such madmen; and, in these cases, that it should be administered with the least possible severity, and solely to prevent the evil consequences of those rash acts of the insane, and, if possible, to cure them of their disease.

Thus, in a few years, by foresight and arrangement, may almost the whole expense and inconvenience attending the local military be superseded, and a permanent force created, which in numbers, discipline, and principles, would be superior, beyond all comparison, for the purposes of defence; always ready in case of need, yet without the loss which is now sustained by the community of efficient and valuable labour. The expenditure which would be saved by this simple expedient, would be far more than competent to educate the whole of the poor and labouring classes of these kingdoms.

There is still another arrangement in contemplation for the community at New Lanark, and without which the establishment will remain incomplete.

It is an expedient to enable the individuals, by their own foresight, prudence, and industry, to secure to themselves in old age a comfortable provision and asylum.

Those now employed at the establishment contribute to a fund which supports them when too ill to work, or superannuated. This fund, however, is not calculated to give them more than a bare existence; and it is surely desirable that, after they have spent nearly half a century in unremitting industry, they should, if possible, enjoy a comfortable independence.

To effect this object, it is intended that in the most pleasant situation near the present village, neat and convenient dwellings should be erected, with gardens attached; that they should be surrounded and sheltered by plantations, through which public walks should be formed; and the whole arranged to give the occupiers the most substantial comforts.

That these dwellings, with the privileges of the public walks, &c., shall become the property of those individuals who, without compulsion, shall subscribe each equitable sums monthly, as, in a given number of years will be equal to the purchase, and to create a fund from which, when these individuals become occupiers of their new residences, they may receive weekly, monthly, or quarterly payments, sufficient for their support; the expenses of which may be reduced to a very low rate individually, by arrangements which may be easily formed to supply all their wants with little trouble to themselves; and by their previous instruction they will be enabled to afford the small additional subscription which will be required for these purposes.

This part of the arrangement would always present a prospect

of rest, comfort, and happiness to those employed ; in consequence, their daily occupations would be performed with more spirit and cheerfulness, and their labour would appear comparatively light and easy. Those still engaged in active operations would, of course, frequently visit their former companions and friends, who, after having spent their years of toil, were in the actual enjoyment of this simple retreat ; and from this intercourse each party would naturally derive pleasure. The reflections of each would be most gratifying. The old would rejoice that they had been trained in habits of industry, temperance, and foresight, to enable them to receive and enjoy in their declining years every reasonable comfort which the present state of society will admit ; the young and middle-aged, that they were pursuing the same course, and that they had not been trained to waste their money, time, and health, in idleness and intemperance. These and many similar reflections could not fail often to arise in their minds ; and those who could look forward with confident hopes to such certain comfort and independence would, in part, enjoy by anticipation these advantages. In short, when this part of the arrangement is well considered, it will be found to be the most important to the community and to the proprietors ; indeed, the extensively good effects of it will be experienced in such a variety of ways, that to describe them even below the truth would appear an extravagant exaggeration. They will not, however, prove the less true because mankind are yet ignorant of the practice, and of the principles on which it has been founded.

These, then, are the plans which are in progress or intended for the further improvement of the inhabitants of New Lanark. They have uniformly proceeded from the principles which have been developed through these Essays, restrained, however, hitherto, in their operations, by the local sentiments and unfounded notions of the community and neighbourhood, and by the peculiar circumstances of the establishment.

In every measure to be introduced at the place in question, for the comfort and happiness of man, the existing errors of the country were always to be considered ; and as the establishment belonged to parties whose views were various, it became also necessary to devise means to create pecuniary gains from each improvement, sufficient to satisfy the spirit of commerce.

All, therefore, which has been done for the happiness of this community, which consists of between two and three thousand individuals, is far short of what might have been easily effected in practice had not mankind been previously trained in error. Hence, in devising these plans, the sole consideration was not, what were the measures dictated by these principles, which would produce the greatest happiness to man ; but what could be effected in practice under the present irrational systems by which these proceedings were surrounded ?

Imperfect, however, as these proceedings must yet be, in consequence of the formidable obstructions enumerated, they will yet appear, upon a full minute investigation by minds equal to the comprehension of such a system, to combine a greater degree of substantial comfort to the individuals employed in the manufactory, and of pecuniary profit to the proprietors, than has hitherto been found attainable.

But to whom can such arrangements be submitted? Not to the mere commercial character, in whose estimation to forsake the path of immediate individual gain would be to show symptoms of a disordered imagination; for the children of commerce have been trained to direct all their faculties to buy cheap and sell dear; and consequently, those who are the most expert and successful in this wise and noble art, are, in the commercial world, deemed to possess foresight and superior acquirements; while such as attempt to improve the moral habits and increase the comforts of those whom they employ, are termed wild enthusiasts.

Nor yet are they to be submitted to the mere men of the law; for these are necessarily trained to endeavour to make wrong appear right, or to involve both in a maze of intricacies, and to legalise injustice.

Nor to mere political leaders or their partizans; for they are embarrassed by the trammels of party, which mislead their judgment, and often constrain them to sacrifice the real well-being of the community and of themselves, to an apparent but most mistaken self-interest.

Nor to those termed heroes and conquerors, or to their followers; for their minds have been trained to consider the infliction of human misery, and the commission of military murders, a glorious duty, almost beyond reward.

Nor yet to the fashionable or splendid in their appearance; for these are from infancy trained to deceive and to be deceived, to accept shadows for substances, and to live a life of insincerity, and of consequent discontent and misery.

Still less are they to be exclusively submitted to the official expounders and defenders of the various opposing religious systems throughout the world; for many of these are actively engaged in propagating imaginary notions, which cannot fail to vitiate the rational powers of man, and to perpetuate his misery.

These principles, therefore, and the practical systems which they recommend, are not to be submitted to the judgment of those who have been trained under, and continue in, any of these unhappy combinations of circumstances. But they are to be submitted to the dispassionate and patient investigation and decision of those individuals of every rank and class and denomination of society, who have become in some degree conscious of the errors in which they exist; who have felt the thick mental darkness by which they are surrounded; who are ardently desirous of disco-

vering and following truth wherever it may lead; and who can perceive the inseparable connexion which exists between individual and general, between private and public good!

It has been said, and it is now repeated, that these principles, thus combined, will prove themselves unerringly true against the most insidious or open attack; and, ere long, they will, by their irresistible truth, pervade society to the utmost bounds of the earth; for "silence will not retard their progress, and opposition "will give increased celerity to their movements." When they shall have dissipated in some degree, as they speedily will dissipate, the thick darkness in which the human mind has been and is still enveloped, the endless beneficial consequences which must follow the general introduction of them into practice may then be explained in greater detail, and urged upon minds to which they will then appear less questionable.

In the meantime we shall proceed to state, in a Fourth Essay, of what improvements the present state of the British population is susceptible in practice.

ESSAYS ON THE FORMATION OF CHARACTER.

FOURTH ESSAY.

The Principles of the Former Essays applied to Government.

“ It is beyond all comparison better to prevent than to punish crime.”

“ A system of government therefore which shall prevent ignorance, and consequently crime, will be infinitely superior to one, which, by encouraging the first, creates a necessity for the last, and afterwards inflicts punishment on both.”

THE end of government is to make the governed and the governors happy.

That government, then, is the best, which in practice produces the greatest happiness to the greatest number ; including those who govern, and those who obey.

In a former Essay we said, and it admits of practical demonstration, that by adopting the proper means, man may by degrees be trained to live in any part of the world without poverty, without crime, and without punishment ; for all these are the effects of error in the various systems of training and governing ;—error proceeding from very gross ignorance of human nature.

It is of primary importance to make this ignorance manifest, and to show what are the means which are endowed with that transcendent efficacy.

We have also said that man may be trained to acquire any sentiments and habits, or any character ; and no one now, possessing pretensions to the knowledge of human nature, will deny that the government of any independent community may form the individuals of that community into the best, or into the worst characters.

If there be one duty therefore more imperative than another, on the government of every country, it is, that it should adopt, without delay, the proper means to form those sentiments and habits in the people, which shall give the most permanent and substantial advantages to the individuals and to the community.

Survey the acquirements of the earliest ages ; trace the progress of those acquirements, through all the subsequent periods, to the present hour ; and say if there be anything of real value

in them, except that which contributes in practice to increase the happiness of the world.

And yet, with all the parade of learning contained in the myriads of volumes which have been written, and which still daily pour from the press, the knowledge of the first step of the progress which leads to human happiness remains yet unknown or disregarded by the mass of mankind.

The important knowledge to which we allude is, "That the old collectively may train the young collectively, to be ignorant and miserable, or to be intelligent and happy." And, on investigation, this will be found to be one of those simple yet grand laws of the universe, which experience discovers and confirms, and which, as soon as men become familiar with it, will not longer admit of denial or dispute. Fortunate will be that government which shall first acquire this knowledge in theory, and adopt it in practice.

To obtain its introduction into our own country first, a mode of procedure is now submitted to the immediate governing powers of the British Empire; and it is so submitted, with an ardent desire that it may undergo the most full and ample discussion, that if it shall, as on investigation it will, be found to be the only consistent and therefore rational, system of conducting human beings, it may be temperately and progressively introduced, instead of those defective national practices by which the state is now governed.

We therefore proceed to explain how this principle may now be introduced into practice, without injury to any part of society. For it is the time and manner of introducing this principle and its consequent practice, which alone constitute any difficulty.

This will appear evident when it is considered that although, from a plain statement of the most simple facts, the truth of the principle cannot fail to prove so obvious that no one will ever attempt openly to attack it; and although its adoption into practice will speedily accumulate benefits of which the world can now form no adequate conception; yet both theory and practice are to be introduced into a society trained and matured under principles that have impressed upon the individuals who compose it the most opposite habits and sentiments; which have been so entwined from infancy in their bodily and mental growth, that the simplicity and irresistible power of truth alone can disentangle them and expose their fallacy. It becomes then necessary, to prevent the evils of a too sudden change, that those who have been thus nursed in ignorance may be progressively removed from the abodes of mental darkness to the intellectual light which this principle cannot fail to produce. The light of true knowledge, therefore, must be first made to dawn on those dwellings of darkness, and afterwards gradually to increase, as it can be borne by the opening faculties of their inhabitants.

To proceed on this plan it becomes necessary to direct our attention to the actual state of the British population, to disclose the cause of those great and leading evils of which all now complain.

It will then be seen that the foundation on which these evils have been erected is ignorance, proceeding from the errors which have been impressed on the minds of the present generation by its predecessors ; and chiefly by that *greatest of all errors, the notion that individuals form their own characters*. For while this most inconsistent, and therefore most absurd, of all human conceptions shall continue to be forced upon the young mind, there will remain no foundation whatever on which to build a sincere love and extended charity from man to his fellow creatures.

But destroy this hydra of human calamity, this immolator of every principle of rationality, this monster, which hitherto has effectually guarded every avenue that can lead to true benevolence and active kindness, and human happiness will be speedily established on a rock from whence it shall never more be removed.

This enemy of humanity may now be most easily destroyed. Let it be dragged forth from beneath the dark mysterious veil by which till now it has been hid from the eyes of the world ; expose it but for an instant to the clear light of intellectual day ; and, as though conscious of its own deformity, it will instantaneously vanish, never to re-appear.

As a ground-work, then, of a rational system, let this absurd doctrine, and all the chain of consequences which follow from it, be withdrawn ; and let that only be taught as sacred, which can be demonstrated by its never-failing consistency to be true.

This essential object being accomplished, (and accomplished it must be before another step can be taken to form man into a rational being,) the next is to withdraw those national laws which chiefly emanate from that erroneous doctrine, and which now exist in full vigour, training the population to almost every kind of crime. For these laws are, without chance of failure, adapted to produce a long train of crimes ; which crimes are accordingly produced.

Some of the most prominent to which allusion is made, are such as encourage the consumption of ardent spirits, by fostering and extending those receptacles to seduce the ignorant and wretched, called gin-shops and pot-houses ; those laws which sanction and legalise gambling among the poor, under the name of a state lottery ; those which are insidiously destroying the real strength of the country, under the name of providing for the poor ; and those of punishment, which, under the present irrational system of legislation, are supposed to be absolutely necessary to hold society together.

To prove the accuracy of this deduction, millions of facts exist around us, speaking in a language so clearly connected and audible, that it is scarcely credible any man can misunderstand it.

These facts proclaim aloud to the universe, that ignorance generates, fosters, and multiplies sentiments and actions which must produce private and public misery ; and that when evils are experienced, instead of withdrawing the *cause* which created them, it invents and applies punishments, which, to a superficial observer, may appear to lessen the evils which afflict society, while, in reality, they greatly increase them.

Intelligence, on the contrary, traces to its source the cause of every evil which exists ; adopts the proper measures to remove the *cause* ; and then, with the most unerring confidence, rests satisfied that its object will be accomplished.

Thus then intelligence, or in other words plain unsophisticated reason, will consider the various sentiments and actions which now create misery in society, will patiently trace the cause whence those sentiments and actions proceed, and immediately apply the proper remedies to remove them.

And attention, thus directed, discovers that the cause of such sentiments and actions in the British population is the laws which have been enumerated, and others which shall be hereafter noticed.

To withdraw, therefore, the existing evils which afflict society, these unwise laws must be progressively repealed or modified. The British constitution, in its present outline, is admirably adapted to effect these changes, without the evils which always accompany a coerced or ill-prepared change.

As a preliminary step, however, to the commencement of national improvements, it should be declared with a sincerity which shall not admit of any after deviation, that no individual of the present generation should be deprived of the emolument which he now receives, or of that which has been officially or legally promised.

The next step in national reform is to withdraw from the national church those tenets which constitute its weakness and create its danger. Yet still, to prevent the evils of any premature change, let the church in other respects remain as it is ; because under the old established forms it may effect the most valuable purposes.

To render it truly a national church, all tests, as they are called, that is, declarations of belief in which all cannot conscientiously join, should be withdrawn : this alteration would tend more perhaps than any other which can be devised, to give stability both to the national church and to the state ; and a conduct thus rational would at once terminate all the theological differences which now confound the intellects of men and disseminate universal discord.

The next measure of national improvement should be to repeal or modify those laws which leave the lower orders in ignorance, train them to become intemperate, and produce idleness, gambling,

poverty, disease, and murder. The production and consumption of ardent spirits are now legally encouraged; licences to keepers of gin-shops and unnecessary pot-houses are by thousands annually distributed; the laws of the state now direct those licenses to be distributed; and yet, perhaps, not one of the authors or guardians of these laws has once reflected how much *each* of those houses daily contributes to public crime, disease, and weakness, or how much they add to the stock of private misery.

Shall we then continue to surround our fellow-creatures with a temptation which, as many of them are now trained, we know they are unable to resist—with a temptation, too, which predisposes its victims to proceed gradually from a state of temporary insanity, into which they had been led by the example and instruction of those around them, to one of madness and bodily disease, creating more than infantile weakness, which again produces mental torments and horrors, that silently, yet most effectually, undermine every faculty in man which can contribute to private or public happiness?

Can the British government longer preserve such laws, or countenance a system which trains man to devise and enforce such laws?

(In the year 1736, an act of parliament—stat. 9, Geo. II., c. 23, —was passed, of which the preamble is as follows:—"Whereas the drinking of spirituous liquors or strong waters is become very common, especially among the people of lower and inferior rank, the constant and excessive use of which tends greatly to the destruction of their health, rendering them unfit for useful labour and business, debauching their morals, and inciting them to perpetrate all manner of vices; and the ill consequences of the excessive use of such liquors are not confined to the present generation, but extend to future ages, and tend to the devastation and ruin of this kingdom." It was therefore enacted, that no person should retail spirits without a license, for which £50 was to be paid annually, with other provisions to restrain the sale of spirits.

By a report of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the county of Middlesex, made in January, 1736, it appeared that there were then within Westminster, Holborn, the Tower, and Finsbury division,—exclusive of London and Southwark—7,044 houses and shops wherein spirituous liquors were publicly sold by retail, of which they had got an account, and that they believed it was far short of the true number.)

Enough surely has been said to exhibit the evil consequences of these laws in their true colours. Let the duties therefore on the production of ardent spirits be gradually increased, until the price shall exceed the means of ordinary consumption. Let the licences be progressively withdrawn from the present occupiers of gin-shops and unnecessary pot-houses; and let the duties on the production and consumption of malt liquor be diminished,

that the poor and working classes may be the more readily induced to abandon their destructive habits of dram-drinking, and by degrees to withdraw altogether from this incentive to crime and sure source of misery.

The next improvement should be to discontinue the state lottery.

The law which creates this measure is neither more nor less than a law to legalise gambling, entrap the unwary, and rob the ignorant.

How great must be the error of that system which can induce a state to deceive and injure its subjects, and yet expect that those subjects shall not be necessarily trained to injure and to deceive.

These measures may be thought detrimental to the national revenues.

Those who have reflected on the nature of public revenue, and who possess minds capable of comprehending the subject, know that revenue has but one legitimate source—that it is derived directly or indirectly from the labour of man, and that it may be more or less from any given number of men, (other circumstances being similar,) in proportion to their strength, industry, and capacity.

The efficient strength of a state governed by laws founded on an accurate knowledge of human nature, in which the whole population are well-trained, will greatly exceed one of equal extent of numbers, in which a large part of the population are improperly trained, and governed by laws founded in ignorance.

Thus were the small states of Greece, while governed by laws comparatively wise, superior in national strength to the extended empire of Persia.

On this plain and obvious principle will the effective power and resources of the British empire be largely increased, by withdrawing those laws which, under the plausible appearance of adding a few, and but a few, millions to the annual revenues of this kingdom, in reality feed on the very vitals of the state. For such laws destroy the energies and capacities of its population, which, so weakened and trained to crime, requires a far greater expenditure to protect and govern it.

Confidently may it be said, that a short experience in practice is alone necessary to make the truth of these positions self-evident even to the most common understandings.

The next measure for the general improvement of the British population should be to revise the laws relative to the poor. For pure and benevolent as, no doubt, were the motives which actuated those with whom the Poor Laws originated, the direct and certain effects of these laws are to injure the poor, and through them, the state, as much almost as they can be injured.

They exhibit the appearance of affording aid to the distressed,

while, in reality, they prepare the poor to acquire the worst habits, and to practise every kind of crime. They thus increase the number of the poor and add to their distress. It becomes, therefore, necessary that decisive and effectual measures should be adopted to remove those evils which the existing laws have created.

Benevolence says, that the destitute must not starve; and to this declaration political wisdom readily assents. Yet can that system be right, which compels the industrious, temperate, and comparatively virtuous, to support the ignorant, the idle, and comparatively vicious? Such, however, is the effect of the present British Poor Laws; for they publicly proclaim greater encouragement to idleness, ignorance, extravagance, and intemperance, than to industry and good conduct: and the evils which arise from a system so irrational are hourly experienced, and hourly increasing.

It thus becomes necessary that some counteracting remedy be immediately devised and applied: for, injurious as these laws are, it is obviously impracticable, in the present state of the British population, to annul at once a system to which so large a portion of the people has been taught to look for support.

These laws should be progressively undermined by a system of an opposite nature, and ultimately rendered altogether nugatory.

The proper system to supersede these laws has been in part already explained, but we proceed to unfold it still more. It may be called "A System for the Prevention of Crime, and the Formation of Human Character;" and, under an established and well-intentioned government it will be found more efficacious in producing public benefit than any of the laws now in existence.

The fundamental principle on which all these Essays proceed is, that "children collectively may be taught any sentiments and habits;" or, in other words, "trained to acquire any character."

It is of importance that *this principle should be for ever present in the mind, and that its truth should be established beyond even the shadow of doubt.* To the superficial observer it may appear to be an abstract truth of little value; but to the reflecting and accurate reasoner, it will speedily discover itself to be a power which ultimately must destroy the ignorance and consequent prejudices that have accumulated through all preceding ages.

For, as it is a deduction from all the leading facts in the past history of the world, so it will be found, on the most extensive investigation, to be consistent with every fact which now exists. It is calculated, therefore, to become the foundation of a new system, which, because true and of unparalleled importance, must prove irresistible, will speedily supersede all those which exist, and itself become permanent.

It is necessary, however, prior to the introduction of this sys-

tem in all its bearings and consequences, that the public mind should be impressed with the deepest conviction of its truth.

For this purpose, let us in imagination survey the various states and empires of the world, and attentively observe man as in these arbitrary divisions of the earth he is known to exist

Compare the national character of each community with the laws and customs by which they are respectively governed, and, without an exception, the one will be found the archetype of the other.

Where, in former ages, the laws and customs established by Lycurgus formed man into a model for martial exploits, and a perfect instrument for war, he is now trained, by other laws and customs, to be the instrument of a despotism which renders him almost, or altogether, unfit for war. And where the laws and customs of Athens trained the young mind to acquire as high a degree of partial rationality as the history of preceding times records, man is now reduced, by a total change of laws and customs, to the lowest state of mental degradation. Also, where, formerly, the superior native American tribes roamed fearlessly through their trackless forests, uniformly exhibiting the hardy, penetrating, elevated, and sincere character, which was at a loss to comprehend how a rational being could desire to possess more than his nature could enjoy; now, on the very same soil, in the same climate, characters are formed under laws and customs so opposite, that all their bodily and mental faculties are individually exerted to obtain, if possible, ten thousand times more than any man can enjoy.

But why proceed to enumerate such endless results as these, of the never-failing influence of training over human nature, when it may be easily rendered self evident even to the most illiterate, by daily examples around their own dwellings?

No one, it may be supposed, can now be so defective in knowledge as to imagine it is a different human nature, which by its own powers forms itself into a child of ignorance, of poverty, and of habits leading to crime and to punishment; or into a votary of fashion, claiming distinction from its folly and inconsistency; or, to fancy, that it is some undefined, blind, unconscious process of human nature itself, distinct from instruction, that forms the sentiments and habits of the man of commerce, of agriculture, the law, the church, the army, the navy, or of the private and illegal depredator on society: or that it is a different human nature which constitutes the societies of the Jews, of Friends, and of all the various religious denominations which have existed or which now exist. No! Human nature, save the minute differences which are ever found in all the compounds of the creation, is one and the same in all; it is without exception universally plastic, and by judicious training *the infants of any*

one class in the world may be readily formed into men of any other class, even to believe and declare that conduct to be right and virtuous, and to die in its defence, which their parents had been taught to believe and say was wrong and vicious, and to oppose which, those parents would also have willingly sacrificed their lives.

Whence then the foundation of your claim, ye advocates for the superiority of the early prepossessions of your sect or party, in opposition to those taught to other men? Ignorance itself, at this day, might almost make it evident that one particle of merit is not due to you, for not possessing those notions and habits which you now the most contemn. Ought you not, and will you not, then, have charity for those who have been taught different sentiments and habits from yourselves? Let all men fairly investigate this subject for themselves; it well merits their most attentive examination. They will then discover that it is from the errors of education, mis-instructing the young mind relative to the true cause of early prepossessions, that almost all the evils of life proceed.

Whence then, ye advocates for the merit and demerit of early prepossessions of opinion, do you derive your principles?

Let this system of misery be seen in all its naked deformity! It ought to be exposed; for the instruction which it inculcates at the outset of forming human character is destructive of the genuine charity which can alone train man to be truly benevolent to all other men. The ideas of exclusive right and consequent superiority which men have hitherto been taught to attach to the early sentiments and habits in which they have been instructed, are the chief cause of disunion throughout society; such notions are, indeed, in direct opposition to pure and undefiled religion; nor can they ever exist together. The extent of the misery which they generate cannot, however, be much longer concealed. They are already hastening fast to meet the fate of all errors; for the gross ignorance on which this system of misery has been raised, is exposed to the world on its proper foundation, and, so exposed, its supporters will shrink from the task of defence, and no rational mind will be found to give it support.

Having exhibited the error on which ignorance has erected the systems by which man has been governed, or compelled to become irrational and miserable; and having laid an immovable foundation for a system devoid of that error, which, when fully comprehended and adopted into practice, must train mankind "to think of and act to others as they would wish others to think of and act to them,"—we proceed further to explain this *system without error*, and which may be termed a *system without mystery*. As then children collectively may be formed into any characters, by whom ought their characters to be formed?

The kind and degree of misery or happiness experienced by the members of any community, depend on the characters which have been formed in the individuals which constitute the community.

It becomes, then, the highest interest, and consequently the first and most important duty, of every state, to form the individual characters of which the state is composed. And if any characters, from the most ignorant and miserable to the most rational and happy, can be formed, it surely merits the deepest attention of every state to adopt those means by which the formation of the latter may be secured, and that of the former prevented.

It follows that every state, to be well-governed, ought to direct its chief attention to the formation of character; and thus the best governed state will be that which shall possess the best national system of education.

Under the guidance of minds competent to its direction, a national system of training and education may be formed, to become the most safe, easy, effectual, and economical instrument of government that can be devised. And it may be made to possess a power equal to the accomplishment of the most grand and beneficial purposes.

It is, however, by instruction only, that the population of the world can be made conscious of the irrational state in which they now exist; and, until that instruction is given, it is premature to introduce a national system of education.

But the time is now arrived when the British Government may with safety adopt a national system of training and education for the poor and uninstructed; and this measure alone, if the plan shall be well-devised and executed, will effect the most importantly beneficial changes.

As a preliminary step, however, it is necessary to observe, that to create a well-trained, united, and happy people, this national system should be uniform over the United Kingdom; it should be also founded in the spirit of peace and of rationality, and, for the most obvious reasons, the thought of exclusion to one child in the empire should not for a moment be entertained.

Several plans have been lately proposed for the national education of the poor, but these have not been calculated to effect all that a national system of education of the poor ought to accomplish.

For the authors and supporters of these systems we feel those sentiments which the principles developed throughout these Essays must create in any minds on which they have been early and effectually impressed; and we are desirous of rendering their labours for the community as extensively beneficial as they can be made. To fulfil, however, a great and important public duty, the plans which they have devised must be considered as though they had been produced and published in the days of antiquity.

The plans alluded to are those of the Rev. Dr. Bell, Mr. Joseph Lancaster, and Mr. Whitbread.

The systems of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, for instructing the poor in reading, writing, and arithmetic, prove the extreme ignorance which previously existed in the *manner* of training the young; for it is in the manner alone of giving instruction that these new systems are an improvement on the modes of instruction which were formerly practised.

The arrangement of the room and many of the details in Mr. Lancaster's plan, are, in some respects, better calculated to give instruction in the elements enumerated, than those recommended by Dr. Bell, although some of the details introduced by the latter are very superior, and highly deserving of adoption.

The essence, however, of national training and education is to impress on the young, ideas and habits which shall contribute to the future happiness of the individual and of the state; and this can be accomplished only by instructing them to become rational beings.

It must be evident to common observers, that children may be taught, by either Dr. Bell's or Mr. Lancaster's system, to read, write, account, and sew, and yet acquire the worst habits, and have their minds rendered irrational for life.

Reading and writing are merely instruments by which knowledge, either true or false, may be imparted; and, when given to children, are of little comparative value, unless they are also taught how to make a proper use of them.

When a child receives a full and fair explanation of the objects and characters around him, and when he is also taught to reason correctly, so that he may learn to discover general truths from falsehood, he will be much better instructed, although without the knowledge of one letter or figure, than those are who have been compelled to *believe*, and whose reasoning faculties have been confounded or destroyed by what is most erroneously termed learning.

It is readily acknowledged that the manner of instructing children is of importance and deserves all the attention it has lately received; that those who discover or introduce improvements which facilitate the acquirement of knowledge are important benefactors of their fellow-creatures. Yet the *manner* of giving instruction is one thing, the *instruction itself* another; and no two objects can be more distinct. The *worst* manner may be applied to give the *best* instruction, and the *best* manner to give the *worst* instruction. Were the real importance of both to be estimated by numbers, the manner of instruction may be compared to one, and the matter of instruction to millions: the first is the means only; the last, the end to be accomplished by those means.

If, therefore, in a national system of education for the poor, it

be desirable to adopt the best *manner*, it is surely so much the more desirable to adopt also the best *matter*, of instruction.

Either give the poor a rational and useful training, or mock not their ignorance, their poverty, and their misery, by merely instructing them to become conscious of the extent of the degradation under which they exist. And, therefore, in pity to suffering humanity, either keep the poor, if you now can, in the state of the most abject ignorance, as near as possible to animal life, or at once determine to form them into rational beings, into useful and effective members of the state.

Were it possible, without national prejudice, to examine into the matter of instruction which is now given in some of our boasted new systems for the instruction of the poor, it would be found to be almost as wretched as any which can be devised. In proof of this statement, enter any one of the schools denominated national, and request the master to show the acquirements of the children. These are called out, and he asks them theological questions to which men of the most profound erudition cannot make a rational reply; the children, however, readily answer as they had been previously instructed; for memory, in this mockery of learning, is all that is required.

Thus the child whose natural faculty of comparing ideas, or whose rational powers, shall be the soonest destroyed, if, at the same time, he possess a memory to retain incongruities without connexion, will become what is termed the first scholar in the class; and three-fourths of the time which ought to be devoted to the acquirement of useful instruction, will be really occupied in destroying the mental powers of the children.

To those accustomed attentively to notice the human countenance from infancy to age, in the various classes and religious denominations of the British population, it is truly an instructive although melancholy employment, to observe in the countenances of the poor children in these schools the evident expression of mental injury derived from the well-intentioned, but most mistaken, plan of their instruction.

It is an important lesson, because it affords another recent and and striking example to the millions which previously existed, of the ease with which children may be taught to receive any sectarian notions, and thence acquire any habits, however contrary to their real happiness.

To those trained to become truly conscientious in any of the present sectarian errors which distract the world, this free exposure of the weakness of the peculiar tenets in which such individuals have been instructed, will, at first, excite feelings of high displeasure and horror, and these feelings will be acute and poignant in proportion to the obvious and irresistible evidence on which the disclosure of their errors is founded.

Let them, however, begin to think calmly on these subjects, to

examine their own minds and the minds of all around them, and they will become conscious of the absurdities and inconsistencies in which their forefathers have trained them ; they will then abhor the errors by which they have been so long abused ; and, with an earnestness not to be resisted, they will exert their utmost faculties to remove the cause of so much misery to man.

Enough surely has now been said of the manner and matter of instruction in these new systems, to exhibit them in a just and true light.

The improvements in the manner of teaching children whatever may be deemed proper for them to learn,—improvements which, we may easily predict, will soon receive great additions and amendments,—have proceeded from the Rev. Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster ; while the errors which their respective systems assist to engrave on the ductile mind of infancy and childhood, are derived from times when ignorance gave countenance to every kind of absurdity.

Mr. Whitbread's scheme for the education of the poor was evidently the production of an ardent mind possessing considerable abilities ; his mind, however, had been irregularly formed by the errors of his early education ; and this was most conspicuous in the speech which introduced the plan he had devised to the House of Commons, and in the plan itself.

The first was a clear exposition of all the reasons for the education of the poor which could be expected from a human being trained from infancy under the systems in which Mr. Whitbread had been instructed.

The plan itself evinced the fallacy of the principles which he had imbibed, and showed that he had not acquired a practical knowledge of the feelings and habits of the poor, or of the only effectual means by which they could be trained to be useful to themselves and to the community.

Had Mr. Whitbread not been trained, as almost all the Members of both Houses of Parliament have been, in delusive theories, devoid of rational foundation, which prevent them from acquiring any extensive practical knowledge of human nature, he would not have committed a plan for the national education of the poor to the sole management and direction of the ministers, churchwardens, and overseers of parishes, whose present interests must have appeared to be opposed to the measure.

He would surely, first, have devised a plan to make it the evident interest of the ministers, churchwardens, and overseers, to co-operate in giving efficacy to the system which he wished to introduce to their superintendence ; and also to render them, by previous training, competent to that superintendence for which now they are in general unprepared. For, trained as these individuals have hitherto been, they must be deficient in the practical knowledge necessary to enable them successfully to direct the

instruction of others; and had an attempt been made to carry Mr. Whitbread's plan into execution, it would have created a scene of confusion over the whole kingdom.

Attention to the subject will make it evident that it never was, and that it never can be, the interest of any sect claiming exclusive privileges on account of professing high and mysterious doctrines, about which the best and most conscientious men may differ in opinion, that the mass of the people should be otherwise instructed than in those doctrines which were and are in unison with its peculiar tenets; and that at this hour a national system of education for the lower orders, on sound political principles, is really dreaded, even by some of the most learned and intelligent members of the Church of England. Such feelings in the members of the national church are those only which ought to be expected; for most men so trained and circumstanced must of necessity acquire these feelings. Why, therefore, should any class of men endeavour to rouse the indignation of the public against them? Their conduct and their motives are equally correct, and, therefore, equally good, with those who raise the cry against and oppose the errors of the church. And let it ever be remembered, that an establishment which possesses the power of propagating principles, may be rendered truly valuable when directed to inculcate a system of self-evident truth, unobstructed by inconsistencies and counteractions.

The dignitaries of the church, and their adherents, foresaw that a national system for the education of the poor, unless it were placed under the immediate influence and management of individuals belonging to the church, would effectually and rapidly undermine the errors, not only of their own, but of every other ecclesiastical establishment. In this foresight they evinced the superiority of their penetration over the sectaries by whom the unexclusive system is supported. The heads of the church have wisely discovered that reason and inconsistency cannot long exist together; that the one must inevitably destroy the other, and reign paramount. They have witnessed the regular, and latterly the rapid progress which reason has made; they know that its accumulating strength cannot be much longer resisted; and, as they now see the contest is hopeless, the unsuccessful attempt to destroy the Lancastrian system of education is the last effort they will ever make to counteract the dissemination of knowledge which is now widely extending itself in every direction.

The establishment of the Rev. Dr. Bell's system of initiating the children of the poor in all the tenets of the Church of England, is an attempt to ward off a little longer the yet dreaded period of a change from ignorance to reason, from misery to happiness.

Let us, however, not attempt impossibilities; the task is vain and hopeless; the church, while it adheres to the defective and

injurious parts of its system, cannot be induced to act cordially in opposition to its apparent interests.

The principles here advocated will not admit the application of any deception to any class of men; they countenance no proceedings in practice, but of unlimited sincerity and candour. They give rise to no one sentiment which is not in unison with the happiness of the human race; and they impart knowledge, which renders it evident that such happiness can never be acquired until every particle of falsehood and deception shall be eradicated from the instructions which the old force upon the young.

Let us then in this spirit openly declare to the Church, that a national unexclusive plan of education for the poor will, without the shadow of doubt, destroy all the errors which are attached to the various systems; and that, when this plan shall be fully established, not one of the tenets which is in opposition to facts can long be upheld.

This unexclusive system for the education of the poor has gone forth, and, having found a resting place in the minds of its supporters, it will never more return even to the control of its projectors; but it will be speedily so improved, that by rapidly increasing strides it will firmly establish the reign of reason and happiness.

Seeing and knowing this, let us also make it equally evident to the Church,—warn it of its actual state,—cordially and sincerely assist its members quietly to withdraw those inconsistencies from the system, which now create its weakness and its danger; that it may retain those rational principles alone which can be successfully defended against attack, or which rather will prevent any attack from being attempted, or even meditated.

The wise and prudent, then, of all parties, instead of wishing to destroy national establishments, will use their utmost exertions to render them so consistent and reasonable in all their parts, that every well-disposed mind may be induced to give them their hearty and willing support.

For the first grand step towards effecting any substantial improvement in these realms, without injury to any part of the community, is to make it the clear and decided interest of the Church to co-operate cordially in all the projected ameliorations. Once found a national church on the true, unlimited, and genuine principles of mental charity, and all the members of the state will soon improve in every truly valuable quality. If the temperate and discerning of all parties will not now lend their aid to effect this change by peaceable means, (which may with the greatest ease and with unerring certainty be done,) it is evident to every calm observer, that the struggle by those who now exist in unnecessary misery, to attain that degree of happiness which they may attain in practice, cannot long be deferred. It will there-

fore prove true political wisdom to anticipate and guide these feelings.

To those who can reflect and will attend to the passing scenes before them, the times are indeed awfully interesting; some change of high import, scarcely yet perhaps to be scanned by the present ill-taught race of men, is evidently in progress: in consequence, well-founded, prompt, and decisive measures are now required in the British councils, to direct this change, and to relieve the nation from the errors of its present systems.

It must surely then be the desire of every rational man, of every true friend to humanity, that a cordial co-operation and unity of action should be effected between the British Executive, the Parliament, the Church, and the People, to lay a broad and firm foundation for the future happiness of themselves and the world.

Say not, my countrymen, that such an event is impracticable; for, by adopting the evident means to form a rational character in man, there is a plain and direct road opened, which, if pursued, will render its accomplishment not only possible but certain. That road, too, will be found the most safe and pleasant that human beings have ever yet travelled. It leads direct to intelligence and true knowledge, and will show the boasted acquirements of Greece, of Rome, and of all antiquity, to be the mere weakness of mental infancy. Those who travel this road will find it so straight and well-defined, that no one will be in danger of wandering from the right course. Nor is it yet a narrow or exclusive path; it admits of no exclusion: every colour of body and diversity of mind are freely and alike admitted. It is open to the human race, and it is broad and spacious enough to receive the whole, were they increased a thousand-fold.

We well know that a declaration like the one now made must sound chimerical in the ears of those who have hitherto wandered in the dark mazes of ignorance, error, and exclusion, and who have been taught folly and inconsistencies only from their cradle.

But if every known fact connected with the subject proves that, from the day in which man first saw light to that in which the sun now shines, the old collectively have taught the young collectively the sentiments and habits which the young have acquired; and that the present generation and every following generation must in like manner instruct their successors; then do we say, with a confidence founded on certainty itself, that even much more shall come to pass than has yet been foretold or promised. When these principles, derived from the unchangeable laws of nature, and equally revealed to all men, shall, as soon as they will, be publicly established in the world, no conceivable obstacle can remain to prevent a sincere and cordial union and co-operation for every wise and good purpose, not only among all the members of the same state, but also among the

rulers of those kingdoms and empires whose enmity and rancour against each other have been carried to the utmost stretch of melancholy folly, and even occasionally to a high degree of madness.

Such, my fellow men, are some, and yet but a few, of the mighty consequences which must result from the public acknowledgement of these plain, simple, and irresistible truths. They will not prove a delusive promise of mockery, but will in reality speedily and effectively establish peace, goodwill, and an ever-active benevolence throughout the whole human race.

The public avowal of these principles, and their general introduction into practice, will constitute the invaluable secret, for which the human mind, from its birth, has been in perpetual search; its future beneficial consequences no man can yet foresee.

We will now show how these principles may be immediately and most advantageously introduced into general practice.

It has been said that "the state which shall possess the best national system of education, will be the best governed;" and if the principle on which the reasoning of these Essays is founded be true, then is that sentiment also true. Yet, (will future ages credit the fact?) to this day the British Government is without any national system of training and education even for its millions of poor and uninstructed!! The formation of the mind and habits of its subjects is permitted to go on at random, often in the hands of those who are the most incompetent in the empire; and the result is, the gross ignorance and disunion which now everywhere abound!!

(Even the recent attempts which have been made are conducted on the narrow principle of debasing man to a mere irrational military machine, which is to be rapidly moved by animal force.)

Instead of continuing such unwise proceedings, a national system for the training and education of the labouring classes ought to be immediately arranged; and, if judiciously devised, it may be rendered the most valuable improvement ever yet introduced into practice.

For this purpose an act should be passed for the instruction of all the poor and labouring classes in the three kingdoms.

In this act, provision should be made,

First,—For the appointment of proper persons to direct this new department of government, which will be found ultimately to prove the most important of all its departments; consequently, those individuals who possess the highest integrity, abilities, and influence in the state, should be appointed to its direction.

Second,—For the establishment of seminaries in which those individuals who shall be destined to form the minds and bodies of the future subjects of these realms should be well initiated in the art and matter of instruction.

This is, and ought to be considered, an office of the greatest

practical trust and confidence in the empire ; for let this duty be well performed, and the government must proceed with ease to the people and with high gratification to those who govern.

At present there are not any individuals in the kingdom who have been trained to instruct the rising generation as it is for the interest and happiness of all that it should be instructed. The training of those who are to form the future man, becomes a consideration of the utmost magnitude ; for, on due reflection, it will appear, that instruction to the young must be, of necessity, the only foundation upon which the superstructure of society can be raised. Let this instruction continue to be left, as heretofore, to chance, and often to the most inefficient members of the community, and society must still experience the endless miseries which still arise from such weak and puerile conduct. On the contrary, let the instruction to the young be well-devised and well-executed, and no subsequent proceedings in the state can be materially injurious. For it may truly be said to be a wonder-working power ; one that merits the deepest attention of the legislature ; with ease it may be used to train man into a demon of mischief to himself and to all around him, or into an agent of unlimited benevolence.

Third,—For the establishment of seminaries over the United Kingdoms ; to be conveniently placed, and of sufficient extent to receive all those who require instruction.

Fourth,—For supplying the requisite expenditure for the building and support of those seminaries.

Fifth,—For the arrangement of the plan which, for the manner of instruction, upon a due comparison of the various modes now in practice, or which may be devised, shall appear to be the best.

Sixth,—For the appointment of proper masters to each of the schools. And,

Last,—The matter of instruction, both for body and mind, in these seminaries, should be substantially beneficial to the individuals and to the state. For this is, or ought to be, the sole motive for the establishment of national seminaries.

These are the outlines of the provisions necessary to prepare the most powerful instrument of good that has ever yet been placed in the hands of man.

The last national improvement which remains to be proposed in the present state of the public mind, is, that another legislative act should be passed, for the purpose of obtaining regular and accurate information relative to the value of and demand for labour over the United Kingdoms. This information is necessary, preparatory to the adoption of measures which will be proposed, to provide labour for those who may be occasionally unable to procure other employment.

In this act provision should be made,

First,—To obtain accurate quarterly returns of the state of labour in each country or smaller district; the returns to be made either by the clergy, justices of the peace, or other more competent persons. These returns should contain,

First,—The average price of manual labour within the district for the period included in the return.

Second,—The number of those in each district who depend on their daily labour or on the parish for their support; and who may be at the period of these returns unemployed, and yet able to labour.

Third,—The number of those who, at the period of each return, are but partially employed; and the extent of that partial employment.

Provision should also be made to obtain a statement of the general occupations in which the individuals had been formerly employed, with the best conjectures as to the kind and quantity of work which each may be supposed still capable of performing.

The want of due attention to this highly necessary branch of government, occasions thousands of our fellow-subjects to be made wretched; while, from the same cause, the revenues of the empire are annually deteriorated to an enormous amount.

We have stated, because it is easy of proof, that the revenues of all countries are derived directly or indirectly, from the labour of man; and yet the British Government, which, with all its errors, is among the best devised and most enlightened that have hitherto been established, makes extravagant and unnecessary waste of that labour. It makes this waste, too, in the midst of its greatest pecuniary difficulties, and when the utmost efforts of every individual in the state are requisite!

This waste of human labour, as it is highly unjust to all, is not only impolitic in a national view, but is most cruel to the individuals who, in consequence of this waste, are the immediate sufferers.

It would be an Herculean task to trace through all their ramifications the various injurious effects which result from the fundamental errors by which man has been, and is governed; nor is the world yet fully prepared for such development. We shall, therefore, now merely sketch some of the most direct and palpable of these effects, relative to the oversight of governments in regard to the non-application or misapplication of the labour of the poor and unoccupied.

It has been shown that the governing powers of any country may easily and economically give its subjects just sentiments and the best habits; and so long as this shall remain unattempted, governments will continue to neglect their most important duties as well as interests. Such neglect now exists in Britain, where, in lieu of the governing powers making any effort to attain these inestimable benefits for the individuals belonging to the empire,

they must content themselves with the existence of laws which must create sentiments and habits highly injurious to the welfare of the individuals and of the state.

Many of these laws, by their never-failing effects, speak in a language which no one can misunderstand, and say to the unprotected and untaught, "*Remain in ignorance, and let your labour be directed by that ignorance ; for while you can procure what is sufficient to support life by such labour, although that life should be an existence in abject poverty, disease, and misery, we will not trouble ourselves with you, or any of your proceedings ; when, however, you can no longer procure work, or obtain the means to support nature, then apply for relief to the parish, and you shall be maintained in idleness.*"

And in ignorance and idleness, even in this country, where manual labour is or always might be made valuable, hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children are daily supported. No one acquainted with human nature will suppose that men, women, and children, can be long maintained in ignorance and idleness, without becoming habituated to crime.

(It would, perhaps, prove an interesting calculation, and useful to government, to estimate how much its finances would be improved by giving proper employment to a million of its subjects, rather than by supporting that million in ignorance, idleness, and crime.

Will it exceed the bounds of moderation to say, that a million of the population so employed, under the direction of an intelligent government, might earn to the state ten pounds each annually, or ten millions sterling per annum ? Ten millions per year would be obtained, by each individual earning less than four shillings per week ; and any part of the population of these kingdoms, including within the average the too young and the too old for labour, may be made to earn, under proper arrangements, more than four shillings per week to the state, besides creating an innumerable train of other more beneficial consequences.)

Why, then, are there any idle poor in these kingdoms ? Solely because so large a part of the population have been permitted to grow up to manhood in gross ignorance ; and because, when they are, or easily may be trained to be willing to labour, useful and productive employment has not been provided for them.

All men may, by judicious and proper laws and training, readily acquire knowledge and habits which will enable them, if they be permitted, to produce far more than they need for their support and enjoyment : and thus any population, in the fertile parts of the earth, may be taught to live in plenty and in happiness, without the checks of vice and misery.

Mr. Malthus is, however, correct, when he says that the population of the world is ever adapting itself to the quantity of food

raised for its support; but he has not told us how much more food an intelligent and industrious people will create from the same soil, than will be produced by one ignorant and ill-governed. It is, however, as one to infinity.

For man knows not the limit to his power of creating food. How much has this power been latterly increased in these islands! And in them such knowledge is in its infancy. Yet compare even this power of raising food with the efforts of the Bosgemens or other savages, and it will be found, perhaps, as one to a thousand.

Food for man may also be considered as a compound of the original elements, of the qualities, combinations, and control of which, chemistry is daily adding to our knowledge; nor is it yet for man to say to what this knowledge may lead, or where it may end.

The sea, it may be remarked also, affords an inexhaustible source of food. It may then be safely asserted that the population of the world may be allowed naturally to increase for many thousand years; and yet, under a system of government founded on the principles for the truth of which we contend, the whole may continue to live in abundance and happiness, without one check; of vice or misery; and under the guidance of these principles, human labour, properly directed, may be made far more than sufficient to enable the population of the world to live in the highest state of human enjoyment.

Shall we then continue to allow misery to predominate, and the labour of man to be most absurdly applied or wasted, when it might be easily directed to remove that misery?

The labour of every man, woman, and child, possessing sufficient bodily strength, may be advantageously employed for the public; and there is not, perhaps, a stronger evidence of the extreme ignorance and fallacy of the systems which have hitherto governed the world, than that the rich, the active, and the powerful, should, by tacit consent, support the ignorant in idleness and crime, without making the attempt to train them into industrious, intelligent, and valuable members of the community; although the means by which the change could be easily effected have been always at their command!

It is not, however, intended to propose that the British Government should now give direct employment to all its working population. On the contrary, it is confidently expected that a national system for the training and education of the poor and lower orders will be so effectual, that ere long they will all find employment sufficient to support themselves, except in cases of great sudden depression in the demand for, and consequent depreciation in the value of, labour.

To prevent the crime and misery which ever follow these unfavourable fluctuations in the demand for and value of labour, it

ought to be a primary duty of every government that sincerely interests itself in the well-being of its subjects, to provide perpetual employment of real national utility, in which all who apply may be immediately occupied.

In order that those only who could not obtain employment from private individuals should be induced to avail themselves of these national works, the rate of the public labour might be in general fixed at some proportion less than the average rate of private labour in the district in which such public labour should be performed. These rates might be readily ascertained and fixed, by reference to the county or district quarterly returns of the average rate of labour.

This measure, judiciously managed, would have a similar effect on the price of labour, that the sinking fund produces on the Stock Exchange; and, as the price of public labour should never fall below the means of temperate existence, the plan proposed would perpetually tend to prevent an excess of nationally injurious pressure on the most unprotected part of society.

The most obvious, and, in the first place, the best source, perhaps, of employment, would be the making and repairing of roads. Such employment would be perpetual over the whole kingdom; and it will be found true national economy to keep the public roads at all times in a much higher state of repair than, perhaps, any of them are at present. If requisite, canals, harbours, docks, ship-building, and materials for the navy, may be afterwards resorted to: it is not, however, supposed that many of the latter resources would be necessary.

A persevering attention, without which, indeed, not anything beneficial in practice can ever be attained, will soon overcome all the difficulties which may at first appear to obstruct this plan for introducing occasional national employment into the polity of the kingdom.

In times of very limited demand for labour, it is truly lamentable to witness the distress which arises among the industrious for want of regular employment and their customary wages. In these periods, innumerable applications are made to the superintendents of extensive manual operations, to obtain any kind of employment by which a subsistence may be procured. Such applications are often made by persons who, in search of work, have travelled from one extremity of the island to the other!

During these attempts to be useful and honest, in the common acceptance of the terms, the families of such wandering individuals accompany them, or remain at home; in either case they generally experience sufferings and privations which the gay and splendid will hesitate to believe it possible that human nature could endure.

Yet, after this extended and anxious endeavour to procure employment, the applicant often returns unsuccessful; he cannot, by

his most strenuous exertions, procure an honest and independent existence ; therefore, with intentions perhaps as good, and a mind as capable of great and benevolent actions as the remainder of his fellow men, he has no other resources left but to starve, apply to to his parish for relief, and thus suffer the greatest degradation, or rely on his own native exertions, and, to supply himself and family with bread, resort to what are termed dishonest means.

Some minds thus circumstanced are so delicately formed, that they will not accept the one or adopt the other of the two latter modes to sustain life, and in consequence they actually starve. These, however, it is to be hoped, are not very numerous. But the number is undoubtedly great, of those whose health is ruined by bad and insufficient food, clothing, and shelter ; who contract lingering diseases, and suffer premature death, the effect of partial starvation.

The most ignorant and least enterprising of them apply to the parish for support ; soon lose the desire of exertion ; become permanently dependent ; conscious of their degradation in society ; and henceforward, with their offspring, remain a burden and grievous evil to the state ; while those among this class who yet possess strength and energy of body and mind, with some undestroyed powers of reasoning, perceive, in part, the glaring errors and injustice of society towards themselves and their fellow-sufferers.

Can it then create surprise that feelings like those described should force human nature to endeavour to retaliate ?

Multitudes of our fellow men are so goaded by these reflections and circumstances, as to be urged, even while incessantly and closely pursued by legal death almost without a chance of escape, to resist those laws under which they suffer ; and thus the private depredator on society is formed, fostered, and matured.

Shall we then longer withhold national instruction from our fellow men, who, it has been shown, might easily be trained to be industrious, intelligent, virtuous, and valuable members of the state ?

True, indeed, it is, that all the measures now proposed are only a compromise with the errors of the present systems ; but as these errors now almost universally exist, and must be overcome solely by the force of reason ; and as reason, to effect the most beneficial purposes, makes her advance by slow degrees, and progressively substantiates one truth of high import after another, it will be evident, to minds of comprehensive and accurate thought, that by these and similar compromises alone can success be rationally expected in practice. For such compromises bring truth and error before the public ; and whenever they are fairly exhibited together, truth must ultimately prevail.

As many of the inconsistencies of the present systems are evident to the most intelligent and well-disposed minds, the way

for the public admission of the important truths which have now been in part unfolded seems to be rendered easy ; and it is confidently expected that the period is at hand, when man, through ignorance, shall not much longer inflict unnecessary misery on man ; because the mass of mankind will become enlightened, and will clearly discern that by so acting they will inevitably create misery to themselves.

(As soon as the public mind shall be sufficiently prepared to receive it, the practical detail of this system shall be fully developed.

For the extensive knowledge of the facts which present themselves on the globe, makes it evident to those whose reasoning faculties have not been entirely paralysed, that all mankind firmly believe, that everybody except themselves has been grievously deceived in his fundamental principles ; and feel the utmost astonishment that the nations of the world could embrace such gross inconsistencies for divine or political truths. Most persons are now also prepared to understand, that these weaknesses are firmly and conscientiously fixed in the minds of millions, who, when born, possessed equal faculties with themselves. And although they plainly discern in others what they deem inconceivable aberrations of the mental powers, yet, in despite of such facts, they are taught to believe that they themselves could not have been so deceived ; and this impression is made upon the infant mind with the greatest ease, whether it be to create followers of the most ignorant, or of the most enlightened systems.

The inhabitants of the world are, therefore, abundantly conscious of the inconsistencies contained in those systems in which all have been trained out of the pale of their own peculiar, and, as they are taught to believe, highly-favoured sect : and yet the number of the largest sect in the world is small, when compared with the remaining sects which have been instructed to think the notions of that larger division an error of the grossest kind, proceeding alone from the ignorance or deception of their predecessors.

All that is now requisite, previous to withdrawing the last mental bandage by which hitherto the human race has been kept in darkness and misery, is, by calm and patient reasoning to tranquillise the public mind, and thus prevent the evil effects which otherwise might arise from the too sudden prospect of freely enjoying rational liberty of mind.

To withdraw that bandage without danger, reason must be judiciously applied to lead men of every sect, (for all have been in part abused,) to reflect that if untold myriads of beings, formed like themselves, have been so grossly deceived as they believe them to have been, what power in nature was there to prevent *them* from being equally deceived ?

Such reflections, steadily pursued by those who are anxious to follow the plain and simple path of reason, will soon make it ob-

vious that the inconsistencies which they behold in all other sects *out of their own pale*, are precisely similar to those which all other sects can readily discover *within that pale*.

It is not, however, to be imagined, that this free and open exposure of the gross errors in which the existing generation has been instructed, should be forthwith palatable to the world ; it would be contrary to reason to form any such expectations.

Yet, as evil exists, and as man cannot be rational, nor of course happy, until the cause of it shall be removed ; the writer, like a physician who feels the deepest interest in the welfare of his patient, has hitherto administered of this unpalatable restorative the smallest quantity which he deemed sufficient for the purpose. He now waits to see the effects which that may produce.

Should the application not prove of sufficient strength to remove the mental disorder, he promises that it shall be increased, until sound health to the public mind be firmly and permanently established.

END OF ESSAYS.

APPENDIX C.

**ADDRESS DELIVERED ON OPENING THE
INSTITUTION FOR THE FORMATION
OF CHARACTER, AT NEW
LANARK, ON THE 1ST OF
JANUARY, 1816.**

[*Copy of Title.*]

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED TO THE INHABITANTS OF

NEW LANARK,

ON THE FIRST JANUARY, 1816,

AT THE OPENING OF

THE INSTITUTION

ESTABLISHED FOR

The Formation of Character.



By ROBERT OWEN.



FOURTH EDITION.



London :

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER ROW; CADELL & DAVIES, STRAND; J. HATCHARD, PICCADILLY; MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET; CONSTABLE & CO., AND OLIPHANT & CO., EDINBURGH; SMITH & SONS, AND BRASH AND REID, GLASGOW; AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1819.

DEDICATED

**TO THOSE WHO HAVE NO PRIVATE ENDS TO
ACCOMPLISH,**

**WHO ARE HONESTLY IN SEARCH OF TRUTH, FOR THE
PURPOSE OF AMELIORATING THE
CONDITION OF SOCIETY,**

**AND WHO HAVE THE FIRMNESS TO FOLLOW THE TRUTH
WHEREVER IT MAY LEAD, WITHOUT BEING
TURNED ASIDE FROM THE PURSUIT BY
THE PREPOSSESSIONS OR PRE-
JUDICES OF ANY PART
OF MANKIND.**

APPENDIX C.

A D D R E S S

Delivered at New Lanark, on Opening the Institution for the Formation of Character, on the 1st of January, 1816.

WE have met to-day for the purpose of opening this Institution ; and it is my intention to explain to you the objects for which it has been founded.

These objects are most important.

The first relates to the immediate comfort and benefit of all the inhabitants of this village.

The second, to the welfare and advantage of the neighbourhood ;

The third, to extensive ameliorations throughout the British dominions.

The last, to the gradual improvement of every nation in the world.

I will briefly explain how this Institution is to contribute towards producing these effects.

Long before I came to reside among you, it had been my chief study to discover the extent, causes, and remedy of the inconveniences and miseries which were perpetually recurring to every class in society.

The history of man informed me that innumerable attempts had been made, through every age, to lessen these evils ; and experience convinced me that the present generation, stimulated by an accession of knowledge derived from past times, was eagerly engaged in the same pursuit. My mind at a very early period took a similar direction ; and I became ardently desirous of investigating to its source a subject which involved the happiness of every human being.

It soon appeared to me, that the only path to knowledge on this subject had been neglected ; that one leading in an opposite direction had alone been followed ; that while causes existed to compel mankind to pursue such direction, it was idle to expect any successful result : and experience proves how vain their pursuit has been.

In this inquiry, men have hitherto been directed by their inven-

tive faculties, and have almost entirely disregarded the only guide that can lead to true knowledge on any subject—experience. They have been governed, in the most important concerns of life, by mere illusions of the imagination, in direct opposition to existing facts.

Having satisfied myself beyond doubt with regard to this fundamental error; having traced the ignorance and misery which it has inflicted on man, by a calm and patient investigation of the causes which have continued this evil, without any intermission from one generation to another; and having also maturely reflected on the obstacles to be overcome, before a new direction can be given to the human mind; I was induced to form the resolution of devoting my life to relieve mankind from this mental disease and all its miseries.

It was evident to me that the evil was universal; that, in practice, none was in the right path—no, not one; and that, in order to remedy the evil, a different one must be pursued. That the whole man must be re-formed on fundamental principles the very reverse of those in which he had been trained; in short, that the minds of all men must be born again, and their knowledge and practice commence on a new foundation.

Satisfied of the futility of the existing modes of instruction, and of the errors of the existing modes of government, I was well convinced that none of them could ever effect the ends intended; but that, on the contrary, they were only calculated to defeat all the objects which human instructors and governors had proposed to attain.

I found, on such a patient consideration of the subject as its importance demanded, that to reiterate precept upon precept, however excellent in theory, while no decisive measures were adopted to place mankind under circumstances in which it might be possible to put those precepts in practice, was but a waste of time. I therefore determined to form arrangements preparatory to the introduction of truths, the knowledge of which should dissipate the errors and evils of all the existing political and religious systems.

Be not alarmed at the magnitude of the attempt which this declaration opens to your view. Each change, as it occurs, will establish a substantial and permanent good, unattended by any counteracting evil; nor can the mind of man, formed on the old system, longer interpose obstacles capable of retarding the progress of those truths which I am now about to unfold to you. The futile attempts which ignorance may for a short time oppose to them, will be found to accelerate their introduction. As soon as they shall be comprehended in all their bearings, every one will be compelled to acknowledge them, to see their benefits in practice to himself and to each of his fellow-creatures; for, by this system, none, no not one, will be injured. It is a delightful

thought, an animating reflection, a stimulus to the steady prosecution of my purpose, beyond—nay, far beyond—all that riches, and honour, and praise can bestow, to be conscious of the possibility of being instrumental in introducing a practical system into society, the complete establishment of which *shall give happiness to every human being through all succeeding generations*. And such I declare was the sole motive that gave rise to this Institution, and to all my proceedings.

To effect any permanently beneficial change in society, I found it was far more necessary to *act* than to *speak*. I tried the effect of the new principles on a limited scale in the southern part of the Island. The result exceeded my most sanguine anticipations ; and I became anxious for a more enlarged field of action. I saw New Lanark : it possessed many of the local circumstances proper for my purpose ; and this establishment became at my disposal. This event, as many of you may recollect, occurred upwards of sixteen years ago. Sixteen years of action is not a short period : extensive changes are the result. You have been witnesses of my proceedings here, from the time I undertook the direction of the establishment to the present hour. I now ask, and I will thank you to make either a public or a private reply,—have any of you discovered even *one* of my measures that was not clearly and decisively intended to benefit the whole population ? But I am satisfied that you are all now convinced of this truth. You also know some of the obstacles which were opposed to my progress ; but you know not a tithe of them. Yet, after all, these obstacles have been few, compared with those which I expected and was prepared to meet ; and which I trust I should have overcome.

When I examined the circumstances under which I found you, they appeared to me to be very similar to those of other manufacturing districts ; except with regard to the boarding-house, which contained the young children who were procured from the public charities of the country. That part of the establishment was under an admirable arrangement, and was a strong indication of the genuine and extensive benevolence of the revered and truly good man, (the late David Dale of Glasgow,) who founded these works and this village. His wishes and intentions towards you all were those of a father towards his children. You knew him and his worth ; and his memory must be deeply engraven upon your hearts. Little indeed could he be conscious, when he laid the first stone of this establishment, that he was commencing a work, from whence not only the amelioration of his suffering countrymen should proceed, but the means of happiness be developed to every nation in the world.

I have stated that I found the population of this place similar to that of other manufacturing districts. It was, with some exceptions, existing in poverty, crime, and misery ; and strongly

prejudiced, as most people are at first, against any change that might be proposed. The usual mode of proceeding on the principles which have hitherto governed the conduct of men, would have been to punish those who committed the crimes, and to be highly displeased with every one who opposed the alterations that were intended for his benefit. The principles, however, upon which the new system is founded, lead to a very different conduct. They make it evident, that when men are in poverty,—when they commit crimes or actions injurious to themselves and others,—and when they are in a state of wretchedness,—there must be substantial causes for these lamentable effects; and that, instead of punishing or being angry with our fellow-men because they have been subjected to such a miserable existence, we ought to pity and commiserate them, and patiently to trace the causes whence the evils proceed, and endeavour to discover whether they may not be removed.

This was the course which I adopted. I sought not the punishment of any delinquent, nor felt anger at your conduct in opposition to your own good; and when apparently stern and decisive, I was not actuated by a single feeling of irritation against any individual. I dispassionately investigated the source of the evils with which I saw you afflicted. The immediate causes of them were soon obvious; nor were the remote ones, or the causes of those causes, long hid from me.

I found that those which principally produced your misery, were practices you had been permitted to acquire—of falsehood, of theft, of drunkenness, of injustice in your transactions, want of charity for the opinions of others, and mistaken notions, in which you had been instructed, as to the superiority of your religious opinions, and that these were calculated to produce more happiness than any of the opinions impressed on the minds of an infinitely more numerous part of mankind. I found, also, that these causes were but the effects of others; and that those others might all be traced to the ignorance in which our forefathers existed, and in which we ourselves have continued to this day.

But from this day a change must take place; a new era must commence; the human intellect, through the whole extent of the earth, hitherto enveloped by the grossest ignorance and superstition, must begin to be released from its state of darkness; nor shall nourishment henceforth be given to the seeds of disunion and division among men. For the time is come, when the means may be prepared to train all the nations of the world—men of every colour and climate, of the most diversified habits—in that knowledge which shall impel them not only to love but to be actively kind to each other in the whole of their conduct, without a single exception. I speak not an unmeaning jargon of words, but that which I know—that which has been derived from a cool and dispassionate examination and comparison, during a quarter

of a century, of the facts which exist around us. And, however averse men may be to resign their early-taught prejudices, I pledge myself to prove, to the entire satisfaction of the world, the truth of all that I have stated and all that I mean to state. Nay, such is my confidence in the truth of the principles on which the system I am about to introduce is founded, that I hesitate not to assert their power heartily to incline all men to say, "This system is assuredly true, and therefore eminently calculated to realise those invaluable precepts of the Gospel—universal charity, good will, and peace among men. Hitherto we must have been trained in error; and we hail it as the harbinger of that period when our swords shall be turned into plough-shares, and our spears into pruning-hooks; when universal love and benevolence shall prevail; when there shall be but one language and one nation; and when fear of want or of any evil among men shall be known no more."

Acting, although unknown to you, uniformly and steadily upon this system, my attention was ever directed to remove, as I could prepare means for their removal, such of the immediate causes as were perpetually creating misery amongst you, and which, if permitted to remain, would to this day have continued to create misery. I therefore withdrew the most prominent incitements to falsehood, theft, drunkenness, and other pernicious habits, with which many of you were then familiar: and in their stead I introduced other causes, which were intended to produce better external habits; and better external habits have been introduced. I say better *external* habits; for to these alone have my proceedings hitherto been intended to apply. What has yet been done I consider as merely preparatory.

This Institution, when all its parts shall be completed, is intended to produce permanently beneficial effects; and, instead of longer applying temporary expedients for correcting some of your most prominent external habits, to effect a complete and thorough improvement in the *internal* as well as *external* character of the whole village. For this purpose the Institution has been devised to afford the means of receiving your children at an early age, as soon almost as they can walk. By this means many of you, mothers of families, will be enabled to earn a better maintenance or support for your children; you will have less care and anxiety about them; while the children will be prevented from acquiring any bad habits, and gradually prepared to learn the best.

The middle room of the story below will be appropriated to their accommodation; and in this their chief occupation will be to play and amuse themselves in severe weather: at other times they will be permitted to occupy the enclosed area before the building; for, to give children a vigorous constitution, they ought to be kept as much as possible in the open air. As they

advance in years, they will be taken into the rooms on the right and left, where they will be regularly instructed in the rudiments of common learning; which, before they shall be six years old, they may be taught in a superior manner.

F These stages may be called the first and second preparatory schools: and when your children shall have passed through them, they will be admitted into this place, (intended also to be used as a chapel,) which, with the adjoining apartment, is to be the general school-room for reading, writing, arithmetic, sewing, and knitting; all which, on the plan to be pursued, will be accomplished to a considerable extent by the time the children are ten years old; before which age, none of them will be permitted to enter the works.

For the benefit of the health and spirits of the children both boys and girls will be taught to dance, and the boys will be instructed in military exercises; those of each sex who may have good voices will be taught to sing, and those among the boys who have a taste for music will be taught to play upon some instrument; for it is intended to give them as much diversified innocent amusement as the local circumstances of the establishment will admit.

The rooms to the east and west on the story below, will also be appropriated in bad weather for relaxation and exercise during some part of the day, to the children who, in the regular hours of teaching, are to be instructed in these apartments.

In this manner is the Institution to be occupied during the day in winter. In summer, it is intended that they shall derive knowledge from a personal examination of the works of nature and of art, by going out frequently with some of their masters into the neighbourhood and country around.

After the instruction of the children who are too young to attend the works shall have been finished for the day, the apartments shall be cleaned, ventilated, and in winter lighted and heated, and in all respects made comfortable, for the reception of other classes of the population. The apartments on this floor are then to be appropriated for the use of the children and youth of both sexes who have been employed at work during the day, and who may wish still further to improve themselves in reading, writing, arithmetic, sewing, or knitting; or to learn any of the useful arts: to instruct them in which, proper masters and mistresses, who are appointed, will attend for two hours every evening.

The three lower rooms, which in winter will also be well lighted and properly heated, will be thrown open for the use of the adult part of the population, who are to be provided with every accommodation requisite to enable them to read, write, account, sew, or play, converse, or walk about. But strict order and attention to the happiness of every one of the party will be enforced, until

such habits shall be acquired as will render any formal restriction unnecessary ; and the measures thus adopted will soon remove such necessity.

Two evenings in the week will be appropriated to dancing and music : but on these occasions every accomodation will be prepared for those who prefer to study or to follow any of the occupations pursued on the other evenings.

One of the apartments will also be occasionally appropriated for the purpose of giving useful instruction to the older classes of the inhabitants. For, believe me, my friends, you are yet very deficient with regard to the best modes of training your children, or of arranging your domestic concerns ; as well as in that wisdom which is requisite to direct your conduct towards each other, so as to enable you to become greatly more happy than you have ever yet been. There will be no difficulty in teaching you what is right and proper ; your own interests will afford ample stimulus for that purpose ; but the real and only difficulty will be to unlearn those pernicious habits and sentiments which an infinite variety of causes, existing through all past ages, have combined to impress upon your minds and bodies, so as to make you imagine that they are inseparable from your nature. It shall, however, ere long be proved to you, that in this respect, as well as in many others, you and all mankind are mistaken. Yet think not, from what I have said, that I mean to infringe, even in the most slight degree, on the liberty of private judgment or religious opinions. No ! they have hitherto been unrestrained ; and the most effectual measures have been adopted by all the parties interested in the concern, to secure to you these most invaluable privileges. And here I now publicly declare, (and while I make the declaration I wish my voice could extend to the ear, and make its due impression on the mind, of every one of our fellow-creatures,) “ that the individual who first placed “ restraint on private judgment and religious opinions, was the “ author of hypocrisy, and the origin of innumerable evils which “ mankind through every past age have experienced.” The right, however, of private judgment, and of real religious liberty, is nowhere yet enjoyed. It is not possessed by any nation in the world ; and thence the unnecessary ignorance, as well as endless misery, of all. Nor can this right be enjoyed until the principle whence opinions originate shall be universally known and acknowledged.

The chief object of my existence will be to make this knowledge universal, and thence to bring the right of private judgment into general practice ; to show the infinitely beneficial consequences that will result to mankind from its adoption. To effect this important purpose is a part, and an essential part, of that system which is about to be introduced.

I proceed to show how the Institution is to contribute to the welfare and advantage of this neighbourhood.

It will be readily admitted, that a population trained in regular habits of temperance, industry, and sobriety; of genuine charity for the opinions of all mankind, founded on the only knowledge that can implant true charity in the breast of any human being; trained also in a sincere desire to do good to the utmost of their power, and without any exception, to every one of their fellow-creatures, cannot, even by their example alone, do otherwise than materially increase the welfare and advantages of the neighbourhood in which such a population may be situated. To feel the due weight of this consideration, only imagine to yourselves 2,000 or 3,000 human beings trained in habits of licentiousness, and allowed to remain in gross ignorance. How much, in such a case, would not the peace, quiet, comfort, and happiness of the neighbourhood be destroyed! But there is not anything I have done, or purpose to do, which is not intended to benefit my fellow-creatures to the greatest extent that my operations can embrace. I wish to benefit all equally; but circumstances limit my present measures for the public good within a narrow circle. I must begin to act at some point; and a combination of singular events has fixed that point at this establishment. The first and greatest advantages will therefore centre here. But, in unison with the principle thus stated, it has ever been my intention that as this institution, when completed, will accommodate more than the children of parents resident at the village, any persons living at Lanark, or in the neighbourhood anywhere around, who cannot well afford to educate their children, shall be at liberty, on mentioning their wishes, to send them to this place, where they will experience the same care and attention as those who belong to the establishment. Nor will there be any distinction made between the children of those parents who are deemed the worst, and of those who may be esteemed the best, members of society: rather, indeed, would I prefer to receive the offspring of the worst, if they shall be sent at an early age; because they really require more of our care and pity; and by well-training these, society will be more essentially benefited, than if the like attention were paid to those whose parents are educating them in comparatively good habits. The system now preparing, and which will ultimately be brought into full practice, is to effect a complete change in all our sentiments and conduct towards those poor miserable creatures whom the errors of past times have denominated the bad, the worthless, and the wicked. A more enlarged and better knowledge of human nature will make it evident that, in strict justice, those who apply these terms to their fellow men are not only the most ignorant, but are themselves the immediate causes of more misery in the world than

those whom they call the outcasts of society. *They* are, therefore, correctly speaking, the most wicked and worthless; and were they not grossly deceived, and rendered blind from infancy, they would become conscious of the lamentably extensive evils, which, by their well-intended but most mistaken conduct, they have, during so long a period, inflicted on their fellow men. But the veil of darkness must be removed from their eyes; their erroneous proceedings must be made so palpable that they shall thenceforth reject them with horror. Yes! they will reject with horror even those notions which hitherto they have from infancy been taught to value beyond price.

To that which follows I wish to direct the attention of all your faculties. I am about to declare to you the cause and the cure of that which is called wickedness in your fellow men. As we proceed, instead of your feelings being roused to hate and to pursue them to punishment, you will be compelled to pity them; to commiserate their condition; nay, to love them, and to be convinced that to this day they have been treated unkindly, unjustly, and with the greatest cruelty. It is indeed high time, my friends, that our conduct—that the conduct of all mankind, in this respect, should be the very reverse of what it has been; and of this truth, new as it may and must appear to many of you, you shall, as I proceed, be satisfied to the most complete conviction.

That, then, which has been hitherto called wickedness in our fellow men, has proceeded from one of two distinct causes, or from some combination of those causes. They are what is termed bad or wicked,—

1st,—Because they are born with faculties and propensities which render them more liable, under the circumstances, than other men, to commit such actions as are usually denominated wicked. Or

2nd,—Because they have been placed, by birth or by other events, in particular countries; have been influenced from infancy by parents, playmates, and others; and have been surrounded by those circumstances which gradually and necessarily trained them in the habits and sentiments called wicked. Or

3rd,—They have become wicked in consequence of some particular combination of these causes.

Let us now examine them separately, and endeavour to discover whether any, and which of them, have originated with the individuals; and, of course, for which of them they ought to be treated by their fellow men in the manner those denominated wicked have to this day been treated.

You have not, I trust, been rendered so completely insane, by the ignorance of our forefathers, as to imagine that the poor helpless infant, devoid of understanding, made itself, or any of its bodily or mental faculties or qualities: but, whatever you may have been taught, it is a fact, that every infant has received all

its faculties and qualities, bodily and mental, from a power and cause, over which the infant had not the shadow of control.

Shall it, then, be unkindly treated? And, when it shall be grown up, shall it be punished with loss of liberty or life, because a power over which it had no control whatever, formed it in the womb with faculties and qualities different from those of its fellows?—Has the infant any means of deciding who, or of what description, shall be its parents, its playmates, or those from whom it shall derive its habits and its sentiments?—Has it the power to determine for itself whether it shall first see light within the circle of Christendom; or whether it shall be so placed as inevitably to become a disciple of Moses, of Confucius, of Mahomed; a worshipper of the great idol Juggernaut, or a savage and a cannibal?

If then, my friends, not even one of these great leading and overwhelming circumstances can be, in the smallest degree, under the control of the infant, is there a being in existence, possessing any claim even to the smallest degree of rationality, who will maintain that any individual, formed and placed under such circumstances, ought to be punished, or in any respect unkindly treated? When men shall be in some degree relieved from the mental malady with which they have been so long afflicted, and sound judgment shall take the place of wild and senseless imagination, then the united voice of mankind shall say, "No!" And they will be astonished that a contrary supposition should ever have prevailed.

If it should be asked,—Whence, then, have wickedness and misery proceeded? I reply, *Solely from the ignorance of our forefathers!* It is this ignorance, my friends, that has been, and continues to be, the only cause of all the miseries which men have experienced. This is the evil spirit which has had dominion over the world,—which has sown the seeds of hatred and disunion among all nations,—which has grossly deceived mankind, by introducing notions the most absurd and unaccountable respecting faith and belief; notions by which it has effectually placed a seal on all the rational faculties of man,—by which numberless evil passions are engendered,—by which all men, in the most senseless manner, are not only made enemies to each other, but enemies to their own happiness! While this ignorance of our forefathers continues to abuse the world, under any name whatever, it is neither more nor less than a species of madness—rank insanity—to imagine that we can ever become in practice good, wise, or happy.

Were it not, indeed, for the positive evils which proceed from these senseless notions, they are too absurd to admit of a serious refutation; nor would any refutation be necessary, if they did not from infancy destroy the reasoning faculties of men, whether Pagans, Jews, Christians, or Mahomedans; and render them

utterly incompetent to draw a just conclusion from the numberless facts which perpetually present themselves to notice. Do we not learn from history, that infants through all past ages have been taught the language, habits, and sentiments of those by whom they have been surrounded? That they had no means whatever of giving to themselves the power to acquire any others? That every generation has thought and acted like preceding generations, *with such changes only as the events around it, from which experience is derived, may have forced upon it*? And, above all, are we not conscious that the experience of every individual now existing is abundantly sufficient, on reflection, to prove to himself that he has no more power or command over his faith and belief than he possesses over the winds of heaven? nay, that his constitution is so formed, that in every instance whatsoever, the faith or belief which he possesses has been given to him by causes over which he had no control?

Experience, my friends, now makes these conclusions clear as the sun at noon-day. Why, then, shall we not instantly act upon them? Having discovered our error, why shall we longer afflict our fellow men with the evils which these wild notions have generated? Have they ever been productive of one benefit to mankind? Have they not produced, through all past ages—are they not at this moment engendering, every conceivable evil to which man, in every nation of the world, is subjected? Yes; these alone prevent the introduction of charity and universal good-will among men. These alone prevent men from discovering the true and only road which can lead to happiness. Once overcome these obstacles, and the apple of discord will be withdrawn from among us; the whole human race may then, with the greatest ease, be trained in one mind; all their efforts may then be trained to act for the good of the whole. In short, when these great errors shall be removed, all our evil passions will disappear; no ground of anger or displeasure from one human being towards another will remain; the period of the supposed Millennium will commence, and universal love prevail.

Will it not, then, tend to the welfare and advantage of this neighbourhood, to introduce into it such a practical system as shall gradually withdraw the causes of anger, hatred, discord, and every evil passion, and substitute true and genuine principles of universal charity and of never-varying kindness, of love without dissimulation, and of an ever-active desire to benefit to the full extent of our faculties all our fellow-creatures, whatever may be their sentiments and their habits,—wholly regardless whether they be Pagans, Jews, Christians, or Mahomedans? For anything short of this can proceed only from the evil spirit of ignorance, which is truly the roaring lion going about seeking whom he may devour.

We now come to the third division of the subject, which was

to show that one of the objects of this Institution was to effect extensive ameliorations throughout the British dominions. This will be accomplished in two ways :—

1st,—By showing to the master manufacturers an example in practice, on a scale sufficiently extensive, of the mode by which the characters and situation of the working manufacturers whom they employ may be very materially improved, not only without injury to the masters, but so as to create to them also great and substantial advantages.

2nd,—By inducing, through this example, the British legislature to enact such laws as will secure similar benefits to every part of our population.

The extent of the benefits which may be produced by proper legislative measures, few are yet prepared to form any adequate idea of. By legislative measures I do not mean any party proceeding whatever. Those to which I allude are,—laws to diminish and ultimately prevent the most prominent evils to which the working classes are now subjected,—laws to prevent a large part of our fellow-subjects, under the manufacturing system, from being oppressed by a much smaller part,—to prevent more than one-half of our population from being trained in gross ignorance, and their valuable labour from being most injuriously directed,—laws to prevent the same valuable part of our population from being perpetually surrounded by temptations, which they have not been trained to resist, and which compel them to commit actions most hurtful to themselves and to society. The principles on which these measures are to be founded being once fairly and honestly understood, they will be easy of adoption; and the benefits to be derived from them in practice to every member of the community, will exceed any calculation that can be made by those not well versed in political economy.

These are some of the ameliorations which I trust this Institution will be the means of obtaining for our suffering fellow-subjects.

But, my friends, if what has been done, what is doing, and what has yet to be done here, should procure the benefits which I have imperfectly enumerated, to this village, to our neighbourhood, and to our country, only, I should be greatly disappointed; for I feel an ardent desire to benefit all my fellow men equally. I know not any distinction whatever. Political or religious parties or sects are everywhere the fruitful sources of disunion and irritation. My aim is therefore to withdraw the germ of all party from society. As little do I admit of the divisions and distinctions created by any imaginary lines which separate nation from nation. Will any being, entitled to the epithet intelligent, say that a mountain, a river, an ocean, or any shade of colour, or difference of climate, habits, and sentiments, affords a reason sufficient to satisfy the inquiries of even a well-trained child,

why one portion of mankind should be taught to despise, hate, and destroy another? Are these absurd effects of the grossest ignorance never to be brought to a termination? Are we still to preserve and encourage the continuance of those errors which must inevitably make man an enemy to man? Are these the measures calculated to bring about that promised period when the lion shall lie down with the lamb, and when uninterrupted peace shall universally prevail?—peace, founded on a sincere good-will, instilled from infancy into the very constitution of every man, which is the only basis on which universal happiness can ever be established? I look, however, with the utmost confidence to the arrival of such a period; and, if proper measures shall be adopted, its date is not far distant.

What ideas individuals may attach to the term Millennium, I know not; but I know that society may be formed so as to exist without crime, without poverty, with health greatly improved, with little, if any, misery, and with intelligence and happiness increased a hundred-fold; and no obstacle whatsoever intervenes at this moment, except ignorance, to prevent such a state of society from becoming universal.

I am aware, to the fullest extent, what various impressions these declarations will make on the different religious, political, learned, commercial, and other circles which compose the population of our empire. I know the particular shade of prejudice through which they will be presented to the minds of each of these. And to none will they appear through a denser medium than to the learned, who have been taught to suppose that the book of knowledge has been exclusively opened to them; while, in fact, they have only wasted their strength in wandering through endless mazes of error. They are totally ignorant of human nature. They are full of theories, and have not the most distant conception of what may or may not be accomplished in practice. It is true their minds have been well stored with language, which they can readily use to puzzle and confound the unlettered and inexperienced. But to those who have had an opportunity of examining the utmost extent of their acquirements, and of observing how far they have been taught, and where their knowledge terminates, the deception vanishes, and the fallacy of the foundation upon which the superstructure of all their acquirements has been raised, at once becomes most obvious. In short, with a few exceptions, their profound investigations have been about words only. For, as the principle which they have been taught, and on which all their subsequent instruction proceeds, is erroneous, so it becomes impossible that they can arrive at just conclusions. The learned have ever looked for the cause of human sentiments and actions in the individual through whom those sentiments and actions become visible,—and hitherto the learned have governed the opinions of the world. The individual has been praised.

blamed, or punished, according to the whims and fancies of this class of men, and, in consequence, the earth has been full charged with their ever-varying absurdities, and with the miseries which these absurdities hourly create. Had it not been a law of our nature, that any impression, however ridiculous and absurd, and however contrary to fact, may be given in infancy, so as to be tenaciously retained through life, men could not have passed through the previous ages of the world without discovering the gross errors in which they had been trained. They could not have persevered in making each other miserable, and filling the world with horrors of every description. No ! they would long since have discovered the natural, easy, and simple means of giving happiness to themselves and to every human being. But that law of nature which renders it difficult to eradicate our early instruction, although it will ultimately prove highly beneficial to the human race, serves now but to give permanence to error, and to blind our judgments. For the present situation of all the inhabitants of the earth may be compared to that of one whose eyes have been closely bandaged from infancy ; who has afterwards been taught to imagine that he clearly sees the form or colour of every object around him ; and who has been continually flattered with this notion, so as to compel his implicit belief in the supposition, and render him impenetrable to every attempt that could be made to undeceive him. If such be the present situation of man, how shall the illusion under which he exists be withdrawn from his mind ? To beings thus circumstanced, what powers of persuasion can be applied, to make them comprehend their misfortune, and manifest to them the extent of the darkness in which they exist ? In what language and in what manner shall the attempt be made ? Will not every such attempt irritate and increase the malady, until means shall be devised to unloose the bandage, and thus effectually remove the cause of this mental blindness ? Your minds have been so completely enveloped by this dense covering, which has intercepted the approach of every ray of light, that were an angel from heaven to descend and declare your state, you would not, because so circumstanced you could not, believe him.

Causes, over which I could have no control, removed in my early days the bandage which covered my mental sight. If I have been enabled to discover this blindness with which my fellow men are afflicted, to trace their wanderings from the path which they were most anxious to find, and at the same time to perceive that relief could not be administered to them by any premature disclosure of their unhappy state, it is not from any merit of mine ; nor can I claim any personal consideration whatever for having been myself relieved from this unhappy situation. But, beholding such truly pitiable objects around me, and witnessing the misery which they hourly experienced from falling

into the dangers and evils by which, in these paths, they were on every side surrounded,—could I remain an idle spectator? Could I tranquilly see my fellow men walking like idiots in every imaginable direction, except that alone in which the happiness they were in search of could be found?

No! The causes which fashioned me in the womb,—the circumstances by which I was surrounded from my birth, and over which I had no influence whatever, formed me with far other faculties, habits, and sentiments. These gave me a mind that could not rest satisfied without trying every possible expedient to relieve my fellow men from their wretched situation, and formed it of such a texture that obstacles of the most formidable nature served but to increase my ardour, and to fix within me a settled determination, either to overcome them, or to die in the attempt.

But the attempt has been made. In my progress the most multiplied difficulties, which to me at a distance seemed almost appalling, and which to others seemed absolutely insurmountable, have on their nearer approach diminished, until, at length, I have lived to see them disappear, like the fleeting clouds of morning, which prove but the harbingers of an animating and cheering day.

Hitherto I have not been disappointed in any of the expectations which I had formed. The events which have yet occurred far exceed my most sanguine anticipations, and my future course now appears evident and straightforward. It is no longer necessary that I should silently and alone exert myself for your benefit and the happiness of mankind. The period is arrived when I may call numbers to my aid, and the call will not be in vain. I well knew the danger which would arise from a premature and abrupt attempt to tear off the many-folded bandages of ignorance, which kept society in darkness. I have therefore been many years engaged, in a manner imperceptible to the public, in gently and gradually removing one fold after another of these fatal bands, from the mental eyes of those who have the chief influence in society. The principles on which the practical system I contemplate is to be founded, are now familiar to some of the leading men of all sects and parties in this country, and to many of the governing powers in Europe and America. They have been submitted to the examination of the most celebrated universities in Europe. They have been subjected to the minute scrutiny of the most learned and acute minds formed on the old system, and I am fully satisfied of their inability to disprove them. These principles I will shortly state.

Every society which exists at present, as well as every society which history records, has been formed and governed on a belief in the following notions, assumed as *first principles*:—

1st.—That it is in the power of every individual to form his own character.

Hence the various systems called by the name of religion, codes of law, and punishments. Hence also the angry passions entertained by individuals and nations towards each other.

2nd.—That the affections are at the command of the individual.

Hence insincerity and degradation of character. Hence the miseries of domestic life, and more than one-half of all the crimes of mankind.

3rd.—That it is necessary that a large portion of mankind should exist in ignorance and poverty, in order to secure to the remaining part such a degree of happiness as they now enjoy.

Hence a system of counteraction in the pursuits of men, a general opposition among individuals to the interests of each other, and the necessary effects of such a system,—ignorance, poverty, and vice.

Facts prove, however,

1st.—That character is universally formed *for*, and not *by*, the individual.

2nd.—That *any* habits and sentiments may be given to mankind.

3rd.—That the affections are *not* under the control of the individual.

4th.—That every individual may be trained to produce far more than he can consume, while there is a sufficiency of soil left for him to cultivate.

5th.—That nature has provided means by which population may be at all times maintained in the proper state to give the greatest happiness to every individual, without one check of vice or misery.

6th.—That any community may be arranged, on a due combination of the foregoing principles, in such a manner, as not only to withdraw vice, poverty, and, in a great degree, misery, from the world, but also to place *every* individual under circumstances in which he shall enjoy more permanent happiness than can be given to *any* individual under the principles which have hitherto regulated society.

7th.—That all the assumed fundamental principles on which society has hitherto been founded are erroneous, and may be demonstrated to be contrary to fact. And

8th.—That the change which would follow the abandonment of those erroneous maxims which bring misery into the world, and the adoption of principles of truth, unfolding a system which shall remove and for ever exclude that misery, may be effected without the slightest injury to any human being.

Here is the ground-work,—these are the data, on which society shall ere long be re-arranged; and for this simple reason, that it will be rendered evident that it will be for the immediate and future interest of every one to lend his most active assistance gradually to reform society on this basis. I say *gradually*, for

in that word the most important considerations are involved. Any sudden and coercive attempt which may be made to remove even misery from men, will prove injurious rather than beneficial. Their minds must be gradually prepared by an essential alteration of the circumstances which surround them, for any great and important change and amelioration in their condition. They must be first convinced of their blindness: this cannot be effected, even among the least unreasonable, or those termed the best part of mankind, in their present state, without creating some degree of irritation. This irritation, must then be tranquillised before another step ought to be attempted; and a general conviction must be established of the truth of the principles on which the projected change is to be founded. Their introduction into practice will then become easy,—difficulties will vanish as we approach them,—and, afterwards, the desire to see the whole system carried immediately into effect will exceed the means of putting it into execution.

The principles on which this practical system is founded are not new; separately, or partially united, they have been often recommended by the sages of antiquity, and by modern writers. But it is not known to me that they have ever been thus combined. Yet it can be demonstrated that it is only by their being *all brought into practice together*, that they are to be rendered beneficial to mankind; and sure I am that this is the earliest period in the history of man when they could be successfully introduced into practice.

I do not intend to hide from you that the change will be great. "Old things shall pass away, and all shall become new."

But this change will bear no resemblance to any of the revolutions which have hitherto occurred. These have been alone calculated to generate and call forth all the evil passions of hatred and revenge: but that system which is now contemplated will effectually eradicate every feeling of irritation and ill-will which exists among mankind. The whole proceedings of those who govern and instruct the world will be reversed. Instead of spending ages in telling mankind what they ought to think and how they ought to act, the instructors and governors of the world will acquire a knowledge that will enable them, in one generation, to apply the means which shall cheerfully induce each of those whom they control and influence, not only to think, but to act in such a manner as shall be best for himself and best for every human being. And yet this extraordinary result will take place without punishment or apparent force.

Under this system, before commands are issued it shall be known whether they can or cannot be obeyed. Men shall not be called upon to assent to doctrines and to dogmas which do not carry conviction to their minds. They shall not be taught that merit can exist in doing, or that demerit can arise from not doing

that over which they have no control. They shall not be told, as at present, that they must love that which, by the constitution of their nature, they are compelled to dislike. They shall not be trained in wild imaginary notions, that inevitably make them despise and hate all mankind out of the little narrow circle in which they exist, and then be told that they must heartily and sincerely love all their fellow men. No, my friends, that system which shall make its way into the heart of every man, is founded upon principles which have not the slightest resemblance to any of those I have alluded to. On the contrary, it is directly opposed to them; and the effects it will produce in practice will differ as much from the practice which history records, and from that which we see around us, as hypocrisy, hatred, envy, revenge, wars, poverty, injustice, oppression, and all their consequent misery, differ from that genuine charity and sincere kindness of which we perpetually hear, but which we have never seen, and which, under the existing systems, we never can see.

That charity and that kindness admit of no exception. They extend to every child of man, however he may have been taught, however he may have been trained. They consider not what country gave him birth, what may be his complexion, what his habits or his sentiments. Genuine charity and true kindness instruct, that whatever these may be, should they prove the very reverse of what we have been taught to think right and best, our conduct towards him, our sentiments with respect to him, should undergo no change; for, when we shall see things as they really are, we shall know that this our fellow man has undergone the same kind of process and training from infancy which we have experienced; that he has been as effectually taught to deem his sentiments and actions right, as we have been to imagine ours right and his wrong; when perhaps the only difference is, that we were born in one country, and he in another. If this be not true, then indeed are all our prospects hopeless; then fierce contentions, poverty, and vice, must continue for ever. Fortunately, however, there is now a superabundance of facts to remove all doubt from every mind; and the principles may now be fully developed, which will easily explain the source of all the opinions which now perplex and divide the world; and their source being discovered, mankind may withdraw all those which are false and injurious, and prevent any evil from arising in consequence of the varieties of sentiments, or rather of feelings, which may afterwards remain.

In short, my friends, the New System is founded on principles which will enable mankind to *prevent*, in the rising generation, almost all, if not all of the evils and miseries which we and our forefathers have experienced. A correct knowledge of human nature will be acquired; ignorance will be removed; the angry passions will be prevented from gaining any strength; charity and kindness will universally prevail; poverty will not be known;

the interest of each individual will be in strict unison with the interest of every individual in the world. There will not be any counteraction of wishes and desires among men. Temperance and simplicity of manners will be the characteristics of every part of society. The natural defects of the few will be amply compensated by the increased attention and kindness towards them of the many. None will have cause to complain; for each will possess, without injury to another, all that can tend to his comfort, his well-being, and his happiness.—Such will be the certain consequences of the introduction into practice of that system for which I have been silently preparing the way for upwards of five-and-twenty years.

Still, however, much more preparation is necessary, and must take place, before the whole can be introduced. It is not intended to put it into practice here. The establishment was too far advanced on the old system before I came amongst you, to admit of its introduction, except to a limited extent. All I now purpose doing in this place is, to introduce as many of the advantages of the new system as can be put into practice in connexion with the old: but these advantages will be neither few nor of little amount. I hope, ere long, even under the existing disadvantages, to give you and your children far more solid advantages for your labour, than any persons similarly circumstanced have yet enjoyed at any time or in any part of the world.

Nor is this all. When you and your children shall be in the full possession of all that I am preparing for you, you will acquire superior habits; your minds will gradually expand; you will be enabled to judge accurately of the cause and consequences of my proceedings, and to estimate them at their value. You will then become desirous of living in a more perfect state of society,—a society which will possess within itself the certain means of preventing the existence of any injurious passions, poverty, crime, or misery; in which every individual shall be instructed, and his powers of body and mind directed, by the wisdom derived from the best previous experience, so that neither bad habits nor erroneous sentiments shall be known;—in which age shall receive attention and respect, and in which every injurious distinction shall be avoided,—even variety of opinions shall not create disorder or any unpleasant feeling;—a society in which individuals shall acquire increased health, strength, and intelligence,—in which their labour shall be always advantageously directed,—and in which they will possess every rational enjoyment.

In due time communities shall be formed possessing such characters, and be thrown open to those among you, and to individuals of every class and denomination, whose wretched habits and whose sentiments of folly have not been too deeply impressed to be obliterated or removed, and whose minds can be sufficiently relieved

from the pernicious effects of the old system, to permit them to partake of the happiness of the new.

(The communities alluded to shall be more particularly described in a future publication.)

Having delivered this strange discourse, for to many of you it must appear strange indeed, I conceive only one of two conclusions can be drawn by those who have heard it. These are,—that the world to this day has been grossly wrong, and is at this moment in the depth of ignorance;—or, that I am completely in error. The chances then, you will say, are greatly against me. True: but the chances have been equally against every individual who has been enabled to make any discovery whatsoever.

To effect the purposes which I have long silently meditated, my proceedings for years have been so far removed from, or rather so much in opposition to, the common practices of mankind, that not a few have concluded I was insane. Such conjectures were favourable to my purposes, and I did not wish to contradict them. But the question of insanity between the world and myself will now be decided; either they have been rendered greatly insane,—or I am so. You have witnessed my conduct and measures here for sixteen years; and the objects I have had in progress are so far advanced that you can now comprehend many of them. You, therefore, shall be judges in this case. Insanity is inconsistency. Let us now try the parties by this rule.

From the beginning I firmly proposed to ameliorate your condition, the condition of all those engaged in similar occupations, and, ultimately, the condition of mankind, whose situation appeared to me most deplorable. Say, now, as far as you know, did I not adopt judicious measures to accomplish these purposes?

Have I not calmly, steadily, and patiently proceeded to fill up the outline of the plan which I originally formed to overcome your worst habits and greatest inconveniences, as well as your prejudices? Have not the several parts of this plan, as they were finished, fulfilled most completely the purposes for which they were projected? Are you not at this moment deriving the most substantial benefits from them? Have I in the slightest degree injured any one of you? During the progress of these measures have I not been opposed in the most determined and formidable manner by those whose interests, if they had understood them, would have made them active co-operators? Without any apparent means to resist these attempts, were they not frustrated and overcome, and even the resistance itself rendered available to hasten the execution of all my wishes? In short, have I not been enabled, with one hand, to direct with success the common mercantile concerns of this extensive establishment, and with the other hand to direct measures which now seem more like national than private ones, in order to introduce another system, the effects

and success of which shall astonish the profound theologian no less than the most experienced and fortunate politician?—a system which shall train its children of twelve years old to surpass, in true wisdom and knowledge, the boasted acquirements of modern learning, of the sages of antiquity, of the founders of all those systems which hitherto have only confused and distracted the world, and which have been the immediate cause of almost all the miseries we now deplore?

Being witnesses of my measures, you alone are competent to judge of their consistency. Under these circumstances it would be mere hypocrisy in me to say that I do not know what must be your conclusions.

During the long period in which I have been thus silently acting for your benefit and for the benefit of each of my fellow-men,—what has been the conduct of the world?

Having maturely contemplated the past actions of men, as they have been made known to us by history, it became necessary for my purpose that I should become practically acquainted with men as they now are, and acquire from inspection a knowledge of the precise effects produced in the habits and sentiments of each class, by the peculiar circumstances with which the individuals were surrounded. The causes which had previously prepared my mind and disposition for the work,—which had removed so many formidable difficulties in the early part of my progress,—now smoothed the way to the easy attainment of my wishes. By the knowledge of human nature which I had already acquired, I was enabled to dive into the secret recesses of a sufficient number of minds of the various denominations forming British society, to discover the immediate causes of the sentiments of each, and to trace the consequences of the actions that necessarily proceeded from those sentiments. The whole, as though they had been delineated on a map, were laid open to me. Shall I now at this eventful crisis make the world known to itself? Or shall this valuable knowledge descend with me to the grave, and you, our fellow-men, and our children's children, through many generations, yet suffer the miseries which the inhabitants of the earth have to this day experienced? These questions, however, need not be asked. My resolutions were taken in early life; and subsequent years have added to their strength and confirmed them. I therefore proceed regardless of individual consequences. I will hold up the mirror to man,—show him, without the intervention of any false medium, what he *is*, and then he will be better prepared to learn what he *may be*. Man is so constituted, that, by the adoption of proper measures in his infancy, and by steadily pursuing them through all the early periods of his life to manhood, he may be taught to think and to act in any manner that is not beyond the acquirement of his faculties: whatever he may have been thus taught to think and to do, he may be effectually made

to believe is right and best for all mankind. He may also be taught, (however few may think and act as he does), that all those who differ from him are wrong, and even ought to be punished with death if they will not think and act like him. In short, he may be rendered insane upon every subject which is not founded on, and which does not remain in never-varying consistency with, the facts that surround mankind. It is owing to this peculiarity in the constitution of man, that when he is born he may be taught any of the various dogmas which are known, and be rendered wholly unfit to associate with any of his fellow-men who have been trained in any of the other dogmas. It is owing to this principle that a poor human being duly initiated in the mysteries of Juggernaut, is thereby rendered insane on everything regarding that monster. Or, when instructed in the dogmas of Mahomedanism, he is thus rendered insane on every subject which has reference to Mahomed. I might proceed and state the same of those poor creatures who have been trained in the tenets of Brahma, or Confucius, or in any other of those systems which serve only to destroy the human intellect.

I have no doubt, my friends, you are at present convinced, as thoroughly as conviction can be formed in your minds, that none of you have been subjected to any such process;—that you have been instructed in that which is true;—that is evident, Pagans, Jews, Turks, every one of them, millions upon millions almost without end, are wrong, fundamentally wrong. Nay, you will allow, also, that they are truly as insane as I have stated them to be. But you will add,—“We are right,—we are the favoured of Heaven,—we are enlightened, and cannot be deceived.” This is the feeling of every one of you at this moment. I need not be told your thoughts. Shall I now pay regard to you or to myself? Shall I be content and rest satisfied with the sufficiency which has fallen to my lot, while you remain in your ignorance and misery? Or shall I sacrifice every private consideration for the benefit of you and our fellow-men? Shall I tell you, and the whole of the civilised world, that, in many respects, none of these have been rendered more insane than yourselves,—than every one of you is at this moment; and that while these maladies remain uncured, you and your posterity cannot but exist in the midst of folly and misery?

What think you now, my friends, is the reason why you believe and act as you do? I will tell you. It is solely and merely because you were born, and have lived, in this period of the world,—in Europe,—in the island of Great Britain,—and more especially in this northern part of it. Without the shadow of a doubt, had every one of you been born in other times or other places, you might have been the very reverse of that which the present time and place have made you: and, without the possibility of the slightest degree of assent or dissent on your own parts, you might

have been at this moment sacrificing yourselves under the wheels of the great idol Juggernaut, or preparing a victim for a cannibal feast. This, upon reflection, will be found to be a truth as certain as that you now hear my voice.

Will you not, then, have charity for the habits and opinions of all men, of even the very worst human beings that your imaginations can conceive? Will you not, then, be sincerely kind to them, and actively endeavour to do them good? Will you not patiently bear with, and commiserate, their defects and infirmities, and consider them as your relatives and friends?

If you will not,—if you cannot do this, and persevere to the end of your days in doing it,—you have not charity; you cannot have religion; you possess not even common justice; you are ignorant of yourselves, and are destitute of every particle of useful and valuable knowledge respecting human nature.

Until you act after this manner, it is impossible that you can ever enjoy full happiness yourselves, or makes others happy.

Herein consists the essence of philosophy;—of sound morality;—of true and genuine Christianity, freed from the errors that have been attached to it;—of pure and undefiled religion.

Without the introduction of this knowledge into full and complete practice, there can be no substantial and permanent ameliorations effected in society; and I declare to you, that until all your thoughts and actions are founded on and governed by these principles, your philosophy will be vain,—your morality baseless,—your Christianity only calculated to mis-lead and deceive the weak and the ignorant,—and your professions of religion but as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.

Those, therefore, who with singleness of heart and mind are ardently desirous to benefit their fellow men, will put forth their utmost exertions to bring this just and humane system of conduct forthwith into practice, and to extend the knowledge of its endless advantages to the uttermost parts of the earth;—*for no other principles of action can ever become universal among men!*

Your time now makes it necessary that I should draw to a conclusion, and explain what ought to be the immediate result of what I have stated.

Direct your serious attention to the cause why men think and act as they do. You will then be neither surprised nor displeased on account of their sentiments or their habits. You will then clearly discover why others are displeased with you,—and pity them. As you proceed in these inquiries, you will find that mankind cannot be improved or rendered reasonable by force and contention; that it is absolutely necessary to support the old systems and institutions under which we now live, until another system, and another arrangement of society shall be proved by practice to be essentially superior. You will, therefore, still re-

gard it as your duty to pay respect and submission to what is established. For it would be no mark of wisdom to desert an old house, whatever may be its imperfections, until a new one shall be ready to receive you, however superior to the old that new one may be when finished.

Continue to obey the laws under which you live ; and although many of them are founded on principles of the grossest ignorance and folly, yet obey them,—until the government of the country (which I have reason to believe is in the hands of men well disposed to adopt a system of general improvement,) shall find it practicable to withdraw those laws which are productive of evil, and introduce others of an opposite tendency.

With regard to myself, I have not anything to ask of you, which I have not long experienced. I wish you merely to think that I am ardently engaged in endeavouring to benefit you and your children, and, through you and them, to render to mankind at large great and permanent advantages. I ask not for your gratitude, your love, your respect ; for on you these do not depend. Neither do I seek or wish for praise or distinction of any kind ; for to these, upon the clearest conviction, I am not entitled, and to me, therefore, they could be of no value. My desire is only to be considered as one of yourselves,—as a cotton spinner going about his daily and necessary avocations.

But for you I have other wishes. On this day a new era opens to our view. Let it then commence by a full and sincere dismissal from your minds of every unpleasant feeling which you may entertain towards each other, or towards any of your fellow men. When you feel these injurious dispositions beginning to arise,—for, as you have been trained and are now circumstanced, they will arise again and again,—instantly call to your recollection how the minds of such individuals have been formed,—whence have originated all their habits and sentiments : your anger will then be appeased ; you will calmly investigate the cause of your differences, and you will learn to love them and to do them good. A little perseverance in this simple and easily-acquired practice will rapidly prepare the way for you, and every one around you, to be truly happy.

END OF ADDRESS.

APPENDIX D.

**LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTER-
BURY ON THE UNION OF CHURCHES
AND SCHOOLS.**

APPENDIX D.

ON THE UNION OF CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS. (*See page 241.*)

TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

MY LORD,

You have now presided for several years with assiduity and regularity over the society for educating the poor in the principles of the national church ; and you have witnessed the almost miraculous change which has been produced on the young mind by your influence, and by those who have acted under your directions.

You have seen ignorance and vicious conduct rapidly give place to comparative intelligence and good habits. The public look on with amazement at the effects which are daily exhibited by the children at the Central School in Baldwin's Gardens. They can scarcely however yet believe, that by a similar process the most neglected and wretched part of our population,—that part which disturbs the public peace, which fills our prisons, and which is left to suffer an ignominious death,—might all have been thus trained, and thus rendered respectable, efficient, and happy members of the British Empire.

But, my Lord, this knowledge is hourly extending ; and the inference must soon become most apparent to every one capable of even ordinary reflection. It is utterly impossible to hide it another year from the public eye. One and all will then ask of you and of every member of the government—" If society possesses this overwhelming influence over the habits and conduct of the rising generation, and that influence is in your hands, why do you not exert it for the safety of the state ?"

The responsibility with which you and they are invested at this crisis is of the most awful nature. The power is with you to lead the public mind to all that is truly excellent, and to secure the permanent well-being of the country on a foundation which neither domestic dissention nor foreign foe could in the slightest degree disturb ; and the power is also with you to oppose the progress of true knowledge for a time, and thereby create a conflict which in the end must prove more disastrous to those who govern than any of former times ; for power and knowledge never

before met, since the world was created, upon terms so nearly equal.

Why do I thus express myself to your Lordship?—It is because I am anxious that the attention of government should be immediately directed to those measures which can alone relieve the country from the dangers with which it is surrounded, and to which it must continue to be exposed while they persevere in acting on notions they can no longer defend—notions, the errors of which every school-boy will soon detect.

You have obtained from Parliament the grant of a million for the erection of churches; and to the principle of the measure no one has objected. It has been thus liberally bestowed in order to improve the character of the population; and if it be at all times requisite that the public money should be expended in the most advantageous manner possible, it becomes a sacred duty under existing circumstances, (when, in the fourth year of peace, fourteen millions must be borrowed to make up the deficiency of the revenue,) that every pound should be appropriated so as to produce the greatest beneficial result.

The experience of past ages, and particularly of the present times, has proved that early training and education produce a more durable impression than can be given by instruction at a later period in life; and that, in consequence, the teaching of the school, without the learning of the church, is far more efficacious than the learning of the church can be without the previous teaching of the school.

To those, however, who have confidence in the good effects to be derived from each, it must be most desirable to have all the benefits of both, when they may be obtained with the same, or nearly the same, expense and trouble.

I well know the lively interest which your grace, and many of the highest dignitaries of the church, in common with the public, now feel in the cause of early education. The experience which has been lately acquired on this most important of all subjects must have removed whatever doubt remained as to the power which may be given to it to well-form the character of every human being.

But your Grace well knows that there is no utility to be derived from the most accurate knowledge of any principles, until those principles shall be carried into practice.

Your Grace, and every real friend to the gradual and rational improvement of society, will rejoice to hear, that buildings may be erected to serve most advantageously the double purpose of church and school; that they may be so contrived as to be complete for each, without the one interfering in any manner with the best known arrangements of the other; and that, thus combined, they would most effectually co-operate in securing to the rising generation every advantage that both are calculated to give.

I do not venture thus to address your Lordship on any mere theoretic opinion ;—the fact exists under my own eye ; the experiment has been tried, and is complete in all its parts ; and, instead of any inconvenience having arisen from this combination of church and school, experience has proved that they ought never to be separated.

And if I greatly mistake not, the period is near at hand—almost arrived—when this combination of church and school shall become a bond of union among mankind ; when the violence of opposing opinions shall be calmed by a true knowledge of the source of all disputed opinions ; and rational selfishness, or true benevolence, shall take place of ignorant dissension.

All, from the highest to the lowest, are deeply interested in this change ; and none, My Lord, will be so essentially benefited by it, as those on whom rests the present responsibility of governing mankind.

If they will not now actively lead on in the right course,—is it possible they can yet be so blind as not to see, what is obvious to many, that the force of circumstances will drive them into measures most hazardous for them and for society ?

To avert this crisis—to produce the change gradually and by universal consent, I would willingly forego every private consideration, and deem life itself no sacrifice in such a cause.

I will now state some of the advantages which the country may derive from having the new churches so erected as to serve the double purpose of church and school.

1st. In those situations in which churches are now deficient for the population, schools will be deficient also ; and Your Grace will admit that, as a foundation for the improvement of society, schools are quite as necessary as churches.

2nd. That fundamentally and substantially to improve the population, schools should be established prior to churches, or, at the latest, at the same period.

3rd. That these new churches and schools, if the measure here recommended be adopted, may be made the instruments of uniting the jarring feelings of mankind on disputed points, which from their nature do not admit of proof, and which therefore ought never to be forced on the young mind ; but should be placed before it when the judgment is ripe and capable of forming a rational conclusion for itself.

Any thing short of this has no pretension to be called liberty of conscience ; and until it can be obtained for the rising generation, man must continue, as he has been, little more than an ignorant animal, incompetent to discern the means which surround him to secure the happiness of his species.

4th. These churches, although when used as churches they disseminate only the peculiar doctrines of the established religion, may on the week days be safely made to give school instruction

to the children of every persuasion. All contribute to their expense; all should therefore derive some benefit from them—nothing exclusive ought here to be admitted.

It is to be hoped that the church of England will set the first example of a church establishment opening its doors to instruct the children of a mixed population, not in its own peculiar religious tenets, but in good habits and substantial knowledge, so as to enable them to become useful men and respectable members of society, either in the persuasion of their parents, or of any other sect to which their maturer judgment may lead them.

This measure would be sound policy in the church. By such wise and just conduct she would disarm her enemies, withdraw the hostility of those who dissent from her, and obtain time gradually to reform herself as society advanced in knowledge.

These considerations are abundantly sufficient to prove the utility and wisdom of the plan of combining the object of a school with every church to be hereafter erected; and the time approaches when the school will become the best protection and safeguard of the church.

All who can anticipate the evils of a violent revolution will adopt every prudent measure to prevent it; and surely none will be more efficacious in this respect than to form a union between the church and the school.

There is however another view of the subject, which must remove all doubt from every mind as to the necessity of the measure recommended. The legislator is about to emancipate the manufacturing labourer from the oppression to which he and his children have been subjected. To secure health and time for instruction to the mass of the people, is a measure of the soundest policy; it is the first step to improve the condition of society. Without it, indeed, the population of these Islands would soon become little better than miserable brutes, having scarcely the form of men.

Yet to give the population time for instruction, and not provide that instruction, would be to mock the reasonable expectations of every reflecting mind; nay, My Lord, it could not fail to prove the certain means of hastening the period when, without the application of effectual remedies society will find itself involved, through ignorance, in violence and confusion.

But, happily for all parties—for the improvement of the poor—for the safety of the rich—at the moment when required, an opportunity presents itself when the ignorance and bad habits of the rising generation may be removed by the influence of the new schools, of the new churches; and those poor children who have latterly been made the victims of a miscalculating cupidity in the manufacturing districts, will come from those schools competent and prepared to return fourfold advantages to the public for the expense and labour which shall be thus bestowed upon them.

You, My Lord, from the experience which the national schools have afforded you, may have some faint idea of what may be obtained by proper attention to the young mind.

But, My Lord, (and I say it as a practical man from my youth up to the present period,) without some such similar experience you can form no adequate conception of the power which the government and the public possess to add to the comfort and well-being of all ranks, by forming and directing the physical and mental capabilities of the working classes in the best manner for themselves and for society.

When these principles shall be thoroughly understood ; when the legislature of this and other countries shall steadily act upon them, and legislate solely in conformity with them ; and when the astonishing effects shall be witnessed which they are sure to produce in practice ;—then will one and all express their astonishment that that which is so obviously true, so plain, and simple, and so perfectly in unison with every known fact—and moreover so easy of application to all the purposes of life,—should have been disregarded for so many ages of the world, and left to be brought into action at this late period of human existence.

I trust, my Lord, that you are destined to lend a helping hand to forward this great work ; and that you will take every prudent step, not only to combine schools with the churches, but to hasten as far as possible their completion, in order that our manufacturing population may not be compelled to acquire bad and vicious habits, because no efficient means have been prepared to make them virtuous and useful members of society.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord, Most respectfully,

Your Grace's

Obt. hum. Ser.

ROBERT OWEN.

New Lanark,

2nd May, 1818.

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AND OF APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

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- dialogues concerning, (see Introduction—i to xxxiii.
- Nicholas, Grand Duke, (late Emperor of Russia,) entertained by Owen at New Lanark—145; he offers to take and provide for two millions of our population—146.

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- Oastler, Richard, and the Factory short time question—121.
- Oastler, Mr. Robert, of Leeds—203.
- Oberlin's school, at Friburgh, visit of Owen and Professor Pictet to—174.
- O'Connor, Feargus, M.P.—212.

- Oldknow, Samuel, of Stockport, the first manufacturer of "British Mull Muslins"—25, 212; seeks the hand of Miss Drinkwater, which breaks the connection between Owen and Drinkwater—39; his proposed union with Miss Drinkwater does not take place—59.
- Oldenburgh, Grand Duchess of, afterwards Queen of Wirtemberg, requests a visit from Owen—146.
- Old and new systems of society, difference between—165.
- Opposition to Owen's name and influence in 1816—131. *hence 1.192*
- Orleans, Duke of, afterwards "King of the French,"—visit of Owen to, with introduction from the Duke of Kent—167.
- Otway, Admiral Sir Robert, assists Owen in his canvass as candidate for the representation of the Lanarkshire Burghs, in 1819—230.
- OWEN, ROBERT,—
- gives his reasons for writing his life, (which he feels to be in many respects an irksome duty,) in the form of two Introductory Dialogues between himself and one of his old friends—i, ix.
 - his birth and baptism at Newtown—1.
 - particulars respecting his family—1, 6, 11.
 - his earliest recollections—2.
 - at school with Mr. Thickness in the mansion of Sir John Powell Price, Bart.—2.
 - nearly loses his life when a child by eating hot flummery—2.
 - considers this accident had great influence on his character—4.
 - becomes an usher in Mr. Thickness's school at the age of seven—3.
 - his strong passion for reading, and the kind of books which he read—3, 13.
 - is religiously inclined, and writes sermons at the age of nine—3.
 - his first conception of error in all religions as hitherto taught—4.
 - his amusements and pursuits as a boy—4, 9.
 - his notions of the injustice of competitive efforts—4.
 - his visits to Parson Drake at Llanllwchaioin—5.
 - his pedigree traced to the Princes of North Wales, by his friend Dr. Donne—5.
 - his Grandfather at the age of ninety—6.
 - his lesson with his cousin in the harvest field—6.
 - meets with an accident while crossing the Severn—8.
 - becomes an assistant in a shop at Newtown—9.
 - incidents relative to his first leaving home—9, 10, 11.
 - his behaviour under the only personal chastisement by his parents—10.
 - his first journey to London at the age of ten—11.
 - goes thence to Mr. McGuffog, of Stamford, in 1781—12.
 - makes Burleigh Park his study—13.
 - endeavours to find out the true religion—16.
 - writes, at the age of twelve, to Mr. Pitt, Prime Minister, on the desecration of the Sabbath at Stamford—16.
 - returns to Newtown and London, and obtains a situation at Flint and Palmer's, London Bridge—18.
 - leaves for Mr. Satterfield's, Manchester—21.
 - enters into the business of machine making with Mr. Jones—22.
 - dissolves partnership with Jones and begins the world by himself at nineteen as a spinner of yarns—23, 25.
 - is offered a partnership with Mr. McGuffog, but declines—24.
 - obtains a situation as manager at Mr. Drinkwater's Cotton Mill—27.
 - his mode of dealing with the workpeople and others—30.
 - is offered, in 1790, a prospective partnership with Mr. Drinkwater—31.
 - his high standing as a maker of the finest yarns—32, 34, 112.
 - works up the first Sea Island Cotton imported from America—33.
 - notices the great attention given to the inanimate and the little to the animate cotton machinery—34.

OWEN, ROBERT, (continued.)

- forms an intimacy with John Dalton, Coleridge, and others, and debates with them in the "*Manchester College*"—35.
- his heterodox opinions a source of fear to the Principal of the College, Dr. Baines—36.
- is solicited, and becomes a member of the "*Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*," and also a member of the Committee—36.
- reads a paper before the Society "*On the Cotton Manufacture*"—37.
- combats a theory in a paper read before the Society, by Dr. Ferriar, that "any man who wills may become a genius"—37.
- his theory that man is "a complicated chemical compound," obtains for him a soubriquet in the Society—38.
- undertakes the superintendence of Mr. Drinkwater's "*Water Spinning Mill*," at Northwich—39.
- his proposed partnership with Mr. Drinkwater put an end to by himself under singular circumstances—39.
- his aptitude in early life to act from feeling, rather than sound judgment, in his personal concerns—42.
- partnership proposed with him by Mr. Samuel Marsland, of Manchester, but declined—42.
- commences to build the "*Chorlton Mills*," which he was to manage for the firm of "Moulson, Scarth, and Owen"—42.
- forms a connection with Messrs. Borrodale and Atkinson, of London, and Messrs. Bartons, of Manchester, under the firm of the "*Chorlton Twist Company*"—42.
- his amusing hunting exploit near Blackburn—43.
- his first journey to Glasgow, and incidents thereon—44.
- his introduction to Miss Dale, his future wife, and first visit to the "*New Lanark Mills*"—46.
- his diffidence in forming acquaintance with women is supposed to have prevented a favourable marriage—47.
- his residence at "*Chorlton Hall*," from which he removes to "*Greenheys*" House—48.
- is induced by a conversation with Miss Spear, of Manchester, to look to Scotland for a wife—49.
- his courtship with Miss Dale, and diffidence in asking her father's consent to their union—50.
- visits New Lanark a third time in 1797, in company with two of his partners, John Barton, and John Atkinson, and negotiates the purchase of the New Lanark Mills and Village for £60,000—52.
- is objected to by Mr. Dale as a suitor for his daughter, but at length is successful—52, 54.
- his marriage on the 30th September, 1799, in Mr. Dale's house, Glasgow, with the ceremony, or rather non-ceremony, on the occasion—55.
- takes his wife to "*Greenheys*" house, where they pass the honeymoon—56.
- takes up his abode at New Lanark, and enters on its "*government*" about the 1st of January, 1800—56.
- finds the population in a deplorable condition, presenting formidable obstacles to the task he has undertaken, and advances cautiously in his measures—57, 60, 83.
- proceeds with his great experiment at New Lanark in accordance with his doctrine of the influence of circumstances—58.
- his ultimate success, although at first greatly opposed—63.
- his measures during the American embargo on cotton in 1806—63, 80.
- disposes of the Chorlton Mills to Messrs. Birley and Hornby—64.
- relates particulars of his friendship and partnership with the celebrated Robert Fulton. in 1794—64.

OWEN, ROBERT, (continued.)

- his children, eight in number, their names, &c.—71.
- great attachment between him and the "good" David Dale, notwithstanding their difference in matters of religious belief—71, 81.
- his journey with Mr. George Mackintosh to the Highlands in 1802—72.
- has the freedom of the royal Burgh of Inverness presented to him at a public dinner—75.
- commenced openly to propagate his "New Views of Society" on his visit to the Highlands in 1802—76.
- had one ninth share in the Lanark Mills at commencement, and in addition £1000 a-year as sole managing partner—78.
- answers the question "*How will you begin to introduce the 'New Views of Society?'*"—78.
- had not the opportunity at New Lanark of creating that combination of circumstances necessary to show fully in practice his "New Views"—79, 85, 212.
- his "Silent Monitor" system for recording the daily conduct of each person employed in the New Lanark Mills—80, 136.
- his advice to Mr. Dale, as to the disposal of his property, in his last illness—82.
- gives away the daughter of Lord Edward Fitzgerald in marriage with General Sir Guy Campbell, and is made her co-trustee with her uncle, the Duke of Leinster—82.
- his first thoughts as to necessity for an Infant School at New Lanark—83.
- his encouragement of the systems of Joseph Lancaster and Dr. Bell by large subscriptions, &c.—84, 106.
- commences in 1809 to build the Infant and other Schools at New Lanark, but which are not completed till 1816—85.
- alarms his partners by his advanced proceedings; notwithstanding which a deputation of their number, after personal investigation of their benefits, approve, and decide on presenting him with a piece of plate—85.
- finding some of his partners still timid about his "New Views," he purchases the New Lanark property in 1809 for £84,000, and forms a new partnership—85.
- has fresh difficulties with two of his new partners, by whom the property is put up to auction in 1813, and bought by himself for a new firm for £114,100; curious incidents of sale—89 to 92.
- is joined in ownership of New Lanark by Mr. John Walker, Jeremy Bentham, Joseph Foster, William Allen, Joseph Fox, and Michael Gibbs—89.
- is received by the inhabitants of Old and New Lanark with great rejoicing on returning, with some of his new partners, after the auction sale—96.
- mortification of his late partners, that they did not purchase, on finding that the profits of the New Lanark establishment for the four years, 1809 to 1813, after interest on capital, was £160,000—98.
- his public life may be said to have now (1813) fairly commenced—98.
- takes Braxfield House, the seat of the late Lord Braxfield, from his son, Mr. Macqueen—99.
- accompanies the four sisters of Mrs. Owen on tours in Great Britain and on the Continent—99, 170, 173.
- gives away one of them (Margaret) in marriage to the Rev. James Haldane Stewart—100.
- the publication of his four "*Essays on the Formation of Character,*" &c., make him known to all the leading men of the period, (1810 to 1815)—103, 107.
- his opinion of the Political Economists of that day—103.

OWEN, ROBERT, (continued.)

- complains of the want of frankness in the general intercourse of society—104.
- encourages Joseph Lancaster to come to Scotland, and presides at a public dinner given to him, in 1812, in Glasgow; on which occasion he first enunciates his principles on the formation of character—106.
- the favourable reception of his principles induces him to write his four "Essays"—107.
- had no coadjutors of his views among his near connections, partners, or friends, until he formed his last partnership in 1814—107, 113.
- interviews with the Archbishop of Canterbury, (Sutton,) and the Prime Minister, (Lord Liverpool,)—108.
- submits his four "Essays" formally to the Government before publication; his interview with Lord Sidmouth, Secretary of State, in consequence—109.
- asks, and the Secretary of State consents, that the Government shall send 200 copies of the "Essays" to the Universities, Foreign Governments, and most learned individuals for examination and criticism; with the result, and further promulgation by the Government—110, 111.
- his interview with the Archbishop of Armagh and Mr. Edgeworth, the latter of whom tells him "he has been in his brains and stolen all his ideas"—110.
- has copies of the "Essays" sent through the Government to all the European Sovereigns and their Prime Ministers; and Napoleon Buonaparte being at Elba, one of his general officers requests a copy for his use—111.
- his introduction to Sir Neil Campbell, and anecdote of Napoleon Buonaparte and the "New Views"—111.
- determines to obtain some public measures of relief for the children and others employed in factories, where slavery exceeds that of the West Indies—112.
- calls a meeting of manufacturers in 1815, with a view to the repeal of the cotton duty, and the alleviation of the condition of factory children and others; the first acceded to, the last rejected—113.
- proceeds to London and obtains an interview with Mr. Nicholas Vansittart, on behalf of the Government, who promises remission of the tax, and favourable consideration of the other questions—114.
- takes a personal canvass of leading Members of both Houses for support on a Factory Labour Relief Bill, which he frames and gets Sir R. Peel to introduce—115.
- to destroy his influence on the factory question, he is charged by the Rev. Mr. Menzies with having addressed his workpeople in treasonable language—118; report of same to Secretary of State, and result—119.
- his examination before the Factory Committee of the House of Commons, and subsequent proceedings on the subject—120, 126.
- his speech at a great public meeting in London, (1816,) and appointment on a committee to consider the cause of and remedy for public distress, which proves a puzzle for Statesmen: he is requested by the Committee to make a formal report—121 to 132.
- his estimate of the chemical and mechanical power of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the total productive power of the United Kingdom in 1816—125.
- finds from an official document that the machinery introduced in the cotton manufacture alone, was in 1816 equal to the labour of eighty millions of men—126.
- his main ground of difference with the "pushing, busy, and ever active Political Economists," stated—129.

OWEN, ROBERT, (continued.)

- his name and influence in 1816 well known, and the opposition it drew forth—131.
- is recommended by the "Distress Committee," (1816) to present his report to Sturges Bourne's Committee on the Poor Laws—131.
- is informed by Mr. Brougham, that after two day's discussion of Sturges Bourne's Committee, it is determined not to examine him, and so publishes a supposed examination of himself in the daily newspapers—132
- decides on calling meetings at the City of London Tavern to consider the cause and remedy for public distress, &c.—133.
- Several of the Foreign Ambassadors seek interviews with him, especially Baron Jacobi and Prince Esterhazy; and Prussia adopts to a modified extent his views of national education—133.
- continues his improvement of the New Lanark population—134.
- his difficulty in obtaining a first teacher and nurse for the first Infant School; James Buchanan and Molly Young appointed—138.
- at request of Mr. Brougham, John Smith, and Henry Hase, he gives up James Buchanan to aid in forming the Infant School at Westminster, the first established in England—142.
- entertains the Grand Duke Nicholas, (afterwards Emperor of Russia,) and suite at New Lanark—145; the Grand Duke offers to take two millions of the population of Great Britain and provide for them in Russia—146.
- visits, by invitation, the Grand Duchess of Oldenburgh, (afterwards Queen of Wurtemburgh,) and his breach of court etiquette—146.
- derives valuable lessons of human nature from the visits of inspection to New Lanark by persons of every variety of manners, habits, prejudices, and knowledge, some specimens of which are given—147
- anecdotes of his wife—148.
- entertains Lord Stowell, Dr. Hammel, Baron Goldsmid, "the good" Baron Just, &c., at New Lanark—149, 150
- receives from the King of Saxony a gold medal of merit—151.
- receives a message from the Duke of York to wait upon him—150.
- receives visits from the Dukes of Kent and Sussex, to whom he explains the relative numbers and incomes of the several classes of English society by means of cubes—151.
- visits the second Infant School at Westminster; description of the proceedings there of Mr. and Mrs. Buchannan—152.
- his attention to William Wilderspin, the manager of the third Infant School, established by the Society of Friends at Spitalfields—153.
- narration of his great public meetings in London in July and August 1817; and of the great sensation produced by them—154 to 165, 188 to 190, 215.
- his extraordinary measures to disseminate the reports of these meetings by the London Daily Press throughout the Kingdom at a cost in two months of £4000—156.
- his interview with Lord Liverpool (the Premier), in consequence of the alarm of the Government at his great popularity—157.
- his care not to implicate any individual in his first public denunciation of all religions as hitherto practised—160; effects of the denunciation—161, 188 to 190; considers it the most important day in his life—162.
- these Proceedings obtain for him the consideration of men of distinction in all parts of Europe and America, but excite the most determined opposition of sectarians at home—163, 189.
- his thoughts of the possible utility of evil upon earth—165.
- visits the Continent with Professor Pictet of Geneva, and Baron Cuvier, who are guests at New Lanark—taking with him letters of intro-

OWEN, ROBERT, (continued.)

- duction from the Duke of Kent to the Duke of Orleans (afterwards "King of the French"), and from Foreign Ambassadors to other persons of distinction—166.
- his interviews with the Duke of Orleans, (afterwards "King of the French,") and the Prime Minister of France—167; and his frequent friendly communications with La Place, Humboldt, the Duke of Rochefoucault, &c.—168.
- has the honour of a sitting in the French Academy, and becomes for six weeks one of the "lions" of Paris—170.
- goes with Professor Pictet to the home of the latter in Geneva—170; anecdotes of the journey—171; and of his introductions to Madame Neckar and the *elite* of the place—172.
- visits the renowned Madame de Stael at Copec, where he meets with M. Sismondi—173.
- visits, in company with Professor Pictet, the three most noted schools in Switzerland, viz, Father Oberlin's at Friburg—Pestalozzi's at Yverdun, and M. de Fellenberg's at Hofwyl—174.
- sends his two eldest sons (Robert Dale, and William) to Fellenberg's establishment at Hofwyl—179.
- proceeds with his partner, Mr. John Walker, to Frankfort, where he prepares his Memorials presented to the Allied Sovereigns at their Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle (1818)—182.
- attends a banquet given by M. Bethman, to the members of the Germanic Diet for the purpose of bringing about a discussion between the great politician, M. Gentz, Secretary to the Congress, and Owen, respecting the "New Views" of the latter—183.
- discovers by this discussion that a rational system of education and employment is incompatible with the present system of European society, and is not desired by the ruling powers of the world—183.
- offers copies of his Memorials to the Emperor Alexander at Frankfort, and curious incident thereon—185.
- delivers to Lord Castlereagh at Aix-la-Chapelle, his Memorials which are presented by that nobleman to the Congress of Sovereigns—186.
- is elected honorary member of the "Swiss Natural History Society," before which he explains his "New Views"—186.
- returns to England and prepares to encounter the opposition which his declaration as to religious teachings had aroused—191.
- a committee is formed to promote his views, of which the Duke of Kent is chairman; and public meetings are held with the same object, at which the Duke presides—194, 214, 225.
- makes arrangements for a purposed visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, with the Duchess and infant Princess (now Queen) Victoria to Braxfield—194.
- receives Dr. McNab, honorary physician to the Duke, and also General Desaix at New Lanark, who visit and report upon the establishment to His Royal Highness—195.
- his last interview with the Duke at Kensington Palace—195.
- relates some particulars of Mrs. Serries, otherwise the Princess Olive of Cumberland, and of his advances of monies to her at request of the Duke of Kent—196.
- his public letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury "On the Union of Churches and Schools"—241, 361.
- his works cease to be published by the great Booksellers at instance of the Church Authorities—201; but are published in the United States, and obtain for him friendly receptions from all who had served as Presidents of the United States, from John Adams to Van Buren—202.

OWEN, ROBERT, (continued.)

- visits Leeds on the invitation of the Poor Law Guardians, and explains his "New Views" at a public meeting presided over by the Mayor—at which a deputation is appointed to visit New Lanark, and report its condition, &c.—203.
- his answers to the expressed wishes of religious visitors to New Lanark: his views on religion, and his exhortation to avoid being misled by mere names—204 to 210.
- enumerates some of the persons in influential station, who took an especial interest in his views—211; and those also who were opposed to them—212.
- attends a public meeting with Sir Robert Peel to prevent the views of Mr. Peel on the currency being carried into effect—213; distress occasioned by resumption of cash payments in 1819—233.
- his frequent visits to Lord Lauderdale, who, on having the "New Views" thoroughly explained to him, asks—"What is to become of us?"—meaning the aristocracy—215.
- his views are brought by petition—from most influential bodies—and discussion before the two Houses of Parliament; singular declarations respecting them in the Commons, by Mr. William Smith, and in the Lords, by Lord Lauderdale, and the result—216.
- attends with Mr. Rush, the American Ambassador; the last "Sheep Shearing" at Mr. Coke's, of Holkham, of which he gives an interesting account—218.
- is apprised of an intended visit to New Lanark, by the Duke of Sussex and Mr. Coke; but which is not made for causes stated—223.
- is requested to be made a Freemason, assents on certain conditions; but on the advice of the Duke of Kent, is not made a member—224.
- becomes a candidate in May, 1819, to represent in the House of Commons the Lanarkshire Burghs—225; and loses the seat by four votes—230.
- whilst travelling with Mr., afterwards Sir Charles Grey, in the Mail coach from Leeds to Scotland, he is taken for Spence, the Agrarian—227; on another occasion, at Macclesfield, he is mistaken for Lord Brougham, and greeted by the populace accordingly—228.
- whilst in London in November, 1819, receives intelligence of a serious fire at New Lanark—229.
- relates the particulars of the mode adopted in forming the character of the children at New Lanark—232.
- is requested by the County of Lanark to present to it a report of his views as to the cause and remedy for the wide-spread distress then existing—233; Report presented in 1820, to a meeting of the County, the Duke of Hamilton presiding—234 subsequent proceedings as to it—236.
- is opposed in his proceedings at New Lanark by one of his partners, William Allen, who objects to the teaching of music, dancing, and the military exercise—235.
- receives the thanks of the French Academy for his Report to the County of Lanark, on public distress, which had been translated into French and German—238; the Report also gives rise to "The British and Foreign Philanthropic Society"—239.
- is urged from all quarters to commence a practical experiment in aid of which £50,000 is subscribed, when it was resolved to establish a model community at Motherwell—239.
- is invited to visit Ireland—239.
- re-publishes an old tract, discovered by Francis Place, written by John Bellers in the 17th century, containing views similar to his own—240
- his account of the Shaker Communities in America—242.

OWEN, ROBERT, (continued.)

- refers to sundry documents relating to his experiments at New Lanark—243.
- his treatment by the Educational Conference in London in 1857—241.
- traits of his character—6, 10, 16, 20, 22, 24, 27, 29, 31, 34, 37, 41, 42, 47, 51, 76, 98, 146, 151, 170, 185, 221.
- his habits, mode of life, food, &c.—2, 3, 4, 9, 13, 14, 19, 22, 24, 49, 71, 99.
- his various residences—Newtown—1; London—11, 18, 193; Stamford—12; Manchester—21, 24, 64; Chorlton Hall—48; Greenheys—49; New Lanark—56; Braxfield House—99; Glasgow—71; Rosebank—101.
- anecdote of his wife—148.
- his eight children—71; Robert Dale, and William Dale sent to M. de Fellenburgh's School at Hofwyl—179.
- his experience as a School Usher—2; as a Shopkeeper, at Newtown—9; at Stamford—13; at London—18; at Manchester—22; as a Machinist, at Manchester—22; as a Cotton Spinner, at Manchester—23, 25, 27, 32, 35, 39, 42; at New Lanark—53.
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- Paris, Owen one of the "lions" of, in 1818—170.
- Parliament, debate in both Houses of, on Owen's "New Views"—217.
- , Owen a candidate for seat in—225. *Hayward's P. P. 217*
- Peace and distress co-existing, a puzzle to Statesmen—121.
- Pedigree of Owen, by Dr. Donne—5.
- Peel, Sir Robert, (the first)—103; takes charge of first Factory Bill in 1815—115, 126; his efforts in opposition to his son's measures as to cash payments—213.
- Peel, Sir Robert, (the second) anecdotes of—109, 158, 214, 230.
- Percival, Dr., President of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society—35.
- Pestalozzi's school at Yverdun, visit to, by Owen and Professor Pictet—177.
- Philips, Sir George, of the cotton spinning firm, of Philips—9, 26, 120.
- Pictet, Professor, of Geneva, a guest at New Lanark, a travelling companion of Owen and Baron Cuvier on the Continent—166, 170, 174, 186, 187.
- Pitt, Mr., is written to, by Owen, on Sabbath desecration—16.
- Place, Francis, the Malchusian Politician—95, 96, 103, 111, 122, 129, 212.
- Plate, piece of, presented to Owen, by his partners—85.
- Pockets, the Emperor Alexander at fault for—185.
- Political Economists, Owen's opinion of—103; and of their measures—127; essential difference with—129.
- Political opponents of Owen, character of—164.
- Poor laws, Owen's proposed examination before Sturges Bourne's Committee on—and how it ended—131, 155.
- Porter, Miss, the novelist—212.
- Priesthood, the, necessity for in infant state of society—105.
- Productive power of the United Kingdom in 1816, Owen's estimate of—125 to 127.
- Provost, Madame, daughter of Professor Pictet—172.
- Punishment, injurious nature of—11, 175; marks of merit or demerit, or partiality should never be exhibited in infant schools—175.

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Reason and common sense, and not force or abuse, to be used in effecting the change to the new state of society—106.

"Reasoning machine" of Owen—36.

Reform of society, useless unless the radical error on which society is based, be abandoned—77.

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Rochefoucault, Duke de la, takes Owen to see his cotton spinning manufactory—169.

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- Short Time Measures—see "Factory Labourers"—
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- Sidmouth, Lord, Owen's interview with, as to his "New Views"—109;
consents on behalf of the Government to submit the "New Views" to
criticism of the Universities, Foreign Governments &c.—the result, and
subsequent proceedings of the Secretary of State—110; receives a de-
putation who make a charge of treason against Owen—119.
- Sismondi, M. Owen meets, at Madame de Stael's—173.
- Sisters-in-law of Owen, their travels on the Continent, &c—99, 170, 173.
- Slavery of shopkeeping—19.
- Slavery of factory operatives in England, used to be worse than slavery
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- Sloane, David, curious habits of, &c.—14.
- Smith, Mr., of Deanstown—35.
- Smith, John, M.P.—142, 211; speech in the House of Commons as to Owen's
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- Smith, Benjamin, M.P.—142.
- Society, powers of, for good, scarcely recognised—235.
- , no heart or soul in, but mere conventionalisms—104.
- , present system of, prejudicial to all ranks and classes—213.
- Spear, Robert, the cotton broker in 1790—33.
- , Miss, introduces Owen to Miss Dale his future wife—45, 49.
- Speirs, Alexander, of Kilbarchan, fine muslin manufacturer—35.
- Spence, author of the Agrarian system, Owen mistaken for—227.
- Spinning, Dale, cotton mills in Sutherlandshire—73, 75, 77.
- Spirits, Owen's belief in—xxxiii, 194, 198, 229.
- Spitalfields infant school, the third of its kind—153.
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referred to in this Volume, but not given in the preceding
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