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THE LIFE OF ROBERT OWEN

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Owen, Robert, 1771-1858.
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THE LIFE OF ROBERT OWEN

BY

HIMSELF

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

M. BEER

AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF BRITISH SOCIALISM"



NEW YORK
ALFRED A. KNOPF

1920

INTRODUCTION

ROBERT OWEN (1771-1858) is a unique figure in the general history of socialism. Unlike Plato and Saint-Simon, he was of humble parentage, and unlike Thomas More, Karl Marx, and Sidney Webb, his school education was of the most elementary kind, and he started out on his career with the three R's. Moreover, unlike all communist, socialist, and anarchist leaders, he was a most successful business man, manufacturer, and social reformer; as such he knew no failure. His *Autobiography* will endure as a monument of strength of character, of charm of personality, of pure and high-minded resolve in the service of humanity. In the Middle Ages, he might have been a socialist Loyola or an Arnold of Brescia. When he arrived at the conviction that by the application of his views, mankind could be made wise, wealthy, and happy, he did not hesitate for a moment to sacrifice all he possessed. "And my decision was made to overcome all opposition and to succeed or to die in the attempt" (see *infra*, p. 181). He strove to make social progress the result of the conscious and purposeful efforts of man, instead of leaving it to the fortuitous play of blind forces.

He was the first British writer who grasped the meaning of the Industrial Revolution. While British Statesmen and statisticians were astonished and bewildered at

the industrial phenomena that overtook them during and after the Napoleonic Wars, Owen, with his strong and simple intellect, saw the source and volume of the new wealth, and he attempted to regulate the continually rising stream of production, to control the inanimate machinery as well as the greed of the employers, and to educate the labouring population, with a view to a peaceful readjustment of society to the new conditions.

In his reform activities he could not but arrive at the conclusion that the social problem was essentially a moral one. He witnessed, on the one hand, the low mental condition of the factory operatives, and, on the other, the ruthless lust of gain of the employers and their hostility towards all attempts to lift Labour to a higher level of human life. The character of man, then, stood in the way of reform. But how was character formed? Evidently, either by man himself or by present and past circumstances. Owen adopted the latter view, since it was in conformity with the ideas he had acquired from practical experience as well as from rationalist literature, and it was also in accordance with the striking changes which he had seen arising in the process of the Industrial Revolution, when the new circumstances (factory system) produced new social strata and views. The mission of the reformer, therefore, could not consist of preaching, admonishing, and punishing the sinners, but of changing the social circumstances—of removing the evil conditions that favoured ignorance, selfishness, crime, misery, hypocrisy, superstition, enmity, and war, and of creating good conditions that favoured knowledge, health, courage, brotherly feelings, and social service.

The creation of good circumstances depended on two conditions: abundance of wealth and education of

the masses. These two conditions he saw being fulfilled in the years from 1812 onwards. With might and main he worked for popular education, factory legislation, co-operative labour, and village communities for the unemployed. His reforming zeal and rationalist views drew upon him the enmity of Capital and the disfavour of the Church, and finally drove him into the arms of communism (1817) and Labour propaganda. Meanwhile, his New Lanark establishment, with its model social reform and educational achievements, acquired world-wide fame—and made converts to the “New Views.” In 1821 Owen was at the zenith of his successful manufacturing and reforming career, but already immersed in his communist plans which he was sketching out for the future. He withdrew from business, and sank his money in communist experiments in America (1824–28). In these he failed. His failure was due to the incompleteness of his theory of character formation. For, contrary to rationalist views, new social surroundings and circumstances do not operate directly on our intellect and volition, nor do they accomplish their work within the period of a few years. Their noiseless transforming operations on our nervous system and mentality are a slow biological process which may take generations before the old impulses, strivings, and passions are sufficiently weakened as to allow the new emotions to take effect. These psychological processes are the cause of those painful disappointments to which revolutionary enthusiasts are exposed whenever they try to force the sudden emergence of socialism from capitalist society.

At the return of Owen from America (1828) the British working classes were establishing co-operative societies, and making ready to enter the political and economic struggle for emancipation. Although differ-

ing in some respects from their methods and ends, he assisted them as best he could. He and they knew that the path of Labour's progress was strewn with lost strikes, miscarried plans, and shattered ideals—and, for all that, they were marching on. Owen will live in their annals as the pioneer of popular education, factory legislation, co-operative movement, and as one of the greatest, most unselfish, and least demagogical teachers and leaders they ever had.

NOTE

REFERENCES are made throughout this book to various documents which the author intended to collect in a supplementary volume. This volume, owing to the author's death, was never issued. It has, however, seemed advisable not to alter these references in the text.

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, superadded, 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 misformed, 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 since 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.

THE LIFE OF ROBERT OWEN

THE LIFE 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 baptized 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 inquiring 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 Welsh Pool. 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 schoolmaster. 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 thenceforward 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 everything 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.

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, etc. etc., 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 plagiarist, 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 favourable 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, etc. 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 favourite 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 organizations 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 everyday 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 civilized 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 inquiry 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 were 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 haymakers 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 twenty-four years of age, and he was twenty-three, 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 keyhole 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 keyhole, 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 favourite 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 favourite of mine also, I frequently went for it to the field, and rode it home, although a young horseman, 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-coloured 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 also ; 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 a half old ; and at length, although I was a great favourite 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 them and took my leave of every one; and I received many a keepsake, 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 inquired 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 favourite I had always been.

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 Welsh Pool, 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.

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 favour 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 favourite hunters, and that Mr. McGuffog, after retiring from business, often hunted with Sir William's hounds; and he remained a favourite 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 pleasure 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 pleasurable 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 any one 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 some-

what 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 bought 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 woefully, 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 reference 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 fellow-men.” 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. McGuffog 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 kind-

ness 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 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, Boroughside, 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 hairdresser 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 banisters to go upstairs to bed. And then I had 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 excursion 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. Heptinstall, 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. McGuffog'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. McGuffog's establishment a piece of the finest Irish linen for chemises that he had for sale. Now Mr. McGuffog 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. McGuffog 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 became 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, disappointed, 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 bedroom 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, etc., 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, 1781, or 1782 ; 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. McGuffog 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 machinery 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 beginning 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 nonplussed 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 inquiries.

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 pro- “ ceedings, 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 inquire 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 celebrated 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 con- " clude 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 favourite 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 manufacturer 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 enter-

prising 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 a 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 some time 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 circum-
stances 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 Man-
chester, 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 part-
nership 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 anyone 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 ex-

tensive 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 washer-women 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 required, 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, 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 favourable 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 acquaint-

ance 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 a 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 hers 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 favourably 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 Greenheys, 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 Greenheys 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 happiness 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 inquiries, 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 Lanark 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 inquiring 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 loup* (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—etc., etc. 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 inquiries, 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 everything as the "establishment now stands." We inquired the price at which he valued this property. He said he was really at a loss to put a value upon it. His half brother, and 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-plussed 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 occupied 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 bridesmaids. 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 was usually longer, adding, "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 inquired 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 the 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 misform 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 shortcomings 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 *reconstruction* 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 "*spree*"—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 anywhere 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. First, 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, secondly, 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 ensure 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 the 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 ensure 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. Kelley 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 important 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 know-

ledge 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 1300, 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 rearranged, 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 proving 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 disbelief 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 con-

tend 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 taskmaster, 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 work-people, I found it necessary, as the foundation of all future success, to make the establishment not only self-supporting, but also productive of 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 readjust 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 for 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, etc., which they required. I bought everything with money in the first markets, and contracted for fuel, milk, etc., 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 anyone.

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 1st 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 *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 hereinbefore 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 pro-

ductive 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 heartfelt 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 anyone 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 inquiring 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 misinstructed 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 we 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, father 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 civilization, 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 travelling 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. Macintosh) 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, etc., 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 resisted 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 favourite 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 Moray 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 formation 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 revolutionize 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 civilization, 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 possessed 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 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 sur-

round the human race must be everywhere 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 superin-

tendents in each mill. If anyone 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 were 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 con-

fidence 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 thousand 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 stayed 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 Borradale 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 com-

menced 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 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 with-
held all funds from me, and would not advance me
sufficient for my house expenses. 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 prac-
ticable. 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 occu-

pation 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 civilization; 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 too 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 pur-

chasing 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 work-people, 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 further 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 victimized 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 confidence 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 some time, 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 some time, 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 straight-

forward, 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. Dennistown, 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 first four essays entitled *New View of Society*. The first two were published in 1812, and the last two 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 preceding 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 friends 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 friends 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 upstairs, 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—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.

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 birthplace 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 Lilius, 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 Lilius, 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, etc., etc. 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.

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

Secondly.—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 misinstruction, 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, unfavourable 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 first four essays on *A New View of Society*, and on the formation of character. The first two essays were published at the end of this year (1812), and the last two 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 administration 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 Dr. 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 the 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 Dr. Sutton." I said I was much obliged to his grace for his consideration of my position, for I could say things to Dr. Sutton that I might hesitate to say to the Archbishop of Canterbury. His grace replied—"Then Dr. 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 mislead 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

“ upon the blank leaves which may occur to them, 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 arch-
bishop 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 Arch-
bishop 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, etc., etc.

At this period John Quincey 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 Neil 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 View*, 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 Bertram 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 View 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 kindgom 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 workpeople 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. That 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 grâce* 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 necessity 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 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 unfavourable 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 overheated 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 first two sessions occupied by the committee to inquire whether the health of young children employed in overheated 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 connexion 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 evi- “ dence 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 noble- “ men 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 “ authorized 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 schoolroom, 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 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.

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 which had been prepared by 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, at my instance, 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 farmyards 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 of 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 workpeople, 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) inquired 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 farmyards 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 farmyards 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 work-people, 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 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. Colquhoun, 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 writing 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 inquire 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 employment 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 em-

ployment, 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 misused 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 everyday 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, baseless notions, far worse than useless. For this misdirection of the rational faculties of humanity, has led all nations and people 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 principle 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 impressed 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 undertone, 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 scrutinizing 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 myself 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. 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-moralize 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 View 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 View* 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 in 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 inquired 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 organized 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, etc., etc., 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 reorganized 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 character 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 overlooker 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 preventer 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 black, 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 were 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 schoolroom 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 himself 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 dying 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 schoolroom 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 pro-

gress 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 civilized world—results which puzzled the most ex-

perienced 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 Bromley—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 character. 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 some time.

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 for himself. It was some time 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 harmonize; 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 fifers, 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 accommodate 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 1200 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 timepiece, 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 criticize these previously unheard-of proceedings, were the late Emperor of Russia, with nine or ten of his nobles and attendants, and among them his favourite 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 in 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 2500 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 manufacturers"—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 com-
"munities." 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 re-
jection 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 Oldenburgh,
afterwards Queen of Württemberg, visited London. She
had heard from the Duke of Holstein-Oldenburgh 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 con-
versation 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 incom- “ prehensible 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, exam- “ ination, 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 playground, 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 practise ; 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 gatekeeper 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 some time, 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 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 apologize 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 it is no wonder we are not known, or that one is so 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 some time 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 some time, 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, stayed some time, 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 organize 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-schoolmaster 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 organize 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 mismanaged 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 acknowledges 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 so 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 civilized 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 civilized 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 of 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 outcasts 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 broadsheets, 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, etc., 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 Liverpool 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, merci-

ful, 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 possessed. 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 rose 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 the London morning and evening newspapers, that the public mind was highly excited over the subject, and that what should be said by me would be widely circulated over the civilized world;—and knowing also that unless a deathblow 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 marshalling 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 popular individual in the civilized 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 I in a firm voice 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 pre-

“vented 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, 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 midday.

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 a manner as ultimately to destroy all falsehood, bigotry, superstition, disunion, ignorance, crime, and misery, and to ensure 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 bondage 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 inquired 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 con-
tinued 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 wit-
nessed 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 in-
itiated 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 *savants* 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 everyday 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 of 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 £8000 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 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 widespread 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 everyday 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 repassed the point of view very often, said he had never seen it to greater advantage. We therefore entered this country of endless magnificent and beautiful scenery, with favourable 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 *élite* 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, when the congress of sovereigns met in 1818 at Aix-la-Chapelle. Among many others, I was also introduced during this visit to Madame Necker, the sister of Madame de Staël, the celebrated opponent of Napoleon I. Madame Necker was the widow of M. Necker, 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 View of Society* very popular at Geneva, and they were always the favourite topic of conversation with Madame Necker 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 permanently to 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 undervalues 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 generalize, 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 Staël, the daughter of the celebrated authoress, and afterwards the wife of the Duke de Broglie. 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 Copet, the seat of the renowned Madame de Staël, 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 Rigi, 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 the 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 playground, they should be taken within the schoolroom, 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 schoolroom."

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 inquired 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 attract-

ing 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 the situation, as well as to build suitable infant schools with playground, 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 yet further to 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 un-mixed 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 imagined, 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 a 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 dis-
“ covered 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, etc., etc. 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, etc., etc., etc.

Another kind-hearted person was then connected with the Russian Embassy, 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 Thurn und 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. Bethman'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 in-

fluenced 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 *savants*, 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 the 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 fulfilled 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 in-

terests, 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 overwork 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 midday, 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 to 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 numerous 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 magni-

tude 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 misgiving 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 organization 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.

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 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 watchword 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 misgoverned, 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 View 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 amount 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 phraseology 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 anything 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 View 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 with 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 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 country 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 View 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 first four 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 acknowledgment 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 cut thus 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 civilized 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 de-

parture 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.

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 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 *séance* these three spirits came in company with the spirits of Channing, Chalmers, Shelley, 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 regenerated 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 first four 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. Edgeworth, the author, and father of the celebrated Miss Edgeworth, 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 entrust 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 knowledge how their characters have been misformed 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. 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-famed

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, etc., for the improvement, comfort, and happiness of the workpeople, the great majority, about 2500, 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 this superior condition of the schools, mills, and establishment generally, was effected without religious interference, and solely by the dictates of common sense, applied to the study of humanity, 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.

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 dis-

“ covered 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 organization 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, goodness, 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 use-

less 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, Persia, 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 religions 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.

Unknowing in what form or manner the Intelligence and Power exists, which creates, un-creates, and re-creates 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 divisions, hatreds, miseries, and dreadful physical and mental sufferings have been produced by the names of Confucius, Brahma, Juggernaut, Moses, Jesus, Mahomet, Penn, Joe Smith, Mother Lee, etc., etc. ! If any of these could have imagined that their names should cause the disunion, hatred, and suffering which 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 practised, 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 my "new views," 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 famous historian 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 equalled.

And as friends, although not disciples, the wealthy Richard Arkwright ; Mr. Samuel Oldknow ; the Marslands, of Stockport, Samuel and Peter ; Mr. Simpson Messrs. Maconnel and Kennedy of Manchester ; Messrs. Gott, Banks, Goodman, Cawood, Baines, etc., of Leeds all at the time brother cotton-spinners.

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 Edgeworth, 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 ; Colonel Torrens ; Thomas Attwood M.P. ; etc., etc.

Among the leading radical reformers who were personally very friendly, but yet were opposed to my *New View 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 View of Society*, and its 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 civilized 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 ensure, 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, sufficiently 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 favourite 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 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 favourite 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 in-

vestigation to its necessary results, or he would have discovered that in the most gradual and peaceable manner his 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 popular 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 favourable 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 favourites 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 us 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 2s. 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 establish-
“ment 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, etc., etc., 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 the 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 everyday 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 this 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 con-

firms 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 patronized 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 Freemasons' 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 View* 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,

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 burghs, 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, 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.

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 intelli-

gent 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 some time 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 Macclesfield, 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 the 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 mistaught 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 some time 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 burgh.

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 misemployed. [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 overwhelmed with visitors to see the establishment, and among these many of high con-

sideration 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 workpeople 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 conceived, 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 everyday 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, education, 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 conduct 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 indoor hours for school ; but the teachers to discover when the minds of the taught, or their own minds, commenced to be fatigued by the indoor 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 work-

people 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 indoor 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 reconstructed 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 mankind.

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 View 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 here so numerous and generally signed petitions by all the contending parties

in churches and State throughout this most learned, wealthy, and populous 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 preceding 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 Bellers. 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 everyday 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-overpowering influences of education, rightly understood, in forming the character of every one, I wrote, in May 1818, 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 forty 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, knowing 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 reprinted 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 Freemasons' 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.

CHIEF WORKS OF ROBERT OWEN

THE BOOK OF THE NEW MORAL WORLD. Containing the rational system of society founded on demonstrable facts, developing the laws of Human Nature and Society. Pt. I. 8vo. (E. Wilson, 1836.)

LIFE OF ROBERT OWEN. By Himself. With selections from his writings and correspondence. Vol. I. (2 parts). 8vo. (E. Wilson, 1857-58.)

NEW EXISTENCE OF MAN UPON THE EARTH. To which are added an outline of Mr. Owen's early life, and an Appendix containing his Addresses, published in 1815 and 1817. 8 parts. 8vo. (E. Wilson, 1854-55.)

A NEW VIEW OF SOCIETY. Essays on the principle of the formation of the Human Character, etc. 8vo. Privately printed (1813-14). Also numerous reprints.

NEW VIEW OF SOCIETY. Tracts relative to this subject. With an account of the public proceedings connected with this subject, which took place in July and August 1817. 8vo. (London, 1818.)

THE REVOLUTION IN THE MIND AND PRACTICE OF THE HUMAN RACE; or, The Coming Change from Irrationality to Rationality. 8vo. (E. Wilson, 1849.)

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE REVOLUTION IN THE MIND AND PRACTICE OF THE HUMAN RACE. To which is added a discourse delivered to the Socialists of London. 8vo. (London, 1849.)

OBSERVATIONS ON THE EFFECT OF THE MANUFACTURING SYSTEM. 8vo. (London, 1815.)

THE ADDRESSES OF ROBERT OWEN (as published in the *London Journals*). Preparatory to the development of a practical plan for the relief of all classes, etc. 8vo. (London, 1830.)

THE FUTURE OF THE HUMAN RACE, etc. 8vo. (E. Wilson, 1853.)

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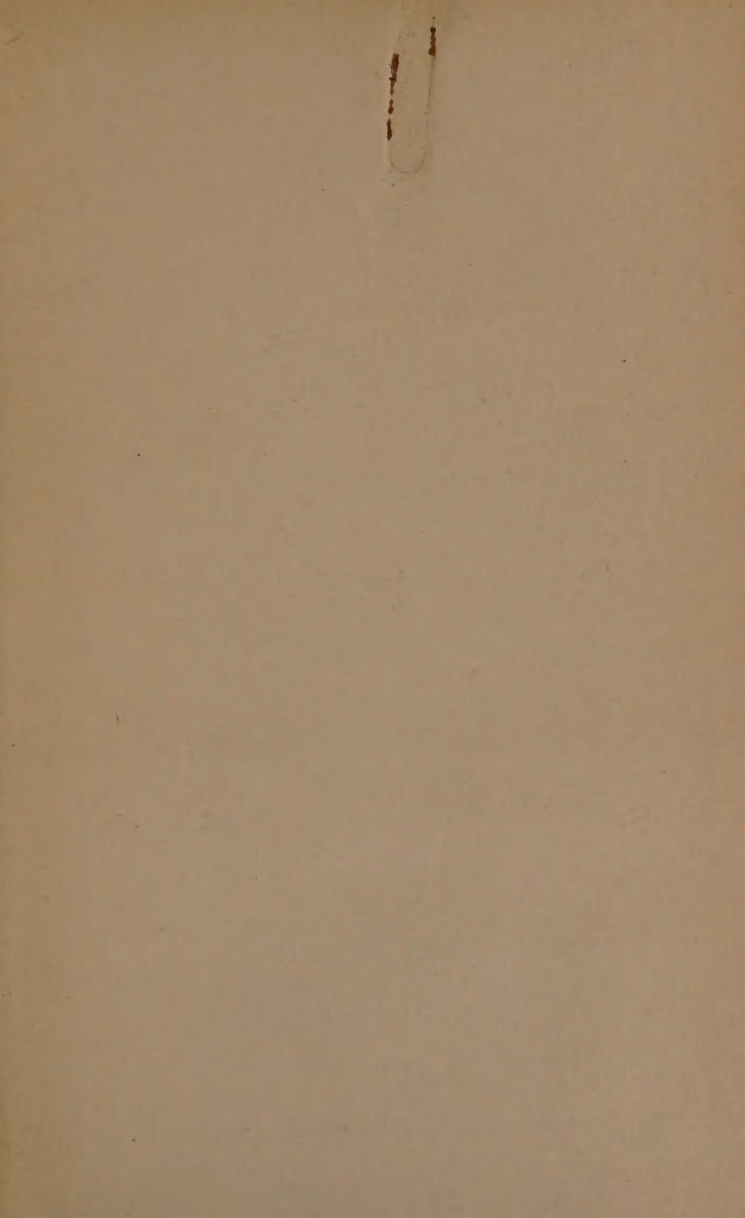
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