

3

ROBERT OWEN'S
OPENING SPEECH,
AND HIS
REPLY TO THE REV. ALEX. CAMPBELL,
IN THE
RECENT PUBLIC DISCUSSION IN CINCINNATI,
TO PROVE
*That the Principles of all Religions are erroneous, and that their
Practice is injurious to the Human Race.*

ALSO,
MR. OWEN'S
Memorial to the Republic of Mexico,
AND A
NARRATIVE OF THE PROCEEDINGS THEREON,
Which led to the promise of the Mexican Government, to place a District,
one hundred and fifty miles broad, along the whole line of frontier
bordering on the U. States, under Mr. OWEN'S jurisdiction,
FOR THE PURPOSE OF ESTABLISHING
A NEW
POLITICAL AND MORAL
SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT,
FOUNDED ON THE LAWS OF NATURE,
As explained in the above Debate with Mr. CAMPBELL.

CINCINNATI:
PUBLISHED FOR ROBERT OWEN,
And sold by all Booksellers in America and Europe.
1829.

~~Soc 880.18~~

1860, Feb. 7.

Soc 880.2.95

Gift of
Joseph H. Clarke,
of Cambridge.
(Class of 1857.)

✓ *

8.147.25

District of Ohio, Sct.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the 8th day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine, and in the 53rd year of the Independence of the United States of America, ROBERT OWEN, of said District, hath deposited in this Office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words and figures following, to wit:—

“ Robert Owen’s opening speech, and his reply to the Rev. Alexander Campbell, on the recent public discussion in Cincinnati, to prove that the principles of all Religions are erroneous, and that their practice is injurious to the human race. — Also, Mr. Owen’s Memorial to the Republic of Mexico, and a narrative of the proceedings thereon, which led to the promise of the Mexican Government, to place a District one hundred and fifty miles broad, along the whole line of frontier, bordering on the United States, under Mr. Owen’s jurisdiction, for the purpose of establishing a new political and moral system of Government, founded on the laws of nature, as explained in the above debate with Mr. Campbell.”

In conformity to the act of Congress of the United States, entitled “ An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned.” And also an act, entitled “ An act supplementary to an act, entitled an act for the further encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts and Books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching historical and other prints.”

WM. KEY BOND,
Clerk of the District of Ohio.

DEDICATED

TO THE GOVERNMENTS

Who desire to relieve the governed from the evils proceeding from the misdirection of mechanical inventions;—by forming arrangements to give the rising generation a superior character from birth, and to render them, by a right direction of their physical and mental capacities, secure, without national or individual contest, in the enjoyment of the necessaries and luxuries of life, requisite for their progressive improvement and happiness.

ROBERT OWEN.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	<i>Page</i>
Dedication—Reasons for this publication,	3 to 6
Preface—Causes which led to the public discussion with Mr. Campbell,	7 to 13

PART FIRST.

Opening speech, containing the arguments to prove that all the religions of the world originated in error—Proved by a development of the laws of nature, that man is not intended to be governed by any religion. Pernicious consequences in practice of all religions. General application of the laws of human nature to the practice of life, 15 to 30

PART SECOND.

Attempt to explain the outlines of a new mode of existence, founded solely on the divine laws of human nature. The laws re-stated to save the trouble of reference. General deductions from the laws. Their particular application to religion. Artificial laws—Private property—War—Marriage—Commerce—Travelling. Existing habits render an imperfect or preliminary Government necessary. Of a natural Government, or one in accordance with the laws of nature. Conditions necessary to human happiness. 31 to 46

A general constitution or universal code of laws. The 28 laws of which it is composed. 47 to 52

APPENDIX A.

The conditions necessary to happiness cannot be obtained under the existing religions, governments or institutions of the world—may be enjoyed without interruption by the whole of mankind under the new mode of existence. Explanations of the nine conditions requisite to happiness, 53 to 69

PART THIRD.

Preliminary remarks relative to the discussion, 71 to 75
 Author's concluding speech in reply to Mr. Campbell.

Author's opinion of Mr. Campbell's abilities for the debate, his honesty in support of the opinions he advocates.

Author confirmed by Mr. C's defence of christianity in his conviction that all religions are founded in an entire ignorance of human nature..

*

CONTENTS.

Mr. C's proofs of the truth of christianity—prove to the author its falsehood.

A Christian population always, from necessity, a population full of deception, and the endless vices to which hypocrisy leads.

Mr. C's sermon—its effects upon the congregation—mental degradation and other evils produced by weekly preachings without reply.

Weekly preachings the most despotic power in the world, and the most powerful instrument to destroy the rational faculties of mankind.

The twelve laws of human nature compared to a casket of jewels, closed from general inspection by a curious spring, which Mr. C. and all trained to be religious cannot open without great perseverance.

Christian religion, according to Mr. C., consists in faith, depending upon testimony.

Intelligent Europeans never think of introducing religious subjects into their rational conversations, because all religions are opposed to reason. Proof of the latter assertion from the christian mysteries and miracles.

Author hopes that Mr. A. Campbell and his father may be in due time, enabled to discover the irrationality and injury that all religions produce among mankind.

Religion, the real present cause of ignorance and poverty, and disunion among the human race.

Specimen of it in Ireland. Great Britain, gorged with wealth, which religion prevents the government knowing how to apply to the benefit of the population.

A great change in the civilized world, rendered unavoidable by the increase of mechanical inventions, chemical discoveries, and the general progress of knowledge among all classes.

These new powers as efficient to produce a universal change, as an army of many hundred millions of men, continually employed in sapping and mining old society, and annually recruited with twenty millions of superior veterans, while there are few deaths and desertions.

Mr. C's quotations from the works of Atheists, Deists, sceptics, etc., of no use in this discussion; the author neither quoting or relying upon any of their arguments. Writings, denominated sacred, of no value, but a great injury to mankind. Destroy the rational faculties of mankind. Would be highly beneficial to collect them into one heap, and consume them with fire. To acquire true knowledge, men must unlearn what they have been taught; become as little children, and have their *minds* born again; be regenerated from old notions by new associations of ideas, being formed from other principles.

Character of man always formed for him, not by him. All religions presuppose the contrary, and in consequence, keep man in perpetual ignorance of his nature. Author's expectation that he may elicit knowledge, to show all parents how to become experienced in forming the characters

CONTENTS.

of their children from infancy in a superior mould, and to become certain of the superiority of their disposition, habits, manners, knowledge, and conduct over the character formed for the past and present generations. The genius and tendency of the Christian religion, similar to the genius and tendency of all other religions; inferior to many in the practice which it has produced. Only mode of judging of a tree, by its fruits. Christianity every where in practice, a system of deception and of money making. Necessarily produces every kind of vice and misery in the population professing it. Is a very inferior mould in which to put human nature. Nothing but disappointment in practice has been ever experienced from it.

Discussion relative to the mode of proceeding between the Chairman, Mr. C., and the author.

Religions have been publicly supported for thousands of years by millions of ministers, and by an expenditure of thousands of millions of pounds; while the laws of nature have never before been publicly advocated in any country. No philosophic argument heard by the author in support of Christianity.

Mr. C. disinterested. All religions founded on the notion of free will in the human race, are in opposition to the fact, that the character of each individual is formed *for* him.

The twelve fundamental laws re-examined, to show their direct application to the subject under discussion, to which Mr. C. did not perceive their connection. A knowledge of these laws will enable the adult population to acquire the means of new moulding the character of the rising generation; of making real virtue permanent, and of destroying the sources of vice. Mr. C., impatient under this review of the laws. Author's explanation respecting Deity; and the connection between the sexes, in reply to Mr. C's misconceptions upon these subjects. Formation of character, the most important of all sciences. The conclusion, and Mr. C's manœuvre to give the appearance of popularity to one side of the question, 77 to 125

APPENDIX B.

Reasons for each of the twenty-eight laws contained in the natural code of laws, from 127 to 146

General observations relative to the discussion. Time for reflection having elapsed, may be coolly considered. First public discussion upon the principles of human nature, and in opposition to popular belief, that the ignorance of mankind has ever yet permitted to take place. Credit due to the United States, and to the city of Cincinnati in particular; uncommon decorum of the audience. Mr. C's manœuvre at its termination. No personal victory in the contemplation of the author, but a simple and single desire to elicit truth. Impression made by the discussion on the audience; Mr. C. and the author. General feeling of charity for the opinions of others, and good will to opponents created by the discussion.

CONTENTS.

Hopes expressed that this charity and good feeling may become universal among and between Christians, Jews, Mahomedans, Hindoos, and all others, however different they may have been made by education. Effect produced on the mind of the author by the discussion; the most complete confirmation that all religions were founded in ignorance, and most injurious in practice to the human race. Mr. C. and the author view religion through different mediums, and came to opposite conclusions, without either having the power by his own will, to change his opinion. Full examination of this interesting part of the subject. Loss of time to discuss these subjects until the parties agree upon the first principles of human nature. Author declined discussing any of Mr. C's metaphysical questions, and Mr. C. declined to examine the author's first principles of human nature, consequently there could be no direct discussion between the parties on the subject of the debate. But the public obtain important documents to enable it to form correct opinions between the two systems; as soon as it can be made to overcome a sufficient amount of early prepossessions, to be somewhat impartial in its judgment.

Mr. C., by his early instructions, compelled to consider man as a being who possesses the power to form his thoughts, feelings, and actions. The author, compelled by his observation of facts, to consider man passive in his own formation, and in the acquirement of his feelings, thoughts, motives to action, and conduct. The former impression, the real cause of ignorance, of vicious feelings, of injurious actions, and bad conduct. The latter, the only knowledge that can produce universal charity and good feelings among the human race. The one the origin of all evils, the other of all good; therefore, highly important that the latter may stand the test of examination and prove true. The world, now under a moral delusion upon these subjects, as general as it was under a physical delusion in the days of Copernicus and Gallileo.

Who is to judge in these matters; those who have retained their early prejudices, or those who have been enabled to overcome them? Literary men, incompetent to form a judgment upon matters of practice; and practical men equally incompetent to investigate first principles. All classes suffer from this separation of a knowledge of principles and practice.—None conscious of the extent of benefits to be derived from introducing into practice the science of the formation of character. These principles being placed on record, the author, regardless of minor matters, which, upon all occasions he yielded to the wishes of the Moderators, and Mr. C., under the conviction that truth must ultimately prevail.

Author's reasons for opposing all religions; the good of mankind. He desires to introduce a superior practice in all the concerns of life, exemplified by his experiments at New Lanark.

Rational infant schools first established there, and the first step of the practice of the social system. Short history of the introduction of these schools into England. Great business of the human race to educate their successors aright.

CONTENTS.

These are the author's impressions, after calmly reflecting upon the debate, and he awaits Mr. Campbell's reflections upon it, - 147 to 174

PART FOURTH.

Narrative of the author's voyage to Mexico. Proceeding relative to his application for the Jurisdiction over the Province of Coahuila and Texas. Proceedings in London, which induced the author to make the voyage.

Memorial to the Republic of Mexico, and the state of Coahuila and Texas. Departure from Falmouth. Landing at Jacquemel. Landing at Jamaica. Reception by Vice Admiral Fleeming, on board the Barham—its hospitalities. Visit to the Authorities in the Island. Observations on slavery, as seen by the author in the Island. Departure from Jamaica. Arrival at Vera Cruz. Journey to Jalapa. Detention there waiting for the escort of General Rincon. Journey to Puebla. Meeting with General Santa Anna at Perote. Interview with the Bishop of Puebla.

Journey to the city of Mexico—take up my quarters at Mr. Richard Exter's. Visits on the day of arrival to the British, American, and Dutch Ministers; the British Consul General, etc.

Procession to the Cathedral, in honor of Guerrero's election to the Presidency. Play. Continuation of the fete on Monday, terminating with a ball and supper.

Introduction by Mr. Packenham, to the President Victoria. Favorable result of the interview. Interview with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Bocanegra. Interview with the 1st Secretary of the Hacienda.

Breakfast with Mr. Poinsett. First impressions respecting his character. Conversation between Mr. Poinsett and the author, relative to the extraordinary position of the civilized world; more particularly of Great Britain and the United States.

Ease with which a few leading characters in these two countries could change the present religious and political systems of the world, and secure a superior existence to the human race. Author's opinion that Brougham alone could effect this change, if he possessed sufficient moral courage.

Intended proceedings of the author after leaving Mexico. Visit with Mr. Packenham to the castle of Chapultepec and the Aqueduct. Communication to him of my ulterior views. Dinner at Mr. Packenham's. Visit to Major General Wavell—to Viesca Blanco, Deputy to Congress from the state of Coahuila and Texas, and brother to the Vice Governor. To Sr. Delgado, Senator to Congress from the same state. To Sr. Don Juan Escalante, Deputy to Congress from the state of Sonora. To Sr. Espinosa, (Conde del Penasco.) To Mr. Grothe. Meeting at Mr. Exter's in the evening, to explain some of the author's views to the British residents in the city.

Breakfast with Mr. Poinsett, and a renewed conversation relative to the great interests of society, and the measures requisite in practice to attain

CONTENTS.

and secure them for all countries. Meeting at Mr. Exter's with Sr. Don Agustin Bustamante.

Dinner at Mr. Chabot's. At midnight alone in the great square of the city—challenged by the sentinel. Breakfasted with Mr. Poinsett. Renewed conversation relative to Mexico, the United States, and Great Britain. Dinner at Mr. Grothe's. Visit to Sr. Don Ysidro Yanez, Judge of the High Court of Justice. To the family of Sr. Escandon, friend of the Bishop of Puebla.

Dinner at Mr. Poinsett's, to meet the leading political characters in the Republic. Governor of the state of Mexico. Minister for Foreign Affairs. Commissary General. Minister of Justice, etc. etc.

Mexicans in good spirits, have great confidence in Mr. Poinsett, who desires to induce the new administration to adopt sound principles of Government, and to restrain all violence. Expectation that the new will be somewhat superior to the former government.

Notions on which the human character has been hitherto formed, incompetent to produce any thing permanently beneficial. Generate only whims and caprice in opposition to reason. Renewed conversation at Mr. Exter's, with Sr. Don Agustin Bustamante.

Mexican races under British influence and fashion; varied customs. Mr. Ball. Better sport and attendance than anticipated.

Letters by British Packet from Jamaica. Fairy, Brig of War, waiting at Vera Cruz to convey me to New Orleans. Take leave of Mr. Packenham, Mr. Poinsett, and Mr. Grothe; dined with Mr. Chabot. Visited the Halls of Congress. Parting interview with the President. Recommend to him that Mr. and Mrs. Thompson should take charge of the infant schools in Mexico. President of opinion that the state of Sonora and California are, as well as Texas, prepared for the adoption of the improved plan of society. Opinion expressed, that the Roman Catholic clergy will, when they study the subject, and understand its advantages, aid the Government to introduce it generally.

Last visit to Mr. Poinsett—interesting conversation. Leave Mexico on the 18th of February—arrive at Puebla on the 20th. Conversation with Sr. Escandon; with the Bishop. He agrees with the opinion that the old system of governing the world by religion is worn out.

Recommend a union of church, government and people, to form a superior and permanent mode of conducting society, for their mutual benefit. Appeared much inclined to assist in ameliorating the condition of society on liberal principles.

Leave Puebla, and proceed through roads said to be infested with robbers who murder travellers; but none appeared in the whole journey. Serious accident to Mr. B. Met Mr. Wm. McClure. Arrived at Jalapa—very interesting interview with General Santa Anna. Mr. Robert Haven interprets between us.

CONTENTS.

The General expresses a wish, that the principles of the new state of existence, and the practice to which they lead should be translated into Spanish, formed into familiar dialogues, and generally distributed throughout the states of the Republic. Satisfactory termination of the interview. Leave Jalapa, and arrive at Vera Cruz. Visits to friends there.

Polite attentions of captain Sandom, of H. M. Frigate *Druid*, and Captain Blair, of the Brig of War *Fairy*. Go on board the latter 1st March, and sail early 2d. Two gulf storms, but arrive after an agreeable passage, on the 10th, in the Mississippi, and in New Orleans on the 12th.

Regret at parting with captain Blair and the officers of the *Fairy*. Voyage up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. Arrival at New Harmony. The author remains with his sons six days. Voyage continued up the Ohio to Louisville and to Cincinnati, where the author landed on the 10th of April, and learned that Mr. Alexander Campbell had arrived from Virginia three hours before.

Public discussion commenced on the morning of the 13th April. The victory claimed for him by Mr. C's friends, but truth and good feelings have been the victor, and the public must discover how much of these belong to the principles advocated by both parties.

Remarkable that the author arrived at and left the principal places, distant as they were from each other, at which he had important business to transact, within a day or two of the time anticipated before he left London,

175 to 226

TO THE PUBLIC.

REASONS FOR THIS PUBLICATION.

WHEN Mr. Alexander Campbell and the author met, after their arrival at Cincinnati, it became necessary to arrange the mode of conducting the debate.

The author proposed that, he should state the facts and arguments in proof of the truth of the principles which he had undertaken to establish, that, after due time for consideration, Mr. C. should answer this statement by agreeing or dissenting, according to his conviction; and that the author should reply to Mr. C's objections, if any were made.

This was the regular and natural mode of proceeding; but Mr. C. was not prepared for it, and said it was contrary to the plan adopted in his former debates. He had been accustomed to speak alternately, every thirty minutes, with his opponent, and he very much wished to be allowed to pursue the same course in the present case.

The author, influenced by the same principles which he advocated in the debate, preferred the gratification of Mr. C's feelings to his own, and acceded to his wishes.

He did so the more readily, because he felt confident of the truth of the facts and deductions which he intended to make from them, and equally so that Mr. C. had to defend popular notions, founded solely in the errors of his education.

But by yielding to Mr. C's wishes, the necessity was created for this publication, that the public might have a connected view of the author's reasons for rejecting all religions, as they are now taught and practised by the world.

This work contains no part of Mr. Alexander Campbell's arguments in opposition to the author's statements, or in favor of the Christian religion.

These will be given at large in the work which Mr. Campbell is editing, which will contain a full history of the discussion. After the utmost ingenuity of the human mind has been exerted, without success, for several thousand years, to convince the reasonable part of mankind of the truth and value of religion, nothing new upon the subject can be expected now, or at any subsequent period. It is said, *without success*, for if it had been otherwise, the late public discussion could not have taken place.

But independent of every other reason for the omission in this work of the mere wordy part of the *discussion* between the parties, it is believed that the facts herein stated, with the deductions from them, and their application to practice, will render all the speculations on the subject of religion nugatory.

The facts stated by the author relative to human nature, and any religious speculation, cannot both be true. One *must* be in error, for they are in direct opposition to each other. The facts relative to human nature, are derived *from the strongest of all evidences—the immediate evidences of our senses*. All the religions of the world are derived from *the weakest of all evidences; the testimony of ignorant and interested men, through the darkest and most bigoted eyes of the world*. The former will, in due time, force their invaluable truths upon the human race, while the latter cannot be received by any mind not previously made irrational upon the subject of religion.

The latter *has* produced war on earth and ill will to man. The former *will* produce peace on earth and good will to man. These results are the necessary effects of the truth of the former, and of the errors of the latter.

This work is also intended to develop the outline of measures calculated to relieve society from the evils of over-production,—evils arising from the extraordinary increase of mechanical inventions and chemical discoveries, which, misdirected, degrade and enslave the industrious classes, and create great evils and confusion throughout society.

The narrative of the author's proceedings relative to the state of Coahuila and Texas, in the republic of Mexico, is intended to explain what progress has been made in public measures devised to turn these evils into benefits.

A slight glance at the present condition of civilized nations, renders it evident that, a total change in the principles and practices of mankind is now become unavoidable, particularly in the most civilized states; and, whatever temporary difficulties may arise to retard its progress, the necessity for the change will overcome them, and truth and happiness will be permanently established, and supercede the present irrational conduct of the human race.

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE

TO THE DISCUSSION BETWEEN MR. CAMPBELL AND THE AUTHOR.

It is necessary on my part to explain the cause of the present meeting.

After much reading and calm reflection, early in life, and after an extensive personal, and, in many instances, confidential communication with the leading characters of the present times, I was deeply impressed with the conviction, that all societies of men have been formed on a misapprehension of the primary laws of human nature, and that this error has produced evil to man, and almost every kind of misery.

I was also equally convinced that the real nature of man is admirably adapted, when rightly directed, to attain high physical, intellectual and moral excellence, and to derive from each of these divisions of his nature, a large share of happiness, or of varied enjoyment.

I was, in consequence, impressed with the belief that I could not perform a greater service to mankind, than to endeavor to relieve them from this grievous error and evil. I accordingly made arrangements to apply all my faculties to discover the means by which it could be effected. For this purpose I instituted experiments, in England and Scotland, to try the effect of some of these new principles in practice. I published preliminary

essays on the subject, and submitted them to the civilized governments of Europe and America. I visited various foreign countries, that I might communicate personally with the leading minds in each, and I presented an explanatory memorial to the Congress of sovereigns and their ministers at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818.

I held public meetings in Great Britain, Ireland and the United States, and I widely circulated these proceedings in every part of the world where the English language is known.

Finding that the practical experiments which I had tried in England first, and afterwards in Scotland, exceeded my most sanguine expectations, and that the most experienced, enlightened and comprehensive minds, when confidentially applied to, admitted the truth of the principles on which they were founded, and doubted only, if the period had arrived when ignorance could be so far removed, as to admit of their immediate introduction into practice, I applied myself to discover the best means by which these all important truths might be taught, and old prejudices removed, without producing the evils arising from sudden and extensive revolutions.

I therefore placed these truths gradually before the public, sometimes in one form and sometimes in another, but, always, in the least offensive manner, I could devise.

When parties whose prejudices were by these means aroused, became angry and reviled, as it was natural for them to do, I could not be angry or displeased with them, and therefore reviled not again, but I calmly put forth more and more of these truths, that all of them might, ultimately, be better understood.

When the partizans, of various political parties, fully expected I would unite with them in opposition to some part of the existing order of things, I could not join in their measures; knowing that they saw but a small part of the evil, which they fruitlessly, yet often honestly, endeavored to remove.

With my views, I could not belong to any party; because, in many things, I was opposed to all. Yet I freely conversed and associated with all classes, sects and characters; and it was interesting and instructive to discover the various impressions which were made, on individuals belonging to all parties, by the principles which I advocated. To many, according to their prejudices, I appeared a demon of darkness, or as some of them said, "I was worse than the devil;" while to others I seemed an angel of light, or "the best man the world ever saw;" and of course, of every gradation between these extremes.

Amidst these conflicting feelings, I pursued the even tenor of my way, "and turned not" from the great object I had in view, "either to the right hand or to the left."

I thus proceeded, step by step, until the most important laws of our nature were unfolded; for I early perceived, that a knowledge of these laws would unveil the three most formidable prejudices, that ignorance of those laws had made almost universal.

These early prejudices of our education, are district religions in opposition to these divine laws; indissoluble marriages, and unnecessary private property.

Yet the prejudices produced by the early education of mankind, on each of these subjects, are very different in

various countries. Among most people, however, these prejudices, whatever form they may have taken, have been deeply rooted, through a long succession of ages, and have uniformly produced the greatest crimes, suffering and misery,—indeed almost all to which human nature is liable; for the natural evils of life are so few, they scarcely deserve consideration.

The present age, however, appeared to me to be the time, when these artificial evils might be removed, and when an entire new order of things might be established.

Many well intentioned and partly enlightened individuals, who have not had an opportunity to reflect deeply on these subjects, imagine that it will be more easy to remove one of these evils at a time; not perceiving that they are three links, forming one chain; each link being absolutely necessary to support the other two, and therefore, that they must be all retained, or go together. Instead of these links becoming a band to keep society in good order, and unite men in a bond of charity, justice and affection, they form a chain, of triple strength, to retain the human mind in ignorance, and to inflict every species of misery from artificial causes, on the human race.

Seeing this, I was induced to endeavor, previous to experience, to develope other arrangements, all in accordance with the divine laws of our nature; and thus attempt to break each link of this magic chain of evil, and thereby remove the only obstacles which prevent men from becoming rational beings.

In these new arrangements, the countless evils which have been engendered by conflicting religions, by various forms of marriages, and by unnecessary private property.

will not exist; but, instead thereof, real charity, pure chastity, sincere affections, and upright dealing between man and man, producing abundance of the best for human happiness for all, will every where prevail.

By pursuing this course, I was, from the beginning, conscious that the worst feelings of those who have been trained in old prejudices, must be more or less excited. And I would willingly have avoided creating even this temporary evil, if it had been practicable; but it was not.

I endeavored, however, by kindness and calmness, to turn aside these irrational feelings; well knowing that the parties were not the authors of the impressions made upon their respective organizations. And I strove to prevent any unnecessary pain in performing a duty, which to me appears the highest that man can perform; and which I execute solely under the expectation of relieving future generations from the misery which the past and present have experienced.

In pursuance of these measures, I last year delivered a course of lectures in New-Orleans, explanatory of the principles, and many details of the practice, of the proposed system.

During the progress of these lectures, many paragraphs appeared in the New-Orleans newspapers, giving a very mistaken view of the principles and plans which I advocated.

Discovering that these paragraphs proceeded from some of the city clergymen, I put an advertisement in the newspapers, offering to meet all the ministers of religion in the city, either in private or public, to discuss the subjects of difference between us, in order that the

population of New-Orleans might know the real foundation on which the old systems of the world were erected, and the principles on which the new system was advocated. These gentlemen, however, were unwilling to enter upon the discussion.

About the same period, Mr Alexander Campbell, of Bethany, in Virginia, was solicited by a brother minister in the state of Ohio, to meet Dr. Underhill, who was publicly teaching, with success, the principles of the new system, in the upper part of that state.

Mr. Campbell declined the call thus made upon him ; but he offered, as a shorter mode, in his opinion, of terminating the difference, to meet me, and discuss the merits of the old and new systems in public, at any time and place most convenient to both.

He afterwards, on seeing my proposals in the newspapers to meet the clergy of New-Orleans, on specific grounds, publicly offered to discuss those subjects with me, at Cincinnati, any time within twelve months from the date of his proposal.

Having occasion, about that period, to pass, on my way to Europe, within twenty miles of Mr. Campbell's residence, I went to see him, to ascertain whether his proposal to meet me in public emanated from a conscientious desire to discover valuable truths for the benefit of the human race ; or from a wish to attain a useless notoriety, by a vain and futile contest of words, without any definite meaning.

By my intercourse with Mr. Campbell, I concluded he was conscientiously desirous of ascertaining truth from error on these momentous subjects ; that he was

much experienced in public discussions, and well educated for the ministry.

His superior talents for public debate are generally admitted.

Under these circumstances, I did not feel myself at liberty to decline the call he had publicly made upon me.

I therefore agreed to meet him, at this city, at this time; that we might, by a fair and open discussion of principles, never yet publicly advocated, discover, if possible, the foundation of human errors, and the real cause of the continuance, at this day, over the world, of ignorance, poverty, disunion, crime and misery; and, if practicable, lay a broad and solid foundation for a union of all tribes and people; that "peace and good will" and intelligence may every where prevail, and contention and strife cease from the earth.

Such is the origin and progress of the events and circumstances, which have produced the present assemblage at this place. And my sole wish is, that it may terminate beneficially for mankind.

I wait Mr. Campbell's confirmation of this statement, as far as he is personally concerned in it.

[Mr. Campbell assented to its correctness.]

PART FIRST.

OPENING SPEECH.

WE meet here, to-day, for no personal consideration. Our sole object is to ascertain facts, from which true principles may be obtained, and introduced into practice, for the benefit of the human race.

The discussion which I am about to open, between Mr. Campbell and myself, is one, more important in its consequences, to all descriptions of men, than any, perhaps, which has hitherto occurred in the annals of history.

It is a discussion, entered upon solely with a view, as I believe, to elicit truth, if it be now practicable, on subjects the most interesting to the whole family of mankind; on subjects which involve the happiness or misery of the present, and all future generations. And our intention is to begin, to continue, and to terminate these proceedings, with the good faith and the good feelings which ought always to govern the conduct of those "who seek truth in singleness of heart, and with a sincere desire to find it."

Hitherto, assuredly, all mankind have been trained to be disciples of the opinions and habits of some national or local district; and, in consequence, they have been made to acquire errors which create, over the world, confusion of intellect, and a necessary fatal division in practice.

We now, however, propose to develope facts, and truths deduced from them, through the knowledge of which these local prejudices shall gradually disappear, and be finally removed.

We propose, further, that through a knowledge of these facts and truths, a practice shall be introduced, which shall enable all to become affectionate and intelligent members of one family, having

new hearts and new minds, and whose single object, through life, will be to promote each other's happiness, and thereby their own.

To attain this great end, we shall not now attack the errors of any particular local district; for, by so doing, the evil passions and bad feelings, which local errors engender, are aroused and brought into injurious action. But universal truths shall be unfolded, which shall destroy the seeds of those pernicious passions and feelings, and, instead thereof, produce knowledge, peace and good will among the human race.

In furtherance of this mighty change in the destinies of mankind, I am now to prove, that all the religions of the world have originated in error; that they are directly opposed to the divine, unchanging laws of human nature; that they are necessarily the source of vice, disunion and misery; that they are now the only obstacle to the formation of a society over the earth, of intelligence, of charity in its most extended sense, and of sincerity and affection; and that these district religions can be no longer maintained, in any part of the world, except by keeping the mass of the people in ignorance of their own nature, by an increase of the tyranny of the few over the many.

It is my intention to prove these all important truths, not by exposing the fallacies of the sources from whence each of these local religions have originated, but by bringing forth for public examination, the facts, which determine by what unchanging laws man is produced and his character formed; and by showing how utterly inapplicable all the religions, which have been hitherto invented and instilled into the human mind, are to a being so created and matured.

It will be Mr. Campbell's duty to endeavor to discover error in this development; and, if he shall find any, to make the error known to me and to the public in a kind and friendly manner.

If, however, Mr. Campbell shall not detect any error in this statement, but on the contrary, shall find that it is a plain development of facts and just deductions therefrom, and in strict accordance with all other known facts, as I most conscientiously believe it to be, then will it be equally his duty to declare, to the public, this truth, for the benefit of mankind.

After this shall be done, it will become the duty and interest of men of all other local districts to ascertain the truth or error of these facts, and of the consequences to which it is stated they will lead in practice; and then, in the same kind and temperate manner, to publish in the shortest period, after such examination, the result, in order to remove error and establish truth.

It is only by this just and equitable mode of proceeding that truth can be elicited, and made manifest for the good of mankind; that the real cause of disunion and misery can be detected and withdrawn from society, and that in place thereof a deep foundation can be laid, to establish forever, among all people, union, peace, charity and affection.

The facts from which I am compelled to believe, that these all-important consequences are to arise, are:

I.

THAT man, at his birth, is ignorant of every thing relative to his own organization; and that he has not created the slightest part of any of his natural propensities, faculties, or qualities, physical or mental.

II.

That no two infants, at birth, have yet been known to possess precisely the same organization; while the physical, mental and moral differences, between all infants, are formed without their knowledge or consent.

III.

That each individual is placed, at birth, without his knowledge or consent, within circumstances, which, acting upon his peculiar organization, impress the general character of those circumstances upon the infant, child and man. Yet that the influence of those circumstances is, to a certain degree, modified by the peculiar natural organization of each individual.

IV.

That no infant has the power of deciding at what point of time, or in what part of the world, he shall come into existence; of whom he shall be born; in what particular religion he shall be trained to believe; or by what other circumstances he shall be surrounded from birth to death.

V.

That each individual is so created, that, when young, he may be made to receive impressions, to produce either true ideas or false notions, or beneficial or injurious habits, and to retain them with great tenacity.

VI.

That each individual is so created, that he must believe according to the strongest conviction that can be made on his mind, while his belief in no case depends upon his will; but on the contrary, his will is generally formed by his belief.

VII.

That each individual is so created, that he must like that which is pleasant to him, or that which produces agreeable sensations on his individual organization, and he must dislike that which creates in him unpleasant or disagreeable sensations; while he cannot discover, previous to experience, what those sensations shall be.

VIII.

That each individual is so created, that the sensations made upon his organization, although pleasant and delightful at their commencement, and for some duration, generally become, when continued beyond a certain period without change, disagreeable and painful. When a too rapid change of sensations is made on his organization, it dissipates, weakens and otherwise injures his physical, intellectual and moral powers and enjoyments.

IX.

That the highest health, the greatest progressive improvements, and the most permanent happiness of each individual, depend, in a great degree, upon the proper cultivation of all his physical, intellectual and moral faculties and powers from infancy to maturity, and upon all these parts of his nature being duly called into action, at their proper period, and temperately exercised, according to the strength and capacity of the individual.

X.

That the individual is made to possess the *worst* character, when his organization, at birth, has been compounded of the most inferior propensities, faculties and qualities of our common nature; and when so organized, he has been placed, from birth to death, amidst the most vicious or worst circumstances.

XI.

That the individual is made to possess and to acquire a medium character, when his original organization is created *superior*, and when the circumstances which surround him, from birth to death, produce continued *vicious* or *unfavorable* impressions. Or when his organization has been formed of *inferior* materials, and the circumstances in which he has been placed, from birth to death, are of a character to produce *superior* impressions only. Or when there has been some mixture of *superior* and *inferior* qualities in the original organization, and when it has also been placed, through life, in varied circumstances of *good* and *evil*. This last compound has been hitherto the common lot of mankind.

XII.

That the individual is made the most superior of his species, when his original organization has been compounded of the best proportions, of the best ingredients of which human nature is formed, and when the circumstances which surround him, from birth to death, are of a character to produce only superior impressions; or in other words, when the circumstances, or laws, institutions and customs, in which he is placed, are all in unison with his nature.

These facts remaining the same, at all times, and in all countries, are the true words of God, if they ever have been expressed. They constitute laws of nature, not of man's invention, they exist without his knowledge or consent, they change not by any effort he can make, and, as they proceed from a cause solely unknown and mysterious to him, they are divine laws, in the only correct sense in which the term can be applied.

Considered separately and united, and viewed in all their bearings and consequences, these divine laws of human nature form the most perfect foundation for a divine moral code,—a code abundantly sufficient to produce, in practice, all virtue in the individual and in society; and to enable man, through a correct knowledge thereof, to work out his own salvation from sin, or ignorance and misery, and to secure the happiness of his whole race.

For the first law teaches that, as all men are created by a power mysterious and unknown to themselves, they can have no merit or

demerit for their original formation, or individual organization; that, consequently, the pride of birth, or of superior physical form, or of intellectual capacity, are feelings proceeding alone from an aberration of intellect, produced by ignorance, and therefore irrational. And the second law teaches us, that as no two infants are born alike, and as they have no knowledge how the difference is produced, we ought not to be *displeased* with, or to blame any individuals, tribes or people, or to be less *friendly* to them, because they have been made to differ from us in *color, form or features*.

The third law teaches us, that as each individual at birth may be placed, without his knowledge or consent, within circumstances to force him to become any of the general characters now known to exist in any part of the world, we ought not to be displeased with those who have been made to differ from ourselves in birth, in religion, in manners, in customs, in conditions, in thinking, in feeling, or in conduct. On the contrary, we are taught to know, that this difference, to whatever extent it may proceed, is no more than a necessary *effect* arising from the general, *national* and *district* circumstances in which they have been placed, modified by the peculiar organization of each individual; and that, as neither the organization or these circumstances were formed by them, to be surprised or displeased in consequence of their existence, is a certain proof that we ourselves are in an irrational state, and influenced alone by ignorance of our nature. By this law we are further taught, that all feelings of anger and irritation will entirely cease, as soon as we shall acquire a real knowledge of our nature; that these feelings belong to man only during his irrational state of existence; and that when he becomes enlightened, and shall be made a rational being, they will be no longer found in human society. Instead of these irrational feelings, engendered solely through ignorance of this law of our common nature, we shall, through a knowledge of it, acquire a never ceasing, never tiring, practical charity for the whole human race; a charity so efficient, so sincere, and so pure, that it will be impossible for any one, thus taught from infancy, to think ill of, or to desire the slightest injury to, any one of his fellow beings.

By the fourth, fifth and sixth laws we are taught, that a knowledge of the principles contained in the preceding laws is an essen-

tial to the well being and happiness of the human race, that it is again and again reiterated, through each of these laws, in every form the most likely to make the deepest impression on our mind. They express, in a language no one can misunderstand, the ignorance and folly of individual pride and assumed consequence on account of birth, religion, learning, manners, habits, or any other acquirement or qualification, physical, intellectual or moral; and give an entire new and different direction to all our thoughts, feelings and actions; and we shall no longer consider man formed to be the ignorant, vicious and degraded being, that heretofore he has been compelled to appear, whether he has been covered by the garb of a savage, or of artificial civilized life.

The seventh law teaches us, that there is no right or power in one man to compel another to like or dislike any thing, or any person, at his bidding or command; for this law shows that the power of liking or disliking, as well as believing and disbelieving, are involuntary acts of our nature,—and are the necessary, and, therefore, the right impressions made upon our senses. Merit and demerit, therefore, for liking or disliking, for believing or disbelieving, will be no longer attributed to man, than while the human race remains in an irrational state. Marriage, prostitution, jealousy, and the endless sexual crimes and diseases which these have engendered, have arisen solely from ignorance of this fundamental and divine law of our nature; and, in consequence, real chastity is unknown among the greater part of the human race; but in place thereof, a spurious chastity, producing insincerity, falsehood, deception and dissimulation, every where prevails.

The eighth and ninth laws teach us the necessity for, and the advantages to be derived from, cultivating and duly exercising all the propensities, faculties and powers with which nature has supplied us; and the injury of permitting any one of them to lie dormant, unused, or unenjoyed, or to be over exerted. These laws thus teach us the benefit of well directed industry; the evil of idleness; and the all importance of temperance in the use of each of our faculties, physical, intellectual and moral; and the lamentable error into which man has been led, through ignorance, in every department of human society. He has divided and subdivided the exercise of the physical and intel-

lectual faculties among various classes of individuals; while the laws of our nature have determined, that the highest happiness human nature is formed to experience, must be derived from a *temperate* exercise of *all* its powers of enjoyment.

The tenth, eleventh and twelfth laws teach us, by unfolding in the most plain and obvious manner, how the varied character of man has been formed, what practical measures must be adopted, before man can become an intelligent and rational being; that he must be trained and educated, from infancy to maturity, altogether different from what he has been, in order that he may be taught to acquire, without any exception, kind feelings, superior dispositions, habits, manners, knowledge and conduct; the difference between them being in variety and degree, but never in kind and quality. The character will be thus always formed to be good, to the extent that the natural powers will permit it to be carried. As, however, we have been taught, by all the preceding laws, that no individual can form any part of his natural powers, none will be blamed or suffer in consequence of possessing incurable natural defects; but, on the contrary, all will have pleasure in devising and applying means to diminish their inconvenience. By these laws we are taught, that the *proper* training and education of the young and rising generation, is by far the most important of all the departments of society, and will receive the first consideration as soon as men can be formed to be rational; that there is but one simple principle applicable to this practice,—and it is, to remove all the vicious circumstances now existing in the laws, institutions and customs which man, through ignorance, has introduced, in opposition to the laws of human nature, and in their place, establish virtuous circumstances—that is, laws, institutions and customs in unison with the divine or natural laws of human nature. These laws teach, that all human wisdom consists alone in this mode of acting; and that whatever conduct man may adopt, which differs from it, that conduct emanates from ignorance, and must be irrational.

And from these divine laws we learn, generally, that man is now, and ever has been, a being essentially formed according to the nature, kind and qualities of the circumstances in which he is permitted to live by his immediate predecessors. That when these cir-

circumstances are of an inferior and vicious character, man, of necessity, while under their influence, must become inferior and vicious; and when the circumstances are of a superior and virtuous character, in like manner, while under their influence, he must become superior and virtuous. The great business of human life, in a rational state of society, will be, therefore, to acquire an accurate knowledge of the science of the influence of circumstances over human nature, both previous and subsequent to birth; to prepare the means, by which all shall be taught to understand the principles and practices, by which each of the inferior or vicious circumstances surrounding human life may be withdrawn, in the shortest time, with the least inconvenience to all, and replaced by others, which shall benefit every one.

The knowledge of this new moral code will thus speedily lead to a new life, in which all men will be trained, from infancy, to acquire the most valuable knowledge, with the best dispositions, habits, manners and conduct.

Under this new dispensation, their characters will be so completely changed or new formed, that, in comparison of what they have been, and are, they will become beings of a superior order; they will be rational in all their thoughts, words and actions.

They will be, indeed, regenerated; for "their minds will be born again," and old things will be made to "pass away, and all to become new."

Thus, in our day in part, but more fully and completely in the next succeeding generation, shall the prophecies of the partial knowledge of past times be fulfilled; not, indeed, by disturbing the whole system of the universe, by any supposed fanciful miracles effected in opposition to the unchanging laws of nature, but they will be accomplished by the regular progress of these laws, which, from the beginning, were abundantly sufficient to execute, in due time, all the purposes of that Power, from which these laws proceed.

The principles and practice, thus developed, of the new moral code, is a mere outline of the mighty change which it will effect. Imperfect, however, as it is, it is yet sufficient to afford some idea of the advantages which a progress in real knowledge, derived from the simple facts and almost self-evident truths, can give to the world.

These twelve primary laws of human nature also form a *standard*, by which moral and religious truth or falsehood can be unerringly known; for, as truth must be one throughout the universe, no two truths can ever be, at any time or in any place, in opposition to each other. And therefore, all that shall be found, under every varied comparison, to be in unison with these divine laws, must be true; while all that is in discordance with them must be false. By the application, therefore, of this standard, the truth or falsehood of all religions and moral codes will be discovered, and the utility or injury of all institutions will be easily ascertained.

Were we now, in detail, to apply this divine standard of truth to all the past and present civil and religious codes, it would soon become manifest that they have, one and all, originated in times of great darkness, when men were wholly governed by their imagination, and were too ignorant of their own nature, and of the most simple laws of nature, generally, to detect imposition or error, however incongruous or contradictory one part of it may be to another. That these religious and moral codes were produced at a period, when men were without sufficient experience to understand what manner of beings they were, and when the wildest and most incoherent flights of the imagination of some deluded individuals were received as the aspirations of some single or compound divinity. That these imaginary inspired individuals, themselves deluded by an overheated imagination, or intending to delude their followers, succeeded, at different times, in various parts of the earth, in promulgating, by force, fraud or ignorance, the most unnatural fables, and the most absurd and contradictory doctrines.

And as such doctrines and fables could not at first be received, except through force, fraud or ignorance, they have been the cause of shedding the blood of the most conscientious and best men in all countries; of deluging the world with all manner of crime; and in producing all kinds of suffering and misery.

But to apply this standard to these systems, fables and doctrines in detail, would be to proceed contrary to the plan laid down at the commencement. It would be to arouse all the ignorant prejudices and bad feelings, which these institutions have implanted in the human constitution, at so early an age, as to induce many to believe that they really form part of our original organization.

Suffice it, however, to say, that these fables and doctrines, one and all, are in direct opposition to the twelve primary laws of human nature; that, consequently, they run counter to nature, and generally make virtue to consist in thinking and acting contrary to nature, and vice, in thinking and acting in unison with nature. Through these irrational conceptions of right and wrong, these religions, laws and institutions have filled the world with innumerable useless, absurd or horrible forms and ceremonies, instead of the simple practice of virtue in accordance with our nature. They have created such a multiplicity of folly, confusion and irrationality, that there is none * that knoweth or doeth what is right; no, not one!"

For instead of producing real knowledge, they perpetuate ignorance. Instead of creating abundance without any fear of want, they produce poverty, or the perpetual fear of it. Instead of permitting the regular exercise of the propensities, formed by nature to promote health and happiness, they force them, by unnatural and ignorantly devised restraints, to become violent passions, which interfere with and disturb every beneficial arrangement that can be devised for the amelioration of society; thus engendering the worst feelings that can be implanted in human nature, instead of the best. They produce hypocrisy and every conceivable deception, instead of sincerity and truth without any guile; anger and irritation, instead of commiseration and kindness; war, instead of peace; religious massacres, instead of universal charity; hatred, suspicion, opposition and disunion, instead of confidence, mutual aid, union and affection among the whole family of mankind.

And thus, by these contradictory fables and doctrines, with their innumerable useless and deteriorating forms and ceremonies, the earth has been filled with all manner of strife and confusion, even to the mad destruction of whole nations and tribes, creating miseries which it would exhaust language to describe.

And so long as any of these doctrines shall be taught as divine truths, by men who have a supposed interest in their promulgation, and in their reception by the ignorant multitude, so long will all these vicious evils prevail and increase.

It is now evident that all codes of laws, to be beneficial to mankind, and to be permanent, must be, without exception, in strict ac-

cordance with all the divine laws of human nature. For when human laws are opposed to divine laws, confusion, crimes and misery are sure to be produced. We have seen that all past and present human laws are in opposition to those laws, which experience has now ascertained to be the divine laws of human nature; and they have, therefore, undergone continual change, and produced continual disappointment.

When men shall acquire sufficient wisdom or experience to induce them to abrogate all existing laws and institutions, which are unnatural, and to contend no longer against the divine laws of human nature; but shall agree to adjust their governments and institutions solely by these laws; then, and not before, will "peace be established on earth, and good will among mankind."

It is the popular belief, which prevails in all countries, in the supposed divine authority of these fables and doctrines, that alone keeps men now in ignorance of their nature; of the divine laws by which it is organized at birth, and conducted to maturity and death. And this popular belief is produced, in each of these countries, solely by the early and long continued impressions, forced on the minds of the population by the most unnatural and artificial means.

For these impressions are forced into the young mind, before the intellectual faculties are matured; when they are wholly incompetent to know good from evil, right from wrong, or truth from error.

It is thus that children are compelled to receive, as divine truths, the fables and doctrines prevalent in the country in which they happen to be born and live. It is thus that men are taught to deride and vilify those fables and doctrines, in opposition to their own, which are also taught, in other countries, as divine truths, of which it is the most heinous crime even to doubt. It is thus that men are compelled to dislike, and hate, and contend against each other, even to death, for a difference of opinion, respecting some of these fanciful fables and doctrines; which were formed in them without their knowledge, will or consent. And all this evil has been created solely for the supposed benefit of the governing few, and of the priesthood. And it is thus that pagans, Gentoos and cannibals—that Hindoos, Chinese, Jews and Mahomedans are made, at this day; and,

my friends, it is *thus*, and *thus alone*, that *you* have been made, and that you are *now making your children, Christians*.

You are, however, not more to be blamed on this account, than the cannibals, Gentoos or pagans. You and they have been placed, from infancy, without your knowledge, will or consent, within circumstances, not of your formation, which have made each what they are; and all are alike objects of deep commiseration to those who have been permitted to discover the thick darkness of error, which, at this day, veils the most valuable knowledge from man, and, through ignorance thereof, keeps him in sin and misery. And it is the universal belief in these fables and doctrines, thus forced into the infant mind of men, that is now the only real obstacle to the formation of a society over the earth, "of intelligence, of charity in its most extended sense, of unlimited security, and of pure affection."

Hitherto, however, all governments, from the circumstances in which they have existed, have had but two primary objects to attain and secure. The first, to keep the governed, or the great mass of the people, in the greatest possible ignorance of human nature; and the second, to devise safe means, by which the largest amount of their labor could be obtained from them, for the use of the governing party. The first object has been always attained by the aid of the priesthood, who have been appointed to instruct the people in some of these fables and doctrines, which, however they may differ or be opposed to those taught in other countries, all governments agree to call "*the true religion*," *derived immediately, by some revelation or another, from their chief divinity or divinities*.

By these means, the faculties of memory and imagination have been highly cultivated in those countries which are deemed the most civilized; while the superior intellectual faculties, when applied to acquire a correct knowledge of human nature, have been held in no estimation; but, on the contrary, their cultivation, for this purpose, has been discouraged by every unfair means that cunning could invent and power apply.

And the success of these measures has been so complete, that in all countries, at this day, man is more ignorant of himself, than of almost any thing else by which he is surrounded.

Up to this period, however, no government could pursue any other course with safety, or with the least prospect of being permanent. The circumstances did not exist, to permit them to do it. For the population of the world must be governed by force, through their ignorance; or by great justice, intelligence and good feelings. There is no permanent stopping place between these two extremes; and the best disposed governments have often felt this truth. Until now, the knowledge and the means to govern a numerous population through intelligence and affection, did not exist.

Previous to any successful attempt, it was necessary that experience should develop two sciences. First, the science of the influence of circumstances over human nature. The second, the science of the means of creating unlimited wealth, and of its equal distribution.

By the knowledge of these two sciences, properly applied to practice, all men may be easily taught and trained from infancy to become intelligent, independent and happy; and to be governed, without any difficulty, through their affections.

These two sciences are now known sufficiently to be applied with success to the population of all countries. And, upon investigation, it will be found to be the interest of all governments, to prepare the means, without delay, by which the people, in their respective countries, may be taught this knowledge, in such a manner that all shall be benefitted, and none shall be injured.

By these measures being adopted, and openly and honestly made known to the public, all collisions between the governments and people will be avoided; all attempts at future revolutions will cease; the governors and governed will be actively engaged in this good and great work; mutual confidence will be acquired; and "peace and good will" will every where prevail.

Were any parties so ignorant of their own interest or happiness, as to desire to withhold this happy change from their fellow beings, they could not now effect it, except by an increase of the tyranny of the few over the many.

For the knowledge of these sciences has gone forth, never again to be recalled, or to become unknown by any efforts man can make.

It is now actively passing from mind to mind, and from country to country; and no human power can stay its course. It is evidently, now, destined to pervade all countries and every mind.

Thus, as it appears to me, have I proved, that all the religions of the world have originated in error; that they are directly opposed to the divine, unchanging laws of human nature; that they are necessarily the source of vice, disunion and misery; that they are now the only obstacle to the formation of a society over the earth, of intelligence, of charity in its most extended sense, and of sincerity and kindness among the whole human race. And also that these district religions can be no longer maintained, in any part of the world, except by the perpetuation of the ignorance of the mass of the people, and of the continued tyranny of the few over the many.

I have now, in a manner the most brief I could devise, performed the letter of my engagement with Mr. Campbell. It is now, perhaps, scarcely necessary for me to say, that I have not uttered one sentence upon this occasion, which, after deep and anxious consideration, does not appear to me *true*; not only as universal laws of our nature, with just inferences from them,—but as self-evident truths and deductions, the most beneficial that can be devised, to influence, in a right direction, the entire practice of the whole human race.

If I am deceived in these conclusions, it is my best faculties, honestly applied to the investigation, that have led me astray. And if they have thus conducted me to error, instead of truth, it is a great misfortune; for they have urged me, for upwards of forty years of active exertions, to lay a deep and broad foundation in the human mind for their reception, as truths valuable to the human race, beyond all price. And if I have erred in these views, Mr. Campbell will confer a greater benefit on me; than, probably, on any other individual, by making the errors obvious.

But my reading, observation, reflection, and personal communication with so many minds of high intellectual capacity and attainments, have left a deep impression on all my thinking faculties, that there can be no mistake in the principles which I have now stated to this assembly, or in their beneficial results, when they shall be properly applied to practice.

I do not, however, deem it sufficient, merely to show the errors on which long established institutions have been founded, and to point out the evils to which they lead in practice. I feel it to be also incumbent on me, to show how these institutions may be replaced by others, incalculably superior; founded on principles which are true, which are in accordance with our nature, and which, in consequence, will lead to a practice that will ensure the future happiness of mankind.

In conformity with these sentiments, it is now my intention to develop such principles, and explain how they will lead to this practice among the whole human race.

Erroneous, however, as I am compelled to believe the principles of the existing institutions to be, and injurious as I am obliged to think the practice which they necessarily generate, it is absolutely necessary that they should be supported until other institutions, founded on the ascertained laws of human nature, shall be introduced, and sufficiently matured, to secure society from all the evils which, otherwise, a change in its religion, government, laws, customs, and long established habits, would be sure to produce.

One of the chief objects, in all my proceedings, has been to effect this great amelioration in the condition of the human race, not by violence; not even by permitting injury of any kind to any individual, in mind, body or estate; but, on the contrary, by convincing the understandings of the most intelligent men of every class, sect and property in the civilized world, of the necessity for, and the incalculable advantages of, the change.

The principal difficulty to be overcome, is to enable individuals, belonging to all classes and sects, to discover the superior advantages that they will derive, *as men*, from the change, over those which the utmost success in their *class* or *sect* can produce for them; and to convince all, that there is no intention to blame them for belonging to any class or sect whatever, or to permit them to receive injury of any kind by the destruction of the old systems of the world.

PART SECOND.

AN ATTEMPT

TO DEVELOPE THE OUTLINES OF AN ENTIRE

NEW STATE OF EXISTENCE,

FOUNDED SOLELY ON THE

DIVINE LAWS OF HUMAN NATURE.

ALL past and present societies of men have been formed in direct opposition to these divine laws; and, in consequence, virtue has been made to consist in acting contrary to them, and vice, in being obedient to them.

We now propose, for universal adoption, another state of society, in which virtue shall consist in being obedient to these laws, and vice, in opposing them.

These divine laws are:

I.

THAT man, at his birth, is ignorant of every thing relative to his own organization; and that he has not created the slightest part of any of his natural propensities, faculties, or qualities, physical or mental.

II.

That no two infants, at birth, have yet been known to possess precisely the same organization; while the physical, mental and moral differences, between all infants, are formed without their knowledge or consent.

III.

That each individual is placed, at birth, without his knowledge or consent, within circumstances, which, acting upon his peculiar or-

ganization, impress the general character of those circumstances upon the infant, child and man. Yet that the influence of those circumstances is, to a certain degree, modified by the peculiar natural organization of each individual.

IV.

That no infant has the power of deciding at what point of time, or in what part of the world, he shall come into existence; of whom he shall be born; in what particular religion he shall be trained to believe; or by what other circumstances he shall be surrounded from birth to death.

V.

That each individual is so created, that, when young, he may be made to receive impressions, to produce either true ideas or false notions, or beneficial or injurious habits, and to retain them with great tenacity.

VI.

That each individual is so created, that he must believe according to the strongest conviction that is made on his mind, while his belief in no case depends upon his will; but on the contrary, his will is generally formed by his belief.

VII.

That each individual is so created, that he must like that which is pleasant to him, or that which produces agreeable sensations on his individual organization, and he must dislike that which creates in him unpleasant or disagreeable sensations; while he cannot discover, previous to experience, what those sensations shall be.

VIII.

That each individual is so created, that the sensations made upon his organization, although pleasant and delightful at their commencement, and for some duration, generally become, when continued beyond a certain period without change, disagreeable and painful; and when a too rapid change of sensations is made on his organization, it dissipates, weakens and otherwise injures his physical, intellectual and moral powers and enjoyments.

IX.

That the highest health, the greatest progressive improvements, and the most permanent happiness of each individual, depend, in a

great degree, upon the proper cultivation of all his physical, intellectual and moral faculties and powers from infancy to maturity, and upon all these parts of his nature being duly called into action, at their proper period, and temperately exercised, according to the strength and capacity of the individual.

X.

That the individual is made to possess the *worst* character, when his organization, at birth, has been compounded of the most inferior propensities, faculties and qualities of our common nature; and when so organized, he has been placed, from birth to death, amidst the most vicious or worst circumstances.

XI.

That the individual is made to possess and to acquire a medium character, when his original organization is created *superior*, and when the circumstances which surround him, from birth to death, produce continued *vicious* or *unfavorable* impressions. Or when his organization has been formed of *inferior* materials, and the circumstances in which he has been placed, from birth to death, are of a character to produce *superior* impressions only. Or when there has been some mixture of *superior* and *inferior* qualities in the original organization, and when it has also been placed, through life, in varied circumstances of *good* and *evil*. This last compound has been hitherto the common lot of mankind.

XII.

That the individual is made the most superior of his species, when his original organization has been compounded of the best proportions, of the best ingredients of which human nature is formed, and when the circumstances which surround him, from birth to death, are of a character to produce only superior impressions; or in other words, when the circumstances, or laws, institutions and customs, in which he is placed, are all in unison with his nature.

These twelve fundamental laws will be found, on examination, to be in strict accordance with all existing facts, and, in a rational state of society, all the laws and institutions will be founded upon them, and they will govern the actions of all men.

These laws, in the aggregate, demonstrate that man does not form his own physical, intellectual or moral nature; that, consequently, he can have no merit or demerit for their particular organization in his person; and that all pride or assumed distinction, arising from the possession of them, under the most favored combinations in which they may exist, are irrational feelings, arising solely from ignorance.

These laws also demonstrate, that man is compelled to *believe* according to the strongest conviction that has been made upon his mind, and to *feel* according to the most powerful impressions of pain or pleasure which have been made upon his organization. Consequently, that he is a being, irresponsible for his thoughts and feelings; irresponsible, whether he has been compelled by the circumstances around him to believe in accordance with facts, or in opposition to them, or whether he has been formed to love what others hate, or to dislike what others approve. All institutions, therefore, formed in opposition to these divine laws of human nature, must be irrational. All the institutions of man have been formed in direct opposition to them.

These laws likewise demonstrate, that man is a twofold being, whose character and conduct, are formed, in part, by the peculiar organization which he possesses at birth, and, in part, by the impressions of external circumstances, which influence that organization through life.

That the organization of each individual at birth, and the circumstances which influence it afterwards, although generally similar, are in many particulars dissimilar; yet that the difference, whatever may be the extent, does not proceed from the will of the individuals. Consequently, all uncharitableness, all anger and irritation, and all selfish feelings for possessing particular natural qualities, proceed solely from ignorance of the divine laws of human nature, and are therefore irrational.

Again—these laws demonstrate, that the character and conduct of every human being are essentially formed by the peculiar circumstances which are allowed to exist around them, from birth to death; although their character and conduct are, in some degree, modified by the particular organization given to each individual at birth.

Consequently, no man can be justly made responsible for what he is, or for any thing he may say or do. He cannot possess merit or demerit for his thoughts, which he cannot originate, or feelings, which he cannot give himself; for he is a being wholly formed by circumstances, all of which, when traced to their source, are, in reality, beyond his control.

He is a being, however, who is evidently organized to desire happiness above all things; and that desire, united with a knowledge of the divine laws of human nature, will form a new train of circumstances, which will enable the men of one generation to adopt practical measures to ensure the happiness of their successors.

For these divine laws direct the certain way to happiness, by practical measures for the education or formation of the character of all who come into existence. For a knowledge of these laws will create the inclination and power to live in obedience to them; and perfect obedience to the laws of nature will produce the highest happiness that man can enjoy.

RELIGION.

In this new-state of existence, all that is contrary to these divine laws of human nature, in all the religions in the world, will be withdrawn; and then truth, pure and undefiled, without any useless and senseless rites, forms or ceremonies, will alone remain. For many of these rites and ceremonies, in all countries, are in direct opposition to the divine laws of human nature.

Some of these rites and ceremonies are weak and childish; others are absurd or cruel; and some are horrid and monstrous. These errors were engendered in the imagination of men, when they "knew not what manner of beings they were;" when they were "babes and sucklings" in real knowledge; when they "did those things which they ought not to have done," and when they "left undone those things which they ought to have done," for their happiness.

The time, to all appearance, is now near at hand, when these worse than childish proceedings must give place to the plain and simple "law of obedience" to nature; to one uniform practice, in accordance to the divine will, or to the divine laws of human nature: and

thus "shall the knowledge of the Lord," or of divine truth, "cover the earth as the waters cover the seas." And, therefore, mythology, fables, dogmas, forms and mysteries, founded in ignorance of these divine laws, will soon be banished from the earth. Men will no longer look through these for better things, "as through a glass darkly;" but they will know themselves; and all motive to deception of every kind being removed, "they will see each other face to face," and "know each other even as they are known." And when these false dogmas, fables and mysteries, and the fundamental errors from which they spring, shall be removed from society; and when they shall be replaced by a knowledge of the simple and beautiful divine laws of human nature; then, and not till then "shall the mind be born again." And when this change shall take place, there shall be no perplexity or confusion of ideas; but, on the contrary, the feelings, thoughts, language and conduct of all men shall be consistent, and they will always harmonize together. What is the amount of man's knowledge, at this day, of those subjects which he has been taught to call divine?

He knows, through the medium of his senses, that the universe exists, and that those parts of it, which he can perceive and understand, appear to him to be in constant motion; that decompositions of the materials of the universe continually take place, and new compositions, with or without life, are again formed; that these compositions, decompositions and recompositions, in endless succession, proceed from a Power, to him unknown, and therefore mysterious. And of those things which man has called divine, this is the whole amount of the knowledge which he has yet acquired. He may perhaps learn more, when he shall be taught to "know himself," and obey the laws of his nature, by investigating fact after fact, to the extent that the faculties with which he has been furnished will permit.

At all events, he will be thus trained to acquire a manly and cheerful confidence in the unknown Power that every where surrounds him, and in which he lives, moves, and has his being.

But he will discover no motive to be afraid of its extent, or to distrust its ultimate results; and much less to flatter it by words, ceremonies and forms, which are degrading to created beings, and equally so and useless to the creating Power.

Instead of errors, like these, being made to engage the attention of our offspring, let us henceforward direct them to contemplate the beautiful expanse around us; to observe the mighty movements within it; to study the unchanging laws by which the germs of organization exist upon the earth, and become gradually perfected, each according to its kind,—and again slowly or more rapidly declining, until they are redissolved into the original elements of the universe,—commencing again their ceaseless round of new combinations; then let them be taught to reflect how all these movements and laws harmonize together. They will be delighted with the knowledge they will thus acquire; and the more they know, the more they will desire to act in obedience to these divine laws.

Let us, therefore, now remove far away from succeeding generations all these useless and degrading abominations, which serve only to debase the great mass of mankind, and to lay their intellectual faculties prostrate before a few of their fellows, who in no respect are made superior to themselves, except by a peculiar education. And a much better education than any minister of religion has ever yet received, may now be given to every individual of the human race.

But, with the knowledge now acquired of these divine laws, we cannot be angry or displeased with any of them, even with those who have been thus trained to be the most irrational and cruel; no, not to those who have tortured their fellows, or sacrificed them on the altar of their gods. Do any of these yet remain on the earth? we must pity them; have charity for them; speak kindly to them, and endeavor, by all the means in our power, to do them good.

ARTIFICIAL LAWS.

All human laws, as they now exist, are, as we have stated, in opposition to the divine laws of human nature. They presuppose that man has been so organized, as to possess the power to compel himself to think as he pleases, and to feel as he likes. All human governments and laws are founded on these notions; and they must lead man altogether astray from truth and happiness. They are, therefore, not only useless, but highly injurious, in every light in which they can be viewed.

Written laws, of human invention, are necessary only while attempts shall be made to govern men in opposition to their nature, or to their interest or happiness, and contrary to reason.

All the artificial laws and institutions, of man's devising, in opposition to his nature, have ever been a curse to the human race, and ineffectual for any good permanent purpose. They may, however, be safely superseded, as soon as the rising generation shall become familiar with the laws of their nature, and shall be placed within circumstances, in which they may act in obedience to them.

When this shall be done, all motive to disunion, or to create any unpleasant difference of opinion or feeling, will cease; and whatever may require adjustment, between individuals or communities, will be speedily and satisfactorily arranged, by the persons appointed to govern the interests of all equally.

PRIVATE PROPERTY.

In this new state of existence, all private property, in persons and things, that is in opposition to the fixed laws of human nature, will cease; and, in consequence, selfishness and jealousy will terminate, and poverty will become unknown.

Instead of submitting to the innumerable evils arising from private property, arrangements will be formed to secure to every one, from birth to death, a full supply of every thing that is the best for human nature; taking, also, into consideration, the minor differences formed by nature, in the organization of each individual.

As soon as all unnecessary private property shall be abolished, it will no longer be, or appear to be, for the interest of any one, that any thing inferior in quality shall be produced for the use of man.

There will be no inferior cultivation; no inferior houses or buildings of any kind; no inferior roads, bridges, canals, aqueducts, vessels for navigation, or machinery for any purpose. All of them will be constructed of the best materials that can be procured; and they will be planned and executed under the direction of those who shall be found to possess the best knowledge, and the most valuable experience, upon each subject respectively. In short, whatever is to be done, will be executed in the best manner known at the time, in any

part of society; for the talents of each will be applied the most advantageously for the benefit of all.

WAR.

In this new state of existence, wars will terminate, as rapidly as a knowledge of the laws of human nature shall be made to extend over the earth.

For war is opposed to the happiness of the human race. It is beneficial for all, that there should be a full supply of the best of every thing for every one, and that all should be more or less engaged in its production, preservation or distribution.

But war withdraws the efficient part of the population from producing real wealth, and from preserving or distributing riches; and forms it into a most effective power to *consume wastefully*, to *destroy* upon a *large scale*, and to prevent the production of wealth.

It is the interest of all men, without any exception, that all their powers should be applied to aid in producing the best of every thing for every one, or to be employed in some way that shall promote the greatest happiness.

In the present irrational state of existence, it is often—among the wealthy, indeed, generally—deemed more honorable to be employed in occupations useless or injurious, rather than to be seen making or producing any thing useful or necessary for the existence or enjoyment of rational beings.

Thus war, through all its ramifications, is destructive of happiness, and of the rational faculties of the human race; and yet it has been deemed the most honorable of all employments.

For those men who have been the most successful in destroying the productions of their fellow men; in killing and wounding the greatest number of them; in burning their habitations and property; in creating thereby the greatest extent of famine, and the largest amount of individual suffering and misery, with the most wide spread destruction of human industry and comfort, have been, through all past ages, the most honored and rewarded.

In the new state of existence, all these proceedings will be deemed irrational, and will never be practised, except by those who are insane.

As soon, therefore, as a generation shall be trained from infancy in a knowledge of the divine laws of human nature, all contention will cease, and charity and peace will every where prevail.

MARRIAGE.

As we have seen that man is so organized by nature, that he must like that which is agreeable to him, and dislike that which nature has made disagreeable to him, all engagements between men and women, professing to like or love each other, *through future unknown changes in both*, will altogether terminate. Other, and much better arrangements, will be formed for their union, agreeable to the divine laws of their nature; and which will put an end to the present prostitution of both mind and body, to jealousy, and to all sexual crimes. The invention of the unnatural marriages, made directly to oppose a fundamental law of our nature, has thereby become the sole origin of all sexual crimes. They have, by this error, rendered prostitution unavoidable. And, by its adoption, they have been compelled to create a spurious chastity, and to destroy all knowledge of real chastity.

For pure chastity consists in connexion *with* affection; and prostitution, in connexion *without* affection.

The artificial bands of indissoluble marriage, and the single family arrangements, to which marriage leads, are much more calculated to *destroy* than to *promote* affection; and, in consequence, the parties frequently live together in a state of real prostitution both of body and mind; and by the customs established in various countries, they are obliged to be satisfied with this deceptive chastity, which is, in many cases, worse than common prostitution.

In the new state of existence, that which experience has proved to be really beneficial in marriage, or single family arrangements, will be retained; while all that is injurious and contrary to nature will be dismissed.

By these arrangements, men and women will be equally well educated; they will have the same rights and privileges; and they will associate on terms of intimacy, through their lives, with those only for whom they must feel the most regard, and greatest affection.

COMMERCE

Now exists in buying and selling for a monied profit; and necessarily engenders every kind of deception and injustice, under the specious name of "fair trading,"—another term for the non-producer endeavoring to obtain from the producer the largest amount of his labor, that the former can discover the means to effect with safety to himself and associates. This kind of traffic will not be known in our new state of existence. The fewest in number, and those especially appointed for that purpose, will make such exchange of commodities between individuals, or the different associations of individuals, as experience shall prove to be best for all; and every commodity will be exchanged, in all cases, for the same amount of labor which it contains, according to general estimates, accurately made, and applicable alike to all parties. Those who convey the articles from one place to another, and make the exchange, will have their labor added to the previous estimate of labor in them.

The equitable exchange of surplus productions, upon this system, will be much better effected than they are now, by less than one per cent. of the present cost to the producers; all of which is deducted from their labor.

All the debasement of mind, and all the immorality and evil consequences of bargaining, will be thus withdrawn from society.

TRAVELLING

Will be arranged, in the new state of existence, to give every advantage which can arise from it, while almost all its real inconveniences will be greatly diminished. And all, who desire, will have the privilege of removing from one association, and from one district to another, under such regulations as will be for the benefit of all the members of the communities.

The accommodations for travelling, by land or water, will be the best that can be devised for health and comfort, and for promoting the means of improvement. These objects, by foresight, under a proper system, may be obtained without difficulty.

EDUCATION.

All the advantages which old society has endeavored to gain from governments, religions, laws, wars, marriages and commerce, in all of which it has grievously failed, will be attained and secured, in the new state of existence, by an entire change of the circumstances, by which the whole character of man will be formed, by education, from infancy to maturity.

He will be trained and educated, from birth, within circumstances, all in unison with the known laws of his nature. He will be early taught to discover and understand them by the exercise of his intellectual faculties, and to act in obedience to them by a conviction that they alone can lead to happiness, and by observing the advantages derived from obeying these laws, by those of mature age and experience.

All will thus acquire an accurate knowledge of the science of the influence of circumstances over human nature, and know how to act upon that knowledge in all the business of life. They will speedily learn to know what is essential to the well being, the well doing and the happiness of society. They will soon discover that the great business of life will consist in educating, producing, preserving, distributing and preparing the means for enjoyment. And to do this in the best manner for the young, middle aged and old, the three classes into which society will be divided, will occupy the attention of every one, and be a constant source of exercise, interest and pleasure to all.

The sacrifice to which men of the present generation must submit, before they can secure the benefits of this new state of existence, is, that they must enjoy their happiness upon terms of perfect equality with all the human race.

For these enjoyments cannot be obtained under any system of artificial inequality, or separation into distinct classes.

The new state of existence will admit of those differences only which nature makes unavoidable,—that is, age and knowledge.

This new mode of education will call into full action the physical, intellectual and moral powers of all individuals; and will form them

to be, in consequence, much more competent to the whole business of life, than their predecessors in old society.

GOVERNMENTS.

Artificial governments will be required only as long as men shall be retained in ignorance of the divine laws of their nature, and trained to be vicious. A preliminary government will be, therefore, necessary while the change is progressing from the old to the new state.

After the change shall have been effected, by the education of an entire generation in the knowledge and practice of the divine laws, a natural government will be formed in unison with them.

It is now evident, that no people can be virtuous, intelligent and happy under any despotic or elective form of government, or under any modification of them. These forms must necessarily produce evil continually.

Monarchy is defective in principle, on account of the uncertain character of the sovereign, as well as the extreme inequality it produces in the condition of the governed.

The elective principle is equally defective, under the old arrangements of society, on account of the corruption of morals and the unceasing bad feelings which it engenders.

And any combination of these two modes of government will necessarily partake of the evils of both. But no government, even the best ever known in old society, can do more than mitigate, for a short period, some of the innumerable evils which an opposition to the laws of nature unavoidably produces.

The existing generation, however, is not prepared for a government in accordance with all the laws of nature. We have been so much injured by the erroneous impressions which have been made on our minds, and by the vicious character which has been formed for us, that the utmost that can be expected, in our case, is an approximation, in some degree, towards that which is right in principle, and correct in practice.

A preliminary government must, therefore, be formed for the present generation, to lead it onward gradually, as the mind expands,

and the practice improves, until our children shall be fully prepared for one in accordance with the divine laws of human nature.

And this preliminary government must be made to approximate more or less to the laws of nature, as the parties preparing to act upon the social system shall have acquired more or less knowledge of it.

In this preliminary government, therefore, there must be a modification of the existing laws and customs, relative to religion, marriage, private property, responsibility, or rewards and punishments; and of the modes of producing, distributing and enjoying, as well as of educating those who have been already partially instructed in the false notions and injurious practices of the present systems.

The extent to which these approximations shall proceed towards the perfect laws of nature, must be left to the decision of the united will of the parties who associate to commence the social or natural system, or to the, perhaps, more calm determination of the persons whom they may appoint to administer the new government, until they shall become sufficiently experienced to govern themselves according to the laws of their nature.

It is probable these modifications will be, at first, very various; depending, in some degree, upon the climate, soil, and previous habits and customs, but most essentially upon the progressive knowledge the whole party uniting may have acquired of the laws of their nature.

It will be readily conceived, that, in the new state of existence, slavery will be unknown. It will, of course, die a natural death under the preliminary government of the present generation; and, in the second generation, servitude also will cease.

After that period, all the domestic operations of society will be performed by mechanical inventions and chemical discoveries, under the direction of the youth of both sexes; a knowledge of which they will acquire, theoretically and practically, as a necessary and important part of their education; and in this respect, all will pass through the same training and exercise. It is probable that this part of the business of life will be easily completed, in a manner greatly superior to any thing hitherto known, before these young persons shall be twenty years of age, perhaps at eighteen; and the arrangements may be so formed, as to make that which is now considered a task

of slavery by the most ignorant, become a delightful occupation—in fact, a pleasure and a pastime, to the most intelligent in principle and the most expert in practice.

In this new state of existence, physical and intellectual employments will be held in estimation, in proportion as they are necessary and useful; and all useless occupations, as long as there shall be any thing useful to perform, or new knowledge to acquire, will be deemed a waste of time and, faculties to be practised only by the irrational or insane.

Idleness, the bane of human happiness, will be unknown; it will be wholly prevented by the new mode of education, as it will be applied in infancy, childhood and youth. While, on the contrary, over-exertion of body or mind will not be practised, because all will know that temperance in the exercise of all our faculties will give the greatest amount of happiness that human nature can enjoy.

OF A NATURAL GOVERNMENT, OR OF ONE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAWS OF NATURE.

A government founded on these principles will attend solely to the improvement and happiness of the governed.

Its first inquiries will be, to ascertain what human nature is? what are the laws of its organization, and of its existence, from birth to death?

The second—What is necessary for the happiness of a being so formed and matured.

And the third—What are the best means by which to obtain those requisites, and to secure them permanently for all the governed.

We have developed the divine laws of human nature in sufficient detail for the present purpose.

Those things which are necessary for the happiness of a being so formed and matured, are comprised, perhaps in the following enumeration of

THINGS NECESSARY FOR HUMAN HAPPINESS.

I.

The possession of a good organization, physical, mental and moral.

II.

Having the power to procure, at pleasure, whatever is necessary to keep the organization in the best state of health.

III.

An education which shall cultivate, in the best manner, from infancy to maturity, the physical, intellectual and moral powers of all the population.

IV.

The means and inclination to promote the happiness of our fellow beings.

V.

The means and inclination to increase continually our stock of knowledge.

VI.

The means of enjoying the best society we know; and more particularly the power of associating, at pleasure, with those, for whom we cannot avoid feeling the most regard and the greatest affection.

VII.

The means of travelling at pleasure.

VIII.

A release from superstition, from supernatural fears, and from the fear of death.

IX.

To live in a society, in which all its laws, institutions and arrangements shall be in accordance with the divine laws of human nature, well organized and well governed.

A more detailed examination of these nine general conditions will be found in the Appendix.

The third great object of a natural government will be, to devise and execute the arrangements, by which these conditions shall be obtained for, and secured to, all the governed.

Its laws will be few; easily to be understood by all the governed; and, in every instance, in unison with the laws of human nature. They are contained in the following code of laws.

A
GENERAL CONSTITUTION,
OR A
UNIVERSAL CODE OF LAWS,
DERIVED FROM THE
LAWS OF HUMAN NATURE,
FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF MAN,
IN ALL COUNTRIES,

*As soon as the now ascertained Principle shall be acknowledged,
that "the Character of a Man is formed for him,"*

AND
SHALL BE ADOPTED IN PRACTICE.

UNIVERSAL CODE OF LAWS.

I.

EVERY one shall be equally provided, through life, with the best of every thing for human nature, by public arrangements, which shall give the best known direction to the industry and talents of every individual.

II.

All shall have equal opportunities of being educated by the public, from infancy to maturity, in the best manner known at the time.

III.

All shall pass through the same general routine of education, and domestic teaching and employment.

IV.

All children, from their birth, shall be under the especial care of the society in which they are born; but their parents shall have free access to them at all times.

V.

The children of all parents shall be trained and educated together, by the society, as children of the same family; and all of them shall be early taught a knowledge of the laws of their nature.

VI.

All shall have equal and full liberty of conscience.

VII.

None shall have any other power or right, than fair argument, to control the belief or opinions of any one.

VIII.

No merit or demerit, no reward or punishment, shall be awarded to any one, for any faith whatever.

IX.

All shall have an equal right to express their opinion of the existence of a First Cause; and to worship it under any form, or in any

manner most agreeable to their consciences, not interfering with equal rights in others.

X.

None shall be responsible for their physical, intellectual or moral organization.

XI.

None shall be considered responsible for the sensations made on their organization by external circumstances.

XII.

All shall be encouraged to express these sensations only,—or, in other words, to speak only the truth upon all occasions.

XIII.

No promises shall be asked or given for future affection, because it is not under the control of the will.

XIV.

There shall be no useless private property, in this new state of existence, after the children shall be trained to render it unnecessary, by acquiring new habits and new feelings, derived from the laws of human nature.

XV.

Society shall consist, not of single families, but of associations of men, women and children in the usual proportions, from three hundred to two thousand, according as local circumstances may determine.

XVI.

That as these associations increase in number, a union of them shall be formed for local and general purposes, to consist of tens, hundreds, thousands, hundreds of thousands, and millions, according to the less or more extended objects and interest which shall require their consideration and direction.

XVII.

Each of these associations shall possess, around it, land sufficient for the ample support of all its members, when it shall contain the maximum in number.

XVIII.

Each of these communities shall be arranged to give, as nearly as possible, the same advantages to all the members in each of them; and to afford the most easy communication with each other.

XIX.

Each community shall be governed by a general council, composed of all its members between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five. And each department shall be under the immediate direction of a committee formed of the members of this general council. And these latter members shall be chosen in the order to be determined upon by the general council.

XX.

After the period when all the members in the committee shall be trained to be capable of taking their full share of the duties in the general council of government, at the age fixed upon, there shall be no selection or election of any individuals to office.

XXI.

That at thirty-five years of age, all the members, who shall have been trained from infancy in the communities, shall be officially called upon, to undertake their full share of the duties of management; and at forty-five, they shall be excused from officially performing them.

XXII.

The business of the general council shall be, to govern all the circumstances within the boundaries of its own community; to endeavor to improve them, by removing continually the most unfavorable to happiness, and by replacing them by the best that can be devised among themselves, or of which they can obtain a knowledge from all the other communities; and also to send a delegate to the first circles of communities to which they shall be attached.

XXIII.

The general council shall have full power of government, *in all things appertaining to the association under its direction*, as long as it shall not act contrary to the divine laws of human nature. These laws shall be their sole guide upon all occasions.

XXIV.

If, however, which is deemed scarcely possible, the general council shall ever attempt to contravene the laws of human nature, the elders of the community, who have passed the council, shall call a general meeting of all the members of the association, above sixteen years of age, who have been trained from infancy within the communities. At this meeting, the conduct of the general council shall

be calmly and patiently investigated; and if a majority of its members shall afterwards determine, that *the council has acted, or attempted to act, in opposition to these divine laws*, the general government shall devolve upon the members of the community, who have passed the council, and who are under fifty years of age, united with those members of the association, who have not entered the council, who shall be above thirty years of age.

XXV.

All other differences, of every description, if indeed it be possible for any to exist in such communities, shall be immediately determined, and amicably adjusted between the parties, by the decision of a majority of the three oldest members of the council; except when the difference shall exist between members of the council,—when it shall be, in like manner, decided by the three members who have last passed through the council.

XXVI.

As soon as the members of these communities shall be educated from infancy in a knowledge of the divine laws of their nature; trained to act in obedience to them; and surrounded by circumstances all in unison with those laws, there shall be no individual punishment or reward.

XXVII.

As all thus trained, educated and placed, must, of necessity, at all times, think and act rationally, except they shall become physically, intellectually or morally diseased; the council shall, in such case, direct to the best mode of cure, by removing them into the hospital for bodily or mental invalids, until they shall be recovered by the mildest treatment that can effect their cure.

XXVIII.

The council, whenever it shall be necessary, shall call to its aid the practical abilities of any of the members under thirty-five years of age, and the advice of any of the members who shall have passed the council.

The reasons on which each of these laws are founded will be given at the end of the work, in Appendix B.

APPENDIX A.

EACH of these nine conditions appear to be necessary for the happiness of man. And it is almost useless to state, that they cannot be obtained under any of the governments, religions, laws or institutions, by which the characters of men have been hitherto formed, or by which they have been governed.

These conditions cannot be obtained, in any society, in which merit or demerit is attributed for any belief whatever, or for liking or disliking any person or any thing.

On the contrary, happiness can be obtained and secured only when every member of society can freely express his thoughts and feelings; and when all men shall understand the laws of human nature so well, that none shall be offended by thus acquiring an accurate knowledge of the sensations which nature compels his fellow beings to receive.

And these conditions can be enjoyed only when a knowledge of the laws of our nature shall remove all personal pride and individual selfishness, with all desire to possess any unnecessary private property.

And, also, when men and women shall not be required to perjure themselves, and promise what they have not the power to perform, before they enter into the married state; but when, on the contrary, all shall live and associate according to their affections, and shall be trained, educated and governed by reason, instead of force, fraud and cunning.

We will now consider each of these nine conditions, deemed requisite for human happiness, more in detail.

FIRST CONDITION.

Of possessing a good organization, physical, intellectual and moral.

It is evident, on reflection, that the happiness of every individual is materially influenced by the faculties which he derives from nature at birth.

When these are physically weak, or intellectually or morally defective, greater care and attention are required, through infancy, childhood and youth, to strengthen the first, and improve the others, than are necessary when the organization, in these respects, is more perfect at birth.

And as the application of the most favorable circumstances, after the birth of the individual, cannot fully compensate for defective natural power, it becomes absolutely necessary for human happiness, that measures shall be adopted to prevent the production of any inferior organization in the human race.

There is a science, which, when it shall be better understood, and the ignorant prejudices of mankind will permit it to be properly applied, will, to a great extent, effect this groundwork of human happiness; for it is the only foundation on which it can be permanently secured.

This science has been already partially applied, with success, to improve the physical qualities of many animals. And there can be no doubt of the extraordinary beneficial changes which may be made in the human race, when their knowledge of this science shall be rightly applied to improve their physical, intellectual and moral powers.

The most valuable animal known by man, is man; and it is far more important for his happiness, that he should be produced, at his birth, with all his varied powers in the best state, than that the breed of horses, cattle, sheep, dogs, &c. should be improved.

It is, however, intended that the breed of these latter animals shall not be neglected, for, in a rational state of society, no inferior animal, vegetable or any other thing will be produced, when that which is superior can be obtained.

Consequently, the greatest attention will be given to this science, in the new state of existence, that as far as it is practicable by human knowledge and industry, a good natural material may be obtained for all purposes, but, more especially, that the most superior physical, intellectual and moral materials of the human race may be obtained at birth.

Under the present irrational notions of the world, this science is of little use any where, except, as it is applied, partially, to improve

the breed of some of the inferior animals, and the qualities of some vegetables.

For the existing laws and institutions create only ignorant prejudices, which not only retard every natural improvement, but by their exclusive tendencies deteriorate the whole breed of man.

In a new state of society about to be formed in accordance with the divine laws of our nature, arrangements will be made to give man the full benefit of this important science, for without it he cannot possess the best of every thing for human nature.

SECOND CONDITION.

Of having the power to produce, at pleasure, whatever is necessary to keep the natural organization of man in the best state of health, which includes food, exercise, habitation, dress, occupation, rest, recreation and amusements.

All will admit that the present laws and institutions and practices of mankind, do not permit these requisites to health, and consequently, to happiness, to be obtained, any where, by the great mass of the population, in the best manner.

The customs of the world are now such, that, nine tenths of the people, in all countries, can procure, only, the most common necessities to support life; while, if the governing powers of these countries understood their own interest as individuals, they would know that, it is injurious to each member of every community, that any thing, whatever, should be produced inferior, while the power is possessed to have it superior.

It is the interest therefore of the governing powers, as well as of all others, that every man shall possess not only, the best organization at birth, but that he shall be supplied, through life, with the best food, habitation and dress for human nature, and that arrangements shall exist to enable him to enjoy proper exercise, rest, recreation, and amusement, and that he shall be occupied, through life, in the best manner, to promote his health and happiness, and to benefit society.

Accordingly, in the new state of existence, permanent arrangements will be made to secure these objects.

THIRD CONDITION.

Of an education to cultivate, from infancy, the physical, intellectual and moral powers, in the best manner.

So little has been effected, upon this subject by the laws, institutions and customs of men, that nearly the whole of the human race, are, at this hour, more ignorant of themselves, than they are of most objects around them; while it is the first interest of all that they should be early taught to know themselves—to learn what manner of beings they are.

Hitherto, none have had their physical, intellectual and moral powers cultivated, from infancy, in the best manner; but every obstacle which cunning could devise or force apply, have been placed in the way of well educating the mass of the people in all countries, in order to prevent them attaining knowledge. Consequently, the population of the world, is now, in a most degraded condition, little better, indeed, than beasts of burden, toiling uselessly, from morning to night, without understanding for what object. It has acquired a very small part, only, of the powers which it might be made to possess, probably, not more than one out of a million or many millions, for when all the best faculties of the human race shall be cultivated as they ought to be, from infancy, the human mind, trained as it has been, is incompetent to estimate the extraordinary results that may be attained. A statement greatly within the truth, on this subject, would now startle the most sanguine.

Therefore, in the new state of existence, arrangements will be formed, not only to obtain for man, the best organization at birth; a regular supply of the most wholesome food, the best habitation and dress, with the best means to enjoy exercise, rest, recreation and amusement; but arrangements will be also formed, to bring out, into full action, these extraordinary new powers, which are in every individual, by training and cultivating, from infancy to maturity, the physical, intellectual and moral faculties and qualities of *all* in the best manner.

FOURTH CONDITION.

Of having the means and inclination to promote, continually, the happiness of our fellow beings, as far as our power can be made to extend, and also to assist in increasing, as far as practicable, the enjoyments of all that has life.

The governments, religions, laws, institutions and practices of the world, have not been yet devised to promote the happiness of man, or the comfort of animals. They have been contrived rather to increase the misery of men and the discomfort of animal life. The very supposition that man was organized, by nature, to give him the power to think and feel, according to his own pleasure, was of itself, when carried into practice, as it has been by all tribes and people, quite sufficient to stay any progress toward the happiness of the human race.

This single mistake, respecting human nature, is abundantly sufficient, as experience proves, to disunite all mankind, and to make them secret or open enemies to each other. For, while each man or woman is taught to believe, that, every other man and woman may, if they please, think and feel as they do; it becomes natural for them, to be angry with those, who they imagine, will not, from obstinacy, or some worse motive, believe what they believe, who do not like and dislike or love and hate according to their notions of right or wrong.

It is upon this error, that all governments, religions, laws, institutions, languages and customs have been formed, and, by it, they have all been made so complex and irrational. And it is, solely, owing to this error, that the world has been so long divided against itself, that it has been always armed for its own destruction, and rendered wholly blind to the natural, and therefore easily attained means of happiness.

Instead of this confusion of intellect and consequent division of feelings, among the human race, man will be trained to know himself, from infancy, and he will then acquire the inclination to promote the happiness of his fellow beings, and of the means, by which, to apply the inclination to practice.

FIFTH CONDITION.

Of the means and inclination to increase, continually, our stock of useful knowledge.

As men acquire experience, they learn the value of real knowledge, they discover that, it is the only solid foundation for virtue or happiness, and that it is the true source of power.

Hitherto the book of nature, or of real knowledge, has been sealed, in such a manner, that no man has yet dared to open it honestly and fairly, for the benefit of the many.

Innumerable books, however, said to be of divine origin, have been spread over the world and palmed upon the public, as books of real knowledge. The fables, which they contain, have been made to fill the minds of men with all manner of error, and to compel them to commit all kinds of evil, as at this day, is evident to all who can reflect without prejudice.

All these spurious books, of divine origin, are full of high sounding words in praise of virtue, and learning and religion; but we now discover, by an unerring standard of truth, that the authors of these dogmas and mysteries did not know any thing of real virtue, knowledge or religion; or if they did, that they, purposely, devised these fables to deceive mankind, to keep them in ignorance, that they might be more easily governed and made to support the governing few in luxury and idleness, to the injury of all parties.

It is now, evident, that, the reign of these mysteries is rapidly passing away, that, it is about to be superceded by knowledge derived from tangible facts; the only kind of knowledge that ever can be of real benefit to mankind.

Now when this description of knowledge shall be taught from infancy to all men, they will have pleasure in acquiring it; and the farther they proceed, the greater will be their gratification, and the more ardently they will desire to pursue it.

The acquisition of knowledge, founded on facts, in unison with all other facts; and its truth proved by its accordance with the knowledge previously known and ascertained to be true; will create a continually increasing desire to add, day by day, to the stock acquired in childhood and youth, and thus will the inclination be formed,

and permanently established to seek to make a progress in real knowledge through life.

In the new state of existence, effectual means will be devised to satisfy those desires. Every individual will have the benefit of the best libraries, laboratories, instruments, and implements, to assist them in their studies. Men of the most experience, and best minds and dispositions, will be always ready to aid the younger in every branch of knowledge; while all the means will surround the population to enable them to prove the truth of their theories by practice.

The acquisition of real knowledge will accumulate enormous power to the human race, and to its extension, age after age, there can be no assignable limit. It will be the legitimate means of agreeably and beneficially changing men's sensations, of opening new stores of pleasure which will never satiate, and they will be, thus, led on, step by step, in the path of real knowledge, and made more and more acquainted with that power from which they derive their existence and hourly support.

In fact, the chief department, in the new state of existence, will be, to train the young in the best manner, and to provide the means for all to increase, continually, in the most useful knowledge, and to create the desire to make the greatest attainment in the most valuable pursuits.

SIXTH CONDITION.

Of the means of enjoying the best society, and more particularly of associating at pleasure with those, for whom we feel the highest regard and greatest affection. ❀

Without this power, whatever may be the other advantages, accumulated around any society, their condition cannot be satisfactory. All, who have had extensive experience, know, that, by far the largest share of happiness arises, through life, from the society of those, to whom, by nature, we are compelled to feel the most regard and the strongest affection.

With this privilege, few things beyond the simple necessities of life, are requisite to insure a considerable degree of satisfaction of mind, and a nearer approach to happiness, than power, wealth and knowledge combined, can give without it.

But, as the world has hitherto been governed, how very few have possessed the privilege of associating at pleasure, with those, for whom they were compelled to feel the greatest regard and strongest affection? How few enjoy it at this moment all over the world?

All past institutions have been formed, apparently, with the intention of obstructing, as much as possible, the happiness that nature designs man should enjoy from his social feelings, by implanting, so deeply and widely, the seeds of affection among the human race.— For all the artificial arrangements, by man, in all countries, and at all times, appear, to be, purposely, calculated to destroy the pleasures arising from sincerity, confidence and affection.

The division of society into governors and governed; rich and poor; learned and unlearned; into single families, into sects and classes, and into numerous tribes and people, taught to have opposite feelings for each other, all tends to deteriorate society, and to give a wrong or unnatural direction to all the kindlier feelings of our nature, and to render it difficult or almost impossible, in most cases, for individuals to associate, at pleasure, with those, for whom they cannot avoid having the most regard and strongest affection.

In the new state of existence, this great evil will not be known;— every obstacle to the free, open, honest communication, between mind and mind, will be removed. In this state of society, all intercourse between human beings, of both sexes, and of all ages, will be, at all times, what is now termed confidential, that is, they will express, under all circumstances, their genuine thoughts and feelings without any reservation whatever.

Not feeling the motives which now exist for disguising their sensations, they will never acquire the habit of doing so. While, under the existing institutions, almost the whole communication, between man and man, and nation and nation, is a continued system of insincerity, by which they endeavor to deceive each other.

The necessity which exists, under these institutions, to cover our real thoughts and feelings from others, is, of itself, sufficient to degrade man below the inferior animals, and to inflict misery on his whole race.

By attending to the feelings of children, we discover, that man is most powerfully impelled, by his nature, to be honest and sincere.

and not to hide, or be ashamed, of any of the sensations, which, by his formation, he is compelled to receive. It requires constant watching and great care, on the part of those who are around children, to prevent them from expressing all their sensations, and telling the whole truth, upon every subject, as far as they know it, and still more exertion, to force them to acquire as much practical deceit, as the irrational customs of the most civilized nations require.

And this degradation and subjugation, of the very finest and best feelings of human nature, will, altogether, cease, in the new state of existence. For all the practical arrangements, and all the institutions, in this state, will be in unison with the laws of nature, and when the results of this union of practice and principle shall be enjoyed, it will be felt to be an act of insanity, or a real aberration of the human faculties, whenever any individual, in conversation with man, woman or child, shall not express the genuine sensations, which the existing circumstances make on his organization. These sensations are, alone, to him truth, and as soon as man shall be trained to be rational, and shall be under institutions and within circumstances in unison with their training, *truth*, alone, will be known among mankind.

And, under these arrangements, all will know precisely the impression which their conduct makes upon others; and a *stronger stimulus* to every kind of excellence *cannot be created*. It will effectually purify the thoughts and feelings of all, and produce a perfection of conduct, throughout society, of which the present ignorant, degraded and irrational race can form no adequate conception.

When sincerity and truth, and consequently rationality, shall be alone known among men, it will be soon ascertained, by experience, whether nature intended to give man happiness, by limiting or extending his affections; whether she intends to confine his most exclusive feelings to one of the opposite sex, or to divide it with more than one—and how many.

However this may prove to be, by experience, when no artificial obstructions shall exist, we may be assured, that the dictates of nature are those which she intends shall alone influence to actions, that shall the most effectually promote real virtue and happiness.

Nature, which is now thwarted in every advance to urge the human

race to knowledge and happiness, will persevere, until her righteous laws shall be alone obeyed; and she will ultimately direct the intercourse of society, as wisely, for the well doing, well being and enjoyment of the human race, as she has ever done among the whole of the animal and vegetable existences, which are, in this respect, subjected to the same general laws.

One thing is most evident, that nature, by keeping the power of making new impressions to herself, never intended that man or woman should perjure themselves, by promising to each other, that their sensations from and for each other, should continue, without change, until death.

In the new state of existence, this crime, also, of perjury, will be unknown; for there will be "no indissoluble marriages, or giving in marriage." On the contrary, all will, at all times, possess the power to associate with those only, for whom nature compels them to feel the most regard and strongest affection.

SEVENTH CONDITION.

Of travelling with convenience and advantage.

To have the means of travelling, or of removing, without inconvenience, from one district to another, at pleasure, is essential to the full enjoyment of happiness.

This benefit will be provided, in a very effectual manner, in the new state of existence, by arrangements, which will be equally advantageous for the traveller and for society.

The arrangements which will be formed, under this new mode of existence, will be so planned, that when any country shall be regularly settled under its regulations, the traveller will have an opportunity of resting, in any direction in which he may proceed, within two miles of the last association or station he may have left or past.

He will find, in all these places, whatever can be necessary to his comfort, the same as he enjoyed in the association or society whence he commenced his travels. It will not be necessary for him to encumber himself with luggage of any description. There will be supplies of all he will require, ready for his use, in each society; and these, as before stated, will be within two miles of each other, in whatever direction he may travel.

These journeys must be, of necessity, subject to general regulations, which will apply equally to all of the same age; for it is evident, all cannot travel at the same time. But it is probable, that more than all who wish to change their position, at one time, may leave their station without inconvenience.

As long as travellers do not go out of the territories occupied by the societies who have embraced the new mode of existence, they will not require money, or extra provision of any description; because they will be equally at home wherever they may wish to stop, whether for a longer or shorter period.

The only condition to which they will be liable, is, that they shall occupy themselves, as long as they remain in their new situation, in the same manner in which they were employed in their former association.

When a traveller comes to a place already full of inhabitants, he will pass on to the nearest station, in which there shall be vacant apartments convenient for him.

While the change is in progress, from the old to the new state of existence, money, of the countries to which the traveller is about to proceed, will be supplied to him from the public treasury.

But rational, as all these re-formed or re-created beings will become, under the new circumstances by which they will be surrounded, no funds or labor of the societies will be uselessly expended. They will all distinctly perceive, that a well arranged economy, in the whole proceedings of the communities, is the true foundation of the highest and most permanent prosperity.

Whatever temporary difficulties may arise, at first, in bringing all the requisite arrangements, for travelling with ease, comfort and general benefit, into practice,—a little experience and perseverance in right principles will soon overcome them.

EIGHTH CONDITION.

Of release from all superstitious fears, supernatural notions, and from the fear of death.

In the new state of existence, all children will be taught to perceive, to investigate, and to compare facts; and to deduce accurate conclusions, by comparing one fact carefully with another. The

foundation of the human mind will thus rest upon a knowledge of facts, all in unison, one with another; and its formation will proceed, day by day, by adding a clear perception of one law of nature to another, until each mind will thus acquire for itself an increasing standard of truth, which will guard it, from youth, against the reception of errors of the imagination.

In minds thus cultivated, superstitious or unnatural fears will never enter. They will never become so irrational, as to imagine any laws of nature, for which they can discover no fact; but they will study to acquire an accurate knowledge of those laws, to the extent in which their minds can investigate them. And knowing, as they will speedily learn, that truth is one throughout the whole universe, and that there can be no opposition or contradiction between any one truth and another, their minds will soon attain so much strength and knowledge, that an error will not find admittance.

Every error presented to a mind so trained and formed, will be immediately compared with the true ideas, already received by the study of facts; of facts, the truth of which all are compelled to admit, because they have been previously found, after the most severe investigation, to be in strict accordance with all the ascertained laws of nature. This comparison will soon detect the fallacy of the errors, by showing their opposition to those established facts, or to the unchanging laws of nature; and, in consequence, it will be as impracticable for the mind to give them reception among its true ideas, as for the stomach to receive the most loathsome food, when attempted to be forced into it.

The human mind will thus become, for the first time since its existence, sane or rational; for all the ideas with which it will be filled will be in unison with each other; there will be no complexity or confusion among them; all will be harmony within.

There will be no jarring between natural feelings and imaginary divine commands, in direct opposition to those feelings; for it will be known, that the natural feelings of the human race are the divine commands; and that whatever is opposed to them is error—is superstition—is an invention of the priesthood, whose class is opposed to the well being and happiness of mankind; who are trained from their youth to deceive them,—to fill them with fear and dread of nonenti-

ties, which they describe according to the particular species of insanity which has been forced into their minds.

None of this ignorant and mischievous proceeding will be found in the new state of existence.

Nothing that is unknown, or that is incomprehensible to the human faculties, will create any other feeling than a cheerful confidence, that the best has been, is, and will be done, that the materials of which the universe is composed permit to be done.

Every aberration of the human intellect will be at once detected, by the standard of truth, formed in every mind, of a sufficient number of facts, all in unison with each other.

This standard will guard the mind, in the new state of existence, against the reception of all incongruous notions and absurd combinations of ideas. Superstitions and supernatural fears will entirely cease; and all will readily acquire correct ideas, relative to the composition and decomposition of all materials, compounds and organizations.

Were it not for the irrational, imaginary notions, which, for numberless ages, the population of the world has been compelled to receive as divine truths, there would be no fear of death among mankind.

It would become obvious, that the materials of which the earth and atmosphere are composed,—modified, as they probably are, by the influence of the solar system, in which they revolve,—are continually undergoing the changes of composition and decomposition, according to the fixed laws of nature, which alter not their eternal course, in the slightest iota, through any of the forms or ceremonies, or wordy wanderings of the human race.

Are we not justified in saying, that it is a necessary law of all other laws of nature, that no change has ever been, or can be made, in the eternal laws of the universe? That the least change in the laws, by which the universal mechanism and chemistry of nature perform their united operations, would create a chaos and confusion that would disturb and destroy *its one universal movement*, that preserves the harmony of all existences?

Can these laws be rendered variable and uncertain for man; an insect upon an atom, as he exists upon the earth, compared to the

eternity of space, with its endless systems of suns and planets, revolving sphere beyond sphere, unchanged, and to man's conception unchangeable? No! the composition and decomposition upon the earth, when viewed without the vanity and presumption arising from ignorance of the laws of nature, will be found to *differ* not in man, from any other *vegetable* or *animal compound*. He is composed of the self same materials, and he is again decomposed and becomes part of the general mass, from which every earthly compound continues to be formed.

And this is a law of impartiality and justice, which, when it shall be fully comprehended, will lead not only to universal charity, in practice, from man to man, throughout the globe; but it will fill him with benevolent and kind feelings for all that has life; it will give him, in fact, a fellow feeling for all that exists around him, from a knowledge that he is an integral and indestructible part of the universe.

He will know, that he is perpetually changing portions of his own existence with all objects among which he moves, whether animate or inanimate. He will, therefore, avoid giving unnecessary pain to any thing that has life. The worm and the insect are his kinsfolk; they are from the same original stock of materials, and in the next decomposition will unite again as children of the same origin, proceeding from one common Parent, who is alike interested in the general happiness of every being formed from the universal mass, from whence all came, and into which all return.

No! man is not an exception to the general laws of nature. He is born, and he dies, and "the place which knew him, knows him no more."

There is not one single fact, except in a slight extension of some of the same faculties, different in the formation and decomposition of man, from any other earthly compound and decomposition. And when men shall be disabused on this subject, they will be great gainers in practice.

They will no longer vainly expend their time and faculties upon imaginary future existences, which belong not to their nature; but they will at once apply themselves, heart and soul, to make a paradise of their present abode; that each generation, in succession, may

enjoy it continually, without any ignorant fears for the future, except that of creating some permanent cause of misery during their lives, such as slavery, cruel and unjust laws, or irrational institutions and customs, to inflict punishment on their progeny—or, in other words, on that which constituted part of themselves, and for which they would have, if rightly instructed, a fellow feeling.

This view of our existence is similar to the desire we have been taught to have, to provide abundantly for our children and immediate descendants.

The latter is now an ignorant and selfish desire, created by an artificial state of society; while the other will evince a true knowledge of human nature, and generate dispositions of unbounded love and charity, not in words, but in practice, for the whole human race, present and future.

This view of human nature will put an end to the pride, vanity and selfishness of individuals and families. It will destroy all notions of superstition, and of unknown supernatural agencies, until some tangible and consistent facts, respecting their existence, if they do exist, shall be acquired; and more especially, of their interference in human affairs, in opposition to the unchanging laws of nature.

It will also annul all the unreasonable fears of death, or of our accidental or natural decomposition, which are now so unwisely instilled into the minds of children, almost as soon as they can be made to receive these injurious impressions.

Man is thus made a mental coward, and filled with all manner of fears of the imagination, against which he knows not how to defend himself. He is thus made so weak and irrational, that he continually torments himself and others, through life, without producing any counteracting benefit.

Instead of being thus abused in childhood, he ought to be taught, from infancy, the plain truth, on this as well as every other subject.

He would then know what to expect; and he would be always, without fear or dread of any kind, prepared for that change, which all nature undergoes; and his happiness, during life, would not be disturbed with apprehensions and fear of what would become of him after decomposition.

He would comprehend the truth, upon this subject, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; and, in consequence, his mind would be free to act, without a selfish motive, what the world now calls a noble and generous part to all his fellow beings, but which would then become the common practice of the human race.

NINTH CONDITION.

Of a state of society, in which all its laws, institutions and customs shall be in accordance with the laws of human nature, or with the divine laws by which man is formed and governed.

Any society of human beings, in which the laws of man have been made to oppose the divine laws of his nature, must, of necessity, exist in a state of continued crime, disunion and misery.

All societies of men *have been so formed*, and, *at this day*, they all exist in *crime, disunion and misery*.

In all of them, the divine laws of nature have been misunderstood or disregarded; and men have busied themselves, in vain, in devising artificial laws, to alter their unchangeable nature, and improve the work of a Power beyond their faculties to comprehend, and which is the same to-day and for ever.

It is evidently the whole duty of man, for his own sake, and for the benefit of his race, to find out the laws of his nature, that he may first know what manner of being he is, and then form all his institutions to be in strict accordance with those divine laws.

He will thus, by the natural progress of knowledge, bring about a new state of existence, in which the duty, the interest and inclination of all, will be, at all times, one and the same feeling; in which all will possess, in security, and without opposition from any quarter, a full supply, at all times, of whatever is essential to the happiness of human life.

Under the supposition that these principles are as true, and their practice as beneficial, as I have stated, it then becomes a question of paramount interest to all the present generation, to know how this change—a change greater than all which have preceded it—can be accomplished, not only without injury to any one, but with permanent advantage to all.

To me it appears, that this change can be effected the most easily by the union, in the first instance, of some of the leading governments, and of the heads of the chief sects of religion, in the adoption of general measures, to direct the new arrangements upon an extensive scale; but in a manner so gradual, that no shock shall be given to the interests or feelings of any portion of society. And in forming these arrangements, no attempt should be permitted to be made, to displace the individuals who are at the head, or who administer any of the existing governments.

No member of any church should be deprived, during his life, of the support and emoluments he now derives from it. No one, deriving his support from other professions, should be, in any degree, curtailed in the advantages which he derives from his present station in them.

No one, employed in any business, should be called upon, or expected to do more than his present occupation requires him to perform.

No one should be required to do any thing contrary to his former habits.

It is unnecessary that any of these evils should arise, or be allowed to take place; because there is a power in society, which, when rightly directed, will be found much more than sufficient to supply all the wants and wishes of mankind, without it being necessary to adopt any of these temporary evils, or, in any degree, to diminish the small portion of happiness which, under the existing systems, has fallen to the lot of any individual in society.

The unused and misdirected powers of society are far more than sufficient to satisfy the wishes of mankind, as soon as they shall learn what is requisite to make them happy, and shall know what it is their interest to desire, and the best means to obtain and secure it.

Thus have I endeavored to sketch the outline of the causes of the past and present evils among men; to deduce the principles of human nature from facts, which change not, but which remain the same "yesterday, to-day and for ever;" to show how those principles may be beneficially applied to practice, for the advantage of mankind; and how this change may be gradually effected, throughout society, without injury to any individual, of any class, sect, party or country.

PART THIRD.



PRELIMINARY REMARKS,

RELATIVE TO THE DISCUSSION,

BY THE AUTHOR.

In the preceding First and Second Parts of this work, I have stated facts, to prove in what manner man receives his individual organization by nature, and how his character is subsequently formed from infancy to maturity. From the same facts, I have shown, that he has no knowledge of, or power in, these individual proceedings, except that which he derives from the organization which is created for him, without his consciousness, and influenced by the external circumstances which he did not produce, and into which he was forced, at birth, without his will or consent; and that, therefore, his character is directly or indirectly formed for him, from birth to death.

Having demonstrated these important results, it follows that man is a being formed and acted upon in a manner altogether different from what the founders of all religions have presupposed. That they have entirely mistaken the facts respecting the origin of man; his peculiar formation; his powers; and what is still more essential, the only certain road by which he can be made to acquire superior habits, dispositions, manners, knowledge and feelings, and to enjoy, through life, a very superior state of existence.

Knowing that these facts cannot be disproved, or the results shown to be incorrect, it follows, "that all the religions in the world have originated in error;" in an error, too, respecting human nature, of the highest importance to mankind. That these religions, therefore,

have no foundation in fact, or in any real knowledge of human nature; and that all of them are baseless and airy fabrics,—the sole and immediate effects of the untaught and untrained imaginations of men, some of whom were, no doubt, well meaning enthusiasts, who believed their own visions, or who seriously concluded, as many individuals do at this day, that man cannot be well governed, except through his belief in some religion. I am, therefore, willing to put what I have said upon this part of the subject upon the written record, and await the decision of reflecting men upon the proofs I have placed before the public.

I then deduced the conclusion, that as all the religions in the world are founded on notions in direct opposition to the facts which explain what human nature is, and as facts must be, if any things are, the laws of nature, “that all religions are directly opposed to the unchanging laws of human nature.”

I afterwards proved, that the errors relative to the free power of the human will over belief and affections, as now taught by all the religions in the world, in opposition to these facts, necessarily engender every kind of deception in the human character; and that they have become, of necessity, “the source of vice, disunion and misery.”

I then pointed out in what manner all the religions of the world, by teaching doctrines opposite to the fundamental facts constituting the twelve laws of human nature, oppose the introduction of real knowledge among mankind, and prevent them from acquiring any just conception of what nature has formed them to be, at birth and through life. That a true knowledge of their nature would at once enable the adults of the present race to form a very superior character in the rising generation, and to place them under circumstances in society, greatly more favorable to the practice of virtue and enjoyment of happiness, than those circumstances have done, which have yet been formed by any religion; and that, in consequence of the popular belief in the divine origin of all religions, they are now “the only obstacle to the formation of a society, over the earth, of intelligence, of charity in its most extended sense, and of sincerity and affection.”

I then further stated, that there has been such a rapid progress in real knowledge, within a few years past, that the human mind cannot

now be restrained from advancing in the same path with a continually accelerating speed, unless "the tyranny of the few shall be applied to arrest its progress. Of the practicability of such conduct, however, I stated my doubts, if any parties now retained the inclination to try their power; for, I believe, as the progress of knowledge increases, the desire to exert this power, from various causes, diminishes.

These were the positions I undertook to prove. I believe the preceding statement, in the First Part of this work, furnishes ample facts, and deductions fairly drawn from them, to satisfy every mind that can be impartial, even to unnecessary demonstration, of their truth.

But the Christian public cannot be, for the reasons given in the explanations of the fundamental laws of human nature, and particularly of the fifth law, impartial in this case. All their early impressions, which, by their nature, they cannot avoid retaining with great tenacity, are a most formidable obstacle, to prevent their judging impartially. My view of human nature, therefore, and of the important beneficial consequences which will arise from a clear perception of it, in all its bearings upon the practice of the world, cannot yet be understood and felt as it ought to be, except by a very few minds, who have, by some fortunate occurrence, escaped from the generally overwhelming influence of early impressions.

Still, under this obstacle, so nearly impossible for human nature to overcome, I am willing—such is my confidence in the overwhelming power of truth—to rest the proof, not only of the first, but also of the four last most important conclusions, upon the facts, deductions and arguments contained in the First Part of this work; and as such I put it upon record, to await the decision of the intelligent and reflecting part of the public.

As I stated more than once in the discussion, I added the Second Part, to prevent injury to any mind, that might be convinced by the same facts and arguments by which my sentiments were changed, and to give them a knowledge of a practice derived from other principles—principles which to me appear beyond all comparison superior to the unsubstantial notions which have influenced the past, and which influence the present practice of the world.

To these facts, deductions and reasonings, Mr. Campbell made a learned and elaborate indirect reply, by bringing forward all the usual evidences in favor of the Christian religion; and no one will doubt the ability with which he supported his own views of the subject. I patiently listened to him. But his arguments appeared to me as those of one, who very ingeniously endeavored to convince me that one and one made three, after I had thoroughly satisfied myself of the simple fact that one and one made two, and neither more nor less.

I expected that Mr. C. would have denied the facts upon which my arguments were founded, or shown the deductions from them to be erroneous. As, however, he admitted the truth of the twelve fundamental laws, as they now stand, and did not prove the error of any of my deductions from them,—which, as they have passed so many of the most trying ordeals in various parts of the world, I now believe to be impracticable,—I conclude that he felt they were unanswerable; but that, owing to his early associations and long habits of studying the Christian scriptures, he did not perceive their immediate bearing upon the Christian, as well as upon the other schemes of religion. He therefore proceeded, as I have stated; and as these arguments will be given at length in the publication of the discussion, which Mr. Campbell is busily engaged in preparing, I need not further notice them in this work.

The subsequent debate I considered more for the gratification of the parties who attended, many of whom came many hundred miles to be present, than as calculated to forward the main object of the discussion; and in which, therefore, I felt comparatively little interested. I had, or I had not, proved what I had undertaken to do. The intelligent part of the public will now, after investigating the subject as impartially as their early prejudices admit, form their own opinions.

After Mr. C. had, for two days in succession, delivered his sentiments upon the proofs of the Christian religion, some reply on my part became necessary for form's sake; and the following occurred to me as being the most likely to be permanently beneficial, in clearing away some of the obstacles which stand in the way of the progress of truth among a large mass of the people of these states. For

many of them, I learn, are not permitted by their spiritual teachers to think much for themselves on religious subjects. Consequently, the previous parts of this work are intended for the experienced, intelligent, calm, reflecting minds. The following reply will be unnecessary to them, being more suited to those who are *beginning* to think upon these important subjects.

THE AUTHOR'S
CONCLUDING SPEECH.

It is my wish to make the present meeting, which is a very singular one in its nature, as extensively beneficial as possible. After the full statement of my views, with which I opened this discussion, it was not my intention to occupy much of your time in listening to a rejoinder to Mr. Campbell. But not knowing what my friend was going to say in answer to that statement, and finding that, instead of replying to my arguments, he has given you a full and elaborate development of the Christian religion, it is necessary to detain you somewhat longer than I intended.

I have listened to Mr. C. with profound attention; and have, therefore, received the impressions which his elaborate exposition of the Christian system, and his whole chain of evidence are capable of producing on a mind long accustomed to severe and accurate reasoning. I now owe it to you, who have attended here so patiently through this discussion—I owe it to the present generation, and to all future generations, to declare without reserve what these impressions are.

My friends, Mr. Campbell appears to me to have done his duty manfully, and with a zeal that would have been creditable to any of the primitive fathers of the church. His own conviction of the truth and divine origin of the system which he advocates, and his ardent desire to impress that conviction upon my mind, and upon yours, all here have witnessed. His learning, his industry, and some very extraordinary talents for supporting the cause which he advocates, have been conspicuous; and for one trained in the *fiery* notions produced by the free-will doctrines, he has restrained his temper beyond my most sanguine expectations. That, however, which I admire in him above all, is his downright honesty and fairness in what he be-

lieves to be the cause of truth. He says to his opponent: "I am strong in the cause I advocate. It is from heaven; and I fear not what man can do against it. I am ready to meet you at any time and place, provided I may reply to you, and that our arguments shall go together to the public, to pass its ordeal, and await its ultimate calm decision." Now, this is a straight forward proceeding in the investigation of truth, which I have long sought for, but which, until now, I have sought for in vain. The friends of truth, therefore, on whichever side of the question it may be found, are now more indebted to Mr. C. than to any other Christian minister of the present day.

These are the impressions made upon my mind, with regard to my friend, Mr. C.'s conduct in this delicate and difficult task, which he has volunteered to perform. It is now my duty to give you the living impressions which Mr. Campbell's learning, industry and zeal have made upon my mind, through the long discussion we have heard. And you will not, I trust, imagine that what I am about to state proceeds from *any other cause than the love of truth, and a sincere desire to benefit the present and future generations.*

Then, my friends, my impressions are, that Christianity is *not* of divine origin; that it is *not* true; and that its doctrines are now anything but beneficial to mankind. On the contrary, my impressions are deeply confirmed, that its miracles and mysteries are of man's contrivance, to impose on the great mass of mankind, who have never yet been taught to reason; to enable the few to govern the many, through their interested hopes and fears for the future; and to induce the many to prostrate their minds before an order of men, who, through these means, can easily keep them in subjection to the powers that be. That its doctrines are now, by turning aside the mind from investigating its own powers, the only obstacle in Christendom to the most important improvements; and that the whole system, in its principles and practice, despite of all we have heard in advocating it, is the greatest bar to the progress of knowledge, that now exists; and that, if my impressions are right, Christianity, as it is now taught all over Christendom, by preventing man from acquiring an accurate knowledge of himself, or of the only means by which his character can be uniformly well formed, is the greatest curse with which our race is at this day afflicted.

My friends, do you suppose that I could utter such a sentiment as you have now heard lightly, and without due consideration? No! it is the settled conviction of my mind, arising from forty years of the greatest possible industry in tracing Christianity in all its influences and operations upon the whole of society.

There is no individual in this assembly, who regrets the necessity of wounding your feelings more than I do. But, my friends, I am not speaking for the hour, or the day, or the few hundreds that are here. I speak to you a truth, which I expect, when once promulgated, will pass from mind to mind, until it shall pervade every part of the world. I speak to you a truth, which, whatever may be your present impressions, will one day prove to you the most valuable truth you ever heard.

My friends, would you not suppose, from what you have heard of the practical advantages of Christianity, that all is now right amongst you; that you are very angels in your conduct; that you have among you the very perfection of virtue and of all excellence? But you all well know this is not the case. You well know that Christian society, all over Christendom, abounds in vice and iniquity.

[Here there was some stir amongst the audience.]

My friends, if any of you are afraid to hear the truth, it is time for you to depart.

[Here a little more excitement, and some few left the church.]

My friends, when the Jewish system was worn out, and the time had arrived for another to be introduced, the excitement which took place, when communications were publicly made that a new order of things was about to commence, was much greater than the trifling movement which we have just now witnessed. The time, however, has arrived, when the corruptions of the Christian system, like the corruptions of all preceding and existing old systems, call loudly for a great and mighty moral change. Do not you all acknowledge daily, and with great truth, that you are now dead in trespasses and sins? If you really mean what you say, it is high time that you should arise under new circumstances into new life. But unless the truth, without any fear of man, shall be honestly spoken to you, what help is there for you? You have not, in this discussion, heard

from me one syllable that is not deeply fixed in my mind as a valuable truth; nor, during the remainder of these proceedings, shall you hear a word from me, that is not dictated by an ardent desire to place without disguise the most valuable truths before you.

The evidences which Mr. Campbell has brought, to prove the truth of Christianity, prove to me its falsehood. And all he has said about the purity of its doctrines, and their efficacy for practice, is disproved by the daily conduct of every Christian population in every quarter of the world.

A Christian population is, emphatically, in practice, a population preying upon each other, and living very generally in a state of unnatural anxiety for useless and surplus property, in the midst of hourly deception and hypocrisy; hating and disliking each other because they cannot think and feel alike, having been taught the notion that they may think and feel as they please. It is every where a population of inequality of condition, and necessarily of pride, poverty, envy and jealousy. It is a population, in which ten-fold more of exertion and anxiety is required from each, to produce the misery they experience, than is necessary to secure a full supply of the best of every thing for all. In short, I find it to be, in practice, so full of ignorance, weakness, insincerity, and counteraction of each other's views and objects, and of weekly preaching to perpetuate all these evils, that, did I not firmly believe that truth is omnipotent to remove error, and that we are, in consequence, rapidly approaching a new state of existence, in which, with regard to these things, there will be a new birth and a new life, a regeneration that will purge man from all these abominations, I could feel no interest in the present irrational proceedings of the human race. And if I had wanted any further proof of the Christian world being in this wretched condition, Mr. Campbell's sermon in this place, on Sunday last, and the appearance of the state of mind of the congregation, would have rendered more unnecessary. Never did I see so much fine talent so miserably misdirected. Never did I see human beings so ready to receive poison under the undoubting supposition that it was good and wholesome food.

Mr. Campbell is, however, according to my conviction of right and wrong, blameless. Like all other men, he has been made sub-

ject to the fifth law contained in the casket: he has been compelled to receive the instructions which have been forced into his mind, which is by nature of that honest firmness and consistency, that he is compelled to retain them with great tenacity.

My friends, I do say again, that so long as this weekly preaching, without reply from the congregation, shall be allowed to proceed, you and your posterity will be kept in the very depth of darkness, as you are at this hour. In consequence of this preaching, Mr. Campbell, unconscious to himself, with all his energies and fine natural talents, has fallen a complete victim to it. His mind has been closed by his early training and consequent prepossessions, and held in chains, by which he is prevented from receiving one ray of natural and true light. He is, at this moment, as I am compelled to believe, in the depth of mental darkness—blind as a mole.

Thus from age to age do the blind lead the blind, until they all fall into the ditch of error. And out of this ditch, I perceive, they cannot come, until some one shall open the eyes of their mind, and enable them to see the wretched condition in which they are. The present and past generations have been rendered mentally blind from their birth, and they truly require many physicians to make them whole. Now I am persuaded, that neither Mr. Campbell, nor the larger part of his congregation, were in the least conscious, that throughout his sermon on Sunday morning, he reasoned as falsely, and spoke as much error as could well be spoken in the same period.

And these false impressions were taken home by those present, whose conduct would not be improved by it in the least; for they would think worse of their neighbors who are compelled to differ from them in opinions and feelings, and immediately begin to enter upon the regular daily sins of life, such as I have described them to be,—the same, in fact, as they were engaged in the day before, and all their lives. This kind of preaching has no other effect—it can have no other effect—in practice, than to perpetuate the dark ages of ignorance and of hypocrisy.

And before I leave this part of the subject, I wish to put it upon record, that the most despotic power in the world, at this day, is the weekly preachings in churches, without the liberty of reply to the preacher. And the United States, free and independent as they are

supposed to be, are more overrun with the blind thus leading the blind, than many other countries. Yes, my friends, by this cunningly devised mechanism, which extends its ramifications far and wide, even into lands and territories the most distant, you are made to pay for erecting the buildings and the cost of repairs; to pay the preacher, and bow your neck to him, that he may the most conveniently rivet on you the chains of ignorance, and make you always subservient to his purposes. Until this evil shall be removed, there will be no hope for the rising generations. You can never be free as long as you have weekly or frequent unanswered preachings and prayings.

Now, this is a different view of the subject from any anticipated by Mr. C. His mind, in consequence of his early instruction and prepossession, has not been in any degree prepared for it; nor does he now, as it appears to me, perceive or comprehend much of my reasoning. I apprehend, also, there are but few in this assembly, who, with their present impressions, can be prepared to understand it.

The twelve old laws, which appear so much to puzzle Mr. Campbell, may be fitly compared to a casket in which are contained twelve of the most valuable jewels that the imagination can conceive; but a casket composed of steel so highly polished, that all who look upon it see only the reflection of their own minds. You may also imagine that the casket has been closed, by ingenious workmen employed for that purpose, many thousand years, in order that no ordinary person should open it to inspect its contents. Mr. Campbell has looked upon this casket; but with all his talents, owing to the tenacity of his early impressions, it has reflected the association only of his instructions in the Christian mysteries.

A fortunate combination of circumstances, originating in certain causes over which I had no control, has enabled me to open this casket, and at leisure calmly to survey the precious deposit therein.

The jewels it contains have laid within it for unnumbered thousands of years. They have not, therefore, that brilliant appearance, which they would possess if they had been lately polished by professed and experienced jewellers. But this evening, after the meeting adjourns, I will, although I am not an experienced working jeweller, in the absence of those more expert in the trade, take the liberty

to burnish them up a little, and to-morrow endeavor to bring out some of their beauties for your inspection. I shall not have time to perform this burnishing as it ought to be done; but what the time will permit, I will do.

[Adjournment to ten o'clock the next morning.]

Mr. Campbell has said that the Christian religion is divine, and that the Supreme Power, who revealed it, is most anxious that all men should believe in it. How came it, then, that Mahomed, after Christ had preceded him six hundred years, and the Christians had all that time to mature their plans, should have obtained more proselytes, and that the Musselmans should at this day nearly equal, if not outnumber, the Christians? That which proves the truth of the Christian religion, as Mr. C. has attempted to prove it, will equally prove the truth of the Mahomedan, and every other religion. The verity of each depends upon the same kind of testimony—they all have their mysteries and their miracles. Whenever we become rational beings, we shall be assured that the Power which governs the universe, whatever it may be, requires not mysteries or miracles to effect its purposes.

If my plan was to arouse too much local irrational feelings, it would not be difficult to make very short work of these proceedings. To enter fully into an examination of the mysteries, miracles and errors which Christians have been taught from infancy to hear with reverence, would be productive of no practical benefit. I shall, therefore, not go much into detail upon subjects, which so few are yet prepared to hear freely canvassed.

There may, however, be some utility in deviating a little from the course to which originally I intended to adhere. For although I think it right, for the reasons stated, not to enter minutely into what appears to me the glaring inconsistencies of any of the religions of the world; yet as Mr. C. has taken so much pains to develop the whole of the Christian scheme, I will advert to some of his points of defence, and afterwards give a further development of those twelve fundamental laws, which Mr. C. calls old principles, and show that these old principles, being all proved to be facts, it becomes utterly impossible that any religion can be true.

Mr. Campbell has told you that the Christian religion consists in faith, and that faith depends upon testimony; that the faith necessary for you to have, is an undoubting belief in the miraculous birth, in the death and burial, and in the ascension into heaven of the man Jesus Christ, who—it is the most essential, however, to believe—was really and truly the Son of God, begotten by him of a virgin.

This is the position in which Mr. Campbell has placed the discussion. He is, from the circumstances in which he has been placed from his infancy, unprepared to discuss it upon any other grounds. His mind is completely overwhelmed with the theological learning he has been induced to acquire. Mr. Campbell has little or no practical knowledge of the present general state of the human mind, or of society out of the western districts of this country.

It was not my intention, as I have previously mentioned, to enter at all into the endless details of the incomprehensible mysteries, which have been contrived to confound the understandings of the ignorant, in all the religions of the world, past and now existing.

The most intelligent of the population of Europe never think of introducing religious subjects for argument. They are well aware that all religious mysteries and miracles are opposed to reason, and are useless for any good purpose. They abandon them, therefore, to men who discard reason—to untaught women and children; and by these means relieve their society from a subject, upon which they tacitly acknowledge that all men, who devote their time to it, become more or less insane.

I shall, therefore, not waste much of your time, and mine, by entering upon a discussion of subjects in which reason can be of no manner of use, but quite the reverse.

For reason would say, that if God made us, and could make us as he liked, and he desired we should believe in his existence with any definite qualities, and to obey any fixed laws for his advantage or ours, that he would at once have made us so to believe, and so to act. That he never could be angry or displeased with his own work; and that, having the ordering and direction of all things, even, as they say, of creating the very materials, all things must exist, be and act as he intended; and that nothing, by any possibility, and more particularly after the Creator saw and pronounced that “all was very

good," could go wrong, or remove out of the eternal order which he foreknew and preordained.

Reason also would say, that if, by some mystery wholly incomprehensible to reason, man, the last and most finished work of this all wise, all good and all powerful Creator, did actually disobey the laws given to him by his Creator, almost as soon as man and woman were created; and that the Creator really wished to have a good and happy race of human beings; the better mode would have been, to have put Adam and Eve quietly asleep, and humanely put them out of existence again, before they had begotten any children, if they, also, were to be rendered unhappy for their parents' acting naturally under the circumstances in which they were placed.

And when Adam and Eve were thus, without experiencing pain or knowing evil, put, without noise or disturbance, out of the way, reason would say, that the Creator, if such were his wishes, having acquired the experience in which he proved himself to be deficient at the creation of the first man and woman, might in this second attempt have succeeded to his utmost desire, and obtained men and women, who would always think as he intended they should think, and act as he made them to act.

But again—if some other mysteries, quite incomprehensible for human nature to divine, did stand in the way of God acting in this reasonable manner; and that, for this one action of man and woman, performed, no one knows how, contrary to the divine will, it became the wish of God that innumerable myriads of human beings should suffer, through thousands of generations in this world, and eternally in another; reason cannot discover why God repented himself that he had made man, or why he should suffer man to make him angry, or to thwart all his good intentions for the benefit of the human race.

But passing over these impassable matters to reason—it seems strange that God should relent in part of the horrid, cruel and unjust treatment to which, as it appears to reason, he had doomed mankind; and wish to devise some expedient, by which man might have some chance of relieving himself from that part of his punishment which consigns him to eternal misery.

Again—it seems very extraordinary to our faculties, that he should have created man without any power over his belief; and that God should make the condition of his escape from hell and damnation to consist in firmly believing what is opposed to his senses, and what he cannot receive into his mind until he has been reduced from a rational to an irrational being. That is, he must believe that the Power which pervades all space overshadowed a particular virgin of the human race, and that thus the Son of God was procreated and produced; that the Son of God was an infant man, and grew as other men grow; that he was upwards of thirty years in making a few individuals believe that he was the Son of God; that then he was crucified as an impostor; that this, the only Son of God in the universe, was God himself; that he died, although we are told God cannot die; that on the third day he rose from the dead, and appeared, as in his life time, with his natural or material body; that he ate and drank with some of his disciples for forty days, at divers times and places, and then—with all his materiality, for they saw him with their material eyes—he ascended up to heaven, as they say, from whence he has never returned.

Why were these strange things made of so doubtful a character to man, that very few, compared with the number living at the time they were said to have occurred, could or did believe them? Reason also says, if God and the Son desired that all men should believe these mysteries and miracles, how came it that Mahomet successfully opposed both Father and Son on this subject, and got the better of the Christians, after they had had six hundred years to fix these divine doctrines among mankind?

Reason also asks, how is it that, at this day, there are, as Christians say, but few sincere believers in the story of Adam and Eve and the apple and serpent, and in the birth, death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ?

But reason would ask ten thousand pertinent questions of this nature, to not one of which could a rational answer be given.

I shall only offend my intelligent hearers by pursuing such an heterogeneous mass of incomprehensible absurdities as these; and I will, therefore, conclude this part of the subject, by asking Mr.

Campbell, what evidence, in these days, would now be sufficient to induce him to believe that a virgin had conceived, and was delivered of a male child? Or that one rose from the dead, and appeared with a material body,—and with that body, or without it, was seen ascending up to heaven? I know that, as *I* am constituted, and as *millions* of my fellows are, no power, which we possess over our wills, can prevent us having the most thorough conviction that the whole is nothing but an invention, and a very inferior and inconsistent one, to frighten ignorant men and weak women and children out of their sober senses, and to render them, for life, irrational beings, and bad members of society. And if we cannot avoid these impressions, who is to blame? Man, who cannot, by his organization, command his will contrary to his conviction, or the Being who created the will for man?

This part of the subject is to me, as it exhibits the degradation to which the reasoning faculties of man has been reduced, most unpleasant, and more especially as all must become irrational on these topics, before they can become sincere. I will, therefore, dismiss it,—as I hope all mankind will, before a few years have expired,—and proceed to subjects, which the human mind can reason upon without feeling that it is degraded by the operation.

I shall, therefore, merely repeat, that to a sane mind, Mr. Campbell's evidences are no evidences at all, except to prove the errors of the doctrines which, according to a known law of our nature, he has been compelled to receive, and which, of his own power, he cannot remove from his mind.

I hope, that when he shall hereafter reflect upon this discussion, the facts stated will be sufficient to overcome his present convictions, and make a right impression on his mind, and enable him to see the inestimable practical value of the twelve fundamental laws of our nature; for then, with his talents, he would be a powerful advocate in dispelling error from the minds of others.

After taking up a large portion of your time upon these evidences, none of which would be admitted into any of our courts of law to prove to the value of one dollar, Mr. Campbell gave us many learned documents as extracts from deists, atheists and sceptics; but for what purpose, in this discussion, I know not, except to prove that

there was no connexion between my views and those of many of these writers.

The truth is, I cannot feel that high importance, that many do, for writings which proceed from mere closet speculators in metaphysics, who, perceiving some of the false notions derived from the doctrines of free-will, could not discover what human nature really is, so as to be competent to recommend any practical improvement in relation to the affairs of life.

They were, therefore, men in the second stage of the human mind. They had discovered some of the errors of religion, and had lost its influences, without acquiring any better, or any substitute at all for them. I consider them, therefore, to have been in the state in which almost all the learned and most enlightened men of Europe are at this moment—without religion, and without knowledge of any other principles which can produce a superior practice in the conduct of the population of the world. This is the worst state in which society can be; and from my extensive communications with the leading minds of Europe and America, I know it to be the present condition of the civilized world. And this is the true reason why this discussion has been so necessary at this period. The world must have a change, and it well merits a public contest to ascertain what that change shall be; whether it shall return back to the superstition and ignorance of the dark ages, or proceed forward, to bring into full practice, physically, mentally and morally, the discoveries and improvements of the past ages, for the benefit of the human race.

It is from knowing the danger of this second stage of the human mind, and the necessity of union to accomplish any great change without evil, that you have heard of my progress from country to country. I thus proceed from one country to another with the view of laying a broad and solid foundation for a new mode of life and enjoyment, and to prepare the means to prevent society from continuing long in its present condition without a beneficial governing principle. For, whatever you may think in this part of the world, the governors and great men of all countries are at present, with few exceptions, without religion, and without a knowledge of those principles which alone can create real virtue in the world. They are more at a loss to know how to govern their respective states now, owing to the

general progress of knowledge, than they have been for centuries. They perceive that a great change is unavoidable; but they are at a loss to know how it is to be effected without confusion.

The British government and nation, now while I speak, are at the very height of civilization under the present irrational system of society. They inhabit a beautiful island, and possess another immediately adjoining, with a valuable population, capable of rendering and receiving to and from each other every possible social service, benefit and advantage; yet, at this moment, that government is greatly at a loss to determine what measures to adopt to put that population in a state of prosperity. The opposing parties were lately on the point of dissention; and if they had proceeded to hostilities, no one could calculate the extent of the evil and misery that would have followed. And what is the real obstacle to their union, prosperity and happiness? It is religion. Ask the Irish, if, to their cost, they have not found religion to be the greatest curse with which they have ever been afflicted? In Ireland, it has been the parent of every crime and evil, of which the mind can conceive. Were that obstacle removed, what a glorious opportunity would arise to make that country one of the most beautiful, and the inhabitants among the most happy, in any part of the world! Yes! I know nothing, but religion, and the consequent ignorance which it generates of our nature, which now prevents Ireland from becoming one of the most desirable places of abode in any of the four quarters of the globe,—little short, indeed, of the paradise described by Mr. C. But all the members who administer the government of Great Britain, as well as the population, are utterly at a loss to know what to do with their over-abundant means of creating a surplus wealth, and a superior character for the population of both islands. They are like sheep without a shepherd—they know not whither to go, what new direction to take, or how to overcome the difficulties in which they are involved. I well know, and I have known for twenty years past, that measures were in a steady progress to produce this state of things in both islands. I have long known, that they were proceeding at a rapid pace through all the necessary previous stages, until they should come to a point, beyond which they could not advance without an entire change of the principles by which they have been governed. And they have now

reached this point. Fortunately for them, and the world, they must now adopt new principles and practices.

The circumstances which now exist every where, plainly indicate to all who are engaged in the affairs of men, that the population of the world is gorged with the means of obtaining every good thing; but that such is the ignorance which prevails, that instead of rationally using the wealth so easily to be obtained, or properly applying the newly acquired scientific means, by which the best things to promote the happiness of society may be beneficially procured in the greatest abundance, the wealth accumulates in a few hands, and is misapplied; while the new producing powers obtained from mechanical improvements and chemical discoveries are so misdirected, as to be made the most powerful engines yet known, to inflict poverty and distress on the largest portion of mankind. I mean that portion of it, which, by their labor, produces all the wealth which is consumed by those who create none for themselves.

But, my friends, although I foresaw distinctly, twenty years ago, that these results would necessarily arise from the progress of new improvements and inventions, and published my reasons for these opinions; yet, so little is the world aware of these movements, the inevitable consequences of this new state of things, that the change is, even now, coming upon the most civilized nations "like a thief in the night," unheeded and unprovided for. You know not, that the very circumstances in which you and the whole population of the world at present exist, render it inevitable that this, the most mighty change which the world has yet experienced, must take place within a few years. There is no power on earth, that can resist its progress. It is proceeding forward with a mighty impetus, such as your minds are now inadequate to comprehend. This new scientific, mechanical and chemical power is advancing, with the efficient force of an army equal to many hundred millions of men, well disciplined, equipped and provided, to accomplish its purpose.

Irresistible, however, as this force now is, it is daily upon the increase. It is annually recruited in Europe and America, but chiefly in Great Britain and the United States, by new inventions, and extensions of the old, with new powers, such as appal the present estate of the human mind to contemplate, and far exceed the belief of those

who are inexperienced upon these subjects. I believe I am much within the real amount, when I state, that the increase of this new power within the last ten years, over Europe and America, has exceeded in its results, each year, upon the average of that period, the well directed industry of *twenty millions of laborers* unaided by machinery or other scientific aid.

This is the power, which will force the nations who are now the most advanced in arts and sciences to stand still, and inquire what is to be done with this enormous force, daily increasing, in direct competition with all the producing classes, having a continual tendency to diminish, under the existing system of trade and commerce, the value of their labor, and to reduce them and their families to poverty and slavery. Modern governments know not what measures to adopt, to give this enormous and continually increasing power a right direction. Yes! as governments and nations, they will be speedily overwhelmed by that worthless object, for which they have been all taught to sacrifice their real happiness, and which they now worship as their god. I mean WEALTH—what is called gold and silver and bank notes, which, after all, but represents *real* wealth.

There will soon be so much real wealth produced, by the daily multiplying labor-saving machines, that nations will be no longer competent to prosecute any of their present measures with success. This wealth will accumulate, and become as an impassable mountain barrier to permanent prosperity. It has already, in your technical phrase, overstocked many, and soon it will oversupply all markets; and require, in consequence, more and more exertion from the working and middle classes, to enable them to live.

These are the signs of the times. I wish your eyes could be opened, to enable you to perceive these things even a little way off; for they are, while I speak, but a short distance from us. I see it in the smoke of your new factories before me. I hear it in the strokes of your heavy hammers, mechanically moved, which now din upon the ear. This is one reason why this discussion is so necessary at this period. It well merits a public contest, to ascertain what that change, which all things indicate to be so near at hand, shall be;—whether it shall return back to the superstition and ignorance of the dark ages; or proceed forward, to bring into full practice, physically,

mentally and morally, the discoveries and improvements of the past ages, for the benefit of the human race.

We may, therefore, dismiss these quotations of Mr. Campbell's, from the atheists, deists, skeptics, &c. as he calls them; for they do not in any degree belong to the subject. I brought none of them forward to support my argument. He had supposed that I had none but such broken reeds to depend upon, and he prepared his defence accordingly. I have derived little advantage from the past writings of the human race, except as finger posts, to inform me "that this is not the right road to virtue and happiness."

I have derived far more wisdom from calmly and attentively watching the minds and proceedings of children, from a very early age, than I have acquired from all the writings, sacred and profane, that I have read.

The authors of these works assumed facts which did not exist, reasoned upon them as though they were true, and let their imaginations run into every kind of error. Hence the mythologies of the pagans, and the mysteries and miracles of the Jews, Hindoos, Christians and Mahomedans. All the sacred and theological writings of the pagans, Jews, Hindoos, Christians and Mahomedans are of no value. Nay, my friends, instead of being of any real value, they are the greatest evil existing among men; for they derange or destroy all the superior faculties and feelings of the human race, and make man, as he is at this day, more irrational than any of the animal creation.

For the brute creation, as we call them, act agreeably to their nature, and enjoy it; while man, governed by the caprice of his imagination, acts contrary to it, and is miserable.

The millions of volumes of this kind of writing, with which the world has been burthened, have had but one object,—and that is, to derange all the faculties of those who read them. It were happy for mankind, if they could all be collected in one heap—and an immense one it would be—with fire placed under it, so that it might be consumed until not a fragment was left. The conflagration would be the greatest blessing that could now be conferred upon the human family. It is from these books that you have derived your present irrational ideas. And until those ideas can be extracted from your

minds; until they can be unassociated even to their very foundations; until your minds can be regenerated, and made to receive other and wholly opposite ideas, founded on principles all true, and therefore all consistent with each other, you will see nothing, except through a glass so dark and obscure, that you cannot distinguish one object as it really exists in nature.

I have said that all the sacred and theological writings, of all religions, are of no value; for they have not taught us a practice that is of any utility: they cannot teach one.

To acquire true wisdom, the world must become again as little children, and observe with care the facts which every where abound to give them true and valuable knowledge. For the world has almost every thing yet to acquire from these facts, relative to a superior mode of existence.

The inhabitants of the earth have, indeed, eyes, but see not; ears have they, but hear not; understandings, and understand not. For all their natural senses are deceived by false instruction from infancy, and thereby rendered highly injurious.

While every past and present fact demonstrates that your character, from birth to death, is formed for you, you have been made, by a legerdmain of which you are quite unconscious, to believe that you form them yourselves, and that you have merit or demerit for what you are. Why, my friends, whether you have been made vessels of honor or dishonor, you are no more than wax or clay in the hands of the potter.

I hope the time is approaching, when I shall be permitted to discharge an important duty to you and all mankind. Silver and gold have I not now to spare; and if I had, it could be of no real use to you. But I trust that I shall give you that which is beyond all price, and thereby render gold and silver unnecessary to you, to your children, and to all future generations. Instead of mankind being, as heretofore, as clay in the hands of the potter, I have the most thorough conviction, that it is now practicable to make you potters yourselves for your children; and if I can show you the way to become good potters, so as to enable you to new form them, to the extent that the materials of which they are composed will admit, then shall I do for you, and them, and future generations, the greatest service that one man has

ever performed for his fellows. I do not despair, indeed, of enabling many of the present generation, by certain inducements derived from real knowledge, to place themselves in a new furnace, as it were, in which their hearts and minds shall be softened, and by which operation they may be enabled in part even to amend some of the numerous deformities and imperfections which, through the ignorance of their instructors, they have been compelled to receive.

This many will be enabled to do for themselves; but their children, through an early training and instruction in this invaluable knowledge, may be made to become greatly superior in this new art or calling; while their children, again, will greatly improve upon their immediate predecessors. And thus shall an improved character be given, through all future time, to every succeeding generation.

This happy result will arise, when all the jewels within the casket shall be so burnished as to compel public attention to examine, not only their external beauty, but also their intrinsic worth.

Now, my friends, can I give you any thing of more intrinsic value, than to enable you to make your offspring superior, physically and intellectually, to the most perfect human being that now exists? I *can* do this; and this I will not cease to endeavor to do, while health and the power of exertion shall be spared to me. There is nothing in the whole range of human society, that can be, in any degree, compared with the value of this knowledge. Having this, you will have every thing; and without it, you have comparatively nothing.

When you shall thus become expert potters, and be enabled to put your children in superior moulds, there will be no occasion for weekly preachings—no necessity for formal precepts of any kind, to adults. The superior formation of the character of each individual will be secured in childhood; and before the period of youth expires, it will be matured in good habits and dispositions—in a correct knowledge of human nature, through a close inspection of the laws within the casket; and it will have attained the high intellectual acquirements and fixed moral principles, which will make it evident to all, that the present weekly preachings are most injurious to the best and highest interests of the human race.

And unless this superior workmanship shall be applied at an early period of life, it is useless to expect that it can ever be effectually

well done afterwards. When your children have been put into an ill formed mould from infancy, and thereby forced to acquire irrational feelings for their fellows, erroneous ideas and notions respecting their own powers, and bad habits, which tenaciously adhere to them, it is in vain to expect that you can undo that, except by some accidental occurrence, which has been so unfortunately done at the most important period of the child's life, for giving the best form to his character.

You have heard much from my friend, Mr. C., of the genius and tendency of the Christian faith and religion. He has told you what he has been taught to believe of it from his youth upwards. And he has informed you what his impressions are, with as much honesty as a conscientious Musselman would tell you of the spirit and genius of the Mahomedan faith and religion. For the Mahomedans and Hindoos are as conscientious in their belief, and as tenacious of the superiority of their religion, as Mr. Campbell, or any Christian in Christendom, can be of theirs. And have they not as much faith as the members of any other religion?

But the conscientiousness or tenacity of the pagan, Jew, Hindoo, Christian or Mahomedan do not add one grain to the argument in favor of the divine origin or truth of either. They prove only the divine origin and truth of the fifth law of human nature; and the value, beyond price, which it will become to the world, when it shall be regenerated and born again, and it shall cease to be dead in trespasses and sins, as almost all Christendom, as well as the other portions of the world, are at present.

We shall presently see how these laws of nature harmonize and explain each other, and their applicability to all the business and duties of life.

Did Mr. Campbell explain to you the spirit and genius of the Christian system? I listened to him with all the attention in my power; and then I contrasted, in my mind, the real effects produced in Christendom by that spirit and genius. Because, my friends, it is "by the fruits that ye shall know them."

This mode of judging of the tree by its fruit, is alone the one I adopt, when I examine the spirit and genius of any religion, of any government, of any code of laws, or any of the institutions which

flow from them. And by this guide I have, without prejudice or favor, compared the spirit and genius of the Christian mysteries, miracles, fables and dogmas with their fruits; and by their fruits, so abundantly growing around me in every direction, I have become intimately acquainted with the tree from the blossom to the root.

And what have I found this tree, of two thousand years' growth, to produce, in every soil in which it has been planted? Abundance of insincerity and deception; for the whole life of a Christian is a continued striving in opposition to his nature, and therefore, of necessity he must be a hypocrite. It is notorious over Asia and Africa, that there is so little truth in a Christian, that little or no faith is placed in what he may say or do. But to come nearer home—show me a man or woman in the city of Cincinnati, whose daily life is not a perpetual lie to his or her profession. It cannot be otherwise. It is necessarily so; and no one can avoid this consequence, without being so unnatural as not to partake of human nature. It is the natural fruit of the tree. It is the spirit, the genius, the necessary tendency of Christianity; and therefore the individuals, who have been compelled to receive it, are objects of our greatest compassion.

Other fruits of this tree are, pride and spiritual pride, among many other kinds of it, and envy and jealousy.

My friends, do you know any pride of wealth, of birth, of connexions; any spiritual pride, any pride of learning, or personal pride, in this city? Do you know any who envy the advantages possessed, or which they suppose to be possessed, by others? Or do you know any who are jealous of their neighbors' superiority, or of their feelings for others in preference to themselves? If you do, these are the genuine fruits of this tree; and you well know they superabound every where.

Other fruits of this same tree are, ignorance and presumption, most peculiarly combined.

Have you any ignorant among you, who know nothing of themselves, and very little of nature; who yet imagine themselves to be *God's elect*; and who, in consequence, look down upon their fellow beings as though they were not of the same species, and say, "Stand aloof, for I am more holy than thou?"

This again is the natural fruit of the tree. Religious wars, massacres, and persecutions for conscience sake, are also some of its fruit; and these have been shed abundantly all over Christendom.

It is unnecessary to tell me what any system will do when carried into practice, whilst I have its practical results before me; whilst I see what it has produced in the *past*, and what it is producing in the *present* time—what it produces *to-day*, and what it *must* produce during the continuance of its practice among men. From the facts and reasonings thus obtained, it is most evident, that if the Christian doctrines were to continue to form your characters for ten thousand years, they would make you, at the end of that period, worse than you are *to-day*; for they are daily becoming more and more incongruous, when compared with the knowledge derived from the growing experience of the world. In the very nature of the doctrines which the gospel enforces upon the young and tender mind, every generation, if it can be supposed possible that these doctrines, in opposition to experience, could continue to influence them, must become more and more irrational. For as the world advances in knowledge and experience, the professing Christian must necessarily become either more hypocritical, or more ignorant. And from this simple cause, I doubt whether, since the days of Christ's first appearing, there ever was a time of more hypocrisy, over the whole of Christendom, than at the present.

I know the world cannot help being what it is—you cannot help being what you are. And in consequence of the overwhelming circumstances which now exist, religious societies are now every where a cheat from beginning to end. Owing to the certain information I have derived from the casket, I can easily discover that your looks, your words, and your actions are continually opposed to each other.

Do not be offended, my friends, nor suppose I speak in anger, or with the intention to offend you. So far from being angry, I feel the utmost, the most sincere compassion for you, and all who are, like you, under the influence of any religious delusion.

I do not attach a particle of blame to one of you. Possessing the knowledge contained in this casket, and the charity which it necessarily compels me to have for every human being, how can I

blame you? Do I not know with the greatest certainty how the character of each has been formed *for* them from infancy.

My friends, every one admits—even your sacred books teach, that there is no possibility of judging fairly of any tree, save by its fruits. I, therefore, judge of Christianity by the bitter fruits which it has produced wheresoever it has been planted.

My friends, I have had time only to polish some parts, and those imperfectly, of the contents of this casket, as you have witnessed. This afternoon, I shall be prepared with some more of it, and I will endeavor to produce as much as will occupy our attention from four to five o'clock. Seeing the course Mr. Campbell has adopted, I wish to have time to do equal justice to the subject which I advocate. I do not like to depend solely upon the accidental ideas which may arise when I address you, without any preparation. For as I enter more fully into this subject, its importance continually grows upon me. Having proceeded thus far in attempts to open a new light in this city, as it must be to many of you, I am the more desirous not to leave you partially informed respecting it. I wish to do justice, in this case, to the subject, to you, and to the millions to whom these records will be transmitted. I therefore trust, that it will not be too inconvenient to the gentlemen who sit as moderators, to allow time sufficient to do that which it would be most improper to leave undone. I could not begin to reply to Mr. C. until he had finished his elaborate argument and his long chain of documents, which have occupied one half more time than I required to place my views before you,—and he speaks, as you must notice, three words for two of mine. I mean not, however, to occupy your time with words without corresponding ideas, as must be done in all cases in which much is spoken on the subject of any religion. For the mysteries of religion can be made to pass current only when many words are used to confound the understandings of the hearers, by no definite meaning being attached to them. When the deepest prejudices of mankind have to be uprooted, there must be substantial ideas for each word to represent, and ideas, too, that are perfectly consistent with each other, or I shall have no chance of making the permanent impression I intend. I have promised, that when I shall have finished

this part of the discussion, if Mr. Campbell, or any other individual, shall discover one error, or one inconsistency, in the principles and system which I advocate, I will give up the whole contest. For should one error be found, I shall be convinced I have been deceived; for where there is inconsistency, there cannot be truth. At present I will say no more.

[NOTE BY THE STENOGRAPHER.—Here some conversation took place between the chairman and Mr. Campbell. Mr. Owen stated that he would be prepared to proceed with his afternoon's address, after Mr. C. had replied, as he wished to do, to what he had offered this morning.]

Mr. Owen resumed. I am sure we are all greatly indebted to the moderators, who have attended here so punctually day by day. They have given us already so much of their time, that I can readily suppose it will be inconvenient for them to continue their attendance much longer. I have done all that seemed to me desirable, to curtail the duration of this discussion. My friend, Mr. Campbell, no doubt, deemed it of great importance to place before the public all his notions of the system in which he has been trained; and it has been the extraordinary length of my friend's erudite exposition, (during the utterance of which I was under the necessity to remain silent,) that has taken up so much of the time.

But, my friends, there is another view of this subject. The systems which I have to oppose are of several thousand years' standing. They have been supported, during these thousand years, by millions of ministers, who have been paid, in that time, enormous sums to instruct the population in various countries,—and for more than a hundred in this.

Can it be expected, then, that in a few days, or rather in little more than one,—for, during this discussion, I have spoken but fifteen hours,—I can unassociate in your minds all the ideas thus derived from past ages—ideas which have been instilled into your minds with so much care, from your birth? Is it to be expected, I ask you, my friends, that, in a few hours, I can combat and put to flight all the host of errors which have been accumulating for thousands of years, when by the fundamental laws of human nature we are compelled to retain early impressions with great tenacity?

Although such a result no one would anticipate, I have yet unbounded confidence in the omnipotence of truth. I care not what obstacles may be placed in its way: whatever they are, I expect that, sooner or later, they will be overcome. If, on the present occasion, I shall not be allowed time for the full performance of the task I wish to accomplish, I trust it shall be so executed, within whatever time is now to be allowed before the discussion terminates, that what I put upon record will be sufficient to induce those who have not yet been taught to reflect upon these subjects, to begin to think for themselves. I can hardly believe, that there can be any wish that this subject should not be as fully heard on one side, as it has been on the other; or that what remains to be said on my part should not be said in the best manner.

But, my friends, I find that upon this, as upon all other occasions, we must necessarily be governed by the circumstances which surround us. To these circumstances I must yield, as we are all obliged to do, when we cannot change those in which we are involved. It seems the circumstances which limit this debate cannot now be easily changed. I must, therefore, submit to the audience the remainder of what I intended to say, without having time to do all the justice to the subject, which its high practical importance deserves.

These debates are familiar to Mr. C., and he has been in the practice of public speaking week after week, or rather day by day, for many years. I am obliged to think well what I say, before I give it utterance. It is always necessary, but now peculiarly so, for me, after the engagement I have made, to take care that there shall be no inconsistency in any thing I may say. I have only to regret, that what I may speak is not likely to be so well digested, as that which I should write at more leisure. But as I must now be governed in what I shall say, to the termination of this discussion, by the impulse of the moment, I trust that the ideas and expressions which may arise, when I address you in the afternoon, will be equal to the emergency.

[NOTE BY THE STENOGRAPHER.—Adjournment to meet at three o'clock: when the discussion is to be closed.]

Tuesday afternoon, 21st April, 1829.

Mr. O. Mr. Chairman—Mr. C., as you heard, has just concluded, by desiring me to retract my assertion that I have not heard from him one philosophical argument in support of the Christian religion. While he was speaking, I have again taxed my memory, and I cannot recollect one. I have no doubt, that he has adduced many arguments which he deems philosophic; but they do not appear so to me. My conviction is, that no philosophic argument, derived from facts to be understood by man, can be adduced in favor of any religion. And therefore, however acute Mr. C.'s mind may be; however much he may have read; yet, owing to the nature of the subject, he has not, and, in my mind, he cannot bring one philosophical argument—one that is in accordance with facts—in support of Christianity, or any other religion. I can only speak of his arguments, according to the impressions which they have made upon my mind.

But there was another point adverted to, which it seems quite necessary to explain. I did not, in the remotest degree, mean, by any expression which might have fallen from me, to impeach Mr. C.'s disinterestedness. If I had done so, it would have been doing violence to my own feelings; because I know, from various sources, that both Mr. C. and his father have suffered by their disinterestedness in supporting what they have been compelled to believe to be a right view of Christianity. I have not the remotest idea that Mr. C. has come forward, upon this occasion, with any interested motive.

When I terminated my part of the discussion, this morning, I was proceeding to show in detail the number of vices and crimes which were prevalent in Christian society, and which I mean to prove emanate directly from religion. But as the period for this discussion will now be very much limited, I shall avoid much of the detail which it was my intention to develop, and shall apply the remaining part of our time to effect the most important purposes. I was about to state the horrors of the inquisition, as well as of the religious wars and massacres of many centuries, as emanating directly from different sects of different religions. But I shall not now take up your time with matters which many of you can readily bring to your recollection, but proceed to those which are more important in practice.

As circumstances now render it necessary that this discussion should be brought to a speedy termination, I must waive all minor points, and give you as much of the essence of the subject as time will permit, and come at once into the midst of it.

Mr. C., by his defence and manner of reasoning, shows that his mind has been formed altogether upon the notion that man is born with a will to think and to act, free as he chooses, upon all occasions, or that he possesses a free will,—and that he is responsible for his thoughts and actions. All Christendom, and all the world, have been trained, educated and confirmed in these notions, and in the practice which they necessarily engender. The Christian, and all other religions, are founded on these notions. It was these notions, alone, that made any religion necessary. They become necessary, as artificial means to check the enormous evils that the notions of man's free will and free agency were sure to produce in practice. But they have proved themselves incompetent to the task; and like every other attempt to counteract nature, they greatly increase the evil, and become, themselves, more injurious than the evil which they were introduced to check. In fact, upon the theory of free will and action in man, are founded not only all the religions of the earth, but all the governments, codes of laws, and customs, with all phraseology of all languages, creating thereby feelings, thoughts and actions of a peculiar cast, derived immediately from this origin, which extend their ramifications through every portion of the individual and through society, wherever man has yet been found.

It is, however, as we have proved by the twelve fundamental laws of human nature, an error more obvious, upon reflection, than the one universally received by all our ancestors, that the sun moved round the earth. Both errors were derived from the first impressions of our senses; but facts, subsequently acquired, demonstrate both impressions to be contrary to reason.

We see, then, that the notion of free will and action has given birth to all the religions, governments, laws, phraseology, customs and practices of mankind; and that it has, through these agencies, formed the mind and character of the whole human race. The existing ignorance, poverty, vice and suffering of mankind are all

directly chargeable upon the errors of free will doctrines, acting through these mighty agencies.

It is the extraordinary deceptions produced on human nature, by being subjected, every moment of its existence, to the influences of this doctrine, that compel the most enlightened men of the age to acknowledge the impossibility of denying the truth of all the principles on which the doctrines of the formation of character are predicated; and yet to say, that they are, at the same time, conscious that they must be governed, in their feelings, thoughts and actions, by their pre-received notions of free will. They cannot, of themselves, so thoroughly have they been imbued, through religion, government, laws, language and practice, with all the physical and mental influences arising from the notions of free will, ever afterwards divest themselves of the feelings and habits which they generate. It is this which makes these men say, Our judgments are convinced; but in spite of ourselves, the feelings, which have by some means or other been formed within us, are opposed to our judgments. We are, therefore, constrained to think one way, and to act another—to act contrary to our judgments.

Now, my friends, this doctrine, the origin of all religions, governments, laws, institutions and practices, carries with it sin and misery, through the whole extent of its ramifications. It is destructive of sincerity, of affection, of confidence, of charity, and of permanent prosperity and happiness, among the whole family of mankind. It is the direct cause, operating through these influences, that generates anger, irritation, and all the inferior passions and jealousies which are now so prevalent in human society. And until its influences shall be withdrawn, the world will be filled, as heretofore, with contention and strife, and all evil, and peace and good will can never enter among the habitations of men,—and that charity which *thinketh no ill*, will be, as at present, unknown except in name.

Instead of this doctrine, which directly emanates from the ignorance and inexperience of the least experienced, and therefore the most ignorant, I place before you the laws of human life,—the same which existed from the beginning, as they are to-day, and as I believe they will continue for ever.

They are laws which require not to *persuade* you to consent to act in obedience to them. Knowing them—understanding them in all their connexions one with another, *they will* make so much real knowledge present to your mind, upon all occasions, that you will be *compelled* to act in obedience to their dictates, and you will always act right.

These twelve fundamental laws of human nature, or laws of life, are the only foundation for real virtue that man can discover.

They are complete in themselves; and need no aid from any doubtful authority. They are divine decrees, if ever decrees were divine; and they have now gone forth to the uttermost parts of the earth. They will, my friends, produce in due time, "Peace on earth, and good will to man."

[NOTE OF THE STENOGRAPHER.—Here Mr. O. held up a copy of the twelve laws, which had just come from the printer.]

If you could remember all I stated to you in the early part of this discussion, it would be unnecessary for me to rise again, or say one word more. But aware, as I am, that the subject is new to many; that very few, if any, can retain the remembrance of conclusions, which are the condensed result of forty years' reading, reflection and experience; I will endeavor to make these fundamental laws still more easy to be understood.

Mr. C. says, and I know he believes it, that I have not brought forward one argument against the Christian religion. I want no other proof, that Mr. C. has looked at this casket, and seen only his own ideas reflected in it, being altogether unable to discover the spring and open it.

Mr. C. says I have advanced no argument to prove that religions are founded in ignorance. Here are twelve arguments, each one of which, when it shall be understood, is more than sufficient to lay the axe to the root of every religion, and of all the codes of law, that ever emanated from them. They do not send you to the dark ages, to look for authority that deserves the consideration of the better informed mind of the present day. These laws speak intelligibly to the understanding of all who have been trained to think and reflect.

When these shall be understood, and taught to the rising generation, we need not tell them that they must be good boys and girls, or men and women; for they cannot possibly be otherwise.

They will be compelled by the strongest of all possible motives, a clear and distinct knowledge of their own interest and happiness, to act, at all times and upon all occasions, according to the perfect law of obedience—according to that law, which they must perceive and feel will secure their happiness.

It is, my friends, the full understanding of the twelve laws contained in so small a compass, that can alone make you, and your children, and your children's children, through innumerable generations, potters of the very highest class, in the formation of the characters of your descendants. You will, hence, discover how to mould human nature in a manner so superior to what has yet been done, as to become more perfect than the population of the world, in its present ignorant state, is prepared to suppose practicable.

You will know how to impress the minds of all your descendants with that pure charity of which I have spoken—that charity which thinketh no evil.

We shall have our minds so purged from all those inferior passions, jealousies and feelings which now distract the world, that we shall go straight forward to our object, seeing most distinctly what it is we all have to do. We shall then know how to form the most perfect mould, and to put the clay properly within it, and to finish it in the best manner. And will not this be an acquisition of great value?

A knowledge, however, of these laws, will not only lay the foundation for this charity in the hearts of all, but it will speedily enable us to discover the beauty of an intelligent existence in unison with all nature, when contrasted with the glare and fashion of an artificial life. We shall then not contest with each other who shall have the largest and most splendid house, the richest clothing, or the greatest variety of useless trappings of any kind.

We shall understand wherein the real, substantial, tangible happiness of life consists. We shall know that a nation trained in simplicity of manners—taught to acquire high intelligence, with regard to what constitutes real knowledge, and to possess the most charita-

ble feelings towards the whole human race, will form that combination of circumstances, from which alone any thing that deserves the name of happiness can be looked for.

Shall I now, in detail, unlock the casket for you? Shall I again go through the twelve laws, and enable you to understand how each sentence applies directly to the subjects of this discussion? There is not one sentence, or clause of a sentence, that does not apply to the questions intended to be solved at this meeting.

What does the casket disclose to us at its commencement? "That man, at birth, is ignorant of every thing relative to his organization." And if this be true—and who doubts it?—surely for that organization, and its qualities, no individual can be justly made responsible. I ask Mr. C., and all who are present, whether any other conclusion can be adduced from this important fact? Whether any other conclusion would be rational? What, then, becomes of the imaginary notion, taught to our ancestors and to ourselves, that we are bad by nature? My friends, to say that man is culpably bad by nature, is an assertion not less untrue and absurd, than if I were to say that the sun is culpably bad by nature; for both have their origin from the same Cause, whatever that Cause may be. And that we are ignorant, at birth, of every thing relative to our organization, is an eternal truth, depending solely upon facts obvious to every one,—a law which came with us into existence, and which will remain until man shall cease to exist. It is no law of man's devising; but a law emanating from the same Eternal Source from whence all facts proceed.

The casket tells you, moreover, on its first opening, that man has not been permitted to create the slightest part of any of his natural propensities, faculties or qualities, physical or mental. And do you not know, my friends, that the infant, at birth, is the foundation of the man? Some will say that the infant, the original organization, at birth, is the whole man; that he only requires time to grow; and that what he is at birth, he will be till death. I know the contrary. I know that it forms the foundation, but only the foundation, of the character of the man. But I also know, if an unchangeable foundation be laid for a house, that whatever superstructure may be subsequently raised upon it, the foundation itself ought not to be

blamed for any imperfection it may possess, but the architect. And, my friends, although I do not agree with those philosophers, who take but a partial view of human nature, and who do not investigate all the facts for themselves, being content to receive them from others, and conclude that man is wholly formed by his education; I do not agree with those other philosophers, who hold that the organization, at birth, is every thing, and that education, or the circumstances in which it is placed, is a mere covering and deceptive garb, in the character of man. This organization is unquestionably a very important part of our nature; and if we are to be made responsible for it, we ought to have had the forming of all its minute and general qualities for ourselves. It is surely irrational for any one to assert, that after we have been compelled to receive our organization, which is the foundation and contains the germ of all our faculties, we should be held responsible for it. This is a notion wholly irreconcilable to common sense, and it is also exceedingly unfavorable to the formation of a superior character by a right education; for it destroys all correct ideas upon the subject. There never can be any virtue in the world, so long as this error respecting the nature of man shall continue—so long as men are made to believe that they ought to be held responsible for that over which they have no control. If we really desire to improve man, and to form a virtuous, intelligent and happy state of society, we must make haste to discard notions so directly opposed to common sense.

My friends, this first law gives us a distinct knowledge of what we are, when we first come into the world. Here we are ushered into existence, utterly unconscious of any thing appertaining to ourselves. Then what follows? how is the remainder of our character made up? Let us see.

I request your best attention to this part of the subject, for all our subsequent reasoning will be erected on this foundation; for this is not the wordy wandering you have been accustomed to hear, week after week, during your lives, and to which you may listen, or not, and be as wise in the former case as the latter. No; this part of our subject is fraught with consequences of deep import to every human being. Every word of it, when understood, will be found invaluable for future practice.

The second law is, "That no two infants, at birth, have yet been known to possess precisely the same organization; while the physical, mental and moral differences between all infants are formed without their knowledge or will."

No two infants have ever been known to be alike. This is a most important consideration. It lays the foundation for virtues in the human character, which no other knowledge can ever form, or make permanent and ever active. It is the only knowledge on which genuine charity can be formed to apply to every individual of the human race, and it is abundant to effect this object. A knowledge of this single fact, when rightly understood, will so form our minds, as to compel us to be charitable to all mankind without any exception.

[Here Mr. C. rose, and remarked that he would beg leave to suggest that these laws should not be commented on more than *eleven* times.]

Mr. Owen resumed. I find the expounding of these laws, and bringing them to bear on the practical conduct of mankind, is more than my friend, Mr. C., can well bear. Well! you see, my friends, this second law is quite sufficient to upset all the arguments of my friend, Mr. C., and it is evident he begins to feel its extensive influence.

Assuredly, if no two infants are born alike, but receive from that Power which gives them existence, qualities which differ in their strength and combinations, there ought to be, in justice to these individuals, if they are to be considered responsible beings, a different religion for every child that is born. Is not this true? If they are organized differently, can we with one atom of rationality render them amenable to the same laws. I do say, that to act justly by the human race, if a religion be necessary for any one individual, a different religion is equally necessary for every other individual of the human family; and that these religions must necessarily be as various, and as multiform, as are the individual organizations of our species; and, also, that these countless religions should be so modified, as to adapt themselves precisely to the strength or weakness of the faculties with which each individual has been endowed.

Now, my friends, I *could touch* Mr. C. again and again with these simple, plain facts; but they are so decisive of the great questions

before us, that I am afraid of exhausting his patience and good feelings. I will take compassion on him, therefore, and proceed to the third law. It is, "That each individual, is placed, at birth, without his knowledge or consent, within circumstances, which acting upon his peculiar organization, impress the general character of those circumstances upon the infant, child and man. Yet that the influence of those circumstances is, to a certain degree, modified by the peculiar organization of each individual."

Now we come to another part of the subject, which is most interesting to all, and which has not been explained sufficiently to give those unacquainted with these facts in the formation of the human character, a right understanding of its importance in the every day practice of life.

It is not only that all infants are made, by the constitution of their respective natures, to differ from each other, and probably to differ in every one of their senses, as well as in their general organization; but that these infants, after their birth, are placed in circumstances so different, that their characters must be often formed on models having little or no resemblance to each other,—frequently, indeed, the very opposite. For as there are no two infants born alike, neither is it in the power of man to place two infants under the same identical circumstances, even when they appear to be the most alike. And, therefore, my friends, you not only require a different religion for every individual, in consequence of their organic difference at birth, but you also require a separate and distinct religion for each, according to the various kinds of circumstances or temptations in which each of these individuals may be placed, from their birth to death.

My friends, there never were two infants, who for one day, or even for an hour, have been placed under precisely the same circumstances. Now only look at the cruelty and injustice, in this respect, of the doctrines of rewards and punishments of all religions. A moment's reflection will convince any intelligent mind, that no two can be placed under the same circumstances, after birth. To be so placed, they must be born at the same moment—open their eyes and see the light in precisely the same direction; whatever impressions are made upon the one, must be made upon the other, and in pre-

cisely the same order and sequence of strength. Now this is utterly impracticable. And, therefore, the notion that any human being is the legitimate object of reward or punishment, on account of the circumstances in which he has been placed without his control, knowledge or consent, is an error only to be accounted for from the irrational impressions made upon us by our ancestors, relative to the real character of human nature.

We well know, from the general history of the world, that when infants are born, they must become men according to the country and district in which they are reared; that they must be influenced by the circumstances existing in that particular country or district. They cannot be influenced by that which they do not know and cannot feel. Therefore, as infants and children have no power whatever to direct or control those circumstances, no religion can be made to apply to them without the greatest injustice. And as it is demonstrated that children and men are the effects of their organization and external circumstances; that these combined operations form them to be whatever they are, at every moment of their time; no religion can be applicable to beings whose characters are so formed.

It is from this view of the subject, that I have said, again and again, that it is most irrational to treat children or men in the manner in which we have heretofore done, and to consider them responsible, as the cause of their own characters,—when, from their nature, they have been, and must continue to be, the effects of combined causes over which they have had no control.

But, my friends, although it were possible to impress children with precisely the same circumstances, at and from their birth, the variety of their original organization would make a material and very important difference. For the circumstances operating upon and influencing the mind of one child, would create a very different impression from those made upon another; and yet the child itself is in no degree the cause of this difference. And therefore, again, none of the religions of the world can apply with justice to a being so formed and matured.

Well, let us look at the next argument against all religions, contained in the fourth law. I stated to you, "That no infant has the

power of deciding at what period of time, or in what part of the world it shall come into existence, of whom it shall be born, in what particular religion it shall be trained to believe, or by what other circumstances it shall be surrounded from birth to death."

Now, my friends, I wish you to remark, as I proceed, that each of these laws, by itself, even taken separately and distinctly from their natural and necessary connexion and dependence one upon the other, is much more than sufficient to refute all my friend's fallacies.

This fourth law is so full of matter and meaning, that to do it ample justice, and direct your attention fully to all its important physical, intellectual and moral considerations, many days would be necessary, instead of the hour or two now left for me to explain many other parts of the subject equally important. But as the discussion, at the request of the moderators, must terminate to-night, and the evening is rapidly advancing upon us, I will endeavor, before it becomes dark, to place before you as many facts as will hereafter beneficially occupy your minds for reflection; and refer to the early part of my statement for a more full explanation of this law, and hasten to elucidate some of the remaining.

The next in order is the fifth law, viz. "That each individual is so created, that, when young, he may be made to receive impressions to produce either true ideas or false notions, and beneficial or injurious habits, and to retain them with great tenacity."

My friend, Mr. C., is a most striking living example of the overwhelming influence of this law of our nature. He has been organized as we behold him; for which he has neither merit nor demerit. He was afterwards trained and educated in a particular part of Europe, and subsequently in this country, and placed under circumstances by which he has been forced to believe in his particular views of the Christian religion, and by which we all perceive he is now influenced. He has been thus influenced to his peculiar conduct by the same general laws of our nature, that have compelled me to act as I have done, and which govern the birth, life and death of every being that has yet been born.

You see, then, my friends, that through this law of our nature, we may force any child to become a Mahomedan, a Christian, or an idolater, a Jew, a Quaker, or a cannibal. The child is a perfectly

passive piece of clay, to be moulded by those around him into any shape they please. And then the greater or less tenacity with which the ideas given to it will be retained, depends upon a great many circumstances, as much beyond the individual's control, as was his original organization.

This is that law of our nature, which, when thoroughly understood, will enable you to become potters, to enable you, through an accurate knowledge of it, to place your children in any mould, more or less perfect, according as you may have been better or worse informed upon the subject, or more or less expert in the practice. None of the religions in the world, however, can be applicable to a being, whose character is thus formed necessarily by his nature and condition in life.

The sixth law states, "That each individual is so created, that, when young, he must believe according to the strongest conviction that is made on his mind and other faculties; while his belief in no case depends upon his will."

In commenting on this sixth law, Mr. C. entangles himself and his audience in the mazes of metaphysical disquisition. I saw at once, that his notions regarding this law were confused by the notions early forced into his mind, relative to free will and action in man; and became, therefore, merely metaphysical. But this law promulgates facts which are either true or false. Now, it is a fact, that a man can believe according to his will, or that he cannot. Now, let all of you endeavor to recollect something which you believe; and then try if you have power sufficient over your will to disbelieve it, even for a few minutes. Why, my friends, it is contrary to this law of our nature, which cannot be made to change its character at the bidding of any individual, however learned. I perceive you discover, that by your utmost efforts you cannot accomplish it. You might, indeed, as well attempt, by the bare exercise of your volition, to bring down the sun from the firmament, as to disbelieve what you have been compelled to believe, until a more powerful conviction shall be made upon your minds. Try again, then, and see if you can believe, for ever so short a period, what former convictions now compel you to disbelieve. You find the one as impracticable as the other.

The same irresistible law of your nature governs and controls you in your disbelief as well as your belief. We have no metaphysics here, we discard them as useless for the real business of life, and unworthy a discussion of this character, for we ought to proceed entirely upon those facts which all can examine for themselves, and which change not: facts which can be investigated with all their attendant circumstances, at all times, by all men, who desire to acquire a knowledge of the truth for the love of truth.

From a hint I have just received from my friend Mr. Campbell, I perceive he is again becoming very impatient under this obvious exposition of a few plain facts; so plain indeed, and so essential for present purposes, that he feels no reply, but a metaphysical one, can be made to them.

I did not promise, as Mr. C. appears to suppose, that I would conclude in an hour; but I stated to Mr. C. that I was willing to rest all the points in controversy between us, upon this single position, as upon it the whole controversy depended:—Is there an exception to be found, throughout the whole human family, to the universal application of this law? Is there a single individual who, by the fiat of his own will, can believe or disbelieve contrary to previous conviction made upon his mind?

But my friends, we have all been trained from infancy in the opposite notions. Mr. C. has been trained in them—and it is therefore no wonder that all our minds have been forced to become irrational.

The notion that our will has power over our belief or disbelief, is the principal source from which emanates the mistaken notions, the injurious feelings, the malignant passions, the want of universal charity, and the vicious conduct of men. This subject, my friends, to be fully developed, so as to make a proper impression upon your minds, would also, take many days to elucidate and trace to all its important practical results. It is this kind of knowledge, deeply affecting the well being of each, and the happiness of all, that this little casket contains. It is true, this knowledge, valuable as it is, has laid buried for several thousand years, and no one suspected its intrinsic practical worth, to induce a sufficient search for its discovery. It has been covered with so much rubbish, that it required forty years daily exertion before I could discover it and make it sufficiently known and attractive to draw public attention to its real merits. The

question I have put to you, taken out of this casket, and which no one can answer, is decisive of the result of the whole debate; of the futility and uselessness of all religions, and whether or not they are derived from any other source than the ignorance of mankind.

Here Mr. C. rose and said—The stipulation was, that you, Mr. O. were to speak for one hour, and that I should have the conclusion.

Mr. Owen—I did not understand that I was to be tied down to an hour in making my reply to you. Mr. C. has spoken throughout this debate nearly twice as long as I have done, and now he feels that——

Mr. Chairman—You speak longer than Mr. C. did the last time he was up. [Mr. C. addressed the meeting.]

MR. OWEN'S CONCLUDING ADDRESS.

My friends—Mr. C. very naturally wishes that I should follow his lead in this discussion: that is, that I should reply to his metaphysical argument, and leave these facts, which can alone throw any real light upon the subject, and which he ought to have prepared himself to refute, and thus involve myself in a debate which would only darken knowledge and confound your understandings. Now all this is perfectly natural on the part of Mr. C. But I wish to set myself right with this assembly before we separate, in consequence of some of Mr. Campbell's observations upon my supposed opinion on the subject of Deity. I have never denied the existence of a Deity. I distinctly and most pointedly gave my reasons for what I believe on this subject. I stated what I believe to be the whole amount of our knowledge in regard to those things which are called Divine—but I will not affirm or deny that for which we have not sufficient facts to enable us to form correct or rational ideas.

Now, my friends, you may be sure that in a discussion of this character, the last expedient an opponent can resort to, is an attempt to ridicule his antagonist's argument. To this dernier resort my friend, Mr. C. has been driven. But the shafts of Mr. C.'s ridicule have been very harmless, they struck pointless and without the least effect on the mark at which they were aimed; and why?—because the casket was too well tempered, and too highly polished to be penetrable by such feeble missiles. But if ridicule were to be recognized as a fair weapon in religious controversial warfare, only consider the game that lies before me, only imagine for a moment, how the whole

Christian scheme could be cut up and rendered almost too ridiculous for ridicule itself. I have, however, too much regard for your feelings, and for the importance of the subject under discussion, to pursue this course. On my side of the question I defy ridicule, for, as you perceive none can be successfully made to bear upon even one of the fundamental laws of nature, on the accuracy or truth of which, the real merits of this discussion will be ultimately discovered to rest. And this is the true cause why they have so grievously nonplussed Mr. Campbell. But could I so far forget the magnitude of the cause I have undertaken to advocate, as to resort for arguments to ridicule, and thereby unnecessarily wound your feelings, every one knows how easy it would be to use this weapon to expose the pretensions of any and of all religion. But this is a proceeding to which I have no inclination to resort, when the improvement of the human race, in the reformation of its character and general practice, is the subject before me. My object here upon the present occasion, is not to obtain a personal victory over any man or any portion of my fellows; to me such a victory would be of the least possible estimation. But it is to promulgate truth for its own value, and for the incalculable practical benefits that must accrue to the race of man from its development. This is a consideration with me beyond all others. This, my friends, is my only object. Were you to give me your whole State, nay—the whole United States, I would consider the gift as valueless, compared with the discovery of one truth of such a character as will penetrate the understanding of all men; arrest their present irrational career, and induce them to adopt a practice which shall make themselves and their posterity happy.

Mr. C. has given you his views and reasonings upon this 6th law of our nature, but they amount to nothing. He did not take up the position which is here laid down. This position is—that each individual is so created, that he must believe according to the strongest impression that is made upon his feelings and other faculties, while his belief in no case depends upon his will. This is a clear and distinct position, and leaves no room for a metaphysical retreat.

Mr. C. rose and said—There is no metaphysical subterfuge in me. I contend that I have met the position fairly. The clause I objected to is this—“that belief in no case depends upon will.”

Mr. Owen—Well, gentlemen, I will bring this matter to a speedy issue. If Mr. C. can adduce a single instance wherein his belief depends upon his will, I will give up the whole question.

[Here Mr. O. waited some time for Mr. C's reply. Mr. C. could not then make any.]

My friends—There is no power that can coerce a man to believe contrary to the convictions upon his mind. The change can be effected only by producing evidence that shall appear to him still stronger; and then, often against his will, he is obliged to change his belief. The cause of truth is thus gained.

We will, however, proceed to the 7th law of our nature, viz: That each individual is so created, that he must like that which is pleasant to him, or that which produces agreeable sensations on his individual organization; and he must dislike that which creates in him unpleasant or disagreeable sensations; while he cannot discover, previous to experience, what those sensations shall be.

I have placed upon record the very important consequences of this law of our nature. It will have a weighty influence on the future destinies of man; it will change all the present family relations of life; it will create a new order of existence, as much superior to the present, as light is to darkness; but I will now trespass no longer on your patience, except to remark, that Mr. C. when speaking of this very law, as applicable to marriage, gave quite a different color to the argument from what he was justified in doing, from any thing I have ever written or said. He endeavored to make it appear, no doubt from previous misconceptions in his mind, that I intended to encourage prostitution, as it is now understood and practised, in general throughout society.

Why, my friends, it is the infraction of this very law of our nature, that has produced all the vices and evils attendant upon prostitution. It is the infraction of this law that has produced a vicious and most degrading connexion between the sexes unavoidable over the world. I wish to *withdraw* all the *causes* which render prostitution necessary and unavoidable, and to propose the means by which a society may be formed, in which chastity alone shall be known. Let me hear no more, therefore, from any quarter, of the vulgar jargon that I advocate this law of our nature from a desire to increase the vice and

misery which the infraction of this law has made every where to abound; and when I well know there are already so many dreadful evils created by prostitution, as threaten to overwhelm the health and happiness of the population of all countries.

No, my friends, I would not have travelled to and fro, sacrificing my ease, expending my substance, exposing my health and risking my life, were it not with the intention of improving, and highly improving too, the whole condition of man. What motive, short of this, could have induced me to adopt the course which I have so long pursued, or to persevere in that course? Therefore, my friends, listen no more to such mistaken notions relative to my views and intentions on this most important subject. Such misrepresentations, derived from the ignorant multitude, are unworthy of repetition by Mr. C.; unworthy of the cause he supports, and of the magnitude of the interests which we have met to discuss. This law of our nature, when it shall be understood and properly applied to practice, will put an end to the cause which renders prostitution, under your present errors, unavoidable.

The eighth law of our nature is: "That each individual is so created that the sensations made upon his organization, although pleasant and delightful at their commencement, and for some duration, generally become, when continued beyond a certain period without change, disagreeable and painful. And when a too rapid change of sensations is made on his organization, it dissipates, weakens and otherwise injures his physical, intellectual and moral powers and enjoyments."

In this law is to be found the foundation of all excellence in human conduct. The desire of happiness is a principle coeval with life and the most powerful feeling to stimulate to action in human nature. And by this law and the one immediately succeeding it (the 9th) we shall discover that temperance in the enjoyment and exercise of all our faculties, according to their different degrees of strength, is that habit by which alone the highest point of happiness is to be attained. The tenth law is, that the individual is made to possess and acquire the *worst* character, when his organization at birth has been compounded of the most inferior propensities, faculties and qualities of our common nature—and when so organized,

he has been placed from birth to death, amidst the most vicious or worst circumstances. My friends, this is one of these laws that will instruct you, in your new art as *fathers*, as soon as you begin to undertake the task—it will show you what you have to do for your infants, your children and your youth. It will show you, that while you permit them to be surrounded with vicious circumstances, they must receive vitiating impressions from them; and that in the formation of the characters of your children, such of them as have been so unfortunate as to receive a vicious organization ought to be the object of your especial compassion and kindness; and that they have a just and rational claim upon you, for fourfold more care and attention in forming them in the most perfect mould, than such of your children as have been blessed with a more perfect natural organization are entitled to receive at your hands. This law, my friends, lays the foundation also for much good feeling and genuine charity. In fact each of these laws speak peace to you and all mankind—they all concur to lay the foundations of charity deeper and still deeper within us, and to exterminate every germ of unkind feeling. They are indeed a perfect system of moral laws—and all of them being derived from the constitution of man, as it has been ascertained to be, will, when once understood, recognized and adopted by society, irresistably inforce their precepts upon the hearts and the understandings, and direct all the actions of man. Their effect will be as certain upon the individual, as are the effects of physical laws in the progress of plants from the seed to the fruit, and the full formed tree; or in any other branch of vital economy. No, my friends, under the wholesome and beneficent government of these laws, you will not, as at present, have to grope your way in perpetual and anxious uncertainty. When you begin to form the character of a human being you may calculate upon the result, with the same undoubting confidence which the mathematician feels when he begins to calculate upon known and certain *data*. If the work be correctly performed, there can be no mistake in the result. It will be a sort of *moral rule of three* calculation, which might perhaps be stated thus: *As the organization of the individual is to his circumstances, so will be the character compounded out of both.*

This change in society will abrogate two thirds of our present vocabulary—the hacknied phrases arising from our deceptive notions of *free will*, will be exploded; they convey impressions only of error to the mind—and in our new and rational state of existence, not a single harsh epithet, or unkind or censorious expression, in which all languages now abound, will receive admission.— And why?—Because there will be no harsh, malignant, uncharitable feelings to be expressed. Hatred and anger will be unknown, for we shall have peace within us, and all will be peace around us.

We come now, my friends, to the eleventh law of our nature, “That the individual is made to possess and acquire a medium character, when his original organization has been created superior, and when the circumstances which surround him from birth to death, produce continued *vicious* and *unfavorable* impressions. Or, when his organization has been formed of *inferior* materials, and the circumstances in which he has been placed from birth to death, are of a character to produce superior impressions only. Or, when there has been some mixture of superior and inferior qualities in the original organization, and when it has also been placed through life in varied circumstances of good and evil. This last compound has been hitherto the common lot of mankind.”

My friends, this eleventh law is a mirror to all of you. You have all been forced to acquire this medium character. You are none of you so bad, nor any of you so good, as you might have been formed to be. And why are all of you now, as well as all christendom, and indeed the inhabitants of every other portion of the globe, only of a very ordinary medium character? It is because of the universal first impressions forced upon mankind in favor of the doctrines of free will? These impressions, which commenced in times beyond our knowledge, and have always been the fruitful source of error in the thoughts, feelings and actions of man, originated in the dark ages, when science was unknown, when men knew but few facts, and those few imperfectly. These false notions were, probably, received into the human mind at the time it imbibed its undoubting belief for ages, that the earth was flat and immovable; the sun, planets and stars all being formed to be attendants upon this globe for the use of man.

Time, however, advanced; science dawned upon the world in defiance of monkish ignorance, and printing was discovered. Facts began to be investigated, real knowledge in consequence to be introduced, and to escape by little and little among the multitude.

Thus commenced an opposition to religious ignorance, and it advanced against the efforts of the Priesthood, aided even by the inquisition. Within the last two or three hundred years, knowledge has been disseminated in an extraordinary manner by the art of printing. This inestimable art has preserved to us so many important facts, derived from the experience of former times, that they serve in part to counteract the vicious circumstances which have been generated by the doctrine of free will, and all the religious notions founded on it. It is the knowledge derived from recorded experience, and the errors generated by the notion of free will, combating and counteracting each other, that has placed you in your present medium scale of character.

It is the religions over the earth, emanating directly from the unsubstantial notions derived from the doctrines of free will, and their necessary consequences in forming the feelings, thoughts and actions of men, that have formed the present medium character of the inhabitants of the civilized world.

And so long as these free will notions can be taught and received in opposition to the daily increasing lights of experience, showing how the character of every individual is formed *for* him, you will remain in your present medium condition, and the inhabitants of the world will receive the same inferior character that those errors have hitherto impressed upon them. But I must proceed to the 12th and last revealed law of our nature; revealed by facts alike to all nations and people, namely: "That the individual is made the most superior of his species, when his original organization has been compounded of the best proportions, of the best ingredients of which human nature is formed, and when the circumstances which surround him from birth to death, are of a character to produce only superior impressions, or in other words, when the circumstances or laws, institutions and customs in which he is placed, are all in unison with his nature."

My friends, if in all past times as much had been done for human

nature, as you have witnessed this day, in the free and open discussion in which we have been engaged, we should not now have to lament the ignorance in which we have been all kept by the accumulation of vicious circumstances, by which we and all mankind have been surrounded from birth; but upon this part of the subject it is now too late to enter into detail. Take, however, into your consideration, for a moment, the importance of the three last laws, and more particularly of this 12th law. In this you will discover the certain, the infallible process by which the most is to be made of human nature that can be made of it, by men of one generation acting upon the children of the rising generation.

We cannot, as I have explained to you, make an immediate change upon the existing organization of the infants of our race, though I have no doubt that the time will come, when very great improvements will be made in their organization at birth. In the present state of ignorance, and consequent prejudice, in which we are upon this subject, we must turn our attention only to those circumstances upon which the knowledge of the influence of circumstances will enable us to act. It has been well observed by one of our learned moderators, upon another occasion, in writing upon my views, that he did not well understand how human nature could be the creature of circumstances, and yet have the power to direct them. It was an intelligent view of the subject. The difficulty is to be explained, and overcome like all other difficulties when they occur, by proceeding in our investigations until the whole truth is discovered. By this process it becomes evident, that until we ascertain the fact that we are the creatures of circumstances, we are without the knowledge requisite to give us power to remove, replace, re-arrange and control them. And as soon as the knowledge of this fact is fully developed, it becomes itself a new circumstance, by which the existing adults may do more for the rising generations, than has yet been done for man through all past ages. This, my friends, is therefore the first, pre-eminently the first of sciences; it is one of the very highest order that the human mind can conceive. It is that science, by which, in due time, the men of one generation shall be enabled so far to improve the original organization at birth; the disposition, habits, manners, thoughts, feelings and conduct, after birth, of the

succeeding generation, that the former shall become to the latter as *creators*. For they will be, through this new knowledge, enabled to give to the *new* man such superior faculties, thoughts, feelings and dispositions, that it will appear to be a re-creation; a regeneration; a new birth; a new life; a resurrection from the corruptions and abominations of the present irrational existence, into a state of peace, knowledge and joy unspeakable! It is therefore a science so deeply interesting to all, that all, without delay, should be carefully taught it from the first dawning of their reason. And it is moreover a science so congenial to all the principles of our nature, and the facts which exist around us, and through all nature, that little children may very easily and very early be instructed in it.

I perceive my hour is about to expire, and it is come when I have just entered upon the most interesting part of the discussion; but I submit to the wishes and convenience of others, and therefore, after I sit down, I shall not trespass upon your time, unless it be for the sake of some explanation.

But I cannot take leave of you without expressing a strong sense of obligation to those gentlemen, who composed the Committee, for making the preliminary arrangements for this discussion, also to those gentlemen who have taken the trouble to attend to all the subsequent arrangements, and especially to the Trustees of this building, who with great urbanity, after one church was refused to the Committee who applied for it, conceded to them the use of this for our purpose. And I am much indebted to all who have attended here during the discussion, for the extreme good order which has prevailed, and the remarkable good temper with which you have received those strong, and, in many cases, highly exciting truths to Christians, which I deemed it my duty, with reference to future consequences, to place before you. I do not believe I can on this account ever forget Cincinnati. It is true, I once prophesied her depopulation, not because I considered her any worse than other populous places, or a second Sodom or Gomorrah, for your conduct upon this occasion, proves the reverse. I was, it seems, mistaken, as to the precise time; having been misled at that period by the over enthusiasm expressed by so many of its inhabitants in favor of principles which, to my pecuniary loss, I afterwards discovered they so little

understood. I was not so well aware then, as I am now, that the inhabitants of a new and uneducated country, as this was at that time, were of necessity far more powerfully influenced by immediate impressions, than by extended and deep reflections. As surely, however, as these twelve fundamental laws are derived from facts which change not, so surely will the dispersion of the inhabitants of all large cities take place. You will through this new knowledge discover, ere long, that a large city is a collection of many injurious and vicious circumstances; too unfavorable to the highest happiness that human nature is capable of attaining, to be much longer allowed to remain. You cannot, under any arrangement, in populous cities, enjoy, in any perfection, the many important advantages, which are inseparable from the country, properly cultivated and well laid out for convenience, beauty and pleasure, and to have at the same time, a full share of the best society. These essential requisities to the enjoyment of life, cannot be obtained by a *single* human being within a large city, or in a single family, or among a few families in the country; while it is practicable to form an association of such numbers and character, as when properly arranged and constituted, will possess and enjoy all the advantages of city and country, without any of the numerous inconveniences, disadvantages or evils of either. It was a mistake of my friend, Mr. C. for whom after all our hard and sharp wordy battles, I am obliged to have the kindest feelings on account of his honesty and liberality, to suppose that my ideas of a social system were derived from the Shaking Quakers, Moravians, or any other existing prototype. My ideas upon this subject proceeded from a different source. At the time the embryo of these ideas first presented itself to my mind, I was unconscious that there was a *single* community living wholly upon public property, in existence. The first matured thoughts upon this subject were suggested to me by a profound consideration of the laws of our nature, and the effects which they were calculated to produce in practice, with the actual condition of mankind; I perceived that man existed in all conditions from a state of single and detrimental solitude through all stages of increasing numbers, up to a congregated mass, as in the capital of China, of two millions of human beings of all ages; but I did not then know that

there was a number between these extremes, which, under proper management, would give the greatest amount of happiness that man could enjoy. The discovery of this happy number and arrangement, is the first problem to be demonstrated in the science of political economy; and until these points shall be established upon rational principles, and derived from facts and experience, little of the science of political economy, as a science, can be known. These points are the data on which alone the science can take its rise, and without a knowledge of which no such science can be formed. The difficulty which presented itself to me at the outset of studying political economy, was to discover these data. Books written by speculative men in their closets, I soon ascertained could give me no information upon the subject. I had afterwards an opportunity of observing the effects of a gradual increasing population, from a few families until they amounted to about twenty-five hundred souls, and then I discovered that the true minimum and maximum had been passed. It was thus I was enabled by experience to ascertain what was the extent of numbers, between which, a population could be arranged and congregated together, to give to each individual the greatest amount of advantages with the fewest inconveniences. I am now convinced from this experience and from a very extensive and careful investigation of the business and concerns of human life, taking also into consideration the ascertained fixed laws of human nature, that the best medium number, ranges between eight hundred and twelve hundred, and that all associations of men, when they become rational, will be composed of congregations never descending below five hundred, nor ascending above two thousand.

These were the facts, principles and considerations whence my ideas of the social communities originated, and these are the causes which have impelled me so strongly to advocate them upon former as well as upon the present occasion—they were not, therefore, derived from any of the prototypes or contracted views and sources whence Mr. C. apprehends them to have originated. And it is from these sources, such as I have now explained them, that I predicted the depopulation of Cincinnati, that I still confidently anticipate a change in society from large and populous cities, and single families, to such associations, as will give to each individual the greatest advantages, with the fewest inconveniences.

I shall merely say, in conclusion, that the social system, as it exists in my mind, is an arrangement of society, founded on the most opposite principles, except in the unity of labor and property, to the Shakers, Moravians and old Harmonites, that can well be imagined. These are all founded on the ignorance and subjugation of the mass under a few intelligent privileged leaders—but which, nevertheless, produce much comfort, peace and quiet happiness among that mass. They still, however, retain several of the practical errors, emanating from free-will doctrines, and frequently suffer changes and evils in consequence; and while those errors are retained, evils will continually occur, and there will be no stability among them. The social system which I contemplate, is founded upon other principles, so different in character, that each child will receive from infancy to maturity the best training, education and instruction that can be given to it. There will be no inequality of rank or condition, except what age and experience necessarily produce; and these of course in due time, all will equally enjoy. And the code of laws, founded on the laws of our nature, will, under the administration, explained in the second part of this work, equally direct and govern all, from the youngest to the most advanced in age and privileges attendant thereon.

Time does not permit me to add more. I therefore take my leave with the best feelings towards you all, wishing you health, continued prosperity, and the benefit of these anticipated improvements for your children.

After Mr. C.'s conclusion, and after the rising of the audience under Mr. C.'s *test*, Mr. Owen rose and said: Gentlemen Moderators—It has just occurred to me, that I had forgotten to tender our thanks, by name to you, for your presence and superintendence on this occasion, which I now beg leave to do. And I may add, I am much pleased with C.'s little manœuvre of the test, because I discover it pleases him and his friends. Truth requires no such support.

APPENDIX B.

The Reasons for each of the Laws contained in the Natural Code of Law.

FOR THE FIRST LAW.

THIS law is derived from the laws of human nature, which demonstrate that the character of man is formed for him, in opposition to all past and present popular belief, that it is formed by him; upon which supposition alone, all governments, religions, codes of laws, and all institutions, have been founded. This is a law for the *prevention* of any poverty in society, and of all the crimes, fears and sufferings which poverty produces. It is a law to *prevent* any thing inferior being used by man, when that which is superior is known, and may be obtained. It is to *prevent* any one mind from being injured by any of the degrading feelings which poverty produces, or by any of the innumerable evils attendant upon poverty. It is to lay a foundation for a sound constitution; for kind and good feelings; and for a superior mind. This law will effect these important objects, by the *union* of mankind for their improvement and benefit. It, at once, gives a decided preference to a system of union for the government of the human race, in preference to the spirit of disunion which has alone prevailed. This disunion has continued through all past ages, in consequence of error respecting the nature of man. This error still exists; and while it remains, will be an obstacle to prevent the union of mankind, which nothing but the abrogation of that error can remove. It is a law to prevent contention among the human race for their daily bread; and while the mal-arrangements of society render this contest unavoidable, there can be no general sincerity, honesty or good feelings between individuals or nations,—there cannot, in fact, be any thing that deserves the name of virtue among

mankind. It is a law to provide for the natural and necessary wants of man, in the most economical, just and best manner, and with the same order and certainty that day succeeds to day, and the seasons produce their fruits. It is a law to *provide for all*, by the regular *temperate exercise of all*, under the direction of the *highest knowledge and greatest experience acquired by the human race*. It is a law to *prevent the germ of selfishness* from finding nutriment in poverty and ignorance for its support. And lastly, it is a law to *prevent* the waste of the most valuable time, and finest faculties of man from being occupied, through life, in a blind attempt to accumulate a surplus wealth, which necessarily becomes a great evil to the individual possessors, to themselves, their successors, and to all the producing classes.

SECOND LAW.

This is a law derived from the newly acquired knowledge, that the character of man is formed **FOR** him, and chiefly by the wisdom or folly, the knowledge or inexperience of his immediate predecessors. It is a law to *prevent the longer continuance of ignorance* among the human race, and to *give* to each individual as much of the outlines of *real knowledge*, as the experience of all past ages has produced. It is a law to *prevent* the germs of unkind feelings, of irritation, or of anger being implanted in our nature; or, if there, to stifle them in the bud. It is a law to generate the best and least selfish feelings in the bosom of each individual; to sow deep and wide, through the whole man, the seeds of that pure charity for all the human race, which thinketh no evil, but which, if any evil shall be found, will desire to remove it with the least possible hurt or injury to his fellow beings. It is a law to raise man from an ignorant, grovelling state of selfish contention, and inferior feelings, and injurious passions, the sole growth of ignorance, into an intelligent and superior being; to elevate him above the influence of envy, jealousy, or individual ambition, or any desire to be elevated or preferred above his fellows. It is a law to *create new circumstances* sufficiently powerful to *influence* man to discover, by the facts around him, that a neglect of the education of one human being would necessarily be so injurious to the society of which he was to become a

member, that an error productive of so much evil could proceed offy from *disease*; and that, in such case, the individual or individuals committing the error ought to be, and therefore will be, placed within the institutions which will be established for the cure of physical, mental and moral disorders, and be carefully and kindly treated, until amendment or death. It is emphatically a law to prevent physical, mental and moral evils among mankind, by forming, from infancy, the most superior character that the continually growing experience of the world can give to every child that comes into existence.

THIRD LAW.

This is a law to make equality in the condition of mankind permanent in practice; to *prevent the growth of pride* in the human race; to *cultivate* the most *useful* and *valuable faculties* in all; to fill society with *practical* as well as *theoretic* ability; and to destroy the *germ of idleness*, both *physical* and *mental*. Under this law, all will pass through the same routine of education and employment within the institutions established by the public, to form the best character for every individual, upon principles of justice and economy. In these institutions, all will be taught the best mode of performing the domestic operations, and the principles and practice which will enable them to understand the reasons for, and to be expert in, those employments which are the most necessary to the well being and happiness of society. It is a law necessary to form the best character for man, both in his individual and social state; to counteract, in the shortest time, the innumerable evils inflicted upon the human race by the mistaken notion that man forms his own character, and that he is, consequently, responsible for it to his fellows, and to supernatural and invisible spirits and agencies,—a dogma which is now forced into the human mind among the doctrines of all the religions in the world.

FOURTH LAW.

This is a law to prevent any child being injured, physically, mentally or morally, from infancy to maturity. It is founded on the laws of human nature, which not only demonstrate that the charac-

ter of every man is formed *for* him, but which also prove the necessity of combining superior circumstances to those which now exist in any private family, to secure the formation of the best character for every child, from the knowledge to be derived from the united experience of mankind. It is a law which will effect this great object for the public, and yet allow full intercourse between the parent and child; supplying, at the same time, the means of increasing an affection of a superior order between both. The laws of human nature demonstrate that it is the aggregate wisdom or experience of ages, well matured and regularly organized, that ought to direct and control the entire formation of the character of every child; and not the whim, and caprice, and inexperience, and inconvenient arrangements of the individual parents. For society has a much deeper interest in the right and best formation of the character of every child within its sovereignty, than the individual parents. And society can form each child to become a superior adult, far better, with less labor and more economy to the parents and to the commonwealth, than is practicable for any unassociated individual. Indeed, there is no conceivable waste of time, talents and wealth so great as those incurred by single families, in their ruinous attempts to bring up one or half a dozen children under their present domestic arrangements. It will, however, be a source of continued gratification to parents to visit their children often, when they perceive a daily improvement in them; and the intercourse between them will be beneficial, for both will increase their knowledge and their good feelings, as the character of the children advances towards maturity.

FIFTH LAW.

Equality of rights, of condition, and of instruction, being the foundation of the system derived from the fundamental laws of our nature, demonstrating that the character of man is formed *for* him, and not *by* him, as every popular belief has imagined, it becomes necessary and important for the future happiness of the society, that all children shall be brought up together, as members of the same family. It is also desirable, inasmuch as children can be much better trained with a considerable number of the same age, than when there are but few together, or when there is a great mixture of diffe-

rent ages too much removed from each other. Children, under the existing systems, educated in different schools, unconnected with each other by knowledge and good feelings, are often trained to be jealous of, and to dislike each other. In the various departments of training, education, instruction and employments, only one feeling of kindness for each other will be implanted in all, from infancy to maturity.

SIXTH LAW.

As the conscience of each individual is a compound, formed of the original organization and of the external circumstances which have made their impressions upon that organization, and as neither of these are formed, or can be controled, by the individual, his conscience, whatever it may have been formed to be, is such as he has been compelled to receive; and it is, therefore, a right inherent in his nature, to express most freely what his conscientious feelings are, without control or influence, except of reason, from any one. When the impression or knowledge shall become general, that the character of man is in all cases formed for him, and never by him, the inconsistency of blaming any one for his conscientious belief, and the injustice of punishing him, here or hereafter, for it, will become too glaring to be entertained by a rational mind.

SEVENTH LAW.

This law is also derived from the twelve fundamental laws of human nature. It is intended to obtain, for the first time in the history of the human race, justice to the young; and to prevent the popular imaginary notions of the district in which they are born, or the doctrines in opposition to facts of any other districts, from being forced into the youthful mind, before it has received a sufficient number of facts for comparison, and before its reasoning faculties have been cultivated and matured, to enable it to discover facts from fancies, or truths from errors. It is a law to secure that right to each individual, which belongs to him by his nature, and to enable every one to understand *why* he believes a truth in preference to an error. It is a law necessary to assist society in forming the best character for the rising generation.

EIGHTH LAW.

This is a law derived from the sixth fundamental law of our nature, and that law is almost a self-evident truth. Yet it was a mistake with regard to this fundamental law, that has kept our ancestors, through thousands of years, in ignorance, vice, contention and misery. It was upon this error, that all religions have been, in reality, founded. It is this error of attributing merit for the belief in some fanciful notions, and demerit for the disbelief of them, that gave rise to religious wars and massacres directly, and indirectly to all contentions about opinions upon all subjects, that have ever taken place. No conduct can be more opposed to nature, than to award merit or demerit, praise or blame, or still more to reward or punish, for faith, opinions or belief of any kind. As man is compelled to believe according to the strongest impressions or conviction made on his mind, he can have no more merit or demerit for them, than for his height, or features, or color. This is a law, which will also form another pillar on which to place universal charity. Indeed, without the knowledge from whence this law is derived, charity for the opinions of all who differ from us would be very limited, and very seldom applied to practice. Charity for the opinions of all other human beings can emanate, alone, from a clear and distinct knowledge of our nature, with reference to the origin of our opinions. This law is also necessary to enable society to form a superior character in the rising generation, and to impress them with the knowledge of what "manner of beings they are."

NINTH LAW.

This law is closely connected with the preceding. Its justice must be, at once, obvious to all. The mind is compelled to receive some impression or other upon this subject; and it has a natural right to express it, whatever it may be. It is by this mode of proceeding only, that error can be detected, and truth be demonstrated. It is only during the ages of barbarism and ignorance, that man is prevented from entertaining free opinions, and of expressing them without fear or injury. Men are not free politically, until they can fully express their genuine sentiments upon all subjects, whether

considered sacred or profane, without experiencing ill will from any parties, or being, in consequence, injured in their worldly concerns; which is far from being the case at present, even in the United States of North America. This law is intended to give the natural right of freely speaking the conscientious opinions, upon all subjects, sacred or profane, to all; and to obtain for them the unrestricted liberty of religious worship under every form and mode, and most satisfactory to the conscience of each, or not to worship at all under any outward form, if the conscience so dictates. The ideas and feelings which pass from man to any power, or being, or spirit, *not* material, are alone between man and that existence, whether it be real or imaginary, provided the individual does not interfere with the same natural rights possessed by others. This law is also necessary to enable society to form the best character in the rising generation.

TENTH LAW.

This law is derived from the first fundamental law of human nature, and the truth of, and necessity for it, are so obvious, that little explanation is required to make both these conclusions understood by all accustomed to reflect. Yet, under the existing notions that man forms his own character, and under the religions, governments and laws founded thereon, leading men to imagine that they possess the power to originate in themselves feelings, thoughts and actions, men are daily punished for their physical, intellectual and moral organization; while a knowledge of the most plain and obvious facts regarding ourselves, would make its cruelty and gross injustice prominent to every one. This law is required to remove the obstructions which are now in the way of society knowing how to form the best character in the rising generation.

ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH LAWS.

These laws are derived immediately from the fundamental laws of our nature. From the latter we discover, that as the organization is not made by the individual, nor the external circumstances formed by him, the sensations which are produced within the individual, by the action of the circumstances upon the organization, cannot be considered as connected with the will of the individual. The will

is passive: the individual must receive the impression, and experience the sensation, before he can be conscious what it is. It then becomes a contest between the powers of the organization, which have been formed for the individual without his knowledge, will or consent, and the strength of the impression made by the external circumstance or circumstances on that organization, how the individual will be compelled to act. It is evident, therefore, that for the sensation made on the organization of any individual, he cannot, with the slightest pretensions to justice or common sense, be considered responsible. To consider any individual responsible for his sensations, is to make him a hypocrite, to prevent him speaking the truth, to compel him to acquire a character of falsehood, and to force him to possess continually the low and degrading feelings and fears, which every human being must have, when he is conscious that he is not expressing the thoughts and feelings which his nature obliges him to have. The doctrine of free agency in man, and the religions, governments, codes of laws and institutions emanating therefrom, all conspire to compel all men thus to act; and in so doing, they form the character of the human race upon the very lowest scale of moral conduct, rendering it unavoidable for them, one and all, to become moral cowards, and daily and hourly hypocrites. This law of the new code is adapted to change this character in man; to make him frank, open, honest and sincere. That he shall fear no man or created power; but to all, whether individually or collectively, he shall, at all times, and upon all occasions, express those sensations which his nature, and the circumstances in which he is placed, produce within him. He will thus attain the highest moral excellence in one direction,—that is, in speaking, looking and acting the truth only, and nothing but the truth, in one harmonious action. The characters created by the irrational supposition that the character of man is formed by himself, is far too vicious to admit of this natural and superior mode of conduct; nay, it has reduced man to that state of moral depravity, that he is made to believe that his nature is too corrupt to exist in a society in which all shall speak their sensations only, or the whole truth, upon all occasions. These laws are necessary to enable society to form the best character in the rising generation.

THIRTEENTH LAW.

This law is derived from the seventh fundamental law of our nature, and is intended to prevent disappointment, perjury, jealousy, deception, and many other crimes and miseries in the married state, and to destroy the innumerable evils of prostitution. By attending to the laws of our nature, and the facts on which they are predicated, it is evident that the marriages and single family arrangements instituted by the doctrines of free will, and the religions, governments, institutions and popular notions derived from them, are unnatural and most injurious to the human race. In almost every direction in which they can be viewed, the crimes which are forced upon both males and females by the prostitution which is solely engendered by this system, and the cruelties and gross injustice which the helpless females are made to endure, form an aggregate of evil, which the world dares not examine, and much less probe to its source. If I am rightly informed—and I have no reason to doubt the source from whence the information has been derived—few individuals, among what is deemed the regular members of any society, can form any adequate conception of the disease, vice, degradation and suffering to which the best and finest portion of the female sex are made to submit in the large cities of Europe and America, after they have once yielded to those feelings which nature has made so strong within them,—in many, irresistible under the temptations to which they are unavoidably exposed. It is probable that man, by contravening this law of his nature, has introduced more sin and iniquity, more vice and bodily and mental suffering, and a more sinking degradation of character, than he has generated by his mistake respecting, and consequent opposition to, any of the other fundamental laws of his nature, except the sixth, relative to the power of the will over belief. And which of the two errors has engendered the most grievous evils, the most horrible afflictions, terminating in the inquisitions on the one hand, and brothels on the other, it is difficult to determine. It is, however, high time that the sources of these pestilences to the human race should, as they easily may, be entirely eradicated, root and branch, from all human society. Sages talk, as they suppose wisely, of the importance of female virtue—of chastity; while, in

fact, they are so ignorant of the whole subject that they have introduced, and they now, with all their might, support those notions and institutions, which *alone* create any unchaste thoughts and feelings, and which are the greatest possible excitement to sexual vice, crime, and other consequent sufferings. But while the errors produced by the supposition that the human character is formed *by* the individual, instead of *for* him, and all the attendant errors arising from all the consequent doctrines and institutions of the free agency notions, shall continue to *curse* the world, as they have done heretofore, with all manner of afflictions, for no one knows how many thousand years,—vice, crime and misery, war, massacres, bitterness, and contentions of every conceivable description, will continue to ride triumphant, and perpetuate the hell upon earth, which this fiendish doctrine has created, by destroying, from birth, all the rational faculties of the human race, and nourishing, instead thereof, the wildest flights of the most disordered imaginations. Hence the existing ignorance, poverty, wanderings and blind strife of the human race, at this hour. Hence the difficulty of convincing the present ill taught generation that they are cherishing a fiend within their bosom; and hence their spurning from them, like idiots, that knowledge, which is, indeed, not from above, and out of the reach of their faculties, but from all that is beneath and around them—from *facts* which *will not*, which *cannot* deceive; that knowledge, which, when duly listened to, will speak peace to every bosom; which, when understood in all its glorious results, will be found competent, through all succeeding ages, to remove the present hell from earth, and to replace it by a paradise of excellence and daily enjoyment without alloy, far exceeding any of the imaginary notions of any of the imaginary paradises invented by any of the ancient or modern religious enthusiasts or madmen. This law, also, is absolutely necessary to enable the existing generation to form a superior, or even an ordinary good character in the rising generation.

FOURTEENTH LAW.

This law is essential to the formation of the human character, to give to it the simplicity without affectation, the high intelligence without vanity, the honesty without any deception, and the freedom

from suspicion of any of our associates, and from all corroding anxiety regarding the due supplies of the necessaries and comforts of life, which are requisite to ensure the happiness of each individual, and of society. It is a law which will speedily remove the necessity for any vulgar or ignorant labor. It will, in the second generation, make all the most necessary business of life a pleasurable exercise, a delightful occupation, that must be performed,—and which necessity is most desirable, to give the daily exercise which health requires; and without which there could not be much enjoyment in human existence. Indeed, as soon as the children shall be trained together as members of the same family, and in the habit, from infancy, of enjoying all things in common, the very idea of having any surplus individual property would be revolting to their feelings, and appear most useless for any rational practical purpose. The unnecessary labor which is required from the productive part of society, by the existing desire which is formed in the human character, by the errors arising from the supposition that each individual forms his own character, and all the free will practices which necessarily follow this mistake, are beyond the capacity of any one of the present generation to estimate. In another generation, when it will be discovered by experience how little manual labor, when aided by all the late and current improvements in mechanism and chemistry, will be required from each, to produce a large surplus of the best of every thing for all,—then, and not till then, will it be perceived how wretchedly valuable materials, time, talents and labor, are now worse than wasted; what an enormous proportion of these requisites to general happiness, when rationally used and directed, are now used to create the most useless, and very often most injurious and deteriorating results. In this city of Cincinnati, in which I now write, and in which, for its size and population, in consequence of its being comparatively a new settlement, there is *more* that is necessary, and less that is useless, than in older establishments,—there are still three fourths of its materials, skill, time of the non-producers, capital, and labor of the producers, most irrationally applied. Yes! most probably four fifths of the whole are so directed, as to deduct from the real happiness of the population. Whatever useless private property is possessed by any individual, must, by its natural and necessary results, injure the

mind and habits of the individual, and of his heirs, and be a grievous burden to the producing classes, who by their labor have to support him and them, if they live by their surplus wealth, as the industrious classes maintain the paupers who are dependent upon charity or legal contributions upon the public. In short, a surplus, unnecessary private property is one of those innumerable errors and evils arising from the unsubstantial doctrines of man's free agency, and the endless religious sects, governments and institutions founded thereon, with the irrational popular notions to which it has given rise, and which at this hour distract and confound the feelings and understandings of all people in all countries. This law, also, is necessary to enable some one generation to form aright the character of the next and all succeeding generations.

FIFTEENTH LAW.

The reasons for this law are numerous, and require a more extended and detailed development, than this work will admit of. It will be sufficient for the present purpose to state, that it is derived, 1st, from the seventh law of our nature, relative to the affections; 2d, from the first five laws, demonstrating that the character of man is formed for him, and chiefly by the circumstances in which he is placed; and lastly, from the science of political economy, the first principle of which is to ascertain *what number of persons can be associated together within the same domestic arrangements, to give to each individual the greatest amount of advantages, with the fewest inconveniences*. All these considerations prove that the single family arrangements, blinded as we have been made to them by early habits and prepossessions, are unfit for a superior state of existence; that they are calculated, in a great majority of cases, to destroy the affection which it is desirable should be permanent between the parents; to prevent even tolerably good character being formed for the children; and to ensure a continuance of the present ignorantly selfish system throughout society, and to perpetuate the strife and contention which, more or less covertly, every where prevail at this day among the whole family of mankind. While the single family arrangements, therefore, remain, it will be impossible to elevate society beyond its present degraded level. The character of

parents, of children, or of the general population, can never be well formed under these arrangements; consequently no improvements of a superior order can be, in this respect, ever made permanent. If society, therefore, is ever to acquire as high a degree of excellence as may be given to it, the single family arrangements must be entirely abolished.

SIXTEENTH LAW.

This law is founded on the confident expectation that the existing system of universal disunion, strife and contention will cease, through an accurate knowledge of the fundamental laws of human nature; and that, in place thereof, union, peace and pure charity shall commence in some country, and gradually extend, until it shall reach all nations and tribes. The experience of the society of Friends has shown, in part, how easy it is for a population of moderately well trained persons to govern themselves by equal and just laws, without any inequality of rank or condition, except what age and knowledge naturally and necessarily produce upon those among whom they live. Their monthly, quarterly, half-yearly and annual meetings are useful specimens of the mode by which union and good and kind feelings may be gradually extended from the few to the many, and from nation to nation, until knowledge, peace, brotherly love, truth and charity shall "cover the earth as the waters cover the seas." And this is evidently intended to be made known by the figurative expression, "that the knowledge of the Lord," &c. shall be universally known and acted upon. These communities may be united with great advantage into tens, to aid and assist each other in all matters within the extent of their circle. The youngest individual who had passed the general council of government of each community, might be properly appointed the delegate to the united council of the circle of ten communities; the second youngest to the council of the circle of the hundred communities; and the eldest member of each of these latter councils might be a fit delegate from them to the council representing the more extended interests of one thousand communities. While, again, the eldest members of these councils of one thousand communities might form a council which should represent the interests of one hundred thousand, or one mil-

lion or more of communities, as they spread from nation to nation, and great objects called for their union of council and action. The chief business, in the more limited or extended council, will be to consider continually, as knowledge advances and new discoveries are made, what inferior or disadvantageous circumstances may be removed, and by what improvements they may be replaced beneficially for all. And when every child, as he comes into existence, shall receive, from birth, the best training, education and practical instruction which can be given under the united experience of the public, the decision of all such questions as may arise in these councils, admitting of any doubt, may safely be left to the majority of the members of each, whose interests individually would be precisely the same as those of all the members of all the communities collectively. For when men shall be solely governed by the laws of their nature, there will be but one interest throughout all society—but one object; namely, to secure the greatest permanent happiness for the whole. This law is also necessary to enable the men of one generation to form the best character in the succeeding generation.

SEVENTEENTH LAW.

This law is derived from the science of political economy, from the wants of each individual, and from every consideration connected with the general interest and happiness of every member of the whole family of mankind. Every one, from childhood, to promote health and the acquisition of the means *to enjoy the most exquisitely for the longest period*, should be daily employed, for a longer or shorter period, in gardening; for the perfection of agriculture is superior gardening, and all the land around each of these communities governed solely by the laws of human nature will speedily become a most productive garden, formed into pleasure grounds. No one portion of the human race ought to depend upon any other distant portion of it for the first necessities and comforts of life; and those may always with ease be secured from a given full quantity of land, and the temperate, desirable exercise of the population to be supported by it. It is by such arrangements as these, only, that man can be placed within circumstances to allow him to acquire the health, knowledge, good feeling, peace of mind, and continually in-

creasing happiness, that his nature is capable of attaining and enjoying. This law, also, is required to enable the adult part of society to form the best character that can be given to the rising generation.

EIGHTEENTH LAW.

This law proceeds from the necessity of equality of condition, to the extent that it is practicable, for the whole human race. It will be greatly for the interest of all, that the efficient means shall be adopted to provide the best of every thing for every individual, according to his age. To do this will be found to be, beyond all comparison, the greatest possible economy to the whole society. It is a law just in its nature, and beautiful and most beneficial for practice. None can lose by it, and all must gain. It is the present perplexed, incongruous and irrational mind, created by the notion that man forms his own character, emanating solely from the airy and imaginary doctrines of free agency, that clouds the understanding of the present race, to prevent them seeing distinctly that all men have but one and the same interest, and from perceiving the only means by which it can be attained and permanently secured in practice. Without equality of education and condition among men, there cannot be "peace on earth and good will among men." There cannot be high intelligence, great simplicity, genuine disinterestedness, pure charity, or real virtue and happiness, among mankind. For this law is necessary, with all the preceding, to produce these results, and to enable the men of one generation to form the best character that may be given to the succeeding generations.

NINETEENTH LAW.

This law is derived from the fundamental laws of human nature, which explain how the character of each individual can be formed to be the most superior that his natural organization will admit; and that, by acting upon this knowledge, *every child*, not mentally diseased, may be trained with ease to become much more than equal to his full and fair share of the government of society. It is the natural right of man, that he should have his equal and just share in the direction and management of those concerns, in which his whole happiness, and the happiness of his descendants, are deeply involved.

By this law *that* right will be maintained and secured, at the proper time, under the most beneficial circumstances, to every child of man. There will be no necessity for selection or election: there will be, therefore, no jealousies, contentions or strife; no heart rending bitterness between individuals or parties, respecting office of any kind; no anger, irritation or hatred, because one has more votes and is preferred to another. By this law the governors will have precisely one and the same interest with the governed. The government will never be in infancy or dotage. There will be no fixed period for a change of men and measures, so detrimental to all great improvements, which require time to be matured and executed. No apparent change through all ages; but, like nature, it will imperceptibly alter and improve as time silently creeps on, and brings annually its new experience, to guide man towards a never-attainable, fixed perfection, and more desirable because not fixed; for man's greatest happiness must arise, according to the unchanging laws of his nature, from daily progression towards more knowledge and more excellence. This law gives to man a government possessing all the essence of the patriarchal, monarchical, democratical and representative, without any of the evils necessarily and unavoidably attendant upon each of them in practice. It is a government of the people for the people, and whose every interest and feeling is identified with all who are governed. It is a government which has been trained, educated and practically instructed, from infancy, to govern, to the utmost extent of excellence, in which the wisdom of all past times can be brought to bear upon every portion of the soil, and of the whole globe. It is a government that, in the nature of things, will require no change in its form; for it will be, without any such change, always in full physical and mental vigor, annually receiving new strength to both to prevent the possibility of decay. It is a government that all must respect, because it will, at all times, concentrate within itself the essence of all the valuable qualities which appertain to the community whose happiness it has to promote. It is a law also requisite to create those circumstances, without the existence of which, the adults of one generation cannot form the best character for all the children of the rising generation.

TWENTIETH LAW.

This law is merely declarative of the effects which would necessarily exist in communities governed according to the arrangements contained in the preceding law, and it requires no further development.

TWENTY-FIRST LAW.

This is a law of a similar description, and requires no additional explanation.

TWENTY-SECOND AND TWENTY-THIRD LAWS.

These laws declare and define the power and the business of the general council. Its power is limited by the letter and the spirit of the fundamental laws of human nature; but within that limit, it is uncontrollable by any counteracting or opposing power within its own community. Its sole business will be, in addition to the daily occupations of life, to remove the most inferior and unfavorable circumstances within the boundaries of the community, and to effect this by appointing sub-committees, from its own body, to superintend each a general department of the business of life carried on upon the premises belonging to the community; which departments the council will divide, to be the most convenient for practice, according to the localities of the community. These general departments may be expected to consist—

1st. Of superior arrangements for all domestic purposes, in order that every member may be in sufficient comfort to enjoy his existence, from birth to death, without any corroding anxiety.

2d. For producing in the best manner all that the community shall annually require, with a surplus sufficient to guard against accidents of every kind.

3d. For preserving these productions in the best manner.

4th. For distributing them the most beneficially for all.

5th. For training, educating and practically instructing all, from infancy to maturity, in the best manner known by the public.

6th. For keeping every part of the establishment, at all times, in the best state of repair and condition.

7th. For preparing the means of recreation and amusement for the whole population, in order that all may enjoy their existence to the full extent, within those bounds defined by the fundamental laws of our nature.

All this routine of business will become to all parties, under these new circumstances, pleasurable exercises, requisite to increase their health and enjoyments. There will be no task masters; but all will be assisting friends, and, when of the same age, equals in all things. These laws, also, are necessary to enable the old to produce a superior character in the young, and make them rational beings.

TWENTY-FOURTH LAW.

This law is never likely to be acted upon. It is introduced solely to be a guard upon the first and second generations, until habit and experience shall have made them familiar with the advantages to be derived from always acting rationally.

TWENTY-FIFTH LAW.

This law, also, after one generation shall be trained, from infancy to maturity, in a knowledge of themselves—that is, in the knowledge of the laws of their nature—will be unnecessary. Men trained, from infancy to maturity, to be rational, and placed within circumstances in unison with their nature, will always act rationally. They will not, under such circumstances, require the assistance of others to adjust any difference of feeling or opinion, which may arise between them. Such differences between individuals, as cannot be pleasantly adjusted between themselves, can only arise while the free agency notions prevail in society, and while all are taught to consider themselves the originators of their own thoughts, feelings and conduct; and, therefore, there must be strife and contention between them. By this law, and all the previous arrangements, it will be perceived, that no necessity will exist for a peculiar order of men to adjust the differences between other men. All the expense, time, anxiety and inferior feelings uselessly expended in law suits will be avoided; and all will, at all times, remain good friends, whose greatest pleasure will be to do for each other the most essential services. In men trained, from infancy to maturity, in a knowledge of the

laws of their nature, and placed in circumstances in accordance with those laws, there will be neither anger nor irritation, nor ill will to any of their fellows: they will know distinctly what manner of beings they are, and will, without hesitation, make full allowance for whatever the circumstances in which they may have been placed have compelled them to become.

TWENTY-SIXTH LAW.

This law is one of strict justice, founded on the laws of our nature, from whence it is derived. As the individual does not form any portion of his own organization, or of the great circumstances which from birth acting upon that organization create his feelings and his thoughts, and as these produce the motives which impel him to will and to act, it is unjust and cruel in the extreme to punish what, if wrong and injurious, ought to have been prevented by a different education, and a change of circumstances around the individual. Individual rewards, exactly for the same reasons, are equally unjust and pernicious. But individual reward will be useless and unnecessary, in a state of society in which all will be, at all times, in full possession of the best of every thing for human nature. This law is also required to enable the adults of one generation to form the best character in the next and succeeding generations.

TWENTY-SEVENTH LAW.

This law is also derived from the fundamental laws of our nature. It is one, too, of justice, necessity and of mercy; all dictated by that pure charity which alone belongs to this system. It is a law to *prevent* evil, by the most efficient, yet by the most mild and gentle methods, that the existing experience of the world admits. This law, also, is necessary to enable the adults of one generation to form the best characters in the next and succeeding generations.

TWENTY-EIGHTH LAW.

This is a law of expediency, founded on a knowledge of the twelve fundamental laws, which explain the possibility of some individuals, at an earlier or later age than that which gives the government to the members of the general council, possessing practical abilities, or

knowledge which may be peculiarly beneficial in some particular department; and therefore this law gives the government the authority to apply for their aid, which, under these circumstances, never will be refused.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

RELATIVE TO

THE DISCUSSION.

THE discussion between Mr. Campbell and myself having terminated, and time for reflection having elapsed, it may be useful to state to the public my impressions respecting its utility and consequences.

It is the first public discussion that the world has ever permitted, with any degree of fairness, to take place between the orthodox faith of any country and a well known open and decided opponent. The credit of this first submission to truth and common sense is due to the United States generally, and to the population of the city of Cincinnati in particular. No audience could conduct themselves with more order, decorum and fairness, than was exhibited on this occasion. It is true, they were all taken by surprise at its termination, and, in fact, deceived by Mr. Campbell's manœuvre to express that they were Christians, or not unfavorable to Christianity. It was to be supposed, that no one present would like to express a contrary opinion before such an audience, and particularly when it was well known that the prosperity of the business or professions of most of them depended upon *not* expressing a contrary opinion. With the intelligent part of the audience, this movement, therefore, went for nothing. It was irregular to call for it; and I am sure, after a little reflection Mr. Campbell became conscious of its inutility, as to any opinion relative to the subjects discussed, and regretted that it was resorted to for the purpose of creating a temporary effect on the public mind. It was not even to think of any personal victory, but to discover valuable truths, that I came to Cincinnati to hold a public discussion. And, I trust, by that discussion truth will be elicited, and mankind benefitted. But what impression has the discussion

made upon the audience, upon Mr. Campbell, and myself? It has, I believe, induced many of the first to think upon religious subjects, who, until then, had never been in a condition to think upon them for themselves. Many were confirmed in their previous belief, and many in their unbelief. Mr. A. Campbell will himself state, in the publication which he is editing, what impressions have been made upon his mind, as I shall now express those which have been made upon mine. It is evident, however, that one happy effect has been produced. All discovered, that by the constitution of human nature, each individual is compelled to believe, and to feel in unison with that belief, according to the strongest impressions that are made upon his mind. Many, therefore, now feel much more charity for the opinions of others, when honestly expressed, who are conscientiously obliged to differ from them, than they could do before this debate commenced. It was this feeling that induced Mr. Campbell and myself to express our sentiments so openly, without reserve, of each other's defects and errors, during the discussion; and yet that left us, at its termination, better friends, because more known to each other, than at its commencement. I trust this feeling, from this knowledge, will spread wider and wider, from individual to individual, from sect to sect, from Christian to Mahomedan, from these to the Jews and Hindoos, and to all tribes and people, until all uncharitableness and unkind feelings among men, seeing that they are necessarily compelled to feel and to think as they do, shall be known no more; and that these evil circumstances shall be gradually replaced by that universal charity, and kindness, and union, and desire to promote each other's happiness, which are sure to be produced in practice, as soon as the fundamental laws of human nature shall be sufficiently developed to be understood in their full extent by the population of the world. If the discussion shall be found to hasten the period of this happy change in men's minds, and in their outward circumstances, it will accomplish an essential part of the object which I had previously anticipated.

But to its effect upon my mind. After listening to Mr. C. with a sincere desire to be convinced of error in my views of human nature, if there were error in them, I felt, at the termination of the discussion, more confirmed in all my former sentiments—if it were pos-

sible further conviction could be added to what before appeared to me self-evident truths—than when the debate commenced. Mr. C.'s learned defence of the Christian scheme, after nearly a year's application to prepare himself for it, had the effect upon my mind, to convince me that it had only the common foundation of all other religions to rest upon; and that its mysteries and miracles were of a more inferior invention than many others which Christians, from their infancy, were taught to contemn and hold in derision. Possibly a similar result, relative to my opinions, was produced on Mr. C.'s mind.

A natural and most important question thence arises. How is it, that these conflicting impressions have been made upon two minds, both conscientiously desirous of discovering the truth?

Being deeply impressed with the belief that an investigation of this question, to its source, is one, at this peculiar crisis in the progress of knowledge, of more practical utility and importance to mankind, than perhaps any other that is now before the public, I will endeavor to pursue it to some satisfactory conclusion.

By comparing Mr. C.'s ideas with mine, as they rapidly flowed from him, I perceived there was no connecting point between our minds. We were proceeding, as it were, in parallel lines which could never meet. His associations of ideas were altogether different from those in my mind. His associations had been formed upon one base; mine upon another. There was, therefore, no chance of one convincing the other, until one of these associations could be broken up, by its foundation being proved to be a fallacy. Until this could be done, we saw religion, and every thing connected with it, through mediums in our mind so essentially different, that it might be said, that what appeared to one white, produced a conviction on the other, that it was any other color, sometimes even black. Discovering, early in the debate, that this was the true state of our minds, and the real cause of the different convictions with which we were both impressed,—I perceived it would be a loss of time, and entirely useless, to discuss any minor points, while the very foundation of all the associations of our ideas remained unexamined and untouched. I therefore uniformly declined all Mr. Campbell's metaphysical questions, which I saw had no real bearing on the important

subjects before us; and wished to bring him to discuss first or fundamental principles, that we might from these proceed, step by step, to some certain and beneficial conclusions.

Mr. Campbell, however, avoided this last mentioned proceeding, as tenaciously as I did the former; and, therefore, much less satisfaction was given to many who attended the meeting, than they had anticipated. Mr. C. and I must now endeavor, by our cool and deliberate reflections, to remove these difficulties, which also exist in the minds of millions, for the benefit of those who may read the reports of this discussion, and of the public, who may hear these principles canvassed in conversation, or read them in other publications. To me, it early appeared by Mr. C.'s feelings, language and manner, that his character has been formed for him under all the influences derived from the notions of man's entire free agency, which had been made upon his original organization from infancy; while I knew mine had been formed for me by a conviction arising from facts, and deductions from them, that those notions could not be true, and that the feelings, thoughts and conduct were formed to be as they are, by circumstances not under my control. And that it would be in vain for me to discuss with Mr. C. the subjects before us, under the expectation of producing a conviction on one side or the other, until it shall be first decided whether the character of man is formed *by himself* according to the notions taught by the doctrines of free will, or that it is formed *for him* by the cause or causes, whatever they may be, which, without his knowledge, produces his organization *at birth*, by the persons who surround him from birth, and by the other circumstances in which he is placed. And this view of the subject brings us, at once, to the most important consideration that can engage the human mind.

Is man, as first impressions lead all to conclude, a free agent, and accountable to some superior intelligence for his thoughts, feelings and conduct? or are these inevitably formed for him by circumstances over which he has no control? This is the real question of difference between Mr. C., and all other religionists, and myself. It is **THE QUESTION**, which the condition of mankind and the well being of society require, at this juncture, to be set at rest for ever, that man may adopt a fixed and unchanging course. For in prac-

vice, ignorance or knowledge—poverty or abundance—the malignant passions, with disunion and all manner of strife and contention as heretofore, or charity, union and peace—or perpetual hopeless, but changing misery, or permanent happiness, everlastingly increasing and improving—depend upon its right decision. It is no *metaphysical* question. It is the most important *practical* question, that can be presented, now or at any future period, for human consideration.

And, my friends, if new circumstances can now be created or combined, to induce the leading minds in the different countries of the world to investigate this question, its intricacies, great as they are, may be unravelled; its difficulties, formidable as they appear, may be overcome; and the human mind may be unchained, freed from its thralldom, and set at liberty, to acquire, without one fear for futurity, all knowledge, and enjoy all happiness attainable upon this globe.

To the threshold of this subject we have approached through the late public discussion in this city. Let us now try to enter into the sanctuary, and wrest victory from the ignorance, superstition and bigotry of all the ages which are past.

It is a victory the most worthy to contest to the utmost stretch of the human faculties, that man has ever yet contended for.

Before we commence this encounter, it will be well to remove one obstacle, without the removal of which, the parties cannot enter fairly upon the subject. It is the almost universal impression, that the doctrines of free will are favorable—nay, absolutely necessary to virtue and to happiness; while those which teach that the character is formed *for* each individual, as necessarily lead to vice and to misery.

These impressions show to what extent man is formed by the influence of external circumstances, producing early impressions before they can be examined by reason, and corrected by experience.

For as we shall proceed in our investigations upon this subject, it will be discovered, that ignorance, vice and misery and free will notions are inseparably connected: ignorance, the absence of knowledge, always produces the notions of free agency in man. The necessary consequence of the irrationalizing doctrines of free agency is, to generate malignant passions, disunion, contention, strife, and

all kinds of vice and misery,—in fact, to produce what may justly be termed “hell upon earth.”

While the knowledge derived through a close and clear train of reasoning, that the character of man is formed *for* him, will so enlighten the understanding, that the malignant feelings will not germinate—the inferior passions will have no pabulum to feed them; anger and irritation will be insane movements; contention and strife will appear as they are, to be folly; and war, too inhuman to be thought of without horror. And, in consequence of acquiring this knowledge of ourselves, all motives to vice will cease; while in their place will spring up, of necessity, all the opposite virtues. It is true, faith and belief in any notions contrary to nature, will have no place in the human mind; for they will be detected to be vices, and vices, too, of the most lamentable description. These are conclusions which follow from an impartial investigation into the necessary practical results of these two opposite systems for the foundation of the human mind.

It becomes, therefore, unspeakably more to be desired, that it should be proved that the character of man is formed *for* him, by other powers than his own, than that it should appear that his character is formed *by himself*. It is still more important, when we reflect how inferior the character of all men has yet been formed *under* the latter notion. There is not, at this moment, a more grievous or degrading error in the human mind, than that which leads it to suppose that the notions of free agency in man are necessary to virtue and happiness. For while this impression continues, no effort will be made to detect its fallacy. So far from this error being favorable to virtue, it is itself a most powerful chain to keep humanity in bondage to evil of every description, and to induce it to cling to that chain as its greatest good. It prevents man from seeing any thing in human nature, or in human actions, except through a medium which falsifies whatever he attempts to examine. It renders him, from birth to death, a moral coward,—so weak in intellect, that he dares not examine himself, or investigate what manner of being he has been formed to be. It makes him much more base and irrational than the brutes, by compelling him to become ashamed of his nature, which, but for this very error, would be discovered to possess

the germ of every conceivable excellence. It makes him, through life, the most inconsistent of all the animal creation. He follows not the wise impulses of his nature, which would lead to excellence in conduct and to high enjoyment; but he is perpetually occupied with whims and fancies, which, having no foundation in nature, keep him a wild, fantastic, visionary enthusiast, or a continued self-tormentor. It contradicts the notion that he is now, or that he ever has been a reasonable creature. He knows not what reason is. He looks around him, out of his own circle of errors, and discovers, that from one extremity of the earth to the other, all nations, and tribes, and people, are acting the part of fools or madmen; but he knows not, that the cause of this conduct is the error within himself and all of his race. Man is thus deceived to his degradation and misery, and he dares not probe the evil to its source.

He is now precisely under the same kind of moral delusion, that he was of physical, previous to the discoveries of Copernicus and Gallileo. His senses, from the beginning of his knowledge, impressed him with the belief that the sun moved round the earth. Religion taught the same error. When facts were investigated, and accurate deductions were made from those facts, they proved that the sun was stationary. There was, therefore, an inconsistency between the uninvestigated impressions from the senses, and the conclusions, to which those facts and deductions led the inquiring mind. Where was the error?—in the uninvestigated belief that the sun moved round the earth, or in facts which wait for examination, and remain the same yesterday, to-day and for ever? But religion had taught the physical error through many previous ages, and religion is infallible: therefore, facts, and nature, and reason, however consistent these may be, and however beneficial the practical results which they disclose may be, must all yield to the control of this engine for destroying the superior faculties of human nature; and the discoverers must retract their newly acquired knowledge, or be sacrificed at the shrine of religion.

So in this our day. The uninvestigated notions induce men, through early impressions, to believe that they possess the power to think, to feel and to act according to their will; and, therefore, that these powers originate with their will, and they are, in consequence,

responsible for their degree of inferiority and superiority, have merit or demerit, deserve praise or blame, and reward or punishment here and hereafter, as these qualities of their nature may be estimated by themselves and others. The religion of this day, and of past ages, has taught this doctrine. It forms the foundation of the whole superstructure of all the religions that have ever existed, and of all the divisions and subdivisions of it which are at this day spread over the earth. And although facts innumerable, and all the deductions which the most accurate reasoning can draw from those facts, and the whole process of human life, when traced step by step to its source, prove that those first impressions respecting thought, feeling and conduct, which give the appearance of free will to man, are as fallacious as his first impressions relative to the motion of the sun; yet as religion is believed to be as infallible to-day as it has always been in the estimation of its devotees, the door of the most valuable knowledge is to be closed for ever against man's investigation. He must, solely to retain all the irrational mysteries, miracles and dogmas generated by the most ignorant and distorted imaginations, be kept the ignorant, base, irrational, weak, vicious, inconsistent and miserable animal which these deceptive impressions have ever formed him to be, and which, until the acquisition of real knowledge derived from facts and experience shall prevail over these fallacies of the mind, he must ever continue to be, to the utter destitution of reason and common sense.

But, say the supporters of these mental delusions, do we not *feel* that we have a will, free to think, to feel and to act as we like? not attending to the facts which, independent of their will, compel them to think and feel, and consequently to act, by certain laws which create the will itself, and force it to the decision it makes, and to the actions which are consequent upon its determination.

So the supporters of the physical delusions of old said, "Do we not in the morning see the sun rising in the east, at mid-day in the zenith, and in the evening set in the west? Will you cunning men and philosophers persuade us out of our senses? Cannot we see and understand these things as well as you? We see and feel, and therefore know, that the earth moves not, and that the sun ever performs its regular task, to give us by its daily motions the change

from day to night, and to give us light and heat. Do not, then, attempt to deceive us by your pretensions to superior knowledge, and endeavor to make us think, contrary to the palpable evidence of our senses, that all our forefathers were mistaken, and that our religion has taught us errors instead of truths. No, you vile atheists! you want to rob us of all our earthly consolations, and to lessen our belief in the infallibility of our holy religion and its sacred ministers. Tempt us no more by specious reasons about the great practical benefits of real knowledge derived from fixed laws of nature: we know nothing about them. And if you continue to attempt to enlighten us upon these subjects, directly opposed to our senses and our holy religion and its divine ministers, we will punish you by imprisonment and death. Retract all you have said, or suffer the consequences of your skepticism and blasphemous doctrines." And Galileo, to save his life, was obliged to retract those truths upon which alone the glorious science of astronomy is known to men.

But what is this science, grand, magnificent, noble and useful as it is, compared to the practical results to be obtained from an accurate knowledge of the science of the formation of the future character of the human race? The former has given man an insight into the movements of the planets within the sphere of the sun's attraction; it has enabled him to calculate times and seasons, and thereby to obtain much useful practical knowledge; and it has given a certain portion of eternal happiness to his race, which can be experienced only when, by an accurate knowledge of some new facts, the human capacity has been expanded to encompass another combination, complete in itself, of extended causes and effects, which show forth the unchanging consistency in all the works of nature, and demonstrate her laws to be everlasting.

Great, however, as this discovery has proved to man, it has not been competent to disturb his general impressions relative to his long established notions of his own free will and conduct, and all the demoralizing consequences attendant upon that belief. It has not enabled him to perceive this hourly increasing scourge of his race. It has not given him sufficient vigor of understanding, and strength of moral courage, to probe the true cause of human evil to its source. But a knowledge of that science which shall direct most

unerringly to form the character of his progeny to attain all excellence, physical, mental and moral, will effect all these things, and much more. It will secure an unchanging and untiring progress in the most valuable knowledge, and fix the happiness of the human race upon a rock, from whence the passions and vices resulting from the notions of man's independent free agency, will assail it in vain; their strength will daily diminish, until it shall be entirely exhausted.

Now this science—the overwhelming practical influence of which cannot be estimated by a generation trained from infancy in the reason-destroying doctrines of free will—is of such immense consequence to the human race, that there is no other subject within the present range of man's knowledge, that can be compared with it. For this science has a direct reference to the formation of man, before the germ commences its process to produce a living organized being. It accompanies him from that moment to his birth. It continues with the infant, child, adult and old man, to death, without a moment's intermission. It is every thing to each individual, and to all generations of mankind, for their good or evil; or it is, of no moment to man, and utterly unworthy the consideration of a being formed with powers to become rational. Which is it? Who is to answer this question? Those who have not yet been taught to begin to think about it? or those who, from discovering the importance of right knowledge on the subject, have devoted their lives to ascertain the facts which man develops from his birth, and who have quietly examined and re-examined those facts by extensive and long continued experiments upon infants and children, until their characters were formed? It is after the latter mode of proceeding, to an extent of which, in reality, few are aware, that I give a matured opinion upon the subject of my fellow beings.

There is no other mode of acquiring knowledge deserving the attention of enlightened minds, than by an accurate observation of all the facts known, connected with the subject, and by a careful comparison of all these facts one with another, until the subject under consideration can be exhibited in all its parts in unison with each other,—forming by their combination one complete whole, from the first principles on which it is founded, to its unvarying practical result.

It is thus, and thus only, that the true nature of man is to be demonstrated, and that it can be ascertained whether he is a being of independent thoughts, feelings and actions, or whether he is like all the other works of nature, a necessary *effect produced by all the preceding causes*, which have called him into existence, and formed him to be what he is without his knowledge, will or controul.

It is by this course of proceeding, that I have prepared myself for this investigation. It is through innumerable facts, calmly and patiently examined and compared continually through an active life of extended experience of nearly the duration of half a century.

Then the question is, what is man, and how is he formed to be as we find him physically, mentally and morally, as he is in this and every other country at this day?

The twelve fundamental laws of human nature, given twice to save reference in the first parts of this work, are the results of the facts examined and compared as I have mentioned above. To those who have investigated the subject in the same manner, who have derived their knowledge more from observation than from books, and who have followed up their observations by extensive practice; these laws of nature will be understood, and their direct applicability to explain the formation of the human character, and the whole existence of man from birth to death, and with the general business of society, and the government of nations, will be duly appreciated.

As the germ or seed of man's existence, like the germ or seed of all other animals and plants is not of man's contrivance, and as the germ possesses the essential qualities of the plant or animal, and as the culture of this germ does not depend in any degree upon the will of the individual, no mistake can be more gross, than to attribute the qualities of a free and independent action to any thing thus created and framed. When a child comes into existence, it is entirely at the mercy of the persons around to give it language, ideas and any direction to its feelings which the knowledge and habits they possess may influence them to exert over it. And it must receive the impression, which all external objects, natural and artificial make upon its senses.

The individual knows not when he comes into existence, his own natural qualities in number, kind or combination. He knows noth-

ing of the persons who surround him and acquire the guidance of his mind and affections. He is equally ignorant of the nature, kind and qualities of all the natural and artificial circumstances within the localities of his birth or place in which he receives his early training and instruction, and from which all his first impressions are received. And the thoughts, feelings, dispositions, mind, will and conduct of all men, are a compound of all these natural and artificial circumstances united. As an individual existence, man, in his own person, has no more to do in the formation or compounding of any of these ingredients which make him what he is, than the Bee, the Dove, the Tiger, or the Elephant have in determining what qualities shall belong to their respective natures—what propensities, dispositions or habits they shall possess and retain through life. Man can be no more responsible for his nature, or the strength, or weakness of his propensities, or intellectual or moral faculties, than these or any other animal. And to hold man responsible for his nature, for his general or individual propensities, faculties and qualities, or for the direction which his predecessors and the local circumstances in which he is involved may give to them, is a direct act of insanity, and proves that man has not yet been formed by his nature and circumstances, to become a rational creature. The idea of merit or demerit, of praise and blame, or of reward and punishment to a being thus constituted by nature, and thus compelled to be what he is, proves that man has every thing to learn respecting himself and his race, and that he is yet ignorant of all that is essential to his improvement and happiness. He must know himself before he can enjoy the faculties which nature has given him.

By attending solely to facts, by an extensive comparison of these, each with the others, by the imagination, not entering into any of our deductions from these comparisons, it seems possible and practicable, that man may in this age of his existence acquire sufficient knowledge of himself, and of his fellow beings, as to enable him to train and educate his immediate descendants in such a manner, that *they* may possess the dispositions, manners and intelligence, and be surrounded by those new circumstances, which shall give *them* the means and inclination to form *their* children to become somewhat consistent animals in their thoughts, feelings and conduct, and in

another generation or two, to become reasonable beings, who will know what is necessary for their chief good through their existence, and who will act always in perfect conformity to that knowledge, and thereby secure their own perpetual well being, and the happiness of their race.

It is the individual's persuasion of his independence in originating his thoughts or ideas, feelings and actions, that has made man, up to the present time, the most inconsistent and fantastic earthly animal, and consequently the least reasonable in his conduct of any of them. It is this notion that makes him proud, vain, jealous, malicious, covetous, selfish, ambitious, irritable, angry, uncharitable and religious. It is this notion which renders necessary the demoralizing system of commerce, for a money profit, of law, of medicine, of war, and of preaching. It is this notion which necessarily pervades the whole character of man from infancy to death, with insincerity, deception and falsehood, and which thus engenders among the whole race of mankind every conceivable vice and crime, and subjects them in consequence to perpetual disease of body and mind, and to every kind of physical and mental suffering. Not any one of these numerous evils will be experienced as soon as measures can be devised and carried into practice, to enable man to know himself, and to become a rational, in place of an irrational creature.

What nation or tribe or people, are acting like sane or reasonable beings in the estimation of any nation, tribe or people, who are without their localities? None, because all have been formed to be what they now are by their localities, and these localities, to the extent that man could influence them, have been combined and arranged under the notion of man's free agency: hence the inconsistency, confusion and disorder, in all the artificial arrangements of the human race; while system, order and beauty pervade all the other operations of nature. It is a question of deep interest to all, to ascertain to what extent man can be made to become conscious, in the present generation, of the removeable evils which now sorely afflict him on every side; to what extent he can be excited to annihilate their cause of existence; and in their place substitute enjoyments which shall contribute to promote health—increase good

spirits, and in their retrospect always satisfy the mind, and therefore extend its gratification, and thus multiply the pleasures of each moment by the recollections of our past existence.

All this is now in progress to be known, and one day enjoyed, by the whole human race. But what portion of it shall fall to the lot of the present generation, will depend upon the extent of moral courage that can be elicited to plead boldly against the errors of free will, and upon the well directed, active exertions of those who distinctly perceive the *cause* of existing evils, the *only* mode by which they can be removed, and also upon the amount of resistance, which they may experience from the unavoidable prejudices which have been forced upon the present generation.

For some thousands of years past, the most learned and acute minds, have been more or less occupied in attempts to unravel the mysteries of human notions, on the subject of free will and necessity; and they have at length discovered, after deluging the world with countless volumes, which involved rather than elucidated the mystery, that man had the power to act in obedience to his will when his will was formed; but as the will was formed by the union of his thoughts and feelings, and as his thoughts and feelings proceeded from previous circumstances, over which he had no control, that man appeared to be a free agent, but that he was not so in reality; that instead of forming his own character and determining his own conduct, the germ of his existence, his entire organization, and all the circumstances which form him to be what he is, are created for him without his knowledge or will, until he has been so far formed that when he appears to have some powers of independent volition, they always proceed from the combined organic and external circumstances, by which he has been previously and unavoidably influenced. These are the fair deductions to be made from this mass of writings, but the authors of them, who were all literary or learned men, shut up in their cloisters or closets, never conjectured the difference that would arise in the thoughts, feelings, dispositions and general conduct of mankind, between being trained from infancy under the loose, uncertain and inconsistent notions of free will and independent conduct, and a clear understanding of the laws of human nature, and of the circumstances which form the character.

of every individual. They were not practical men acting extensively in the varied business of life, and therefore as literary men, they knew little more than literary ideas, and few things more unfit men for acquiring a knowledge of mankind than literary habits, which generally give the individuals possessing them incorrect notions of men, and of the practical affairs of life. These habits have been the chief cause, why the extreme difference that the doctrines of free will and necessity are calculated to effect upon the dispositions, thoughts, feelings and conduct of every individual of the human race, has been overlooked; why human nature has been, for so many ages, afflicted with every kind of evil which the erroneous notions of man's free agency are certain to create; and why it has not enjoyed the happiness which the doctrine of necessity, or of the true causes which form the character of every individual is calculated to create.

Were these results known—were they even imagined by mankind, to a very small extent of their real importance, no one would rest satisfied as he is, whatever may be his occupation, calling or profession. The magnitude of the prize would appear to be such, that one and all would exert the utmost of their faculties to comprehend the subject, and bring about the change. Nothing that the combined powers of men could accomplish, would be left undone, to remove their misery and secure their happiness.

How little do men of all ranks and conditions, of all nations and climes, suspect, that the power is within their reach, if they had knowledge, to relieve themselves of all the artificial evils known,—ignorance, poverty, vice, passions, strife, and every kind of disunion, with all the necessary sufferings attendant upon the infringement of the laws of our nature,—and to live perpetually in a society in which more knowledge would be acquired in one year, than has ever yet been attained in a century, and in which improvements would be made in the condition of *all classes*, in proportion to their advance in knowledge.

No man has, I believe, ever yet investigated the subject of free will and necessity, so early in life as myself; or so clearly ascertained, from an observation of facts, and from practice, the science of the formation of character, at an age sufficiently early to prevent

the influence of the doctrines of free will from forming his youthful habits and associations of ideas. This singular result was effected in my character at an age when the first combinations of ideas could be, and were, unassociated to their foundation. And, in consequence, an entire new character was formed for me, and my conduct and progress through the world has proceeded entirely on that foundation. I, therefore, know from experience the dispositions that a knowledge of the formation of character will implant, the habits it will form, the knowledge it will give, the perseverance in the attainment of an object to secure a great public benefit it will fix, the moral courage it will create, the disinterestedness it will produce, the personal sacrifices it will render delightful to make, to remove the existing evils, and ensure the future happiness of mankind; to remove the veils, by destroying the errors and opposing principles and practice derived from the doctrines of free will, and introducing, in their place, truths to be obtained from real knowledge. The most beautiful moral harmony will then exist between the principles and practices of the human race—between the looks, words and actions of every individual.

If this knowledge can produce these results, and if no other knowledge can effect a similar moral change, or any other general and permanent beneficial alteration in the condition of mankind,—who would not make any personal sacrifice, to hasten its introduction and universal adoption?

I have the most full conviction, from the coincidence of all facts connected with the subject, that this knowledge *can* effect this change. I know, from experience, that this knowledge itself becomes a circumstance so irresistibly powerful in the formation of the thoughts, feelings, mind and conduct, that the character of *each* individual will be made by it superior to any character that has yet been formed, under the demoralizing influences of the fallacious notions of the doctrines of free will and free agency.

And here is the mystery developed: here is the true cause, why Mr. Campbell's learning and ingenuity seemed to me mere wordy wanderings, without the foundation of a probable or possible single fact, upon which to rest his incongruous, imaginary superstructure. On the contrary, through a knowledge of the facts which I had examined, re-examined, compared, and fully canvassed, times innu-

merable, with the most eminent men of the last thirty years, I could not, however much I wished to think otherwise, prevent myself feeling the baseless fabric of the whole of his fanciful vision. It also seemed to me evident, in almost every sentence he uttered, that his superior natural talents had been overwhelmed and nearly destroyed by the errors of his early instruction, which he had been compelled to imbibe. And it was to me no less evident, that when he spoke during the discussion, he was, from the same cause, riveting chains of ignorance and folly upon those who by their previous instruction had been prepared for such doctrines. Before Mr. Campbell, senior, left the city, several new converts to baptism, chiefly, I believe, elderly ladies, were plunged over head by him in the waters of the canal and of the Ohio. The parties seriously believed that such a washing was to open the way to heaven for them. These operations were on two occasions—one in the canal basin, and the other in the Ohio river—quite public exhibitions. Is it not melancholy to see some of the finest faculties of human nature thus deranged?

I had, during the period of the public debate with his son, and for nearly a fortnight afterwards, frequent friendly, open and frank private discussions, at the houses of our friends in and near the city, with this reverend gentleman. There is something so kind and evidently sincere in his manners, that I had great pleasure in all my communications with him. And I believe we each expected to make some impression upon the mind of the other; or, if not, to discover the real cause which united us in feeling, and divided us in the foundation of our sentiments on the subject of religion. When the time of separation arrived, however, the impression left on my mind from the whole of the intercourse between us was, that our feelings of good will and friendship for each other had increased; but that not the slightest progress had been made in the conversion of either party to the religious or irreligious opinions of the other.

These were the impressions that the public and private discussions with Mr. Alexander Campbell and his father left upon my mind. I could not but lament the errors of their early instructions. I have no doubt, this feeling is experienced with equal sincerity on their parts, relative to what they are obliged to believe my obstinacy in a course which they have not the means to fathom. While their

association of ideas resting upon, and proceeding from, the notions of free agency in man, and developed through all the mazes and extravagancies of the Christian scheme, remain unbroken, they must conclude that I am either insane, or influenced by some superior agency to promote, in some indirect manner, the decrees of Almighty Power; or that, unknown to myself, I am an instrument to hasten the period of the promised millennium. They are in a state of hourly perplexity; their minds are full of confused associations of ideas, owing to the direct opposition between the facts around them and the notions they have imbibed from infancy. They can only conjecture these matters vaguely, with many incongruities continually presenting themselves in every step of their progress. It is utterly impossible there can be any consistency in the thoughts, feelings or conduct of any individual who has been conscientiously trained in the doctrines of free agency, and any of the numerous religions founded upon them. While this must be the state of their minds, there can be no hope of a change to a consistent or sane state of association of ideas—of a new birth, regeneration, and resurrection from sin and misery. They must be convinced of the original or fundamental errors which they imbibed unconsciously, when they were infants and children, and which are the germ of all the associations of ideas they possess, before their “minds can be born again.” To admit of this great change in their minds, they must become as little children, and submit their instructions, not to a gospel in direct opposition to nature, but to facts and reason, which are always consistent with, and never in opposition to it.

But this change does not depend upon any thing that shall proceed from Mr. Alexander Campbell or his father, as free agents. Motives must be first placed before them by others, sufficiently powerful to create in their minds a probability of doubt that they may have been instructed, like the thousands of millions of their fellows who have gone before them, in popular local errors from infancy,—and that, like them, they were unable to detect their fallacies. This is the most difficult task to perform on minds deeply read in, and tenaciously adhering to popular notions. But being once accomplished, and a right direction given to their inquiries and investigations, the change in sentiment, although perhaps slow at first, would soon be

come rapid and extensive. Whether these results may ever be produced on these gentlemen, will depend upon circumstances over which they have no control.

I have thus developed the cause why, during the late discussion, Mr. Alexander Campbell and I made no impression on each other's mind. We pursued each his own chain or association of ideas, as it were in parallel lines, without the slightest approximation. As was to be expected, I never felt the weight or influence of one of those arguments, which Mr. Campbell called philosophical; by which I understand, an argument derived from, and consonant with, the known laws of nature, devoid of hypothesis or imagination. There was, there could be, nothing of the kind delivered by him. He, at first, and after a slight verbal alteration in the sixth, ultimately admitted the truth of the twelve fundamental laws of human nature, on which I rely to disprove the possibility of any of the religions in the world being true. And admitting these, if his mind had not been formed on the irrational notions of free will, and its endless contradictions to itself and all nature, he must have perceived the inutility of any further discussion on this subject. For any one of the first seven fundamental laws being admitted and understood, all notion of any free agency of man must for ever cease.

That in his own person he has any free agency in forming his own character, or of thinking, feeling and acting, according to any independent powers which he possesses to create a thought, a feeling or a will, becomes too absurd to dwell upon. What human being ever originated one thought, one feeling, or a single volition that did not proceed immediately from his organization, united with the influences which external circumstances made upon that organization? And what intelligent mind, does not know, that all the powers and qualities of that organization, and all external circumstances, were brought into existence without his consent? Seeing the discussion take this course, and knowing it was to be put upon record, to await the deliberate ordeal of public scrutiny and investigation, I could have no fear for its final result, and therefore I yielded all minor matters to Mr. C., and the moderators, who were unconscious, as it seemed to me, of the real state to which the discussion had arrived early in the debate.

It was well they did not, or their conscientious fears for the popular belief, in which all of them had been instructed, might have induced a desire that some other course should be taken. As it was, the public, prejudiced as it must be, will in due time, when the first feelings of irritation shall subside, become the best judge between the two systems, and *truth will ultimately prevail*.

It may be enquired, why I have used such exertions, and made such personal sacrifices to destroy the influences of religion, over the world, seeing that the population is ignorant, and requires some supernatural fears and hopes, to keep it under government?

I reply, because I discover that the population of the world *is ignorant*, and that these superstitious fears keep it so, and therefore it cannot be governed but through supernatural hopes and fears.—History informs us, that the governments and people in former times were too inexperienced, the one to govern, and the other to be governed, except through the hopes and fears of imaginary supernatural powers. And it is these powers which now alone prevent the governed and governors acquiring that knowledge which would place both under circumstances greatly more to be desired than those which now every where exist. The population of the world is capable of being taught knowledge, derived from facts upon and around the earth, all cognizable by their senses, sufficient to induce feelings within them, that will render it one of the most easy and delightful tasks to govern them—equally easy and delightful to those who govern and those who are governed. The religions of the world are now the only obstacle in the way of this universal improvement in the condition of the human race. It is a clear and distinct perception of this knowledge, derived from the unchanging laws of human nature, that impel me onward, regardless of popular notions and feelings, to prepare the way, to enable those who govern the world, to effect this glorious change, in the physical, intellectual and moral character and condition, of the population of all countries. To effect it without opposition from any quarter; in peace, in good order, and with kind feelings, which shall thenceforth continually increase.

It may be further asked, what information have I unknown to others, to enable me to form a decisive judgment in those matters,

involving the well being of all people and nations. I answer, that which has been derived from a mind in which the first combinations of ideas, founded on the notions of man's free agency, were very early unassociated to their base or original germ, from the observation of facts; of new data by which new associations of ideas were formed, and which enable me to perceive, that the character or qualities of all that had material life, was given to it by the laws of its organization. That the whole character of all men was formed for them, and as all their physical, intellectual and moral qualities were formed for them, they were not and could not be rationally supposed to be accountable beings, for what they were made. That with this knowledge, if it were desirable to form the character of the population of the world, individually and generally to be superior in all respects, and greatly more virtuous and happy than the present generation, there was a fixed and certain mode of proceeding—a science, by the adoption of which, this change may be accomplished. And so beneficially may the change be made to all, that no individual, whatever may be his present condition, would have any interest whatever in opposing it.

Should I be further questioned and asked what application I have made of these new notions or principles, I answer that I have fully proved their benefits in all the affairs of life.

That I applied them to education, to production, to distribution, to exercise, amusement and recreation, and to government, upon a model sufficiently large to demonstrate their great superiority, for all the practical purposes of life over the wretched, inconsistent and opposing nations, generated by the belief, engendered without thought or reflection, in man's individual free agency and responsibility. And the beneficial effects of these general practices, were for years before the public. They succeeded so far beyond all anticipations, that several attempts under the old nations of the world were made to imitate them. But these attempts were instituted by individuals who knew not the source from whence they originated or by what principles they were, for a long period, successfully conducted. Many were at a loss to divine by what secret springs, so much happiness and prosperity were produced, and, without apparent effort, continued without change.

There was no other secret in my practical proceeding at New Lanark than this. Rational infant schools were instituted, for the education of all the children of the population, as one family, from the age of eighteen months. Stores were established, to supply the population with the best food and clothes, at the lowest rates. The management of the manufactories, was devised for the comfort of the people, and the prosperity of the proprietors and conductors.— Exercises, amusements and recreations were conveniently arranged, for the health and pleasure of the children and adult population— and the government of the whole uniting all as one community of friends, having the paramount happiness of all for its common object. The whole of these practices emanated from, and were under the sole influence of the principles derived from the knowledge that the character of man is formed *for* him—formed through the constant action of external circumstances upon the peculiar organization of each individual.

Little does the world know that all that is truly permanently good in practice in the present day, has emanated from the same knowledge.

Did any of the thousands of millions of the individuals who have been trained in the selfish, demoralizing and ever changing notions of man's free agency ever think of, or institute a rational infant school?

A rational infant school is the first step requisite to the formation of a virtuous and enlightened population, and without which, a population superior in dispositions, habits and knowledge will never be created.

I perceive, with such feelings of compassion as such knowledge will always produce, the attempts to attribute the discovery and introduction of rational infant schools, to the free agency system, or to religion; to Pestalozzi, to Mr. Wilson of London, or to any one belonging to the free agency system, connected with christianity: to any person or to any cause in preference to its true origin.* To the science of the formation of the human character, the world is alone indebted for the discovery, introduction and successful practice of

* See American Journal of Education—Boston, No. 37.

rational infant schools. I mean successful, considering they had to make their way in opposition to all the popular habits and notions universally prevalent, derived from the notions of free agency and the Christian religion.* So far is it from being true, that the rational infant schools originated with the Christian religion, or any professing Christian, it was founded on principles in direct opposition to the fundamental doctrines of all religions. It proceeded from observation of facts, from calm reason, and from a real knowledge of human nature thus derived. It was established to demonstrate to the world the childish folly of Christianity, and of all other religions founded on the misconceived notions of man's free agency. The public were invited to see its practical effects in the village of New-Lanark. The invitation was accepted, and increasing crowds came annually, for many years, until my private fortune ceased to be equal to the expense of the daily growing curiosity of Europeans and Americans—of the intelligent travellers from these two continents, who naturally wished to learn something of the principles and practices by which little children were formed to be intelligent; to enjoy themselves without acquiring vicious habits; and to gratify and delight their teachers, their parents and strangers, by their union, kind dispositions, and comparative superior manners and conduct. Having, therefore, satisfied myself of the great practical value of this science, and having given abundant proof to the world of its immense superiority over all similar proceedings founded on the notions of man's free agency, and having the attainment of much higher objects than the partial improvement and happiness of a population of two or three thousand persons,—I resigned the establishment to the management of others, who, I thought, would do the population the least injury that the notions of man's free agency would admit. And ultimately, not liking the condition to which large manufacturing establishments were reduced, by competition arising from the general ignorance and folly of society, I disposed of all my pecuniary interests in that beautiful arrangement for progressive human improvement. I shall never, I believe, cease to feel a deep interest in its success, and in

* For which opposition, see the correspondence between the Rev. Mr. Merries, minister of the parish of Lanark, and the author.

the happiness of a population, the juniors of which, in particular, seemed to me as members of my own family.

The *second* attempt to form a rational infant school originated with my friends, Mr. Brougham, John Smith, M. P., Henry Hare, cashier of the bank of England, John Walker, of Arnos Grove, Southgate, one of my partners in the New-Lanark establishment, whose unassuming, but efficient good actions, his immediate friends only knew how to appreciate fully and justly. These gentlemen united with the marquis of Lansdown, Mr. Zachariah M'Cauley, Mr. James Mills, of the India house, Mr. Benjamin Smith, and a few others, who, from their repeated personal observations upon visits at the infant school at New-Lanark, or the testimony of those who had minutely-examined the effects which were produced there, were induced to desire an extension of these benefits. These gentlemen proposed to raise a subscription among themselves to establish a similar school in London, if I would supply them with a master from New-Lanark; to which I very readily agreed. The subscription was raised, and the first infant school in England was so erected in Westminster; and I sent James Buchanan from the infant school at New-Lanark to superintend it. Buchanan instructed Mr. Wilderspin to superintend the third infant school, which was established, if I mistake not, in Quaker street, Spitalfields, London. And of this third school, some years after its establishment, Mr. Thomas Wilson became the liberal supporter, and active and zealous patron. His brother, the Rev. Daniel Wilson, afterwards erected one at Welthamstow, a few miles from London; and in a year or two subsequent to this period, or nearly ten years after the original school was opened in New-Lanark, they began to spread far and wide, until they now bid fair to become, as they ought to be, universal.

I have been thus particular in giving the history of these schools, because they are the first practical measure the world has witnessed, flowing purely from a knowledge of the science of the formation of character; and because the ministers and members of various religious sects have seized upon the plan, and are converting that which its author designed as a first step to train man to become a reasonable being, into an engine, and a most powerful one, too, by which they may utterly destroy all semblance to rationality in the human

mind. For in the infant schools which they establish and superintend, they teach the infant to speak of Deity, its attributes and its will, as though their instructors had an accurate knowledge, and as if nothing was more easy than for these children to acquire an accurate knowledge, of these hidden mysteries, which it has not yet been given to man to unveil or to comprehend. They teach these little innocents to bend their faculties, when in the most pliable state, to their yoke, under which all the natural vigor of thought, and the first exertions of reason, are destroyed in the bud. The minds of these poor children are thus prepared to receive any illusion, however opposed it may be to all existing facts, and to the best permanent interest of themselves and of mankind. And they are thus admirably prepared to become the mental slaves and tools of the priesthood of any wild fancy to which they may give the present popular name of religion.

But such was not the intention of the founder of these schools. He had no such immoral object in view; and he now enters his most solemn protest against these schools being applied in future for any such unhallowed, demoralizing and enslaving purposes.

The author of them witnessed the innumerable vicious and unfavorable circumstances, with which the infants of the working classes were hourly surrounded from their birth. He had daily before him the demoralizing circumstances, in which the children of the population in New Lanark were involved. He saw that these circumstances were continually making the most unfavorable impressions upon the dispositions and habits of the children and parents, between whom there was an unceasing action and reaction, having a most injurious tendency. He had acquired a knowledge of the science of the formation of human character, and he became conscious of the evil under which the whole population suffered. Being thus informed, he was influenced to apply the principles of the science to practice, for the benefit of the population. He commenced by devising a new set of circumstances for the children under his government, calculated to effect as great a beneficial change for them, as the circumstances in which he was himself placed, and the popular prejudices of the district would permit.

He began to create these circumstances, and, in consequence, he lost two sets of rich partners, who, having free will minds, could

not divine what he was about; and from the last set he experienced all the opposition they knew how to unite against his measures. He persevered; and with a new set of partners, whose notions were half way between the doctrines of free agency in man, and the knowledge of the science of the formation of character, completed the buildings and arrangements, at a considerable expense, to place these children under circumstances congenial to their nature, and calculated to create a new and superior character directly in the infant and older children, and indirectly in their parents.

The new institution devised and erected for this purpose, was opened by a public address delivered in it by the author, on the first of January, 1816. This address was delivered to about twelve hundred of the principal inhabitants of the neighborhood, and of the adult male and female population of New-Lanark. *At this meeting*, he first proposed to receive infants into his new arrangements, for the purpose of forming their characters upon new principles,—to which, afterwards, the name of ‘new system’ was given. In this address, he stated, previous to any practice upon the subject, what would be the effect of the new circumstances in which he was going to place the children and their parents; and in less than eight years from that period, experience fully proved that statement to be correct; for the results far exceeded the most sanguine anticipations of the founder. By this experiment, the truth of the science of the formation of character was again confirmed by the operations of a single individual, as it had been, ages ago, by Lycurgus, when he desired to form, for the Spartans, a new, and the highest military character the world had known. The experiment, thus tried upon a great variety of children, within the altered circumstances in which they were placed in this new institution, removed all doubt from the mind of the founder, as to the power which one generation might acquire over the formation of the character of its successors, provided that generation possessed an accurate knowledge of the laws of human nature; a power, indeed, many millions of times more important, for the great object of human existence, than all the power previously acquired by man. It is in consideration of its overwhelming magnitude, in the whole business of life—applicable, with equal overwhelming consequences, to each individual, and to the aggregate of

society—that the author has entered into so much detail of this experiment, to prove the ease with which any government might now introduce this practice, to form the character of its population upon an entire new and greatly improved model.

Calm reflection upon these facts, and upon those innumerable instances which may be adduced from the whole history of man, will convince all, ere long, that there is no truth more certain, than that man is not a free agent, except in appearance to the superficial-observer and reasoner. That his character, without any exception, is always formed *for* him, by circumstances previous and subsequent to his birth, over which it is impossible for him to have any control. That in those instances in advanced life, in which a sudden and great change of character appears, it is, without one exception, the result of the peculiar faculties of the original organization of the individual, as it is acted upon by all the previous external circumstances, which, by those circumstances, had produced the past character, united with the new impression made by the circumstances which immediately preceded the sudden and extensive change for better or worse; and for which change, the individual is as harmless and irresponsible, as for every previous alteration in his character.

And this invaluable knowledge will now open to the governments and people of all nations, the means of relieving themselves from all the artificial evils of life, and from all those which, heretofore, *man*, through ignorance, has inflicted upon *man*.

They will distinctly perceive, that the great business of the human race will be to *educate their successors aright*. That having acquired the power, through this new science, to arrange and combine superior circumstances, they will create them in conformity with the ascertained nature of man,—and thus give to all the new race those dispositions, habits, and acquirements in theoretic and practical knowledge, that shall ensure, at all times, a full supply of the best the earth, with present experience, can be made to produce, for all; and thereby ensure perpetual progressive improvement and happiness to all the generations to come.

These are the matured reflections and practical suggestions which the public discussion, held in this city with Mr. Alexander Camp-

bell, have produced in my mind; and I await, with feelings of interest, a similar genuine development of the calm reflections of my conscientious opponent. For above all things, I now, as upon all former occasions, desire that truth may be elicited, and immediately applied to practice for the benefit of mankind.

PART FOURTH.

—

A

Short Narrative

OF

THE AUTHOR'S

VOYAGE TO MEXICO,

AND

PROCEEDINGS

RELATIVE TO HIS APPLICATION FOR JURISDICTION OVER THE

PROVINCE OF COAHUILA AND TEXAS.

NARRATIVE.

In the summer of last year, an application was made to me by the holders of grants of several millions of acres of land in Texas, a province within the republic of Mexico, to assist them in colonizing their districts. I proposed to them to institute measures to establish an independent state of communities on the social system, in which all the laws and institutions should be in conformity with the principles on which that system is founded, and which are necessary to its success.

To this proposal, after due consideration, the parties assented.

Communications were then made to the proper authorities, who were in London, acting for the Mexican, and several of the neighboring republics; and finding a desire on their part, to promote this measure, I communicated my views on the subject to the prime minister of Great Britain, and the ambassador in London from the United States of North America. There was no appearance of any private or public obstacles to my views. I made my arrangements to proceed to Mexico, to ascertain what could be effected with that government.

In an early stage of these proceedings, Mr. Rocafuerte, the accredited authority in Great Britain, acting for the Mexican republic, requested that I would draw up a memorial to explain my objects, which he might transmit to his government. I made one accordingly. It was translated into Spanish, and forwarded with letters of recommendation and explanation, by Mr. Rocafuerte, to the president of the republic, by the British packet which left England for Vera Cruz in October.

The following is a copy of the memorial.

MEMORIAL.

I ADDRESS you on a subject entirely new, and in the character of a citizen of the world.

You have established your republic to improve the condition of the inhabitants of Mexico.

You have already discovered obstacles, of a formidable nature, to retard, if not to prevent, the execution of your intentions to the extent you anticipated.

All other people experience difficulties in their progress to improvements, and desire to remove them.

I propose measures for your consideration, which shall enable you to remove your own difficulties, and assist others to remove theirs.

At an early period of my life, I discovered that the foundation of all human institutions was an error; and that no permanent benefit could be obtained for the human race, until that foundation should be removed, and replaced by a better.

That the prejudices of all nations were formed by their education, or those general and particular national circumstances by which they were surrounded from infancy to maturity.

That, to remove these prejudices, a new course of proceeding must be adopted, to enable the population of the world to perceive the errors in which they are involved, and the extent of the evils which they continually generate for themselves and their posterity.

After much reading and reflection upon these subjects, I instituted extensive experiments to ascertain, by fact, *truth* from *error*.

These experiments have continued without ceasing for nearly forty years, and they disclose the cause of the perplexity and disappointment of all people.

They demonstrate that the *real nature of man* has been *misunderstood*, and, in consequence, that he has been trained from infancy to think and act erroneously, and to produce *evil* instead of *good*.

That man is not a being capable, of his *own power*, to believe or disbelieve truth or falsehood, or to *love* or *hate persons* or *things* in opposition to the sensations which they produce on his individual organization.

That even until now, he has been supposed to possess these powers, and he has been *trained, educated* and *governed* accordingly.

That he has been thus made to believe that his character has been formed by himself; while all facts demonstrate that it is, in every case, formed for each individual of the human race, whether in China, Turkey, Europe, America, or elsewhere.

That, through this error, the character of man has been formed, in all countries, at all times, on a *defective model*.

That the means now exist, by which it may be formed, for every individual, on a *model so improved* as to be superior to any before known.

These experiments, and others which are in progress, also demonstrate that *the power of producing wealth* or real riches is now *superabundant for all human purposes*; and that it is annually advancing in a continually increasing ratio, and that no limits can be assigned to its augmentation.

That this power requires but a *right* or *intelligent* direction, to relieve the inhabitants of all countries from poverty, or from the fear of not obtaining, at all times, in security, a full supply of every thing experience shall prove to be the best for human nature.

Upon the facts developed by these experiments, the knowledge of *two sciences*, the most important to human happiness, may be obtained.

The first, the science of forming a superior character in every child to whom the science shall be applied in his education and circumstances.

The second, the science by which every child, to whom it shall be applied, from infancy to maturity, shall be so trained and placed, that he shall enjoy the best of every thing for his individual life in security, from birth to death.

But that neither of these sciences can be applied to full practice under any of the existing governments, whether of long standing or recent formation. Consequently, *a new district, free from all the*

existing laws, institutions and prejudices, is now required, in which to exhibit this new state of society.

The government and people of the Mexican republic possess such a district, most applicable for the purpose, in the state of Coahuila and Texas.

Its position, soil and climate, with the present state and condition of its population, render it the most desirable point on the globe, on which to establish this model government, for the general benefit of all other governments and people, but more immediately for the benefit of the South and North American republics.

Your memorialist asks the province of Texas, and its independence to be guaranteed by the Mexican republic, the United States and Great Britain, as a free gift, to a society to be formed to accomplish this great change in the condition of the human race. He asks it from the Mexican republic under the following considerations:—

First, That it is a frontier province between the Mexican and North American republics, which is now settling under such circumstances as are likely to create jealousies and irritations between the citizens of these states, and which most probably, at some future period, will terminate in a war between the two republics.

This consideration alone, in the opinion of many experienced statesmen, would render it a wise measure in the Mexican republic, to place this province under the new arrangements about to be proposed.

Second, That this province, by being placed under the government of this society, would be speedily peopled with persons of superior habits, manners and intelligence, and whose main object would be, not only to preserve peace between the two republics, but to exhibit the means by which the motive to war between all nations would be withdrawn, and all the objects expected to be attained by the most successful war secured to every nation.

Third, That the improvements which would commence in this new state, by the introduction into it of great numbers of men, selected for their superior industry, skill, capital, or intelligence, would cause a rapid advance in science, or real knowledge, throughout all the states of the republic of Mexico, and the other republics in its

neighborhood, by which a progress hitherto unknown would be made in a new civilization, as superior to the old as truth is to error.

And lastly, That an instructed and well disposed population will be of far more value to the republic of Mexico, than territory without people, or with a population of inferior character and acquirements.

It is expected, also, that the new model government will speedily demonstrate that all the new states have more territory than they can advantageously people or employ for many centuries.

For these reasons and considerations, your memorialist entertains the expectation that you will discover full and sufficient cause to grant the province of Texas to the society, the nature and constitution of which your memorialist will now explain.

The society is to be formed of individuals of any country, whose minds have been enlightened beyond the prejudices of all local districts; whose single object will be to ameliorate the condition of man, by showing in practice how he may be trained, educated, employed and governed in unison with his nature, and with the natural laws which govern it.

It will be, therefore, a society to prepare the means to put an end to war, religious animosities, and commercial rivalries, between nations,—competition between individuals; to enable the existing population of the world to relieve themselves from poverty, or the fear of it; to create an entire new character in the rising generation, by instructing them, through an investigation of facts, in a knowledge of their nature, and of the laws by which it is eternally governed; and thus to produce, in *practice*,

“Peace on earth and good will to man.”

This practice, so long promised to the human race, can never be obtained under any of the governments, laws, or institutions, in any known part of the world; because they are, one and all, founded on the same original notions of error regarding human nature, and consequently of the mode by which it can be advantageously governed.

The increase of knowledge, the advance of science, and more especially the overwhelming progress of mechanic inventions and chemical discoveries, superseding the necessity for much manual

labor, now demand a change in the government of the world, a moral revolution, which shall ameliorate the condition of the producers, and prevent them from bringing destruction, through a physical revolution, on the non-producers.

The memorialist will be enabled to advise in the forming of the arrangements to effect these great objects, and to assist in organizing the society to execute the measures, by reason of his long and extensive experience, solely directed to these objects.

By his experiments in England and Scotland, he has ascertained the principles of those sciences by which a superior character can be formed for all children, not physically or mentally diseased, and by which a superfluity of wealth can be created and secured for all, without injury to any.

By his late experiments in the United States, he has discovered the difficulties which the existing institutions and prejudices have created in the present adult population, to make the change from the old to the new state of society under any of the existing laws or forms of governments.

These experiments have also instructed him in what can, and what cannot be effected, with the different classes of society, as their characters have been formed under the existing systems.

He has thus ascertained the necessity of commencing this improvement of the condition of the human race in a new country, in which the laws and institutions shall be all formed in conformity with the principles on which this great improvement is to be achieved.

All the governments in the world are deeply interested in these proceedings. The general progress of intellectual acquirements, and scientific discoveries, render a moral or a physical revolution unavoidable in all countries.

The experience of the republic of North America has fully demonstrated, to the intelligent in those states of which it is composed, that any government founded upon popular elections has within it the seeds of continued irritation, divisions and corruptions; and that it can be tolerated only as the best known means of leading to an advanced state of society, by a superior education of all classes, fitting them to enjoy, in the most rational manner, the wealth which

they will learn so easily and so pleasantly to create by *systematic scientific arrangements*.

Therefore, by the establishment of the proposed model government in the Texas, revolution in old or new states will be rendered unnecessary. It is most desirable for all parties, that forced revolutions should never occur, but that the improvements, advancing with the age in which we live, should be made without violence, by the established government of every country deriving its knowledge from the experience of a country devoted to national improvements, without being impeded by any of the errors and prejudices of past ages.

Thus may the republic of Mexico not only derive incalculable advantages for itself, but be the efficient means of securing them for all other states and people; thus presenting to the world an example,—as it has already done, when in its early formation it decreed the abolition of slavery from its soil,—worthy of general imitation.

The memorialist asks the means only to apply his past experience for the benefit of his fellow men. He asks not, he wants not, any thing for himself.

ROBERT OWEN.

London, 10th October, 1828.

CONTINUATION OF THE NARRATIVE.

HAVING no private object to gain, I sent copies of this memorial to all the governments in Europe and America, that the motives which influenced my proceedings might be generally known, and as the measures in contemplation, being of a general public character, might be supposed to create a greater or less interest among the population of both the old and the new states of the two continents.

I received letters of introduction and recommendation to the chief authorities in Mexico, from Mr. Rocafuerte; to Bolivar, from Mr. Madrid, the Colombian minister in London, should opportunity occur for a personal communication with the Liberator; to the American ambassador in Mexico, from Mr. Barbour, the ambassador of the United States in London, with whom I had a few weeks before crossed the Atlantic; and from lord Aberdeen, and other members of the British government, to the British ministers in Mexico and Washington. I had also letters to the consul-general and vice-consul and principal merchants in Mexico, Vera Cruz, Jamaica, and other places at which I might touch on my voyage.

Thus provided, I left London on the 17th, and Falmouth, in the new packet ship Spey, on the 22d of November.

The ship made but a slow progress for several weeks after leaving port; but we had a steady commander, most faithful to his charge, in captain James. My time was fully occupied in preparing a statement that I hoped would be decisive one way or another in the agreed upon public discussion with Rev. Alexander Campbell, to be held in the city of Cincinnati in the April following; and in forming a code of laws and regulations, founded on the laws of nature, for the government of Texas, if I should attain a jurisdiction over that province. Having the good fortune to find Mr. Charles Deare, flag lieutenant to my old friend and neighbor, admiral Fleming, my sole cabin companion, I passed the time pleasantly, and, I hope, profitably

for my fellow creatures. Mr. Deare, so far from retarding my studies, took great interest in making himself acquainted with them. After I had reduced my views, touching the error in which all religions are founded, and my estimate of their practical effects upon society, to writing, and had developed the outlines of another system, with a new code of laws for the government of society, founded on existing facts and experience, as a substitute, he copied the whole; that in case any accident should befall me or my papers, in my subsequent course, after I should part from him at Jamaica,—to which station he was going, to join the admiral's ship,—these views upon subjects deemed important to the well being of the human race, might not be irretrievably lost to public examination.

In this manner our time passed on pleasantly, without any incident or accident of public interest, until on the last day of the year, at evening, we saw land, which the next day was discovered to be Antigua. The same day we saw St. Kitts, St. Nevis, Rondo Rock, Montserrat and Guadaloupe in the distance. After passing within our view Santa Cruz and Porto Rico, we came in sight of St. Domingo; and on the 6th, landed the mail for that island, at the small port of Jacquemel. I went on shore in the boat with captain James, expecting to see a few huts and wretched inhabitants. I was most agreeably disappointed. I found a large town, with many good and commodious houses, and a respectable looking mansion for the president when he visits that district. Although not Sabbath, it was a religious holiday; and as I fortunately met, upon my landing, a gentleman who had been a few years before at New-Lanark, he enabled me, in a short time, to take a hasty general view of the town and its inhabitants. This was my first landing in any of the West Indian settlements, and every thing was new to me, and more new in consequence of its being the first free colored population I had seen. As a population living, as I understood it did, by its own industry, it was better drest, cleaner, more orderly, and mild and polite in its demeanor the one to the other, than any working or trading population I had ever seen in any civilized country. There was less corroding anxiety, and more urbanity in the expression of countenance, than I had witnessed in any population

in Europe or America. I was introduced to see one of the dances, which, I was informed, was made up of those who were not considered of the higher orders of the place; but the neatness and elegance of their dress, their general outward appearance, and their conduct to each other, and to us as strangers, would have done credit to any town population I had ever seen collected together for a similar purpose. I returned to the Spey with different impressions of the town and people of Jacquemel, from those which I had taken with me on shore. I left a copy, for the president, of the before mentioned memorial, to be sent that night by a messenger who was to cross over to Port-au-Prince. I sent it under the expectation that it might be of some use to a new government, which had much experience to acquire.

On the 8th, the Spey arrived in Port Royal, Jamaica. Mr. Deare immediately proceeded to the vice-admiral's ship, the *Barham*, and the commander of the Spey and myself soon followed.

Captain James went below to communicate officially with the admiral; but in a few minutes the latter came upon deck, and holding out both his hands, he gave me the hearty welcome of a near neighbor and old friend. After introducing me to Mrs. Fleeming, a Spanish lady, he invited me to all the hospitalities of the *Barham*; and how pleasantly these are distributed, both by the admiral and Mrs. Fleeming, who lives much on board, all the officers on the station bear willing testimony.

But I was also peculiarly gratified, during this visit to the *Barham*, by learning from my friend Deare, that only two days before, he had been appointed to the command of the *Grasshopper* 18 gun brig. This intelligence was most gratifying to his feelings, after having been informed by the board of admiralty, upon his late arrival in England, in the *Ferret* of 10 guns, to which he had been appointed by admiral Fleeming, that he could not be confirmed in the command of that vessel, it having been given to another before his arrival. Having been in daily friendly intercourse with Mr. Deare for nearly eight weeks, and knowing all his feelings and expectations upon the subject, I have seldom been more pleased with any little occurrence of this nature. I saw a human being, in whose welfare I was much interested, made as happy as he could be.

I now proceeded with captain James to Kingston, to deliver some letters of introduction; and upon this excursion met with captain Elliot, of whose lady's first accouchement at Port-au-Prince we had accidentally heard at Jacquemel, and about whose safety he was naturally much interested, and we could fortunately give him the most satisfactory accounts.

We returned from Kingston in time to dine on board the Barham, where, among the officers of the fleet and other gentlemen, we met the venerable general Grant, the newly appointed governor of Trinidad, who had just arrived from his late government of the Bahama islands.

The next day, I went early to see some of the interior of the island; and after breakfasting with one of the merchants in Kingston, who had been a visiter at New-Lanark, I was introduced by the admiral to the bishop, Dr. Lipscomb. I had been introduced the day before to sir John Keane, the lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief, with whom I had promised to dine, if the detention of the Spey permitted; but it did not. We, however, partook of an excellent breakfast, *a la fourchette*, with the collector of the customs, Mr. M'Dougal Grant, at whose residence, upon our return from the bishop, we found Mrs. Fleeming—also captain Deare and other officers. The governor of Trinidad had been of the party to visit the head of the church, and returned with our party to Mr. M'Dougal Grant's. We then proceeded to the vice-admiral's *penn*, as a country residence is called in Jamaica; and after being joined there by sir John Keane, who came in a dashing style, driving an open carriage four in hand, in the practice of which he seemed an adept, we returned on board the Barham, and again met more of the officers of the fleet, with other gentlemen, at dinner.

Afterwards, the admiral wrote several letters of introduction for me to some of his friends in Vera Cruz, Puebla de los Angeles and Mexico; among which was one I was very desirous of obtaining. It was to the bishop of Puebla, who, I understood, was a man of much experience in the world,—the only remaining bishop in the republic of Mexico,—and fortunately was well known to admiral Fleming, who had conveyed him in his ship, some years ago, from Mexico to old Spain. This was the only remaining introduction I required to complete a full opening to the heads of all the authorities in Mexico;

and none could be more appropriate for the objects I had in view, than the introduction from admiral Fleeming to the bishop of Puebla.

I was detained on board the Barham by these proceedings until past midnight, when I left my old friend, captain Deare, and the admiral and his lady, with the regret that the kindness and attention I had received from each of them were calculated to create. And when I arrived on board the Spey, I found there was a large hamper of choice fruits of the island, a present for me from the admiral.

The Spey was soon under way after my return.

In sailing out of the harbor at sunrise of the 9th, we had a delightful view of the scenery around, even to the top of the highest hills and mountains; in the numerous hollows of which there were a few floating, and some stationary white clouds, just sufficient to give variety without hiding a single beauty. The air at that hour was delicious. It came from the land, and after a heavy shower of rain, which fell the preceding evening, was filled with a fragrance so exhilarating as to put all on board in good spirits.

I had left my companion, captain Deare, on board the Barham; but I had left him full of happiness, and on board a vessel in finer order for efficient service, than any vessel of war belonging to any nation I had previously seen. I had, however, obtained two new companions, brothers, natives of Colombia, who were going to make a visit of affection to their father, who was interested in one of the mines in the interior of Mexico. They were going to land at Tampico. We had also a Mr. Elliott, an honest, clever and intelligent Scotch gardener, a steerage passenger, whose good society admitted him to associate with the officers and cabin passengers. He was going to superintend the planting operations of one of the mining companies.

I was much pleased with my short visit to Jamaica, independent of the circumstances which I have narrated. It afforded me an opportunity of seeing the slave population of one of our West India islands, and comparing their general condition and state of feelings with those of the working classes in Great Britain and Ireland. I found one day's personal inspection gave me more valuable knowledge upon the subject, than all the partizan writings I had ever read. If the slave population in and around Kingston be a fair specimen of

slavery in the West India islands, then I have no hesitation in saying, that their condition, in a great many respects, is much to be preferred to that of a large majority of the working classes, in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland.

Wherever I go, I find philanthropy and religion mere names to confound the understanding, and deceive the very best intentioned individuals. If Thomas Clarkson, Mr. Wilberforce, William Allen, Fowel Buxton, and other British philanthropists, could make an unprejudiced comparison between the present state of the manufacturing and other laboring classes in the islands of Great Britain and Ireland, and the slave population of the West India colonies, they would discover that they had a task equal to all their united powers of body, mind and means, to advance the former to the same enjoyments that are now in the actual possession of the latter.

The slaves whom I saw in the island of Jamaica, are better dressed, more independent in their look, person and manners, and are greatly more free from corroding care and anxiety, than are a large portion of the working classes in England, Scotland and Ireland. What the condition of these slaves was in former times, I know not. But I request, with all the earnestness such a subject demands, that our good religious people of England will not attempt to disturb these slaves in the happiness and independence which they feel in their present condition. For while they are under humane masters,—and almost all slave proprietors are now humane, for they know it to be their interest to be so,—the West Indian slave, as he is called, is greatly more comfortable and happy than the British or Irish operative manufacturer or day laborer. These slaves are secure in a sufficiency for the enjoyment of all the animal wants; and they are, fortunately for themselves, in the present stage of society, too ignorant to desire more. If their present condition shall not be interfered with by the abolitionists on one hand, and the religionists on the other, these slaves cannot fail to be generally the happiest members of society for many years to come—until knowledge can be no longer kept from them, or until it would be desirable not to keep it from them; and then an entire change must be made in their condition. Because a little reflection is sufficient to make it evident, that slavery and knowledge can never long exist

in the same individuals. It is this very circumstance, that, at this period, renders a great moral and political change over the civilized world unavoidable. The degradation of the producing classes, by the hourly diminishing value of manual labor, through the extension of scientific power, and their daily advance in real knowledge, has elicited a state of things, frightful to contemplate, if that knowledge did not bring a remedy with it to restrain violence. Let not, therefore, the existing slave population be urged forward beyond the present happy ignorant state in which they are, until some wise arrangements, between the existing white producers and non-producers, shall be adjusted for their future benefit.

I conversed with a slave in Kingston, who, I was informed, was one among many, who could any day purchase his freedom with the money he had earned by his own industry, and retained by his good conduct. The slaves have all now a certain time to themselves, which is employed as they deem most beneficial. I inquired why he did not purchase his freedom from his master, as he had plenty of money for that purpose. His reply was—"I don't know, massa, who will take care of me when I am sick?—don't know how long I shall be well. My massa very good massa: he provides me with all I want, and I cannot have more." I really thought so; for he was well dressed, looked extremely well, seemed to have no care, and had his horses and carriage in as good a condition as himself. His business was to take care of these, and drive the carriage. He was not, nor did I see any of the slaves, half so hard worked as the manufacturing classes are daily in England and Scotland. If the slaves should be emancipated, without first receiving knowledge and acquiring good habits, they will be rendered wretched, and society will be injured, probably through many generations.

But the slave question is one, which must force another great political question to some practical result under all the civilized governments,—that is, What is to be done with the working classes, seeing they cannot be employed as formerly, and that they have acquired knowledge to discern right from wrong? This question must be met, and first met by the British government, because it is in advance of all other governments upon the old errors or civilization of society, and will the soonest experience all its evils.

We now proceeded on the voyage to Vera Cruz. Nothing of interest occurred for some days. My new companions were indisposed; and having had the ladies' cabin to write in during the voyage, I pursued my avocation in it uninterrupted.

The 18th, we met the Rinaldo packet leaving Vera Cruz, about fifty miles from shore. The captain and myself went on board: the former to obtain what information he could relative to the business of his voyage, and I to hear in what state the republic was, and to forward letters for Mrs. Owen, and several of my friends in England, which I had prepared to send from Vera Cruz. From captain Moore, the commander of the packet, we soon learned he had a million and a quarter of dollars on board, and a number of rich Spaniards, who were flying from a country which they had oppressed, and which was no longer willing to submit to be ruled by strangers. They very naturally gave exaggerated accounts of every thing. It was, however, evident there had been a political revolution of parties in the capital, and that the democratic, or that party supported by the great body of the people, had succeeded in giving the presidency to Guerrero; and that the country had again become quiet.

In the evening of this day, we saw the celebrated Orizaba, 17,375 feet high, towering at first like a cloud over the ocean; and for some time it was viewed as such by the officers of the ship. The next morning, however, opened with a beautiful sunrise upon it, and soon after upon Perote, presenting the most magnificent mountain view from the sea I had ever witnessed. These two mountains offer landmarks to the sailor, which he cannot mistake.

We landed at Vera Cruz about five o'clock, and never did any thing appear to me so truly foreign. The style of building, the dress of the various classes of inhabitants, their countenances, manners and language, were all new to me; and I was at once in the midst of strangers, who knew nothing of me, or I of them. I immediately delivered my letters of introduction to the vice-consul, and to some of the English and other foreign merchants, and one or two natives and Spaniards. I remained that night with Mr. M. Voss, a Prussian merchant, who had received instructions by the previous packet, from some of my friends in London, to provide all that was necessary for me to proceed without delay to Jalapa, on the way to the capital, to

be out of danger from the vomit, &c. And I found him prepared to do all I could wish.

By noon the next day, my luggage was landed, passed the custom house, where the parties gave me no trouble, divided and repacked, that I might leave all I should not require for the land journey to wait my return; and I was in a *litera*, attended by two Indians, passing the gates of Vera Cruz, on the way to Mexico. I had taken no servant with me; for I did not like to take any of my old travelling attendants, who had large families, being unwilling they should risk the so much dreaded climate of Vera Cruz. On my arrival, however, in this city, I expected to find one that could speak both languages, and render such other services as I required. But there was not one; and I proceeded with the two Indians, who knew not a word of English, and I was equally destitute of a knowledge of Spanish. The whole proceeding now was one of deep interest. Every object and all customs were new to me; but as these have been lately so minutely, and in general faithfully, detailed by Mr. Bullock, the American traveller, and Mr. Ward, I will not repeat them.

The following evening, about five o'clock, I arrived at Jalapa, and to my great surprise, the first person who met me with a cordial shake of the hand was Mr. William M'Clure, who had left New-Harmony a few days before, and who was enjoying himself in this beautiful, quiet and healthy retreat, waiting to proceed to Mexico, when it should be sufficiently settled, after the late revolution of parties, to render it pleasant to strangers. I found also a Mr. Prioux, to whom I had a letter of introduction from Mr. Voss. This gentleman was from Holland, acting as an agent for one of the great Dutch East India companies, in which the king of the Netherlands is a principal shareholder. He was, with a deputy of Congress and others, waiting for the escort of general Rincon to Mexico; and I had been advised at Vera Cruz to wait at Jalapa for this party. I did so for ten days, and found there was not much prospect of general Rincon proceeding; and I determined to go without escort, and was about to make arrangements to take a Mexican coach the next day, with another party, who had also waited until their patience had been exhausted. But upon learning my determination to proceed,

the first party changed their plan, and agreed to set out without escort the following morning, and I was thus induced to continue with them. The two parties arrived at Mexico on the ninth morning afterwards, within an hour of each other.

At our table at Jalapa, I met a Mr. B——, a native of Hamburgh, who had been employed for nearly three years in the Tlalpuexahua mining company, and who was on his return home. As we met occasionally at meals, he became acquainted with the objects I had in view, and after some days, agreed to return with me to Mexico as interpreter, and from thence to accompany me back to Europe, without expense to himself; and he thus became one of our party to Mexico. He rode a horse which he had brought from Mexico, and I often exchanged my seat in the carriage with him; and this added greatly to the pleasure of the journey to both.

In the evening of the same day that we left Jalapa, we arrived at Perote; and very unexpectedly found that general Santa-Anna, with about 1,500 troops, had arrived a short time before. I proposed we should see the general, to ascertain in what situation we were now placed, or were likely to be, on our journey. Mr. Prioux and Mr. B—— accompanied me. The general received us politely. He is an interesting and young looking man, for the important rank and station he has gained. He immediately promised us an escort, to attend early the following morning, to accompany us to Puebla, where we could obtain another from the commandant of the city. I inquired of the general where he was likely to be three weeks hence? He frankly replied, "In Jalapa." I told him I expected to be at that time on my return from Mexico to the coast, and that I might have some interesting and important communication to make to him. We parted,—proceeded next morning, with an escort of five men well mounted and armed, and arrived early the fourth day in Puebla.

After relieving ourselves from the dust of travelling, I took Mr. B—— with me to the celebrated bishop of this city, and now the only bishop in the republic. He was enjoying his *siesta*; and I left my card. We returned, dined, and renewed our visit. He received us as a well bred ecclesiastic, familiar with the world and its present proceedings. He was much pleased to hear of his good friend, admiral Fleeming, whose letter he read with great apparent interest. It

gave him, among other things, a full account of my principles and intended proceedings. I always wish these to be understood before I converse with any intelligent stranger, that all useless preliminary ceremony may be dispensed with, to enable us at once to proceed to the consideration of subjects, which must soon engage the attention of every public man who has acquired some knowledge of the singular and extraordinary crisis at which the civilized world has arrived.

Finding that the admiral had relieved us from the necessity of discovering diplomatically each other's real character, I requested Mr. B—— to observe, that as I wished to communicate confidentially with him, if he had any gentleman in his suite, who knew both languages well, in whom he had full confidence, Mr. B—— would withdraw. He said he would be better pleased to proceed ourselves, than with any change we could make.

I requested Mr. B—— to say, that the old systems of the world, as he well knew, were worn out, and that entire new arrangements had become necessary. To this he readily, and with an expression that convinced me he understood the full force of my meaning, assented. Finding we thus understood each other, I explained my views more fully to him; and we had a conversation of considerable length, apparently to the satisfaction of both. From this conversation, as well as many similar, which, in various countries, I have had with the leaders of different sects, I am convinced the time is approaching, if it has not already arrived, when the heads of the different churches, and of the leading political powers, may devise a new government, in accordance with the altered circumstances which have arisen, through the natural progress of time, since these religions and governments were invented. By the decided improvements from science which may now be added to both, all classes, from the highest to the lowest, from the most learned to the most ignorant, might be benefitted to an extent beyond any previous calculation, that any parties have yet made.

It would be for the interest of the pope, cardinals, and heads of every old church, that these arrangements should now be made, while these characters possess sufficient influence over the most ignorant part of society, to render it practicable for the change to take place beneficially for them, and without having the appearance of too much

change at once, and without too much hurting the feelings of any party. In these sentiments the bishop of Puebla concurred; and in furtherance of them, he said, in reply to questions which I put to him, that he would willingly proceed to Mexico, or go to Rome, if his knowledge and experience could promote union among those who were now taught to differ in opinion, and therefore in feelings. I left him under the impression on my mind, that if he was frankly consulted, and treated with the consideration due to his station and experience, he would willingly aid in ameliorating the condition of society, in accordance with the now discovered established laws of human nature.

I promised he should have a translation of my memorial sent to him from Mexico.

The next day we ascended the cathedral, from which there is an extensive view of the city and surrounding country. But as cathedrals and cities cannot be permanent circumstances in any country, after the inhabitants shall be taught to be rational, I pass them over without much comment.

We again called upon the bishop, who seemed gratified with our visit, which I intended to be one of attention, and to ascertain what impression the conversation of the preceding day had produced after a night's reflection. I did not recur to the subject; but at parting, he requested Mr. B—— to remind me to send a translation, with the least possible delay, of what I had promised yesterday. I was pleased to find he was so interested in the subject after mature deliberation.

We then delivered our remaining letters of introduction, and the next morning proceeded towards Mexico with an increased escort. During the two days we were upon the road, I was highly gratified, particularly when on horseback, with the grand plain and mountain scenery of this district. The exercise, the air at this elevation, and the magnificent plain and mountain scenery, created feelings of enjoyment not to be described. More than once, while contemplating at one view Popocatepetl, Izacciahuatl and Orizaba, threemountains each higher than any in Europe, I felt that I could willingly have made the voyage, run all the risk I encountered, and renewed all

the fatigues of the journey, for the pleasure I experienced on those occasions. I shall never forget them.

On the evening of the third day after leaving Puebla, we entered Mexico, and I accepted the invitation of Mr. Richard Exter, the head of one of the first English houses in the city, to remain at his house during my stay, and I found myself immediately most comfortably situated. For I soon discovered that Mr. Exter was not only one of the largest proprietors in Texas, that he knew well all the members of the government, the diplomatic characters and merchants, but that he was in the full confidence of the most influential parties in the republic, of which I had early proofs. He was also well acquainted with the public authorities who governed the province of Coahuila and Texas. He immediately offered to devote his time while I remained to expedite my views and business, and this promise he fulfilled with great effect.

He first accompanied me on the day of my arrival to the British Minister, Mr. Pakenham, to whom I delivered my letters of introduction from Lord Aberdeen and Admiral Fleeming. I found Mr. Pakenham frank and open in his manners and desirous of aiding me to attain my object with the Mexican government. He made an appointment to introduce me officially to the President and to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs. And also to Mr. Povan first Secretary of the Hacienda. Mr. Exter then called with me upon Mr. O'Garman, the British Consul General, who immediately tendered his services with all the characteristic decision and frankness peculiar to his country. We then looked in upon Mr. Grothe, Charge d'Affaires and Consul General to the King of the Netherlands. We afterwards called upon Mr. Poinsett, who was not at home. I left my letter of introduction from the American Ambassador in London, with Mr. Mason, the American Secretary of Legation, who I found was a near relative to the well known Senator of that name, whom I was acquainted with some years ago at Washington. We afterwards saw Mr. Poinsett in the evening, he reminded me, that we were acquainted in Washington, and communicated to me in the most frank manner, the past and present state of parties in the Republic, and the real difficulties of their situation. He ex-

plained the causes of jealousy between the British and American parties, and promised to put me in possession of facts, which would make me master of the subject, and I engaged to communicate my views as fully to him. I was much pleased with the manner in which he spoke of Mr. Packenham, and of his good intentions, but regretted that Mr. Packenham did not understand the real objects which he, Mr. Poinsett, desired to accomplish. It was agreed I should breakfast with him on Tuesday morning, and enter more fully into the consideration of these matters.

The next day, Sunday, was a fete in honor of Guerrero's election to the Presidency. Went to the Cathedral and saw mass performed with some splendour. The church being illuminated with immense wax candles at noon. The General appeared a fine stout looking man.

At dinner to-day, at Mr. Exter's table, I met a jolly looking Priest with an open countenance, to whom Mr. Exter explained some of my views in coming to the country. He was curate in the parish in which we were, and esteemed one of the most intelligent of the priesthood in Mexico. He seemed a good table companion, lively, quick at repartee, and I should think a man of influence in his class.

In the evening we went to the theatre. The attraction was the President, General Guerrero, and almost all the authorities who were there, in honor of the General. We were in a box on the opposite side, from which we had a full view of the conspicuous characters of the Mexican revolution.

On Monday the 9th, Mr. Packenham called upon me, and we went to the Palace, to the President, (Victoria,) to whom I was introduced in form, and we were well received by him.

He seemed to me a plain unassuming man, not trained in affairs of state, or calculated to direct any crooked cabinet policy. It was said that in the late revolution, his popularity had diminished. Mr. Packenham very fully and distinctly explained to the President, the measures in which I had been engaged for many years, for the general improvement of society, and my object in coming to Mexico.—The President in reply, said the Government had been informed by Mr. Rocafuerte, acting minister for the Mexican Government in London, upon all these matters, by dispatches which had arrived in the

previous packet. That the Government had considered the subject, and were then prepared to accede to the request I had made, over a district fifty leagues in breadth, along the whole line of frontier between the Republics of Mexico and the United States of North America, extending from about $28\frac{1}{2}$ to the 42d degree of latitude.

There was then nothing left to me but to express my acknowledgment for the manner in which my application was met, and to enquire how soon the requisite legal measures could be entered upon and completed. The President requested Mr. Packenham to inform me that they should be expedited through Congress with the least delay that the forms of business would permit. We then conversed more generally upon the subjects relative to the many improvements daily arising in Europe and the United States, and particularly upon the progress made in teaching young children by means of rational infant schools. I told him I left at Vera Cruz, an apparatus for one of them, which, owing to the disturbed state of the country, I had left there with other packages, but which I had since written to my agent to forward, and that it was intended for the Republic. He appeared to be a good deal interested in the account which Mr. Packenham gave him, in Spanish, of these matters, and he said he would receive the infant school apparatus with pleasure, for the Republic. In this manner the President detained Mr. Packenham and myself about two hours. The President shook hands with us at parting, and we separated apparently mutually pleased with each other. It was now too late to go to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and we made an appointment to go the next day. In the evening a grand ball and supper was given, in honor also, of Guerrero's election; and being invited, I went to see what character the circumstances of Mexico produced upon its singularly mixed population. And as my stay in the City could not be only for a few days, I thought myself fortunate, in having an opportunity of seeing all classes at once before me. I was satisfied in a short time with what I saw, and could easily divine the circumstances which existed in the City of Mexico to produce the mixed characters which were present. The General, in honor of whom the fete was given, was too much indisposed, from the fatigues of the two previous days to be present, but the President, and, I understood, almost every body was there, to prevent being

thought disaffected or hostile to the new powers. The British diplomatic corps and the English merchants and their ladies, made a strong party in the rooms. I retired as early as I could with propriety.

Tuesday, 10th.—This morning I went, by particular invitation, at an early hour to breakfast with Mr. Poinsett. He told me he had studied the principles, which I advocated, from the time we met in Washington, when he heard the two addresses, in the Hall of Representatives, which I delivered before the President, Secretary, Judges of the Supreme Court and members of Congress—and he was well inclined to give these principles all his attention. I soon found that he was a man of no ordinary mind; that he was well acquainted with the human character, as it has been made, in almost all the civilized countries in Europe, and that he perceived the true cause of its various formations. I thence concluded that he must be, in a great degree, free from religious and national prejudices. I therefore supplied him with the manuscripts which I had prepared during the voyage, explanatory of my sentiments relative to all the religions, governments, codes of law and present commercial state of the world, and requested he would give them his best attention, and point out freely any error he could discover in them. They were left with him for that purpose. He perused them, as he afterwards informed me, with care and interest, and said with great emphasis of manner and strong good feeling—“For the establishment of principles and practices as they are explained in the manuscripts, I will make any sacrifices, and go hand and heart with you in every measure that is calculated to promote so much good to the human race.”

This declaration induced me to be still more open and candid, and to state the full extent of my feelings upon all I had heard before, and seen since, I came into Mexico. I said in reply, then Mr. Poinsett, it becomes necessary that measures should be adopted to induce the Americans and British to change their policy; for them to cease to act as they have done in this and other countries in which they have accredited agents. It seems evident to me, their policy, hitherto, has been that of rival merchants and manufacturers, desirous of becoming monopolists, and in their eagerness to

gain an advantage over each other in these respects, they have entirely lost sight of the great interests of the population of both nations, greatly to their detriment, and to the injury also of all other countries with which they are connected.

Here are you and Mr. Pakenham endeavoring, as you evidently both intend, to promote the interest each of your respective countries, while, in fact, the true policy of Great Britain and America is sacrificed, from errors easy to explain, and the improvements of this Republic are retarded by your jealousies and contests for superior influence. You will, I think, admit that this is the fact.

Mr. Poinsett said it was too true, but he wished for more explanation of my views.

I proceeded: America has as much land as she can beneficially occupy for many centuries. The soil and climate of the United States are sufficient to enable the inhabitants to raise any food or clothing she can rationally require. There is no deficiency of any material or mineral for building, for furniture, for machinery, for instruments or implements of every kind. There is no real want, of any one thing in the United States, to make the whole area, within its boundaries, prosperous in the very highest degree, except *knowledge*. I am prepared also to prove that the British Empire is similarly situated, as to results, though under a very different arrangement of circumstances. And these being the facts, is it not to be lamented, that the two countries should continue to act as they have done, for years past, and as they are doing to this day? Are there no statesmen in these countries, with minds sufficiently freed from early prepossessions, to break the remaining prejudices of their ancestors, by which the two countries are kept covert enemies to each other, to the serious injury of both? In the present advanced state of the sciences, and other experimental knowledge, *each individual in both countries*, ought now to be in the actual possession of a *good education and independency*.

Mr. Poinsett: I do not yet perceive to what extent you intend to carry your argument.

I replied, I will endeavor more fully to explain my views. Great Britain and America, by a train of peculiar circumstances, which have been gradually forming, through centuries, are now, by their

respective geographical positions, the two most powerful countries existing. Capable in war, to do each other the most injury and themselves the least benefit; and, in peace, if they were united, upon the broad principles of interest well understood, they are competent to secure to each of the individuals of both countries, permanent benefits, of a superior character to any yet enjoyed by any people; and at the same time they might essentially assist other countries to prepare the means by which they should also abundantly partake of similar advantages. Were Great Britain and America, by a bold and decided policy, to form an alliance upon the principles of reciprocal rights, adjusting, at this period, every petty difference which now unnecessarily divides them in feelings, they have it in their power to lay the foundation of a general permanent peace throughout Europe and America. To commence a new system of policy which shall bring into full action, and give a right direction to all the late scientific improvements, inventions, and discoveries; and thereby enable every individual to partake largely of their immense powers, which are daily upon the increase. By these means, a new impetus may be given to both nations, which would carry them forward in an entire new course, beneficially for themselves and for the human race, in a ratio continually accelerating in proportion to the increased knowledge of mankind, when every child shall be made a rational being, and educated in the best manner from infancy.

Mr. Poinsett said; I approve of these views and sentiments, and it would be much more congenial to my own feelings, of what is right, and to my own opinions upon these subjects, to be actively engaged in promoting a policy so enlarged and enlightened as the one you have now developed, than to feel it a duty, as I now do, to counteract the petty policy of other nations, by a policy equally limited and futile in its principles and practical results.

Being delighted to hear these remarks from one of the most experienced, active, and intelligent statesmen of the day, I resumed: If such are your opinions, Mr. Poinsett, I do see a glorious period approaching for the good of poor human nature, so long vilified through ignorance of its laws, and so long degraded to the most worthless and irrational purposes:

You are well aware that society, and the best society too, that the

imagination can conceive, is simple and easy to be understood, as soon as we discover its first principles, and pursue them with ardour to their legitimate results. That it consists:

- 1st. In the production of a full supply of the best of every thing for every individual, from birth to death, without anxiety injurious to the health, comfort or rational enjoyment of any individual.
- 2d. In a well arranged distribution of this wealth for the benefit of each individual, and advantage of the aggregate.
- 3d. In the right formation of arrangements to give, commencing in infancy, the best dispositions and manners, and the greatest amount of useful knowledge in principles and practice to every member of the society.
- 4th. In governing the human mind through the affections and the understanding, by exhibiting, to all, the most evident proofs that the executive has adopted the most efficient arrangements to *prevent* the existence of ignorance, of poverty, and consequently of crime and misery.
- 5th. In provision being made to enable every individual, after performing his necessary duties for the support of the society, which may be made a daily source of pleasure to all; to have time for physical exercises, for mental improvements, and social rational amusements.
- 6th and lastly. In uniting the interest, well being and happiness of each separate society, with the interest, well being and happiness of all society, knowing no limits but the circumference of the globe.

This, Mr. Poinsett, from all the experience I have acquired, appears to me, to be the whole business of life for which provision requires to be made.

And human nature being understood, and its laws attended to, there will be now no practical difficulties, through a cordial union of the Governments of your native country and mine, sufficient to prevent this superior state of human existence, from being introduced and enjoyed to a considerable extent by the present generation. And I trust you and I may live to see it take root and make a sensible progress.

Mr. Poinsett replied: I wish we may, with all my heart; but I fear the popular prejudices, although weakened as they have been in your life time, are yet powerful among the ill instructed mass in all countries.

So it does appear upon the surface, I replied; but it is not so in fact, and more especially, it is not so in Great Britain and the United States, and whatever these countries shall unite in doing and prove to be beneficial, the other nations of Europe and America will soon adopt.

I know that popular prejudices are not so formidable as you apprehend. Since the year 1812, I have publicly declared my conviction of, and announced the error upon which the past and present system of society rests; and, therefore, none of my correspondents, none with whom I conversed, have hesitated to open their minds freely to me. From these sources of information, I am induced to believe that public opinion in favor of old errors is now so weakened, the foundation on which these errors rest is become so decayed, and the whole superstructure of society erected on them is so defective from top to bottom, that it will not require any great effort to convince those who reflect, that it is not safe to depend upon it any longer. That five or six active, intelligent leading statesmen in the United States, and an equal number in Great Britain, who would boldly come forward and advocate an improved, a radical reform in the principles and practices of the Government of the two countries in opposition to the wretched complex, demoralizing system which is now pursued, would have no difficulty in effecting an entire change in the condition of the population of these States. They could easily show such good reasons, arising from the altered state of men's minds and condition, for allowing the old fabric of society to die a quiet and natural death, and to raise in its place, another, so superior for all the purposes of life, so much better calculated to secure the progressive intelligence and happiness of the human race, that they could not now be opposed with any chance of success.

You speak, said Mr. Poinsett, so decidedly, no doubt, from your thorough conviction of the errors against which you contend, of the truth of the principles which you advocate, and of the great good which may be obtained from them in practice; but do you think any

union of modern statesmen can be brought about, to attain this great object? Are they not too much involved by measures in opposition to each other's views and interests to permit them to overcome their personal irritations and feelings, sufficient to allow them to act cordially together for the public good?

I replied, under the influence of old prejudices, the difficulty you suggest would be formidable; but, as I believe, the most prominent characters in Great Britain and the United States, have the substantial good of each country more at heart than individual antipathies or friendships, and as, in the case I propose, there would be no sacrifice of friends or of friendship; the obstacles in the way of their union, in a great and glorious practice for the benefit of themselves and all their fellow beings, would be less difficult to overcome than appears on the first consideration of the subject.

In the actual state of the two countries, asked Mr. Poinsett, who are the individuals whose union, if it could be effected, would be equal to the task you have assigned them?

In the United States, the late and present Presidents and Vice President, the late and present Secretaries of State, Mr. R. Rush and yourself. In Great Britain, the King, the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Peel, and Mr. Brougham. In the latter country, such is the state of knowledge now among the working classes, relative to the means of producing a sufficiency of wealth for all their wants, and the irresistible power of their union to perform all the real business of life, as the society of friends have done since their first establishment, that Mr. Brougham, alone, if he possessed sufficient moral courage and coolness, could ensure the change, in a very few years. But he is deprived of this power which his talents would otherwise give, by reason of his lack of moral courage; which prevents him from declaring openly to the public, all the valuable truths which his reading, reflection, and extensive personal communication with superior minds of *all classes* have supplied him. He would, therefore, act with more prudence and courage under the avowed influence of his Sovereign, the Prime Minister, and the Home Secretary. Here are eleven individuals now living, placed by the circumstances of their birth and other circumstances in a situation to withdraw the cause of future ignorance and poverty, and to insure progressive

improvement to every child that may hereafter come into existence. Of course to put an end to war—to religious animosities—to commercial rivalries between nations, competition between individuals, and by the regular advance of knowledge, to produce “peace on earth and good will to men.”

Mr. Poinsett. It is certainly a most desirable and glorious object, if it could be attained in practice.

Mr. Owen. It can be accomplished now by these eleven individuals, and in a few years the irresistible progress of science and of general knowledge will effect it, not only without the aid of any individual popular names, but in opposition to them.

Mr. Poinsett. I believe it, and I am ready to make any personal sacrifice to promote a change that cannot fail to be beneficial, not to a few individuals or one state, but to all individuals and all nations. What are your ulterior objects?

Mr. Owen. The president of this republic, in its name, has offered me the jurisdiction over fifty leagues broad, along the whole line of frontier between your republic and this, and in which I engage to introduce the change of principles for the government of its population. He has promised that the preliminary measures shall be brought without delay before congress. When the requisite legal acts shall have passed and become laws, I will make arrangements to introduce a superior population into that district, from Europe and the United States, and enable them to commence a new history of human life, in which all the acts to be recorded by the historian shall be in unison with the laws of nature, and not, as heretofore, in direct opposition to them.

I cannot wait to superintend these proceedings in person, because, as you may have heard, I was engaged before this business occurred, to meet the reverend Alexander Campbell in the city of Cincinnati, the second Monday in April next, to hold a public discussion, there to give my reasons openly for believing, as I do most conscientiously, that all religions over the earth, as they are now taught, are the greatest evils with which human nature is afflicted. Mr. Campbell engages to prove the converse of this proposition, and I hold the discussion to be so important, as one means of giving another effectual shake to old prejudices, that I deem it my first and highest duty

to be there. I know the supporters of public errors will claim all victory to their cause, but I equally know, that the real victory will be on the side of truth, and I feel no other interest. After this meeting, I intend to proceed to Washington city, to ascertain what description of men the new President will collect around him, and endeavor to discover whether they have contracted or expanded views of domestic and foreign policy, and if a solid foundation can be laid for a right understanding and cordial union of interests between the United States and Great Britain, for their own benefit and for the peace of other countries. I then intend to proceed by the way of New York to Great Britain, to ascertain the progress of public knowledge during my absence, and what may be effected towards laying the foundation for a permanent peace between all nations.

Mr. Poinsett. I thank you for this information, and if you will entrust what may be considered your more immediate personal business with the government, I will, while I remain, do all the justice to it in my power.

Mr. Owen. I willingly accept your offer, knowing as I do, from what has passed within my observation since my arrival here, that many of those who are about to take the reins of government in this republic, will listen with attention to your opinion, from a knowledge of your experience in the affairs of government.

With you, Mr. Packenham, who has been very friendly since my arrival, and Mr. Exter, who is one of the most extensive land proprietors within the offered district, and with the good feelings already expressed by the government to promote my object, I shall leave the more immediate business of my journey to this city, without any anxiety. There is, indeed, on my part, no personal consideration in this affair, nor do I, on that account, feel any anxiety respecting it. I undertook this journey and made this application, solely with a view to exhibit to this and other governments, what immense powers for good they possess, if they knew how to direct them.

Mr. Poinsett. I think I fully understand your views. I believe the principles to be unanswerable, and the practice, if it can be attained, invaluable. I also think the time is near at hand when a

considerable approach towards it may be effected. Under these considerations, you shall have all the aid I can give you. Do you know the new President of the United States?

Mr. Owen. I do slightly, but a letter from you upon this subject would be useful.

Mr. Poinsett. You shall have one, and if I knew that the cabinet would contain any of my personal friends, I would introduce you to them also.

Mr. Owen. The one to the President will be sufficient. My object being to secure permanent benefits to all parties, and this being well known, I have seldom any difficulty in obtaining such introductions as are necessary to forward my measures.

Mr. Poinsett. I expect to see you very often while you remain here, that our ideas may be matured upon these important practical measures.

Mr. Owen. I will communicate with you as frequently as my engagements will admit.

And here this conversation, which, I trust, is likely to lead to many important results, terminated.

When I returned from my visit to Mr. Poinsett, I found a note from Mr. Packenham, to say that, he would soon call upon me to go to the minister for foreign affairs, Sr. Bocanegra. Mr. P. was punctual, and we found the minister in his office. Mr. Packenham explained to him, as he did to the president, my object in coming to Mexico. We soon however discovered, that Sr. Bocanegra was new in his office, and his continuance in it was very uncertain. He requested to have a translation of my memorial, and he promised he would do all in his power to forward my object.

I dined this day with Mr. Marshall, of the house of Manning and Marshall. I was pleased to discover that Mr. Marshall was a near relative of a very old acquaintance of mine. Mr. Packenham and his suit, Sir William Eden and his friend Mr. Bailey, were of the party.

Wednesday, 11th.—A party was formed this morning by Mr. Packenham, to ride before breakfast, to the celebrated castle of Chapultepec, which is a magnificent site for a building to be occupied by the first authority in the republic.

It commands the city, plain, and mountain view in fine combination and contrast. Its situation is full of capacities of the highest order, and within its domain there are already some majestic cypress trees, extending to fifty feet in circumference. They are covered with the Spanish moss, giving them the appearance of the weeping willow; but these are much more rich and elegant. I was afterwards told by Mr. Exter, that he had seen similar trees on his way to Guatemala so enormously large, that he was induced to measure one of them, and he found it to exceed 120 feet in circumference.

In this excursion, which was delightful in that early part of the day, I saw the far famed aqueduct which supplies the city with water. This noble work of former times, has been so often well described by late travellers, that it has been made quite familiar to the public. After our ride, the party partook of an excellent English breakfast with Mr. Pakenham, which I enjoyed not less by the contrast with the Mexican accommodation for travellers which I had so lately experienced.

After breakfast, Mr. Pakenham, Mr. Turner, and myself retired to read the manuscript which I had prepared at sea, developing the outlines of the principles for the Government of Texas, and their application to practice, if they should be required. This occupied three hours. The principles, carried to the extent in which they are explained in these papers, were probably new to both, but particularly to Mr. Turner, who is a promising young man, the son of General Turner, a favorite of the late King.

I dined that day with Mr. Pakenham, where there was the same party as the day preceding, with the addition of the Dutch Minister and the British Consul General. I had been seldom more fatigued than I was on that day.

Thursday, 12th.—Having received a note the evening before from Major General Wavell, who is a large landed proprietor within the line of district appropriated to me by the Mexican Government, I called at his residence very early, and found him and Mrs. Wavell preparing to leave Mexico that morning, with a large escort about to set out for Vera Cruz. Mrs. Wavell is a daughter of Sir Wm. Paxton, of London. I promised to overtake them at Jalapa, which I did; leaving the city five days later than the escort, which travelled very slowly.

Mr. Exter then went with me to Sr. Don Viesca Blanca, a deputy to Congress, from the Province of Coahuila, and brother to the Vice Governor of the State. The object of my visit was fully explained to him by Mr. Exter, and he seemed well disposed to promote with his interest, the introduction of the new jurisdiction into the whole State. He had the appearance of being a good hearted honest man for a new state. We then visited Sr. Delgado, Senator to Congress from the State of Coahuila and Texas, to whom, also, a full view of my motives and wishes in coming to Mexico were explained. He entered with considerable interest into the measure, and when he understood the extent and probable practical results, he promised a hearty co-operation in the plan. From him we went to Sr. Don Juan Bautista Escalante, deputy to Congress for the Province of Sonora, who is a fine, frank, well disposed Sonarian; who was delighted with the liberality and philanthropy of the measures proposed; and he said they should have his support and aid in every way he could render them. We here met with Sr. Espinosa, a venerable, respectable gentleman, quite of the old school; a man of large fortune and of a noble family, under the old system (Conde del Penasco;) he earnestly requested we would visit him, and he would have pleasure in showing us his numerous collections of natural history.

Having dispatched our business with the deputy from Sonora, we accompanied this venerable nobleman in his carriage to his house, and he took great pains to show us every curiosity from the top of it to the bottom. They consisted of paintings, by the old masters, of minerals, shells, birds, insects, and philosophical instruments; the whole together, of much value, and to him, apparently his very life and existence.

I afterwards called upon Mr. Grothe, with whom I found Mr. Nolte, Consul for the Hanse Towns, with whom I had some interesting conversation.

I then called upon Mr. Chabot, a correspondent of Mr. Rothschild, of London, who had given me a letter to him.

This day we had an early dinner at Mr. Exter's, in consequence of some of his friends being invited to meet in the evening; who had expressed a desire to learn what the principles were which had

brought me to Mexico: among these were Mr. Tindale, brother of Sir Nicholas Tindale, the Solicitor General.

Friday, 13th.—Breakfasted with Mr. Poinsett, and renewed our conversation upon the general state of Mexico, the United States, and Great Britain, in which, after mature reflection, we were confirmed in all the sentiments developed at our former meeting, and our determination to sacrifice all private considerations to promote them, were strengthened.

I visited Mr. Packenham, found him prejudiced against Mr. Poinsett's policy, and I regretted that these two gentlemen could not, under existing circumstances, have the requisite confidence in each other to act cordially together. A different spirit at the head quarters of the respective parties must be created, before the foreign agents of both powers can change their present petty policy—petty in every sense in which the term can be applied. As I was upon my return home, I stepped the length and breadth of the grand square, and found it to be about 1070 by 870 feet. The squares for the residence of the population of all countries under the proposed new arrangements, are intended to be 1,000 feet each side, according to a model which I presented to the United States some years ago. Of course, there will be no street, lane, court or alley in the new state of existence; these form vicious and unfavorable circumstances, too prejudicial to happiness to be admitted into an improved state of society.

Upon arriving at Mr. Exter's, I was informed that Sr. Bustamante, one of the most liberal, scientific and well informed natives, was to dine at 3 o'clock with Mr. Exter, and he wished to converse with me upon the new views I entertained. I remained with him until six o'clock, and was much gratified with the freedom from national prejudices which he expressed, and his liberal sentiments upon all subjects. It appeared that he had long studied the best English, French, German, and Spanish authors, and had thus, in fact, become to a great extent, a citizen of the world.

At six I went to dine with Mr. Chabot, where I met the Consul General, Mr. Marshall, the Hanse Town Consul, etc. I had much conversation with these gentlemen until midnight; some appeared friendly to the changes I proposed, but the Consul General was not

so ready to admit them. His prejudices in favor of things as they are, were somewhat tenacious, but he seemed a good hearted Irishman, more given to hospitality than to inquiries, how the character of each individual is formed.

When we separated, I had to proceed to the great square in which Mr. Exter lived, and when I had advanced into the middle of it, the grand Cathedral of the Republic on one side, and on another the truly magnificent Palace, not an object of any kind moved, nor was the slightest sound heard. The air so exhilarating, that to breathe was to inhale pleasure. All around was calm and peaceful, where, but a few days before, civil war raged, soldiers were killed, and citizens were plundered. The heavens, owing to the stillness and peculiar clearness of the atmosphere, were in their highest beauty.— Every star seemed to send forth its extent of brilliant light upon the scene around. I stopped involuntarily, and enjoyed for some time the pleasure, not to be described, which so new and singular a combination of circumstances was calculated to produce. It was but a few weeks ago I was in the British metropolis; I was now in the ancient capital of the worshippers of the sun, where Cortez and his followers immolated innumerable hosts of inoffensive people, to destroy idolatry, as the Spaniards were taught to call the rites and ceremonies of the natives. And Cortez succeeded and established the rites and ceremonies of another religion in its place. At the end of three centuries, here I am in the midst of this city, at midnight and alone, without weapons of defence of any kind, and engaged, openly, day by day, in giving, through the evidence of unchanging facts, reasons for laying the foundation of a system of practical peace and charity, a system more opposed to the Catholic rites and ceremonies, than these are to the rites and ceremonies of the worshippers of the sun. And I am here too with a fair prospect of extensive success. But how came I to this spot; and how came I to be engaged in this work of reformation in the Mexican Republic? Six months prior to that moment, I had not one idea in my mind relative to the subject; no application had then been made to me relative to Texas; I had no agency whatever in originating the application which induced me to see the Mexican Minister and others on the subject, or to influence so many parties to coincide to produce

the act in which I was at that moment engaged. It was, to me, a new demonstration of the principle that every man is formed to be what he is, where he is, and how he is, by circumstances over which he has no control. If it shall be said that I listened to the application made to me—saw the minister connected with the proceedings, and determined to make the journey by my own will: I reply, that in each of these cases, I was impelled, thereto, by motives which I did not create, but which were sufficiently powerful to influence my organization, prepared as it had been by previous impressions made upon it, to act as I have done through my life.

These were the sentiments which passed through my mind while I stood in the great square of Mexico, with so many interesting artificial objects around, and the magnificence of such a midnight above.

I passed on and was suddenly challenged in a strange voice, by a sentinel, who, from behind one of the pillars at the entrance of the palace, had observed my movements, called out, *Quien vive?* I confidently replied, having been previously instructed in case of such a rencounter, *La Federacion Mexicana*. He then asked, *Que gente?* to which, with equal confidence I also replied, *Paisano*; and I was allowed to pass.

Saturday, 14th.—Breakfasted with Mr. Poinsett, who had prepared a new Indian dish for me, of which the Indians are remarkably fond. We had again, as we were alone, much more conversation upon the general interests of the three countries, and particularly as to the practical measures by which they could be the most extensively ameliorated and improved. Mr. P. has not a strong constitution, and occasionally suffers from indisposition, but he possesses one of the most active and experienced minds I have met with.

Dined with Mr. Grothe, and met Sir Wm. Eden and Mr. Bailey, the Hanse Town Consul, and several English and German merchants. After most of the latter had retired, we had an interesting conversation upon the present condition and future prospects of society in Europe and America; and I left Mr. Grothe with the impression that he is very well disposed, and will aid to bring about improvements, to the extent that his situation will admit. We retired late.

Sunday, 15th.—Made an early call with Mr. Exter upon Don Carlos Bustamante, deputy to Congress, to whom I had a letter of introduction—he was from home. From thence we made a visit to Don Ysidro Yanez, one of the Judges of the High Court of Justice, to whom Mr. Exter explained fully the course of my visit, and the principles of the measures which I proposed to institute in the Province of Coahuila and Texas. The Judge took a great interest in the subject; kept us a long time in giving explanations to his well put questions; and, finally, when he became master of the outline of the principles, he was much pleased with them; and promised to promote my object to the full extent of his power. We afterwards called upon the family of Sr. Escandon, who were lately from Puebla, friends of the Bishop, and of Mr. Welsh, the Br. C. in Vera Cruz. They were a very good specimen of a superior Creole family.

I had been for some days engaged to dine with Mr. Poinsett, to meet some of the leading political characters of the Republic; and I now hastened to his house, where I found a large party of Mexicans and a few Americans. Among them were the governor of the State of Mexico, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Commissary General, Sr. Don Manuel Heredia, the son-in-law of the Judge Don Ysidro Yanez, and lately appointed to a high law office in the State of Mexico, called Oidar of State; Mr. Mason, the Secretary of Legation, the American Consul from Vera Cruz, and a considerable number of those who were considered the most active and efficient men of the new party. The Mexicans were in good spirits, and appeared to have much confidence in each other, but yet more in Mr. Poinsett; upon whose experience they seemed justly to place great reliance. It was evident, from what I saw, that the American party had the complete ascendancy in the councils of the Republic; and Mr. Poinsett desired now to apply his influence to give permanency to the new administration, and to advise it to adopt what he deemed sound principles of policy.

It surely cannot be of benefit to the republic, for any party to attempt a counter revolution. Mexico has experienced the same changes that almost all countries undergo, when passing from despotism to democracy. It has arrived at the latter, and there is some probability that the administration now forming, will be more per-

manent than those which have preceded it. I do not, however, expect permanency in any measures that can be adopted, in any country, until the principles which stimulate the government and the inhabitants to action, shall be changed in toto. There never was, there cannot be permanency in any plan, scheme, system or arrangement for the government of mankind, founded on the notions of man's free will. The human character, founded on these notions, is influenced not by reason, but by caprice; not by that which is best for it, but by whims, fancies and passions, in opposition to its permanent happiness.

From this dinner, I returned to Mr. Exter, and found Don Agustin Bustamante, who was desirous of renewing our former conversation. He has been urged to accept lucrative and honorable situations under all the parties who have come into power, but he prefers independency to office, although his income is very limited. We spent the remainder of the evening, in discussing the state of the republic and her prospects of future prosperity, under a change of system. I found him very liberal in his views, and full of good feeling.

Monday, 16th.—This was a day of dissipation in Mexico; the English gentlemen, wherever they are, must be in action. They had introduced races after their own fashion, and inspired the Mexicans with their feelings upon the subject. Last year they had a brilliant turn out upon the course, and it was an amusement, which, from its novelty, had given great satisfaction to all parties. This year, the late political struggles for power and the prostration of the old wealthy Spaniards, to whose interest the English were generally attached, had diminished the spirit for amusements, and created political feelings, which checked all desire for show and splendor. Mr. Ball, a gentleman attached to the English ministry and noted for his equestrian acquirements, was the life and soul of these races. He exerted himself with several of the leading British merchants, to rally the spirits of all parties, and they succeeded beyond expectation. The course was better attended, the horses more numerous, and the races better contested, than the most sanguine had anticipated. But, as last year, Mr. Ball's horses were generally successful. A party was made from Mr. Exter's, and as it was considered a display of English force and fashion, all the families from

the *Isles* were present. I was gratified with an opportunity of seeing the mixture of character and costume, and of meeting previous to my departure from the city, all the parties together, with whom I had become acquainted. Upon this occasion, the British and Mexicans appeared to be on good terms, and the day past over with less of political feeling than was apprehended, and all returned to the city in good humor, which the course, the beautiful scenery, and fine atmosphere were well calculated to inspire. In these respects, no other race ground perhaps in the world can surpass this, which has been selected by the British, for their favorite sport.

Upon my return, I found letters brought by the British packet from my kind friends at Jamaica. One from Capt. Deare, regretting that his ship was not returned from her cruize, or he would have been in the *Grasshopper* at Vera Cruz, to convey me across the gulf. Another from Capt. Blair, of the *Fairy*, brig of war, saying he would be happy to give me the best accommodations his vessel afforded to New Orleans. And a third from my excellent friend Admiral Fleeming, informing me that the *Fairy* could, without inconvenience to the service, put me on shore at New Orleans.

I had, when on board the *Barham*, mentioned to the admiral, my public engagements for the summer, and stated the only doubt I entertained of fulfilling them, arose from the uncertainty of there being a vessel at Vera Cruz, at the time I should return to that coast from Mexico. With his characteristic attention, to promote the wishes of his friends, he said, it is not impossible but some of the smaller vessels belonging to the fleet, may be on that coast, about the period you mention, and if the service will permit it, one of them shall convey you to New Orleans. Nothing could be more convenient for my plan of operations, than the arrival of the *Fairy* at Vera Cruz; I had now every prospect of meeting Mr. Campbell at Cincinnati, according to the terms of our engagement. And to be there at the time, I thought would be the highest duty I could perform to the present generation.

Tuesday, 17th.—This was a busy day. I took leave of Mr. Packenham, to whom I was much indebted for the aid he had given me in obtaining my object. He is a fair specimen of an English gentleman, very attentive to his official duties, but, as might be expect-

ed, he has some of the prejudices of that character, and in consequence, he cannot attain a full knowledge of the real state of parties in a foreign country, particularly one, in such a state as Mexico has been for some time. He sees men, not as they really are, the *combined effect* of their individual organization, and of the peculiar circumstances in which they have lived. But he views them through the British notion of human character, he feels accordingly; he is, therefore, deservedly a great favorite with the English; but he has not experience sufficient to cope with Mr. Poinsett, who was well informed of every thing that was about to take place throughout the republic. I afterwards visited Mr. Poinsett and Mr. Grothe, and took leave of all my friends—dined quietly with Mr. Chabot; went with Mr. Exter to see the halls of congress, and to take leave of the president, who, in his conversation with Mr. Exter, confirmed all he had previously stated to Mr. Packenham, relative to the grant which he had, in the name of the government, promised me. He expressed a great desire to have the apparatus for the infant schools, and I recommended Mr. and Mrs. Thompson, British subjects, who had been to Lima and other parts of the South American continent, and who interested themselves in the education of children, to take the superintendance of the schools, as soon as the apparatus should arrive.

At this meeting, the president in conversation observed, that he thought the provinces of Sonora and California were also, as well as Texas, in a good state to admit the introduction of the system I had explained to him. He said the natives were a very well disposed, tractable people, and prepared by their social and hospitable feelings towards each other and to strangers, for a less selfish system than that which now prevailed in large cities and populous commercial countries. I have no doubt, when the subject shall be better understood among the higher classes of the Roman Catholic Clergy, when they shall ascertain that their individual condition will be greatly improved, and that all persons shall become independent of pecuniary matters under the new system, by a very superior arrangement of all the affairs of life, that they will assist the members of the general government to introduce this change throughout all the provinces of the republic.

After leaving the President, who, at our parting, very cordially wished full success to my measures, we went a second time to Mr. Poinsett, when we again canvassed freely and openly the existing condition of Mexico, the United States, and Great Britain; and we concluded, with our ideas now more matured upon the subject, that the first essential step towards a permanent improvement of the condition of the population of Europe and America, was a good understanding, established upon a new basis between Great Britain and the United States. Not a mere treaty of peace between two indifferent powers; but a treaty, founded on a *cordial union of interests and feeling*—a treaty which should enable them, at once, to adjust *every point of commercial and political difference*, which now exists between the two nations. And then to unite, as *one people*, having but one interest, in assisting all the new governments in South America, to form, immediately, preliminary governments to bring about gradually permanent governments, whose duty it will be, to arrange measures to instruct all,—to employ all, and, through that instruction and employment, to render all independent in their circumstances; creating thereby, the greatest surplus time for recreation and improvement, with the means for both abundantly around them.

We renewed our determination to make the attainment of these objects the great business of our lives, and, if possible, to lay the foundation, on just and equitable principles, for a general peace to become permanent among all those civilized nations, whose governments could be induced, for the benefit of their own States, to act rationally.

This was the last business I transacted in the City of Mexico.—I next morning proceeded with Mr. B. in one of the North American Coaches, towards Vera Cruz.

On Friday, the 20th, we arrived at 9 o'clock in the morning, at Puebla. We immediately called upon my former friend, Sr. Don Joaquin Escandon, who is upon good terms with the Bishop. I had a long and interesting conversation with him, upon the present state of the Church, and its connexion with the government and people. I explained to him the reasons why the Church could not long continue in its present condition: that it was probable the want of money would induce government, from necessity, to appropriate a large

portion of the funds and revenue of the Church to its use. That, by degrees, a new order of things will arise, which will materially alter the condition of society, and convert the Churches into useful buildings, in which daily instruction will be given to the rising generation in real knowledge. That the ministers of all sects will then be efficiently and most beneficially employed in forming the character of both sexes, from infancy, upon principles as certain in their results as the data upon which the fixed sciences have been erected. And that in consequence, the ministers of all religions will become superior men, be more usefully employed than they have ever yet been, and become much more independent and happy than it is possible for them to be, in the dependent and uncertain condition which the advance of knowledge and improvement in the arts of life will soon place them. I requested Sr. Escandon would at his leisure, and when a proper opportunity occurred, explain these matters fully to his friend the Bishop; all which he assured me he would perform. I then returned to the hotel, and brought up my journal to our arrival in Puebla.

At five o'clock, I went with Mr. B. by appointment, to wait upon the Bishop.

I took this opportunity to endeavor to explain the real condition of the Church, generally, throughout Europe and America. Its tottering and feeble state, arising from the rapid progress of science and practical knowledge among the great mass of the people in the United States, in Great Britain, in France, and in many of the other nations of Europe; and to impress him with the necessity for an immediate general arrangement, between the Church, the old governments and the people, for their mutual advantage, and to prevent a revolution of physical force against the Church and governments. I stated that the two latter were now in a position to take very strong new ground, under the improved arrangements; but that, as their influence daily diminished, the time would pass, if not speedily seized upon, when the same mutual beneficial arrangements could be secured for the old establishments. I added that, my chief anxiety arose from a desire that, the great moral change, which the progress of knowledge and machinery united, must now effect in the condition of the human race, should not be brought about by violence, or

with a desire to injure the individuals of any class, seeing they had become of it through circumstances over which they had no control.

He listened to my statement with great interest, and when I had finished, he said, he thought the feelings of many parties were too hostile to the Church to admit of these arrangements being commenced at present. The revenue of the other Bishopricks was not in the hands of the Church, for he was now the only Bishop remaining in the Republic, and the revenue of his see had been diminished to one third of what it was formerly. He thought that about the time when I proposed to return next year, something in the way I suggested might be accomplished for the Republic. The parties would then be in a better condition to be acted upon than at present, for he regretted that since I was at Puebla the irritation between the parties had increased, and to say there was a good deal of misconception of each other's views and intentions; and, consequently, there was a much greater want of charity between the parties than ought to exist among them, when they commenced an attempt to make an amicable adjustment of religious and political differences. He was more and more convinced that the old system of the world was worn out, and that it was most desirable some arrangements should soon be formed, to ameliorate the condition of all parties, and to give permanence to such institutions as the progress of knowledge seemed now to require.

When we came away, Mr. B. said he thought the Bishop, a very superior and good man. I had no doubt whatever, from the conversations I had with him upon my journey up, as well as upon the present occasion, that if he were placed under circumstances permitting him to act according to his knowledge and present experience, he would be active and very useful in promoting a new organization of society, fair, liberal and beneficial for all parties.

We left Puebla the next morning at five o'clock, and proceeded through the roads, said to be infested with robbers and murderers of travellers, without, however, meeting with any accident or occurrence deserving of notice, until Monday morning. On that day, when Mr. B. who is fond of walking, and who had left the coach for sometime, was overtaken by it, the coachman asked him, as the mules were upon a brisk trot, if he should stop for him, to which thoughtlessly he

answered no, at the same time making up to the coach door, with the intention of coming in without stopping the coach; he missed his footing, fell, and the hind wheel of the carriage, heavily laden as it was, went over his ankle and bruised other parts of his body. I thought it impossible he could escape with life, but owing to it being a very sandy and soft part of the road, the earth gave way to the pressure of the wheel and body, and, except the ankle being much crushed and bruised, he experienced no other serious injury. He was, however, obliged to use crutches for several weeks; but he persevered in travelling without leaving the coach.

Soon after this accident happened, and when not far from the town of Perote, we met Mr. Wm. M'Clure, who the day before had left Jalapa, on his way to the City of Mexico, where he said he intended to pass the winter.

On Tuesday, the 24th, we arrived at Jalapa. General and Mrs. Wavell had not arrived, but I learned that General Santa Anna, agreeable to his promise, was now in the town, and in which he had for the present fixed his head quarters. I called upon him in the evening, and found he had ridden out, and he would not return till late.

Wednesday, 25th.—This morning the *Conducta*, which had left the City of Mexico five days before me, arrived within a league of the City with 800,000 dollars, and 36 carriages full of Spaniards, who were going to embark at Vera Cruz for Cuba, the U. States, or Europe. General and Mrs. Wavell arrived with the party.

As Mr. B. required rest, and the party, who were our companions in the coach, wished to remain in Jalapa, and as I was desirous of seeing General Santa Anna again, we therefore remained, and concluded to proceed very early the following morning towards Vera Cruz.

I called upon General Santa Anna in the morning, and had some general conversation with him, through the medium of a gentleman who superintended a very good school, which was conducted upon the Lancastrian plan; he was the only person I could there meet with, as Mr. B. was too lame to walk, who could speak sufficiently well both Spanish and English. General Santa Anna, finding I had something new and important to communicate, fixed one o'clock for

another interview, that we might have time enough for him to understand the full purport of my visit to Mexico, seeing that the new government, of which he was to form a part, had been so favorable to my views.

In the mean time I called upon Mr. Robert Haven, an English gentleman residing in the neighbourhood, who knew General Santa Anna, and to whom I had letters of introduction from some gentlemen in Vera Cruz. He offered to accompany me to the General, and interpret between us; and we could not have been more fortunate, for although he had a difficult subject to explain to a military man, it was very satisfactorily performed.

We found the General with three of his officers, whom he had provided, that could speak both languages. I had my manuscript with me, containing the first principles, on which I founded the code of law, which I intended for such part of Texas as the governing authorities proposed to put under my jurisdiction, and afterwards, if found beneficial in practice, to extend over the province of Coahuila and Texas, and gradually over all the states of the republic.

I have seldom seen any public character, except the late Mr. Jefferson, so apparently determined to examine any system to its first principles, as General Santa Anna, upon the present occasion. He had heard sufficient in the morning to arouse his curiosity and fix his attention. He wished to commence his examination with the first principles of the system—with the laws of our nature, that he might be sure, whether the base was sound or not upon which the superstructure was erected.

We commenced with the consideration of the first fundamental law of our organization, and proceeded regularly to the last. He had each of them repeated until he fully understood the import of the terms; he then put several very pertinent questions, which proved he fully comprehended the conclusions, to which they would lead. He would not pass from the first to the second until he had made himself master of the former; nor from the latter to the third, and so on, until the previous laws were explained to his satisfaction—to the full extent of the practical conclusions to which I intended to push them. He would not allow us to pass over one law, until his mind compassed the full import of it, and then he finished the discussion

of it by saying emphatically: I understand it, and I admit its truth; let us now proceed to the next general principle.

In this manner we examined, scrutinized and discussed each principle separately. The farther we advanced the more the general and his officers became interested in the subject. When each law had been separately investigated, and the general had formally admitted the truth of each, we proceeded to apply them generally to all the practice of life, and to the government of society. I explained to him the necessity which now existed for some great change in society, in consequence of the late very rapid advance of knowledge among the working classes in Europe and America, united with the still more extensive progress which had been made in scientific investigations and discoveries. More particularly from labor saving machines, for the production of wealth, in some of these countries, to an extent which, without accurate calculation and investigation, the human mind was not prepared to believe. These improvements, however, I added, could be now introduced into new countries, under great advantages, compared to their present application in the old countries, in which they have been invented; that under a different direction they might be applied to relieve the working classes from all disagreeable labor, and to give a superfluity of real wealth to all classes. I pointed out the straight forward course, which, under these circumstances, it would be the interest of all governments to pursue. That the two greatest blessings mankind could acquire, were, a knowledge of the means by which the most superior character could be given to the human race from infancy; and a knowledge of the means, by which, each individual, could be so trained and placed, that, by the best application for health and permanent enjoyment of his faculties, he could be made independent of wealth, and be secured, from birth to death, in a full supply of the best of every thing for his well being and happiness.

I think, I enabled him to understand how these two objects could be attained for the inhabitants of all countries, without competition, strife or war. That the first measure to effect this desirable change, on an extensive scale of operations, is to effect a good understanding between the two great maritime and commercial

powers, Great Britain and the United States. That this change should be produced upon principles of sound policy and a clear apprehension of each other's interests: upon principles so obviously for the benefit of both parties, that all petty commercial and political contests, such as now exist between them, will cease by mutual consent; and instead of attempting to thwart each other's views, in foreign states, to the injury of themselves and those states, they will promote each other's interest, and effectually aid all the young and rising states by their knowledge and experience.

The next measure will be to unite these two powers in like amity with all the South American states, that they may assist the latter to terminate their present petty wars, that the governments may acquire the means and leisure to adopt efficient measures to educate the people, who, by their own industry, thus aided, would soon possess abundance of all that was necessary for their happiness, without individual or national competition. And when the union was thus formed between Great Britain, the United States, and the South American Republics, that unitedly they should invite the other powers of Europe to join this league of friendship, for mutual aid and improvement. All these subjects were canvassed to as great an extent as the time would permit. We had been thus engaged for more than two hours, before we were aware how time passed. When I was about to leave, general Santa Anna, who had become interested in a very extraordinary degree by this conversation, requested his officers to tell me that he would henceforth do whatever was in his power, to promote these objects. He wished the whole of what had passed, could be translated into Spanish, in familiar dialogues, and distributed throughout the republic, that all the people could be made to understand the principles and the good effects they were calculated to produce in practice. He added: tell Mr. Owen, that I wish he would consider me his agent in this country, to carry his plans into execution. I wish him to give me instructions from time to time, and to inform me what I can do, to promote so desirable a change.

He said that whether he was in office in the city of Mexico, or was employed in the provinces, he would equally endeavor to act as I would wish him in these matters, for he was truly desirous of see-

ing his country make a progress in those things which were substantially beneficial, and he would heartily promote whatever he thought would contribute to its permanent advantage. He thought the measures I had explained, would be most advantageous in practice; that he would co-operate cordially with general Guerrero in forwarding this plan, and in giving every encouragement to intelligent foreigners, who would introduce improvements into the country. He became, in fact, quite animated with the contemplation of what might be effected for the benefit of his country. He wished me to remain to dine with him, which my engagements would not permit, and which I much regretted; but he came through all his apartments to the outer gate, and parted from me in that friendly manner, so different from mere form and ceremony, that it was evident he felt deeply the importance of the principles, and their value to the population of Mexico, if they could be made to comprehend their real practical effects.

I left him with the impression that he had good talents for command, and that he was truly desirous of contributing to the prosperity of the country.

He is said to possess great personal ambition, but, as the world has been taught, this is a strong motive to what is considered superior conduct in those at the head of political parties. He has, however, from this day, new views of human nature, calculated to give a right direction to the thoughts and conduct of those who understand them.

The next morning early, we left Jalapa, and about 9 o'clock on Saturday morning, we entered the gates of Vera Cruz, the day I had written to Capt. Blair, from Mexico, that I hoped to arrive. I found my friend, Mr. M. Voss, at home, and while at breakfast with him, received a message from Capt. Sandom, of the Druid, one of the officers of the Jamaica squadron, whom I had met at dinner at the Admiral's table. He had arrived at Vera Cruz a few days before, and he had sent an officer from the Druid to ascertain if I had arrived, and to say that his boats were at my disposal, that he hoped to see me before I went on board the Fairy, and he would send a boat at eleven o'clock to wait my convenience, as I had expressed an intention to embark that day. The wind, however, blew so strong from

the north, that no boat could that day venture from the ship, which lay four or five miles distant, near the Island of Sacrificios. I spent the remainder of the day in adjusting my packages, for I had left many things here, when I went to Mexico, and I had one set of the infant school apparatus packed up for the President. I visited a friend of Admiral Fleeming's, Sr. Don Roman Garay, to whom I had a letter of introduction, and Sr. Serrano, a friend of Mr. Rocafuerte, a rich Mexican merchant, who had given me letters to his friends in Jalapa, and also to the Bishop of Puebla. I dined with Mr. Berghman, and met some intelligent English merchants. I afterwards visited Mr. Welsh, acting Vice Consul for Great Britain.

Sunday.—Received a note from Capt. Sandom, before I was up, requesting me to dine with him, and to say, that his boat would be in the harbour for me at 11 o'clock. I received another note from Capt. Blair, of the *Fairy*; he was ready to sail whenever it would be convenient for me to go on board. I was to meet him at dinner in the *Druid*.

On going to the boat, I discovered that a party of English and Mexican gentlemen had been also invited to dine on board the *Druid*. The waves were high, near the end of the pier, and our boat ran some risk of being swamped by the surf breaking over us. Captain Sandom received me in the most friendly manner, and immediately introduced Capt. Blair, in whose ship I was to proceed the next morning, wind permitting, towards New-Orleans.

Captain Sandom conducted us over his ship, a fine frigate of 48 guns, the order of which struck every one, and all seemed to think she would be a formidable opponent to any vessel of a similar class. We spent a very pleasant day, and in the evening Capt. Blair and I went on board the little *Fairy*, as he calleú her, and as I found her to be, after leaving the *Druid*.

Under way by daylight. Captain Sandom called very early to wish a pleasant voyage, which we had of eight days, although we experienced two severe blows from the north, which are frequent in the Gulf of Mexico.

We were safe over the bar of the Mississippi on the 8th day, and Capt. Blair and some of the officers of the ship accompanied me to New-Orleans. I parted from them the next day with great regret,

for I spent my time very pleasantly among them during the voyage, and I feel greatly indebted to Capt. Blair for his hospitality and unremitting attention to my comfort.

I had a voyage up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers of 12 days to New Harmony, where I remained five days with my three younger sons, and proceeded again up the Ohio, and landed at Cincinnati on the 10th April, where I found Mr. Alexander Campbell had arrived three hours before, and our public discussion commenced on the 13th.

It is somewhat remarkable, that in voyages and journeys so extensive and uncertain as those I made from Falmouth to Mexico and Cincinnati, I arrived at and departed from the principal places, in which I had important engagements to fulfil, within a day or two of the time I had anticipated before leaving London.

ADDENDA.

FREQUENT allusion has been made, in the preceding work, to a great anticipated moral change in the condition of the human race.

This change is predicated from the past history of man, and the present state of the most civilized nations.

Every period of two thousand years, which has past, has accumulated too much experience to admit of a longer continuance of the institutions founded at the commencement of the period. It was thus that the Jewish system superseded the pagan, and the Christian the Jewish, and that the general progress of knowledge will now supersede the Christian. None of these systems are competent to satisfy the advance which has been made in science, and in a true knowledge of nature, within the past period of 2000 years. The knowledge acquired by the middle classes, too far surpasses the existing institutions by which civilized nations are governed, to admit of their longer continuance. Other institutions, in accordance with the ascertained laws of nature, have become necessary for the peace and wellbeing of those countries. And it is surely preferable, that this change should be effected through the aid of the parties experienced in governing, rather than it should be forced upon them by those who are inexperienced. Seeing that this era has arrived, that it is inevitable; is it not better that the most advanced, and best established governments should now take the lead, and by wise calculation and calm foresight, direct this moral revolution to secure for all parties, the benefits of science, and all the advantages of intelligence and union?