

ROBERT OWEN'S MILLENNIAL GAZETTE;

EXPLANATORY OF THE PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES BY WHICH, IN PEACE, WITH TRUTH, HONESTY, AND SIMPLICITY, THE NEW EXISTENCE OF MAN UPON THE EARTH MAY BE EASILY AND SPEEDILY COMMENCED.

“The character of Man is formed *for* him, and *not* by him!”

No. 4.]

MAY 15th, 1856.

[PRICE 6D.

NARRATIVE OF PROCEEDINGS.

(Continued from No. 3.)

Admiral Fleming having the command of the fleet at this period at this station was to me a most fortunate circumstance, in aiding my intended proceedings in Mexico. He introduced me to the authorities in the Island,—invited the officers of the fleet to meet me at dinner,—and in the most friendly manner urged me to say whether he could in any way assist to promote the object of my voyage. I told him I had two difficulties in my way unprovided for. I had abundant letters of introduction and recommendation to all the authorities in Mexico except the ecclesiastical,—and I was uncertain whether I should find a vessel at Vera Cruz, on my return from Mexico, to be in time to convey me to New Orleans, to enable me to fulfil my engagement to meet the Rev Mr. Campbell for our discussion on the day appointed in Cincinnati. The Admiral replied—“I can effectually assist you in the first, and perhaps when the time comes I may also assist you in the second. Since the revolution in Mexico there is but the Bishop of Puebla remaining, and he is now at the head of all ecclesiastical affairs. I have long known him intimately, having conveyed him some years since, before he was made Bishop, from Old Spain to Mexico, and I will give you a letter to him, which will effectually answer your purpose, and it may be that I can send a ten gun brig with seventy men to Vera Cruz, to wait your return and convey you from Vera Cruz to New Orleans. A larger vessel cannot with safety pass over the sand bar at the entrance to Belize going to New Orleans.”

The packet for Vera Cruz had to sail the third morning at

four A.M. The Admiral came at that hour with me in his long boat to put me on board the packet, and to take farewell of me, wishing, with all the officers of the fleet, great success in my novel undertaking. Without my knowledge until we were out at sea, the Admiral had put a large hamper of the choicest fruits of the Island on board for me; and these were a great treat to the captain of the packet, his officers, and myself, during the remainder of the voyage to Vera Cruz, when many remained.

The seeds of the "New Views of Society" were soon in the Island and among the officers of the fleet.

The packet had to call and leave the mail for St. Domingo, and I went on shore with the captain; and some of the British merchants who came to meet the boat at its landing, hearing the captain calling me by name, enquired if I was from New Lanark in Scotland. They said they had been present at my Great Meetings in London in 1817. They would like to introduce me to the authorities of the town, and to show me whatever I wished to see as long as I could remain. The captain remained as long as the service permitted, and we were much gratified by the attention of these gentlemen, taking us to all that was curious to us as strangers in the island. I was much surprised with their good taste in dress, their kind and polite manners to each other, the cleanliness of their persons, and their deference to strangers. I left some copies of my *New Views* among the British merchants, who appeared anxious to have them.

On arrival at Vera Cruz, preparation had been made to receive me and to forward my departure from so dangerous a place with the least possible delay; and early the next morning I was on my way to the city of Mexico, in a litera drawn by two mules, and accompanied by two Mexican muleteers, each on a mule, and these men were to convey me safe to Jalapa. They knew nothing of the English language, and I as little of the Spanish, and yet we had a pleasant, safe, and interesting journey of several days, in which the men taught me as much Spanish as I could teach them English, and we became good friends by the end of the journey. They proved to be faithful and attentive muleteers, and conducted me safely through what I afterwards learned was a very hazardous journey—the road being infested with robbers and military marauders.

The ascent from Vera Cruz to Jalapa being about 4000 feet, it is necessary for travellers going from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico, to remain some days at Jalapa, to accustom the lungs to breathe an air so much lighter, before proceeding to the yet higher plain on which the city of Mexico is situated. On arrival at Jalapa, I found the governor of Vera Cruz and several other travellers waiting there to take coaches onward towards Mexico; and after four or five days I induced them, though afraid, to proceed, (the governor being opposed to

the existing government,) and to the surprise of all, on entering Perote, we found ourselves in the midst of Santa Anna's army of 1500 men. This general was the commander-in-chief of the Mexican forces. On discovering our position, the governor and his friends exclaimed, "We are prisoners—what shall we do?" They were greatly alarmed. I said—"Put a good face upon this circumstance, and go at once to the general, and ask for an escort forward, on account of danger to proceed unprotected." "Yes," they said, "but who will venture to go to him?" I said—"if no one else will go, I will." Then one or two, not of the governor's party, said they would accompany me.

I was introduced to the general as an Englishman going in haste to the city of Mexico on important business. He received me politely, and enquired my object. I said—"I am going in haste to the city of Mexico to communicate with the government, and I wish an escort to Puebla." "When will you want it?" "To-morrow morning at five o'clock." "You shall have it." Seeing his frankness, I said—"General, where will you be about six weeks hence? I do not ask the question from idle curiosity,—but I expect to be then on my return, and to have an important communication to make to you." "I shall then be at Jalapa," was his immediate reply, "and will be glad to see you." The escort of six mounted cavalry was punctual at the hour, and we proceeded with them safely to Puebla. But what became of the governor and his party I know not, I suppose he retreated quietly from Perote.

On arriving at Puebla, where our escort left us, I presented my letters from Admiral Fleming to the bishop, with whom I had a long and very interesting interview.

The government of Mexico was at this time a very liberal one, and much opposed to ecclesiastical domination; and I found the bishop was under great alarm for his own position. He had before the revolution an income of 120,000 dollars, and the government had unmercifully reduced his income so low as 80,000 dollars, and he did not know what they would do next to him, for he was now left the only bishop in all Mexico. He said what power and influence he had should be willingly used in my favor, on account of his great friendship for his old friend Admiral Fleming; and I was again to visit the bishop on my return from the city of Mexico.

As my proceedings in this city of the ancient Mexicans were of a novel character for an uneducated, unpopular, unpatronised, and much opposed individual on account of his heterodox opinions against the present system of society, I must be somewhat less brief than I wish, to make the subject understood.

On my arrival in this city I was received by, and during my stay remained with, Mr. Exter, then one of the most influential and talented British residents in Mexico. He was much in the con-

fidence of the government,—on good terms with the officials, domestic and foreign,—and much trusted and respected by all parties.

On the day of my arrival I called upon Mr. Pakenham our ambassador, and presented my letters from our government to him. Upon opening these letters, he said—“ I am instructed to give you all the aid in my power to forward your object with this government, and I am very willing to do whatever I can to expedite your proceedings.” I said time was of importance to me, as I had an engagement to fulfil in the United States. He said he would see the President of the Republic that day, and would endeavour to obtain for me an early interview with him. At three P.M., on the same day, Mr. Pakenham called upon me at Mr. Exter's, to say he had seen the President and arranged an interview for me with him at twelve o'clock the next day, and he added—“ as the President does not speak English, and you do not know the Spanish language, I will accompany you, introduce you to the President, and, if you have no objection, will be interpreter between you.” I said I was greatly indebted for so much kindness and attention.

The next day Mr. Pakenham called upon me at the hour appointed, and upon our arrival at the palace we were immediately introduced to the President. Mr. Pakenham opened the conference by a speech of considerable length, but which, being in Spanish, was while in delivery a blank to me. Mr. Pakenham, after our interview, said that in this speech he had explained what I had done through my previous life to promote the best interests of society, and especially what I had done to educate and govern the population of New Lanark in Scotland, and added the strong recommendation of our government to the Mexican government, to grant the object of my application to it, and then added from himself more, I fear, than I was entitled to.

The President replied, as Mr. Pakenham then explained to me, that his government had received by the previous mail, a month before, my memorial and many letters of recommendation so strongly in my favour, that he and all the members of the government regretted they could not give me the government of the provinces of Cohahuila and Texas, because the governor was elected by the population of the provinces,—but that the government had reserved to itself the full jurisdiction over one hundred and fifty miles in breadth along the whole frontier between the United States and Mexico, from the Pacific to the Gulf of Mexico, about two thousand miles in length, and that his government, after due consideration, had “ come to the determination to offer the government of this district to Mr. Owen, for him to establish within it his government of peace, to be an example, as he says, to all other nations.”

When Mr. Pakenham explained to me this extraordinary offer, I was certainly taken by surprise; but immediately recollecting

myself, and at a glance seeing what would be essentially necessary at the commencement of such a task, I requested Mr. Pakenham to thank the President and his government for their great liberality in making me so magnificent an offer, and for the trust and confidence in me which it indicated ; but to state that one obstacle presented itself, which, if not removed, would prevent my success, and which, without its removal, would frustrate all my intended proceedings to establish a model peace government. This obstacle arose from the Catholic religion being the only religion permitted by law to be established in the Republic ; and in the government which I knew could alone give peace to any population, there must be, not merely toleration, but full civil and religious liberty,—and unless that obstacle could be removed, it would be a failure, and would be useless for me to commence the task which otherwise I would willingly undertake.

This reply and explanation was given to the President by Mr. Pakenham,—when, to my yet greater surprise, the President said—“ We thought this would be made an objection by Mr. Owen, and we are prepared as a government to propose to the next Congress to pass a law to place the religion of Mexico upon the same base of liberty as it now exists in the United States of North America.” This being explained to me by Mr. Pakenham, I replied “ that when that law was passed I would willingly accept the government of the extensive district so liberally offered to me.”

After some general and complimentary conversation, this extraordinary conference terminated, apparently much to the satisfaction of the parties engaged in it.

I was now introduced to all the Mexican authorities as the future governor of this new kingdom of peace,—to the four ministers in the city,—and especially to Mr. Poinsett, the American ambassador and the celebrated American statesman,—and to the chief British residents and merchants. During my stay of five or six weeks in this capital, I received from all these parties kindness, attention, and hospitality, in which Mr. Pakenham, the British legation, consul, and merchants, were unceasingly prominent.

I knew that up to this period there had been a disagreeable, distrustful, and most unpleasant feeling between the British and the American United States governments, and a consequent jealousy between the officials of both countries in whatever foreign country they might be accredited. My great desire was to terminate this feeling, and to create a good understanding, and, if possible, a well-founded cordial friendship between them, as I knew ought to exist when their interests were so united, their language the same, and their relationship so combined.

Finding Mr. Poinsett to be a statesman of enlarged views, of high talents, great experience, ready to receive new ideas, and

most favourable to my proposed establishment of a kingdom of peace between the two republics,—I stated to him what I thought a false and most injurious policy between his government and the British. They were evidently now secret and almost open enemies, while it was their interest to be good friends, and to be cordially united. He said he was fully aware of the false position into which the two governments had drifted, and he would much like to see it changed. I then said,—“As you see this subject in the same light as I have long viewed it in,—if you will give me letters to general Jackson and Mr. Van Buren, your President and his Secretary, expressive of these views, I will return home by Washington, and will see what I can effect between the two governments, which ought to be one in feeling and interest, for then they could influence the world for good.” He readily assented, and after interesting and confidential conversation he gave me the letters I had requested.

About the time I anticipated to finish the object of my visit to Mexico, I received a packet from Admiral Fleming, informing me that he had sent the ten gun brig *Fairy*, Captain Blair, to Vera Cruz, to wait my convenience, and to carry me to New Orleans. The *Druid*, fifty gun ship, Captain Drury, also came at the same time; and there was an invitation from the captain for me to remain on board the *Druid* until I should sail from Vera Cruz.

Pending the meeting of the Mexican Congress to pass the bill for religious freedom throughout the republic, upon the passing of which I was to return to Mexico and commence my government, I had arranged with Mr. Exter, my kind and most hospitable host, to take charge of my new affairs,—to aid him in which he had the promised assistance of Mr. Poinsett and some other friends, in addition to Mr. Pakenham, whose aid to me in this business was most valuable.

Leaving the city of Mexico, I proceeded to Puebla, being assured by the Mexican government that I should meet no obstacle on my journey to Vera Cruz.

On arriving at Puebla I called according to promise to visit the bishop, and was again cordially received. I was accompanied from Mexico by an interpreter, whom I had engaged to go with me to Vera Cruz, and I had by note asked the bishop if I should bring my interpreter with me on my second visit to him after my return, which was to be of a more confidential character than the first, which was more introductory and complimentary. He preferred to have my interpreter present. I told him of my proceedings in the city of Mexico, and of my intention to establish a kingdom of peace between the two republics, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean—(and this would have included the best part of Texas and California); that the government were to pass an act through Congress to put the religion of the country.

on the same liberal principles as it was placed upon in the United States; and that I much desired to reconcile the Heads of the Catholic and Protestant churches; and I requested to know if he knew the real character of the present Pope at Rome.

To all that I said he was most attentive, and anxious to hear all I had to say, and he professed to be most desirous to assist me to the extent of his power, and said he not only knew the character of the Pope, but had been personally upon the best and most familiar terms of friendship with him, until he left the old world for the new, to be placed at the head of ecclesiastical affairs in Mexico. Hearing this, I asked him whether on my return to commence the government of the country which had been so unexpectedly offered to me, he would go from me, as a missionary and messenger of peace to Rome, and endeavour to persuade the Pope to agree to enter upon negotiations with the Church of England, to reconcile the two religions so far as to be on friendly terms, and not to oppose each other, but to allow each to proceed unmolested by the other, and neither to teach nor encourage feelings of repulsion between them,—and both to inculcate on all occasions the pure spirit of universal love and charity. The bishop seemed greatly pleased with this proposal, and said he would go, and would be highly gratified by being selected for so important and God-like a commission.

After much conversation on this and other subjects connected with these proposed changes, I left him apparently as well satisfied with our interviews as myself. I then proceeded on my journey to the coast, and on arriving at Jalapa found Santa Anna with his army, according to his promise to me when at Perote. I immediately called upon him, and was cordially received. He had been informed of my proceedings in the city, and wished me to explain fully the principles and practices which I intended to adopt. I told him I had written in manuscript the principles and practices in the most condensed form I could then put them, and if he wished I would bring them from my hotel at any time he would appoint, and we would consider them, principle by principle, and point by point in the practice; and he named an early hour the next morning.

On attending at the time appointed, he was prepared with three intelligent looking officers of his army, all of whom spoke the English language correctly and fluently, and were prepared to hear what I had to explain to them. I had prepared twelve principles or sections for our investigation and discussion.

The first was the necessity of our nature to believe whatever was made to produce the strongest conviction upon our mind, and that consequently there could be neither merit nor demerit in belief or disbelief, because these were not acts of our will.

This statement aroused all their faculties into lively action, and Santa Anna especially combated the principle with great

talent and ingenuity for a considerable period, and he was well seconded by his companions in arms. But the facts in support of the statement were too strong to be ultimately resisted, and at length he said—"You are right. It is true. Proceed to the "next." And we went with the same results through all the principles which I advocated.

By degrees this discussion created the deepest interest in Santa Anna and his friends, and at the conclusion their enthusiasm was at a great height, and Santa Anna said—"We have opposed you "to the extent of our powers. We acknowledge you are right, "and the great practical importance of what you have advocated. "I wish those principles were printed in Spanish, and circulated "throughout the republic. I am a thorough convert to them; "and whether I shall be at the head of the army or of the go- "vernment," (which he was afterwards,) "you may command "me to aid you to the extent of my power." He then invited me to dine with him; but I was pressed for time to proceed to my engagement with Mr. Campbell in Cincinnati; and the ship was awaiting my arrival on the day I had named. I therefore excused myself on that plea; but I was very much pleased with the frank, straightforward manner of Santa Anna, and am convinced that, could he have gained sufficient power to act independently of the church and of factions in the state, he would have governed the republic better than any other Mexican I had been introduced to while in the city of Mexico; and I was introduced to every prominent character there at the time.

On my arriving at Vera Cruz, the long boat of the *Druid* was waiting to take me to that ship. The surf was high, and our boat at starting was nearly swamped. Dinner was prepared on board the *Druid*. Captain Blair of the *Fairy* had been invited to be introduced to me, and all the officers said they had instructions from Admiral Fleming to attend in every particular to my wishes. Captain Blair then said—"I regret that the cabin for the captain "in a ten gun brig, with seventy men, arms, ammunition, and "provisions, is necessarily so small that it admits of very poor "accommodation for two persons; but if you can put up with a ham- "mock for your bed, and such day room as it will afford, you will "be welcome to half the cabin accommodations during our voyage "to New Orleans, where I am directed to convey you as early as "possible." I was too happy to be so conveyed. Captain Drury, to whose kindness I was much indebted, put me on board the *Fairy* next morning early, and we sailed for our port, meeting on our way two severe north westers; but we passed the bar, and arrived in safety at New Orleans, where I took leave of Captain Blair and his officers, from all of whom I experienced the most considerate attention, and from whom I parted with reluctance.

I immediately set out for Cincinnati, and arrived there three days before the time which had been appointed just twelve months before. Mr. Campbell was there one day before my arrival.

Great formal preparation was made for this discussion between us, which continued for eight days, morning and evening. I had to oppose all the prejudices of the day; but the audience, brought from all parts of the Union, conducted themselves in the most admirable manner during its continuance. I had nothing to complain of,—except that Mr. Campbell, contrary to agreement, put the question unexpectedly at the conclusion,—whether they would continue to support Christianity. Every one knew what they must say; but I found throughout day by day, that the feelings of the audience were much with me. The discussion fully answered all my purpose, and truth from that occasion, upon many important points, became widely spread abroad in the States and in Europe.

I remained several days afterwards in Cincinnati, to transact business, which occasioned me to pass daily from one extremity of the city to the other; and, considering the heterodox principles I had so openly advocated, it was surprising to me to experience the profound respect paid to me as I passed along the streets.

When this business was finished I hastened on to Washington, to commence my attempt to reconcile the two greatest nations in the world, who had been for years, up to this period, (1830,) opposing each other everywhere with very hostile, jealous, and rival feelings. I immediately waited on Mr. Van Buren, the then secretary of state, who had been by Mr. Poinsett's letters prepared favourably to listen to me. I explained my views of the real interests of the two nations, and day by day for about ten days we met and talked over all the objects of difference then existing between the governments, and I endeavoured to point out how easily, both parties being willing, the whole might be finally settled to the benefit of both nations. Mr. Van Buren said he had communicated my views to the President, and that now both agreed to the policy which I recommended, and that the General wished I would dine with him the next day. I did so,—meeting Mr. Van Buren and several relatives of the President.

After dinner, at a signal from the General, his relatives withdrew, and left Mr. Van Buren and myself alone with him. He then said—"Mr. Owen, your government imagines I am opposed to them—but it is not so. I wish to be on friendly terms with them and the British nation, knowing how much the United States and Great Britain will be benefited by a well understood cordial union; and if your government will fairly meet us half way, we will soon adjust all differences now between us." I said—"I think I may promise on the part of the British government that it will frankly meet you half way, and I am sure the nation will be well pleased that it should be so." He then became very familiar—explained in the most open manner his home and foreign policy, often in the exact

words used to explain his views in the succeeding annual President's message to congress. It was then arranged that Mr. Van Buren should give me letters to the United States ministers in London and Paris, instructing them to follow the advice which I should give to them after I had seen Lord Aberdeen, the then foreign secretary in England.

With these letters I returned to England, and asked an interview with Lord Aberdeen, which he appointed for the next day. I explained fully to him what I had done to prepare for a cordial reconciliation with the United States, and what I had promised on the part of our government. He promptly said—" Mr. Owen, " I highly approve of the policy you recommend, and of what " you have done. If the American government will meet us " half way, we will meet it in the same spirit." I said--" I have " instructions with me to the United States' minister, from his " government, if I found you willing, to enter at once in this " spirit to settle by immediate negotiation all existing differences." He added—" I am quite ready to meet Mr. M'Lane on these " conditions."

I then went to Mr. M'Lane, the then United States' ambassador,—gave him the instructions from his government,—told him I had seen Lord Aberdeen, that the coast was clear for immediate proceedings,—and recommended him at once to commence negotiations, and to be sure to leave no point of difference unsettled, and if any difficulty arose that could not be settled between him and Lord Aberdeen, to inform me and I would endeavour to remove it. No difference of the kind did arise. Both governments became cordially friendly, and so continued from that time for several years, without any estrangement of feeling, and I believe until the dispute arose about the limits of Oregon.

On my arrival in England I expected Mr. Exter, my kind and talented host while I remained in the city of Mexico, and who was to bring important dispatches and transact much preparatory business for the government I was to undertake. When I left him he was full of these matters, and in close connection with the Mexican government. My first news was, that shortly after I had quitted the city, the government dispatches were given to him, and he rode on horseback hastily down to Vera Cruz, where he speedily took his passage to England; but during his short stay in Vera Cruz, being over-fatigued with his rapid travelling, he caught the fever of the place, and died of the black vomit on the third day of his voyage.

I also soon after received intelligence that the Mexican government, faithful to its promise to me, brought into Congress the bill for religious liberty over the Republic,—but the ecclesiastical powers, hearing what was intended, employed the priesthood to exert all its means to oppose this measure in congress,

and they succeeded in obtaining a majority against it; and the liberal government, so friendly to me, was, in consequence of this defeat, out of power for eighteen months.

Thus were terminated the measures which had been taken to establish a kingdom of peace between the Republic of Mexico and the United States, and which, if they had come to a more successful issue, would have given a very different direction to the history of the Republics. The Texian war would not have occurred, nor the forcible dismemberment of the Mexican Republic.

It was my intention to have peopled this new and in many places wild district, with an intelligent and moral working class from the British Islands and Europe,—great numbers being anxious at this period to commence a true communistic life, which I intended gradually to introduce into this new social government of peace. These from Europe would also have been joined by multitudes from the United States, and by many from the old Mexican States.

It was my intention also to have made peace with all the Indian tribes, and to have invited them to settle, at first in their own way, within the new territory, and by degrees to accustom them to the true family commonwealth arrangements, for which they are already in some measure prepared.

It would have been a curious and interesting experiment for the world; for I should have created a new and superior character out of this heterogeneous mass,—with all of whom, under a system of strict justice and impartiality, administered in obvious kindness, to promote the happiness of all, I could not have failed of ultimate success.

However, it was not to be; and other and very different measures were opening before me.

My early acquaintance with the working classes enabled me to see the downward progress they were making, in proportion as chemical discoveries and mechanical inventions increased to diminish the general value of their labour.

I noticed the increasing power that wealth, especially in the manufacturing districts, was acquiring over them, and how, gradually, the mass of them were sinking into real slavery, while retaining the name of servitude.

I was conscious that these proceedings must increase the demoralisation of all classes, and lead to social convulsions; and often did I endeavour to forewarn the governments of Europe of the danger which must arise from the continuance of these sufferings of the working classes.

The smallest measures proposed for their relief, and to stay this downward course, were strongly resisted by the wealthy and master class.

My Bill to give some small amelioration to the children and

others employed in mills and manufactories was resisted by the House of Commons, under the influence of mill-owners, for four years; and when it was passed, was so mutilated and altered from the original bill, which I had introduced through the first Sir Robert Peel, that it was of little or no value; and from 1819 to this day they have been contending about this "ten hours" bill.

Seeing how little the true interests of society could be understood by any class or party in the state, I concluded that no permanent benefit could be attained until the mass of the people could be better instructed, and enabled to comprehend their own position, and to understand that the progress of new inventions would ultimately benefit all society permanently.

I then devoted the next fifteen years to instruct, by writings in newspapers and other periodicals, and by lecturing, in Europe and America, the masses in the old and new world.

I was, however, much opposed in my progress in England by that warm-hearted, well intentioned, energetic, wrong-headed, late leader of the violent Democratic part of the working classes, Feargus O'Connor, M.P. He laboured to give them power, without the necessary knowledge to use it wisely; and I desired to give them power through knowledge, that they might make a right use of it; and I hope the fifteen years of such instruction have now given them power, through knowledge, sufficient to enable them to assist all classes to gain, in peace and with wise foresight, the rights of humanity for all of every rank and condition over the world. For all—prince and peasant—are grievous sufferers by the continuance of this false and evil system of society.

I published several works and wrote many articles for the newspapers, all bearing on the great change in society which I had ever in view.

During this period, and while Prince Metternich was the most experienced, influential, and leading statesman in Europe, I went to Vienna, in 1837, with strong recommendatory letters to him from Prince Esterhazy, the then Austrian ambassador in London, and who had known me and my proceedings from 1816, and was always kind and friendly to me.

On my way I visited Paris, and had friendly communications with the French government, under Louis Philippe, to whom in 1818 I had been introduced in an especial manner by His Royal Highness the late Duke of Kent.

While in Paris I gave a public lecture in the Hotel de Ville, to a crowded and most attentive audience, and as I proceeded in English, the well known and talented M. Considerant, a leading disciple of Fourier, translated what I said to the audience, and it was, even in Paris in those days, well received. I was made also a member of two of the public societies of Paris, and had the privilege of a sitting in the Royal Academy. But the government expressed some uneasiness at my increasing popularity in Paris.

From Paris I went to Munich, where Lord Erskine was then our ambassador, and to whom I explained the object of my journey, and who received me with great kindness and attention; and I had an opportunity of disseminating my "New Views" among the leading men and authorities in that city.

The king was absent at the time, at the beautiful summer residence of the court, and I took it on my way to Vienna. The residence of Berchesgadden is in one of the most beautiful districts I have seen in any part of the world.

Immediately on my arrival at the hotel, I sent a note to His Majesty, informing him of the object of my journey, and requesting an interview. This note was sent late in the evening. Early the next morning a messenger brought me an autograph from His Majesty, saying "although he was very much occupied with state matters, he could not allow one so distinguished," (an idea quite new to me,) "to pass his residence without seeing him, and he would have pleasure from the visit." No time for the appointment being mentioned in the note, I enquired of the messenger if he knew at what hour I should go to His Majesty. He said—"Immediately,—and I have come to conduct you to him." It was early morning—between seven and eight o'clock—and I was going to put on my hat to proceed with him,—but he said—"You cannot see His Majesty in that coat"—(it was a morning frock coat), I had a dress coat in my portmanteau in the room near at hand, and I said I would change my coat and proceed to the palace. With great simplicity he said—"I will wait until you make the change." I opened the portmanteau,—took out the coat,—and effected the change while he was present; and then we proceeded to the chapel, where the king and his court were at mass.

We waited until the king returned to his apartments, and I was then introduced to him by the person who had brought the note, and who had come to conduct me to the palace. I was kindly received by His Majesty, to whom I explained my "New Views," and the benefits which would be derived by society from their introduction into practice. He requested I would put them in the form of a protocol, and send it to him before I left Berchtolsgaden for Vienna. After about an hour's conference I went to my hotel,—prepared an explanation of my views in what His Majesty called a protocol,—took it to the palace,—and enquired for the person who had brought me the note in the morning from the king. I was told he would come to me immediately, and I had not waited more than two minutes in the apartment to which I had been shown, when he came, and I gave him the paper for His Majesty. He said he would immediately take it to him, for he knew His Majesty wished to have it.

Observing the attendants paying, as I thought, extraordinary attention to this person, who had been so familiar and kind to

me, I enquired as I was going out who and what he was, and to my great surprise the reply was—"He is the Prince of Tour and Texas, the King's Prime Minister."

The next morning I set out immediately after breakfast towards the Austrian frontier, about ten miles distant. I was travelling alone in an open carriage, driven by a postillion from the hotel where I had stopt; and when about three miles on my way through a most enchanting district, I passed a gentleman on foot, who as I passed took off his hat, which salutation I returned, as to an unknown stranger; but I observed the driver make a most reverential and long continued obeisance, and I asked him who the gentleman was. He said it was the King:—and I immediately stopped the carriage, alighted, and walked back about two hundred yards, and apologised to his majesty for not knowing him alone on foot so early in the morning. He said the Queen would overtake him soon, and that he was enjoying the beauty of the scene around him on so fine a morning. He had received my protocol, which contained much that was important, and which he would study with interest. After we had walked and talked for some time, admiring the unique scenery around us, he said he would not keep me longer from my journey, for I should be long detained by the examination of my luggage on entering the Austrian territory. Thanking his majesty for the attention I had received from him, I proceeded.

I was stopped at the Austrian barrier, and the officials were about to take out my luggage and minutely inspect it. I requested them to stop, and took out my dispatch from Prince Esterhazy to Prince Metternich, which the officials took into the office to their superior, and immediately returned with it, and closing up the carriage, very politely requested me to proceed, which I did without an article being touched, and I soon arrived at Nurenberg where there was a great difficulty in finding any one who could speak English. At length, however, a very respectable inhabitant of this fine old city, a publisher of some English works, was discovered, and he came to me, and I found him very intelligent, past the middle age, and well acquainted with all that was deserving of notice by a stranger, and he took me from place to place over the city, and never left me until my departure, except to go home for some of his own English publications, which, with great kindness of manner, he requested I would accept; and we parted like old friends, for I felt much indebted to him for the time he gave me, and the great interest he appeared to take in showing me everything worth seeing; and all parties seemed to pay him much attention. I cannot at this moment recall his name, although I have a lively recollection of his attentions to a mere passing stranger.

Arriving at Vienna over night, I had, according to Austrian regulations, to appear the next morning at the head police office,

to say who I was,—where from,—what I came there for,—how long I intended to remain,—how much money I had with me to pay my way,—&c., &c. I accordingly went. I was asked my name, and then what I came for. I said I came to communicate with Prince Metternich. The official smiled, and said—“ We know all about it.—You may stay as long as you like, and do as you wish.” And thus pleasantly was this business over.

I then presented my letter to Prince Metternich, and was received in a friendly manner, and an early interview was appointed, when I was to explain my views and objects.

It must be remembered that at this period Prince Metternich was considered the most experienced and influential statesman in Europe. It was on this account I now visited him, preferring at all times to apply at once to the highest supposed intellect in authority. And it has always been my impression,—and after much experience with all classes this impression is confirmed,—that it will be much easier to reform the world through governments, properly supported by the people, than by any other means. Let the governments of Europe and America be made to see that it will be for their permanent interest and happiness that the population of the world should be taught and governed on true principles and consistent practices, and be assured they will lend their willing assistance and powerful aid to accomplish this ever-to-be desired result. And if the public cannot demonstrate this all important truth to the governments, it has no right to expect their co-operation. The onus, then, is with the public, to give this knowledge in the spirit of kindness and good will to the governments; and if it fails to do so, whatever blame there is in the matter must be attributed to the public. As one of the public I went to Vienna to see and speak the truth to the leading statesman of that day in Europe.

At the appointed interview, there were present with Prince Metternich, Baron Neumann the then secretary of State, and the Prince's private secretary. The Prince placed himself on one side of a narrow table, and myself immediately opposite to him, so that I could distinctly observe every emotion upon his countenance at the memorial which I read to him, and the effect which my conversation produced on his mind.

I commenced by saying that the memorial I was about to read to him was a continuation of the two memorials which I had presented through Lord Castlereagh to the Congress of Sovereigns assembled in Aix-la-Chappelle in 1818. The Prince immediately said to his private secretary,—“ We must have those memorials. Go and see for them, and bring them to me.” In about seven minutes the secretary returned with them. They were the originals, in my own hand writing, with a French translation. I requested to have the originals, and left the translation with the Prince.

I then proceeded, and stated—

That the present *Armies* of Europe required a greater expenditure and waste of valuable power, than, if applied differently and as wisely as they might be, would be sufficient to place Europe permanently in a state of peace and high prosperity.

That the *Ecclesiastical* expenditure, and its waste of valuable physical and mental power, would also, if differently and wisely applied, be sufficient to give high permanent prosperity to the entire population of Europe, and to insure a superior character to each.

That the *Law* expenditure and waste of valuable talent and labour throughout Europe, would, if differently and wisely applied, be sufficient to produce the same results.

That even the *Medical* expenditure and waste of valuable intellectual powers and physical labour, would be sufficient, if differently and wisely applied, to give permanent progress and happiness to Europe.

That these professions, as now applied, were opposed to the well-being, well-doing, health, and happiness, of all of every class, including these professions; and were so contrary to the common feeling and common sense of humanity, that they could not be continued except by the continual action of force and fraud.

That it would be for the lasting benefit and advantage of all governments and peoples, that this system should be as soon as practicable superseded by the new principles and practices which I recommended.

As I proceeded to read this memorial, I watched the impression which it made upon the mind of the Prince, and every sentence seemed to produce the effect which I had intended it should. When I had finished, Baron Neumann arose, and said something little relevant to statements which I had read. The Prince immediately stood up, and with much true dignity in his countenance and manner said—“Gentlemen, I have listened with attention and deep interest to Mr. Owen’s memorial,—and all which he has stated is perfectly true. It is also true that we govern by force and fraud—the only mode yet known to governments how to govern. Here, in Austria, we govern with force and fraud,—but with as little of both as is sufficient to keep the population of the different districts peaceable and quiet; and our population in Austria have as much enjoyment as this system of force and fraud will admit.” This, at that period, was correct; for the Austrians appeared to me to enjoy themselves more than any population I had seen. The Prince proceeded to say that he knew not how to govern a people except by force and fraud; and requested me to give him in a written document my views as to the changes which I would recommend. Our conversation, then, became more general; but from my whole intercourse with the

Prince, he left the impression strong on my mind, that he wished to govern in the best manner for the happiness of the people, with safety to the government.

I occupied myself in preparing the document requested by the Prince.

In the meantime Prince Esterhazy came from London to Vienna, and he immediately called upon me, and gave me an invitation to visit him in Hungary.

Mr. John McGregor, now M.P. for Glasgow, was then in Vienna, commissioned by our government to make a treaty of commerce with the Austrian government. We were together in the same hotel, and with Mr. McGregor, the American Consul, and myself, we formed a party to dine daily together. I received much valuable knowledge of detail from Mr. McGregor, who possesses more accurate knowledge of the statistics of Europe and America than any one I ever met with, and I was much benefited by his varied communications, and gratified by the interest which this little party took in my proceedings.

After presenting my document to Prince Metternich, and seeing what could be seen in and near Vienna, I hastened to prepare for my departure on my mission to other Courts of Europe.

But in justice to Sir Frederick Lamb, afterwards Lord Bouverie, the brother of our then prime minister, Lord Melbourne, I should have stated that immediately on my arrival in Vienna I communicated to him the object of my journey to Vienna, and he was frank, friendly, and hospitable to me while I remained in that city. I had often interviews with him, to explain more of the details of the change of system which I advocated. He made a dinner party for me, invited the French ambassador and his Lady, with other officials of the leading English families then in Vienna, to meet me, and his kindness far exceeded any expectations or claim I could have for it. He gave me letters on my departure to Lord William Russell, our ambassador then in Berlin; and to our minister then in Dresden,—as I intended to visit both these places.

Before quitting Vienna, and to prevent returning to these subjects, I left Mr. M'Gregor in full treaty with Prince Metternich, with whom he had to negotiate many particulars of detail long after I left him, and I did not meet Mr. M'Gregor again until we met by accident at the Board of Trade, of which he soon became the active secretary,—when he at once exclaimed—“What did you say or do to Prince Metternich while you were in Vienna?—for I was with him after your departure almost every day for many weeks, discussing details of our commercial treaty with Austria, and he always seemed quite impatient to get over our business, that we might talk about you and your New Views for governing society and giving a new character to the human race, and he seemed infatuated with these subjects.”

I regretted much when Mr. M'Gregor informed me that he was going to retire from the Board of Trade to become a member of the House of Commons. It was to leave an office which few, if any one living, could fill with equal efficiency and knowledge of the statistics and trade of Europe and America, to enter a career for which his natural faculties unfitted him, and in which his peculiar manner of speaking in public will ever be an obstacle to his progress and usefulness in parliament. It is to be regretted, as there are so few really practical men in the administration of this country, that his great experience should be so misapplied and lost to the nation. See his official report on the whole affairs of the United States, and others of his official documents respecting our commercial treaties with European states.

To resume my progress to make my views better known among the governments of Europe,—I went from Vienna to Dresden, where I was known by the officials of the court, and especially by the first minister of his Majesty the King of Saxony. Many years before this period I was visited by Baron Just, the long well known and highly esteemed Saxon Ambassador in London. He remained with me some time at Braxfield, my residence near New Lanark, and took much pleasure in minutely examining my proceedings there, and investigating the principles by which such satisfactory results had been produced as he witnessed in practice. He came and left, as many other distinguished foreigners did, expressing admiration at what had been seen, and which far exceeded any expectations they had previously formed of what could be done with such a population and such materials as I had to act upon and with,—and I thought no more of this visit from Baron Just than of hundreds of similar ones. But the Baron informed me before his departure that he was about to leave England and his post as ambassador to the court of St. James's, which he had so long filled. He was now advanced in years, and appeared in all he said and did to be a good, just, and benevolent man, desiring the happiness of his fellow-men in every situation in life.

Some time after his departure, to my surprise I received a packet from the then King of Saxony, inclosing a large gold medal with the likeness of his Majesty on one side, and "for merit" on the reverse, with complimentary letters from his Majesty, the Prime Minister, and Baron Just. These proceedings prepared me a favourable reception with the First Minister of the Crown, and we had several interesting communications. He agreed with me in the truth of the principles which I advocated, and as to the great benefits which they would produce if honestly and consistently carried into practice; but he said—"I much fear governments are not yet sufficiently advanced to understand how to introduce the principles or to act upon them." I agreed with him, but said—"The fault is not theirs. As I desire the

“ change ; the onus is with me, to adopt measures to enable governments to perceive the interest which they have to make the change, and until I can do so I must continue to devise measure after measure until I can effect this object.” He approved of the course which I thus proposed to pursue, and heartily and kindly wished me full success in my life time,—but he thought the obstacles in my way were very formidable.

I then went forward to Berlin,—called upon our ambassador, Lord William Russell,—his brother Lord John being then a prominent member of the British cabinet,—but Lord William was at Potsdam with the King. It seemed my card and letters were immediately forwarded to our ambassador,—for the next day I had a note from him regretting his absence when I called, and appointing an immediate interview, as he had returned to Berlin. I explained the object of my visit to Berlin, with which Court I had had, through Baron Jacobi, the Prussian Ambassador in London in 1815-16 and 1817, interesting proceedings, which resulted in the Prussian national system of education.

I had previously published my four “ *Essays on the Formation of Character and New Views of Society.*” This work being on publication very popular among the higher classes, had attracted the Baron’s attention, and we became good friends and had frequent interviews. He sent from me a copy of this work to his Majesty the late King of Prussia, and after a short period I received an autograph from his Majesty, saying how much he was pleased with what I had written on the subject of national education and upon governments, and that in consequence he had given instructions to his Minister of the Interior to establish a national system of education for his dominions ; and it was established the next year.

I proceeded to inform Lord William Russell that in consequence of this old intercourse with this court I had written to his Prussian Majesty on the evening of my arrival in Berlin, mentioning the object of my journey, and that the next morning before ten the King had sent my old and much valued friend Baron Alexander Von Humboldt to communicate with me on the business of my visit to Berlin, and that we were in friendly communication on these matters. Lord William expressed himself much gratified with this statement, and invited me to Potsdam, where Lady William and her family were,—which invitation I accepted, and was kindly and hospitably entertained, and was much pleased with the unaffected and frank manner of her Ladyship.

We returned together to Berlin, where he made a dinner for me, and invited the Prince of Prussia, who spoke English fluently, to meet me ; and we had much conversation upon the subject of my visit.

With these proceedings and frequent visits to and from Baron Humboldt I spent several days most usefully in Berlin. Those

only who have had opportunities of personal intercourse with Baron Humboldt can form any correct idea of the kindness, benevolence, and high intelligence with which he impresses all so favoured; and having known and witnessed his progress since we first met in Paris, in 1818, in the society of his friends Cuvier and Laplace, his progress has been observed with much interest by me, and I was on this occasion greatly gratified to have once more,—and, as I concluded from the advanced age of both, for the last time,—the pleasure of free and uninterrupted converse with him.

At parting at our last interview he said,—“ You are here opposed by the Jesuits.” This I knew,—not only in Berlin, but in Vienna, Dresden, Munich, and wherever I remained for any time,—for they were anxious to counteract the impression which my “ New Views” seldom failed to make upon the minds of all seeking truth.

It had been my intention to visit St. Petersburg, the Hague, and other Courts; but the approach of winter and my affairs in England made it necessary for me to hasten home.

After my return I continued, by regular lectures, public meetings, and publications, to instruct the people, and gradually to prepare them for a better and higher state of existence than the painful condition to which the progress of science, misdirected under a false and evil system, had reduced, and was still lower reducing them;—for the longer this system of error in principle and practice shall be maintained, the greater will be the demoralisation and misery of all classes

To keep the subject of these New Views in the mind of the upper classes, I petitioned Parliament, session after session, with little intermission, from 1816 to the present time; and although these petitions were ably supported, often by Lord Brougham, sometimes by the Marquis of Lansdowne, and by Lord Montague, and by leading members in the House of Commons, they were always, although unopposed, ineffectual to stimulate an open and fair debate, since the administration of Lord Liverpool, who was a thorough convert to my views, and if he had not been on this subject strongly opposed by the church, then all powerful, he and his cabinet were ready and most willing that it should be thoroughly investigated and tested in practice.

The “ *New Views*” and “ *The Formation of Character*” had now become familiar subjects, even among the working classes, and although, for want of previous training in mental investigations, they took up these subjects imperfectly, and with little or no practical experience,—yet a new mind and new feelings were growing up among them, and the working classes of this generation have a very superior class of mind to those of former generations.

Leaving England now for a time, I went to sojourn with my

family in the United States, of which I had made them citizens, —knowing that liberal views, good moral conduct, talent, and industry, would there meet encouragement and reward, which could not be expected under a false and evil system as it existed and was supported in the old world. I was not mistaken in these conclusions; and it was fortunate that I returned to the United States at this period.

My eldest son, Robert Dale Owen, had now become a member of the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States, after having been a member of the Legislature of his own state, (Indiana,)—and a subject of much interest to me and also my son had been for sometime before the House, and unsuccessful, although brought in and supported by the talent and interest of two highly respected and influential members. This was the establishment of the Smithsonian Institution, for which Mr. Smithson had left by his will a large sum in England, but which, if certain conditions were not fulfilled in England, should be applied as he directed in the United States.

Mr. Richard Rush,—son of the celebrated Dr. Rush, a signer of the act of Independence, and long United States' Ambassador in London,—came to England in virtue of this will, to claim the funds, and obtained them for the United States, with interest,—the whole sum to be applied according to the will. The principle and interest of these funds remained some years unused and unnoticed in the Treasury of the United States, until John Quincy Adams, ex-president, who knew all about the transactions connected with this affair, became a member of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, and he introduced a bill to apply the funds, as directed, to establish an institution “to increase and extend knowledge among men;”—but with all his extraordinary industry, high talent, and great experience, he failed.

Sometime after, the subject was again introduced by Governor Tallmadge of Wisconsin,—a then talented and popular member of the House of Representatives—or of the Senate, I forget which,—at Washington. He consulted much with my son upon the bill while it was in progress, and my son communicated freely with me on the subject, and we gave Mr. Tallmadge all the assistance in and out of Congress that was in our power; but again it was without success:—the bill, like Mr. J. Q. Adams's, was lost.

Being thus made familiar with the subject, it appeared to me far too important to be lost sight of. Could the bill be passed, and the institution established and conducted according to the will of the liberal and far seeing donor it might be made of great permanent value, not only of the United States, but to the population of the world.

On pondering over the matter I considered its success deserv-

ing every effort, and I said to my son—"This affair is too important to remain as it is. The government will lend no aid to take this large sum out of its hands, and a strong effort will be required to obtain it for its intended and proper use. You stand pretty well with all parties in both Houses. You can well defend such a cause in your own House of Representatives, and under these circumstances there is some chance that, with unflinching energy, industry, and perseverance in such a cause, you may succeed. I know it is a most formidable task, especially for a young member,—but the satisfaction of success, if attained, will be so much greater."

After some consideration he said—"I will attempt it, and will do all I can to deserve success."

He introduced his bill. It was at every stage strongly opposed, and on the last day but one of the session he had almost given up hope of success,—when on that morning he received a letter from me, (I had left Washington for a few weeks,) strongly urging him to strain every nerve among his friends to the last, and never to despair. This, he told me, aroused all his energies. He went immediately among his most-to-be-confided-in friends:—the bill had passed through every stage with almost a death struggle to the third reading in the Senate, and only now required to be passed; but there is on the last day of the session such a crowd of bills to pass, and all are so eager to pass their own, that to pass one on that day is most uncertain, and cannot be done without an arduous struggle. His friends were there, true to their previous day's engagement,—and the bill was passed. A great victory certainly for a young member.

Having so far succeeded, he applied himself with great industry to make the funds available to the greatest extent for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men.

My son's mind had been trained and educated to be extended beyond class, sect, or party,—and he desired that the Smithsonian Institution should not be tinctured with either, as was evidently the intention of its founder. He took great care in preparing the Institution itself, its plan, its building, and the materials to be employed in the latter, as well as in the symmetry of its architecture.

He was also most anxious, (and I would say over anxious,) to obtain for it the best and most competent secretary,—knowing how much depended upon this official, for the ultimate success of the object for which the Institution was established. He had been strongly impressed, I know not how, that the Rev. Mr. Henry, president of the Princeton College, or University, was the best choice that could be made for this office. Not knowing Mr. Henry, and well knowing Mr. Richard Rush, formerly Ambassador to London, and who had succeeded in obtaining in England the funds under the will of Mr. Smithson, and being con-

scious of his business habits, great talents, and high integrity, I strongly recommended him as the most fit person in the United States for secretary to that Institution. My son had the full influence of the appointment, and he used it to the utmost in favor of Mr. Henry,—and he was elected. He was and is, no doubt, well suited to preside over one of the old Institutions of the old, ignorant, and prejudiced system of society, as governed by the priesthood of this day in the United States; but not so well suited by his education and position to increase and diffuse superior knowledge among men. I therefore considered his appointment a great check to the progress of the most valuable knowledge among men; and I believe my son had soon reason to discover the mistake which he had made.

The building as it stands was decided upon by my son.

While this matter was in progress, the difference between the British government and the United States arose respecting the territory of Oregon, and a war spirit to a great height was created in the States,—but particularly in Congress,—supported by the press of all parties.

Seeing this, and that no party, on account of its great unpopularity, would venture in Congress or through the press to advocate peace between the two countries on reasonable terms,—I wrote and published in the leading Washington Journals a letter strongly advocating peace, and stating terms which I declared to be just to both parties, and that the government which refused them would be the cause of a war which all good men would regret, and which both nations would long have cause to lament.

The day previous to this publication, *The Union*, the Government Journal, and the speeches in Congress, were all for war. The following day, however, *The Union* came out in favour of peace, and the war spirit gradually diminished in Congress.

I was in communication daily with the government respecting my proposals, and finding a spirit in the Cabinet not unfavourable to my views, I came to England,—had an interview with Lord Aberdeen, still the Foreign minister,—and finding it would require but an impartial friendly interference to bring the two governments to terms of peace, I hastened back to Washington, where I found the parties in Congress nearly balanced between peace and war on the terms I had suggested. There was ever a difference between the two Houses upon the subject, and three members were appointed by each House to confer, and if possible agree upon this now all engrossing subject.

My son Robert Dale Owen was one of the three selected by the House of Representatives. He had now imbibed my views; and he strongly urged them at the conference between the two houses, and was successful in his advocacy for peace upon the conditions which had been stated.

I again immediately returned to England, where I remained

until I learned that the points of difference had been finally agreed upon by our government and the United States' minister, and then I returned to Washington,—thus crossing the Atlantic to endeavour to keep peace between the two countries in which I had so deep an interest, four times in less than five months.

In 1817 I returned to this country—the climate much better agreeing with my constitution than that of the United States.

Since my return I have endeavoured by lectures and various publications to prepare the public for an entire change of system, without which I have long known no permanent change for the happiness of the human race could be effected. These preparations have been increased year by year, until in May of last year I thought the public mind of this country was sufficiently developed to listen to the introduction of those principles and practices which, when adopted by society, will produce the Millennial State of Existence upon Earth.

I was not disappointed. The meeting which I called in May last was most gratifying and eminently successful, and gave me full evidence that when the governments of the civilised nations of the world can be convinced that the present system is based on falsehood and is necessarily productive of evil continually, and when they shall be therefore united in agreeing to change it for the true, good, and happy system of the human race, the people are preparing to second their efforts, and thus to give a New Existence to Man upon the Earth, and to introduce and maintain in practice the long promised Millennium.

That meeting prepared the public for the Congress of the Reformers of the World, which is to be held in St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, to commence at noon on the 14th of May next, and to continue until the subject shall be fully and fairly discussed. For the time is come when a great revolution for good or evil is at hand;—for good, if right reason and sound common sense can be made to prevail;—for evil if the prejudices of falsehood, fraud, and despotism shall continue to be supported. And which of these results shall be the victor at this period in the history of the world, will depend upon the degree of development of the public mind.

This must be patiently observed. Nature requires its own time to mature all things,—whether mineral, vegetable, animal, or mind and spirit. She will not be prematurely urged on, before her due order in time. Therefore, if the mental faculties of man are now sufficiently developed, practical measures will be now adopted by governments and people, in cordial union, to commence the New Existence of Man upon the Earth, and thus to introduce the true Millennial state into the practice of the population of the world.

But if the mental powers of the advanced men of the world are yet too undeveloped for the entire gradual change from the

system of falsehood and evil to the system of truth and good, then must nations yet wait the arrival, in the due order of time, of the period when nature shall have prepared the human race for this change, which sooner or later must come.

I have also at all times freely communicated my publications and proceedings to our own and the other governments of the civilised world, and while the Peace Conference was sitting in Paris I addressed the following letters to the Earl of Clarendon, and supplied each member of the Conference with copies of the *Millennial Gazette*, in which reference is made to the permanent advantages to be obtained by federative treaties between nations.

I am conscious that no great change for the permanent benefit of nations can be made without a union of these governments, and they must now so unite, or the people will unite against them, and thus again violence will be organised, and progress in knowledge, peace, and happiness will be delayed for a long season, and the reign of repulsive feelings over the attractive will be continued.

During the proceedings thus briefly and imperfectly sketched, of the continued agitation which I have excited to prepare the population for an entire change of system in principle and practice,—three subjects of more or less interest have occurred, to which it may be useful to refer, as they have been hitherto misunderstood by the public.

The first is the building of Orbiston, in Lanarkshire, in 1825.

The second is the establishment of the Labour Exchange in Gray's Inn Road, in 1832.

The third is the establishment of the community at Harmony Hall, in Hampshire, in 1839.

The first was commenced and finished while I was absent in the United States, by two of the most faithful and honest of my disciples, both over anxious for the improvement of society on the principles I had advocated and on the practice I had exhibited partially at New Lanark. These two were Mr. Hamilton of Dalziel, and Mr. Abraham Combe, the elder brother of Andrew and George Combe, but in many respects superior to both. Mr. Hamilton expended, I believe, upwards of twenty thousand pounds in this experiment, and destroyed his health,—for he died at an early period of life. Abraham Combe sacrificed his life prematurely to this well-intentioned, but ill-judged experiment.

Neither of these self-devoted men possessed practical knowledge equal to the task which they hastily and rashly undertook in my absence and without my knowledge. The building which they erected, and all their general arrangements, were constructed to prevent their success, and upon my return from the United States I told them they could never succeed with such arrangements; and I was never at this establishment for one day, and

never interfered with it in any way. Yet this was said to be one of my failing establishments.

Respecting the second experiment,—the Labour Exchange in Gray's Inn Road. I had published in my official report to the county of Lanark an outline theory of the society which I advocated, and in this report I explained the principle of exchanging labour for labour, by means of the labour note,—and that on this principle and by this practice wealth might be increased without the aid of metal money to an illimitable extent, even to saturate the world with wealth of the most useful and valuable description.

After my return from the United States in 1830, I commenced lecturing weekly on the Sunday, to explain in more detail my "New Views of Society," and to form a new and superior character for the human race. It was at these lectures I introduced music at their commencement and termination, and by degrees a social tea party to precede the lecture. This I did, knowing that tea, music, and a lecture explanatory of valuable practical knowledge, were calculated to create more moral results than drunkenness in public houses. And soon these lectures, so accompanied, created a large congregation; and the two first places in which these lectures were given soon became too small, and Gray's Inn Road Institution, with its extensive accommodation for lectures to large audiences, and for various other purposes, was offered and strongly pressed upon my acceptance for occupation.

Soon the large lecture room, sufficient to accommodate an audience of two thousand, became regularly filled every Sunday, and disciples and apostles of the system increased week by week; and it became necessary to form a committee from among these, to assist in the management of these increasing arrangements; and by degrees an association was formed, on pure democratic principles, to promote in all ways the progress of the New Views towards their introduction into practice.

The committee elected as the executive organ of the association, who had studied my writings and attended my explanatory lectures, thought the time had arrived when the Labour Note system could be introduced into practice; and they became daily more urgent that I should, as president of the association, give my consent for them to commence this change, in the buildings so convenient for the purpose of forming part of this establishment.

I told them, as a practical man, being accustomed to large practical arrangements, and knowing the necessity for an extended preparation before such a new mode of business could be commenced with order and under a well organised system, that it would require at least two years of continued attention to have the requisite arrangements completed to open such a business as this would be if properly conducted.

The committee could not understand the necessity for such preparation, and so many seemed to know everything that would be required, that it was decided by a majority of votes that the practice should be commenced with the least possible delay.

I said—"You will destroy or greatly retard your success for want of due preparation on a scale sufficiently large for the business which will arise to be transacted." And so it occurred. The rush on the first day of opening the establishment was such as to endanger the lives of the parties on entering the establishment, and it was found necessary to put up strong barriers to be opened by guards stationed to admit only a certain number until they were attended to and dismissed.

The experiment, although thus introduced with great defects, was sufficient to show what could be done by experienced men of business on this principle. It continued gradually to overcome the great disadvantage of its premature commencement, and there was a fair prospect that eventually it would be very successful. But unfortunately the building was the property of an eccentric individual, almost bordering on a state of insanity, and we had also among us one who had been a dissenting minister, and who occasionally was permitted to lecture to our audience. The lectures were so popular as now to be profitable beyond covering their necessary expenses, and the business showed every sign of great success as it and the lectures were now conducted.

When matters were in this state, the dissenting minister, having no regard to the engagements to the cause in which he was permitted to become a member, secretly stimulated the proprietor of the building, (who had strongly pressed me to occupy it as I did,) to a state of real madness, by telling him that if he would take the building out of my hands, *he* could carry on the lectures, while, both together, they could conduct the Labour Exchange and make ten thousand a year profit.

This was too strong a temptation for the madman to withstand, and he and the minister got a number of ruffians together, and blocked up over night the entrance, and kept forcible possession of the premises. Some of my committee, without my knowledge and contrary to my wishes, opposed force to force; but when I heard of it, I prevailed upon them to desist. And I took a larger lecture room in premises in Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square.

In preference to leaving the Gray's Inn Road Institution I offered the mad proprietor a thousand a year for a long lease, which the minister advised him to refuse—their prospects, as he said, being so great from the lectures and business. The result in a short time was to reduce the lecture audience from 2,000 to twenty, and to ruin the proprietor to such an extent that he lost the building altogether.

But this was afterwards called one of my failing experiments.

The third proceeding was the establishment of a community at Tytherley and Queenwood, in Hampshire.

My disciples and apostles in 1838-9 were becoming clamorous for the commencement of a community on the principles which I advocated. They thought they could raise sufficient funds to commence one, and that they possessed sufficient practical knowledge to conduct it. I was of a very different opinion; and would not commence until there were funds sufficient lodged in bank for that purpose.

My advice was disregarded. The parties commenced;—went forward without any practical knowledge of what they had to do;—came to a stand;—and then applied to me to relieve them out of their difficulties. I did so for that time; and as the first governor whom they selected had destroyed his health under a task for which he was unequal, they appointed another, and proceeded with his inexperienced assistance, until they again could proceed no further.

A second time they applied to me,—and then I went to the establishment, which, from want of the knowledge of governing qualities, had arrived at so much confusion as to make it impracticable to put it in the state in which it should be for ultimate success.

It was a Democratic establishment, governed at stated meetings; and there were several self-willed inexperienced members among them, who formed a party and out-voted some of the measures which I proposed, and which I knew were necessary for its success,—and I resigned all connection with it.

In less than two years they again brought it to a stand, and they could proceed no further with it, and gave up.

It has since been applied, as I intended it should be, for the formation of character for young persons, under the direction of Mr. Edmondson, who conducts the institution, from all reports, in a manner to give general satisfaction to the parents of all the children committed to his charge.

The outline of this establishment of Harmony Hall, on the estate of Queenwood, is favourable in many respects for the formation of a family commonwealth, when society shall be prepared for one on its true and only principles, which alone can ensure success.

COPIES OF LETTERS SENT TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON DURING THE SITTINGS OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN PARIS.

(*First Letter.*)

MY LORD,—

Your Peace Conference has met at a critical period in human history. Old society is nonplussed, and cannot longer support itself. It has been fully tried through all past centuries, and is, at this day, over the world, a sad failure for all the purposes for which society should be constituted.

The means to make the population of the world healthy, enlightened, good, united, prosperous, and happy, without stay or retrogression, now abundantly exist, are known, and will soon be universally known. I ask your Lordship and the Members of the Peace Conference,—Is it probable,—is it possible, that the system can be longer maintained, which applies these same means to keep the population diseased in body and mind, ignorant of the most valuable truths,—to train them to be immoral and dis-united,—to retain them in poverty or the fear of it,—and to make anything approaching to a rational enjoyment of life impracticable for any class in any country?

No, my Lord,—this system of evil is doomed this year to die its natural death, and, if there be foresight and wisdom in your Conferences, you will prepare your governments and the public to effect this change, in peace, in order, and with wise foresight.

Do not hide your heads in the Peace Conference, and suppose that the thinking part of the public do not yet see things as they have been now expressed. Should you do so, you will act as unwisely as the ostrich, when it hides its head in the sand, leaving its large body exposed to view. I will first in a day or two send to each member copies of a preliminary address to the Conference, to open the subject of a *New System* for the government of the human race; and in a few days afterwards I will forward for each member of the Conference an outline and to some extent the details of this new system.

It will be evident to your Lordship and the members of the Conference, that the principles which can alone permanently adjust the peace of Europe, will also permanently adjust the peace of the world. Your present Conference, wisely directed, may inaugurate this glorious change, and enable existing governments to direct it peaceably through its growth to maturity. If commenced aright, the subsequent measures will be plain sailing.

The two systems for governing the world will be before you :—the one true, the other false ;—the one good, the other evil ;—the one ignorant and foolish, the other enlightened and wise ;—the one gradually leading to utter confusion, and ultimately to a pandemonium ; the other to order, and ultimately to a terrestrial paradise.

The one is a system of repulsion, the other will be of attraction.

If governments see their own interest, they will now openly adopt the one, and will gradually abandon the other.

Faithfully, my Lord, your friend and servant,

ROBERT OWEN.

Sevenoak's Park, March 1st, 1856.

(*Second Letter.*)

MY LORD,—

I forward to you by this mail a rough copy of my promised work, which I regret has been delayed in the press longer than I anticipated. Finished copies shall be forwarded from London for the members of the Peace Conference to-morrow or Tuesday.

It will be evident to the members of the Peace Conference, that no combination of powers can much longer maintain the present system of society in any country,—it is now so glaringly opposed to the interest of each nation, and to that of the population of the world. Its ignorance, evils, and consequent miseries, are become through the enlightened progress of the public mind too heavy to be longer supported or bearable.

But do not hastily conclude a definitive treaty of peace. A preliminary peace, to terminate at once all conflicts by land and sea, and to stop war expenses and feelings is the most desirable.

You have done well and wisely in admitting Prussia to your Conference; but you can have no permanent peace for Europe without at the same time securing the peace of the world. And the peace of the world can be secured only by a Congress of the present acting powers, with the addition of the United States. The eight leading powers of the world, by pursuing a plain, common-sense rational course, could easily command the permanent peace of the world most beneficially for all governments, nations, and peoples.

I earnestly intreat you, my Lord, and the other members of the Peace Conference, not to let this golden opportunity pass, for terminating for ever the evils of the existing system, and for giving permanent peace and harmony to the afflicted population of the earth.

I have called a Congress of the Reformers of the World, for the 14th of May next, to assist you in directing public opinion in this great and glorious work for the redemption of mankind from sin and misery.

In these proceedings you will readily perceive I am aided by the great and good spirits of former days, who are deeply interested in the present measures to be adopted by the Peace Conference. I remain, my Lord, as ever,

A friend to you and the human race,

ROBERT OWEN.

Sevenoaks Park, March 16th, 1856.

(Third Letter.)

MY LORD,—

I have given instructions to my publishers in London to forward to your Lordship copies of No. 2 of my *Millennial Gazette*, which I expect will be completed to-day or to-morrow, and I expect they will be in Paris on or before Friday next. These copies are for the members of the Peace Conference now in Paris,—and in addition I enclose an article intended for No. 3 of the same Gazette, to be published on the 1st of May next.

These articles are written to prepare the public mind in all civilised nations for “The New Existence of Man upon the Earth,”—for the Millennial State, or cordial brotherhood of the human race. This is the great revolution, to be gradually and peaceably accomplished by wise foresight, beneficially for all nations and individuals. It is the destiny of the human race; and to resist it by human means will be a vain attempt.

The interest, progress, and happiness of the human race are involved in this change; and the meeting of the Peace Conference in Paris at this critical period is a presage of the forthcoming Sacred Federative Alliance of all Nations, for the general benefit of all, through future generations.

That you and your colleagues in the present Peace Conference may be efficient aids to forward this great work, is the cordial wish of

Your Lordship's friend and servant,

ROBERT OWEN.

Sevenoaks Park; Sevenoaks.

April 9th, 1856.

THE CAUSE OF THE PAST AND PRESENT IRRATIONAL CONTENDING STATE OF SOCIETY OVER THE WORLD.

THE population of the world has been hitherto governed by rulers, statesmen, and legislators, all too ignorant of human nature and of the unchanging laws of God, to know what was practicable or impracticable in the government of the human race.

These parties have been so trained and educated by their material and mental surroundings, that they believed it to be impracticable to govern men except by falsehood, fraud, force, and fear; and all governments known among men have been a compound of these errors and evils.

They all appear to have thought it impracticable to govern in the spirit of impartial justice, charity and love, or in accordance with God's unchanging laws of humanity.

To govern by falsehood, fraud, force, and fear, being directly

contrary to the laws of God, required the most stringent, severe, unjust, and cruel laws of men,—laws which, however, required to be continually superseded by new laws, to be in their turn continually superseded by new attempts at law making; and this course has been pursued through all past ages to this hour. And these laws of men over the world require to be repealed at this day on account of their evil results in practice, as much as those which have been repealed age after age through every succeeding generation.

The want of knowledge, in rulers, statesmen, and legislators, of what is and what is not practicable, has been made strikingly evident by the results of the Peace Conference just terminated in Paris. No doubt these esteemed eminent statesmen on this eventful occasion acted up to the highest pinnacle of their knowledge, to endeavour to adjust a peace of considerable permanence for Europe and Asia, as far as European powers were concerned in that portion of the world. I ask in the name of common sense—what have they done by their united wisdom, and no doubt great desire to obtain this so much wished-for result by the well-disposed of all nations? In this treaty these statesmen have not expounded one principle for practice that can lead to a permanent peace in Europe, Asia, or any other part of the world. The whole treaty is based on the old undeveloped notions of statesmen,—notions which to this hour have kept the population of the world in a most irrational state of conflict, and which have given to all individuals the most repulsive feelings against their own humanity, and thus misery to a greater or lesser extent has been inflicted upon all born, trained, educated, employed, and placed, as all have been to this day.

That which is now practicable and impracticable to secure the peace, well-doing, and happiness of the human race, shall be more fully explained at the ensuing Congress of the Reformers of the World.

ROBERT OWEN.

Sevenoaks Park, Sevenoaks,
27th April, 1856.

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