

LETTER FROM MR. ROBERT GWEN

by  
Robert Gwen

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# LETTER

FROM

MR. ROBERT OWEN.

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*To the President and Members of the New York State Convention, appointed to revise the Constitution of the State.*

GENTLEMEN: You have been elected by your fellow-citizens to perform, in the present advanced state of society, perhaps the most important duties that could be entrusted to any association of men.

You are required to revise, amend, and, if need be, to reconstruct a Constitution in principle and practice for the State of New York—a State which may well be termed the “Empire State,” because in population, agriculture, general education, commerce, manufactures and the useful sciences, it stands pre-eminent amidst so many rapidly progressing sister States, whose constitutions are also based on equal rights and a just equality for all.

This task has devolved upon you after more than half a century of experience in the results of those constitutions in practice, an experience invaluable as a guide for your proceedings.

The problem to be worked out in practice, as evidently intended by the founders of the Constitution of the United States, is the elevation of the whole population in perpetuity to equal rights and the most beneficial practical equality.

In the then state of public opinion, and without practical experience to aid them, they made a greater progress towards the attainment of their object than could have been anticipated. The Constitution was devised and adopted by the States.

But equal rights and a just equality have not been yet obtained, and it is now for you to see what further progress the great advanced state of public opinion in the civilized world will permit you to make towards the solution of this problem.

Experience has proved that with the fundamental errors on which our early ancestors based society, “equal rights and a just equality” could not be attained in practice.

The great question for the calm deliberation of the Convention now to ascertain is, whether the advanced mind of the State of New York is prepared to abandon the fundamental errors of their inexperienced ancestors, with the injurious practices which necessarily emanate from those errors; and whether they have moral courage and honesty to openly and boldly recommend the adoption of fundamental principles which will of necessity lead straight onward to the highest permanent prosperity and most beneficial practices.

To abandon these errors, and adopt these truths, is the turning point to gain the next advance in civilization; for without this change no permanent good can be expected; and without you can effect this abandonment of false and adoption of true fundamental principles, all you can otherwise obtain will be of small benefit to the public, and disappoint your expectations.

The time is near at hand, if it be not already come, when the authorities of the world will be, by the irresistible voice of public opinion, called upon to abandon those false fundamental principles on which alone society has been based, and the irrational character of men has been formed, and to replace these false notions, derived solely from the inexperienced imaginations of half savages, for eternal truths—for laws of God—unknown to change, and which, in practice, can produce good only to the human race. For it will be now ascertained that, in all past ages, men have been solely governed by the same false fundamental

notions, varied only by the irrational prejudices arising in the peculiar latitudes and longitudes of each division of our race. And to such extent have these errors been carried, that the latitude and longitude of the birth and training of any individuals being given, the general language, religion, habits, manners, and prejudices of that individual are thereby also given.

The universal fundamental errors are, that each one forms his own individual qualities, opinions, and feelings, and therefore that they should be made responsible for what they may be to their equally ignorant fellow-men. Upon these universal errors are engrafted the peculiar errors of the respective latitudes and longitudes in which each one has been placed and instructed; and thus has each one been, unknown to himself, forced to become most irrational in thought and action, opposed to his own happiness, and the happiness of his fellows.

The change required to make men into rational beings is to prevent this veil of ignorance, which is prepared for each new generation by the existing matured generation, being formed, as at present for them, from their birth to their full maturity of mind and body; and instead thereof a new character must be created for them from infancy, based on the knowledge that no one can create his own qualities of body or mind, or his own opinions, or his own feelings, and that for men to make themselves responsible to one another for that which they could not create, is to act to the utmost limit of folly and inconsistency; to mar and destroy the principles of rationality and happiness; to create universal falsehood and deception, and to render charity and kindness from man to man and nation to nation impracticable.

In addition to this fundamental change in the character of the infant from birth, to give him the language of truth and the conduct of straightforward honesty in look, word, and action, he must be well employed, well placed, and well governed; and, to attain these results, he must be surrounded by an entirely new combination of external objects, previously calculated to have their irresistible influence in making each one intelligent, good, kind, and charitable; or, in other words, to become a **FULL FORMED SUPERIOR RATIONAL BEING**.

That these principles are true, and the practice most desirable, all who have been enabled to overcome the prejudices of their latitudes and longitudes will now admit; but the difficulty which presents itself to them is to know how to effect the change from the false principles and injurious practices so long established throughout society for the true principles and their beneficial practices.

This difficulty arises in their mind from want of a knowledge of the practical affairs of life upon a scale sufficiently extended to enable them to comprehend how such a change can be effected without the violence of revolutions, much less without injury to any one, and great benefit to all.

ROBERT OWEN.

WASHINGTON, JUNE 8, 1846.

The following is the Constitution proposed by Mr. Owen for the State of New York :

*Ultimate Constitution proposed for the State of New York, based and constructed upon the LAWS OF GOD, and the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, which is in perfect conformity with those laws.*

**EQUAL RIGHTS AND A JUST EQUALITY THE ONLY PURE DEMOCRACY.**

BY ROBERT OWEN.

*Ultimate proposed Constitution for the State of New York.*

PREAMBLE.

A Convention has been legally called to consider what change the late extraordinary advance in science, and the progress in general knowledge, requires now to be made in the Constitution of the State of New York.

The geographical position, present constitution, population, wealth, activity of mind, as exhibited in the agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and scientific improvements of the State of New York, peculiarly designate it, at this eventful period, as the most favorable State, in the New or Old World, in which the progress made in practical knowledge through the scientific discoveries in various sciences within the past century, may be concentrated to form **AN ENTIRELY NEW STATE OF HUMAN EXISTENCE**; one immensely

in advance of any condition of humanity known to have existed in the history of man ; and thus to become an irresistible example, to be followed, first, by the other States of this Union, and afterwards, by the nations of the world, because it will secure their prosperity, peace, and happiness.

But to form a Constitution for "an entirely new state of human existence" is no ordinary task, and should not be lightly undertaken or attempted ; and why, it may be asked, recommend "AN ENTIRELY NEW CONSTITUTION ?" Cannot the present be so amended as to render AN ENTIRE CHANGE unnecessary ?

No ; the old constitutions of the world—not excepting the latest improvements in these States—have been based solely on the most erroneous and demoralizing laws of men, emanating from conjectures, unsupported by one fact, and which have produced the falsehood, violence, and fraud which have hitherto governed the human race, and generated principles which, when forced from birth into the mind, distort and derange all the rational faculties of man, and, of necessity, make him the most contentious and irrational of animals. In consequence, "an entirely new Constitution," based on eternal truths, on everlasting principles of nature, ON THE UNCHANGING LAWS OF GOD, is now required to form man into a superior rational being, lay a solid foundation for a sound mind, filled with charity and affection for his race, for a rapid increase in all kinds of useful knowledge, and thus secure the permanent prosperity and peace of the world.

Under the best constitutions of the most advanced nations, the natural rights of man are talked about, but are unknown in practice ; democratic constitutions, based upon equality, are spoken of and recommended, but a true democracy has yet to be established for the first time among the nations of the earth. The constitution, now recommended for adoption by the State of New York, will constitute for the first time in human history a PERFECT DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, in which the rights of all will be protected, and a just and most beneficial equality will be permanently maintained, without contests, ambition, or jealousies.

Let no one here say that humanity cannot be made to attain these results because the nature of man is bad ; it is not so. The discovery is now made that every organ, faculty, propensity, and quality of humanity is GOOD BY NATURE ; and, when understood and rightly directed from birth, according to the all-wise and unchanging laws of God, will lead only to health, knowledge, morality, excellence, and happiness through life to death.

A perfect Democratic Constitution, based on the laws of God, and made throughout consistent with those laws, will effect, regardless of the variety of individual natural organization, except mal-formations at birth, such a character and condition for all subject to it, that each one shall be well trained and educated physically, mentally, morally, and practically, and be well cared for from birth through life, and be made a valuable and happy member of the Government. A constitution now formed, with the aid of the experience of the past, the improvements, inventions, and discoveries, brought into practice since these States became an independent nation, may be expected to partake largely of this progress in general knowledge, and go far to PREVENT THE EVILS which have arisen from the adoption of man's laws in opposition to those of God ; for man's laws CREATE crime, while God's laws will forever PREVENT crime and its direful consequences.

But how are the laws of God and of man to be known ? They are easily to be ascertained. The laws of man are opposed to facts, perpetually changing, inconsistent with each other, and always productive of evil. The laws of God are in accordance with all facts, unchangeable, ever consistent, always productive of good, and, when fully carried into execution, will secure the permanent happiness of the human race.

Yet, strange to say, the laws of man have hitherto alone governed the population of the world, and thereby irrationalized all human proceedings. The fundamental laws of man, from which all his innumerable other laws are forced upon him, in the vain attempt to counteract the evils produced by those fundamental laws, are—

*First.* On the supposition, falsely assumed, that man individually forms his own natural qualities, man's laws make the individual accountable to his equally ignorant fellow-man for what those natural qualities may be. On this assumption, which is opposed to all facts, endless inconsistent laws have been introduced by lawgivers in all their codes, with a view to correct the continually increasing evils and misery with which this fundamental law of man has so long afflicted the human race.

*Second.* On the supposition, falsely assumed, that man individually forms his own feelings of liking and disliking persons and things, man's laws have made man, in all human codes, accountable to his equally and often more ignorant fellow-man for his individual feelings. And on this error lawgivers have based many of their most important institutions, with the vain attempt to overcome the laws of God, which continually rise to witness against them.

*Third.* On the supposition, falsely assumed, that man individually forms his own opinions by what is called his free-will, man's laws have made man to be accountable to his often far more ignorant fellow-man for his opinions, and innumerable counteracting laws and institutions, necessarily producing the worst state and temper of mind, irrationality, crime, insanity, repulsion of feeling, and endless misery to all classes, with universal falsehood in language and deception in conduct.

*Fourth.* On the supposition, falsely assumed, that man individually, by some imagined free-will which he creates for himself, decides upon his actions and his conduct, man's laws have made man accountable to his ignorant fellow-man for those actions and that conduct, and hence errors and miseries in the affairs of men beyond all estimate or possible calculation.

These are the fundamental laws of men, from which all human codes of laws have emanated, and from which all repulsive feelings, hatred, violences, fightings, and wars have proceeded, as well as falsehood and every other crime. Crime is alone created by man's laws; and man's laws emanate alone from the ignorance in which he is born: for his errors man cannot rationally be blamed; by the laws of his nature they can be overcome only by slow experience. Experience of all the past has at length divulged the causes of man's errors and evils, and the permanent and effectual remedy for both.

The REMEDY is in the discovery of the LAWS OF GOD, AND THEIR UNIVERSAL APPLICATION TO PRACTICE. These laws are few, unchanging, but all important in their practical results. They are—

*First.* That all the natural qualities of man at birth are good, and are alone forced upon each individual by the GREAT CREATING POWER OF THE UNIVERSE; and that, consequently, that power is alone the sole cause of them.

*Second.* That all human feelings are *instincts*, proceeding directly from the natural qualities given even before birth to each individual by the power which had previously created those faculties of feeling.

*Third.* That all human opinions are forced upon each individual in accordance with the unchanging laws of his nature—that is, by the strongest conviction made on the qualities of his mind as given to him at birth and afterwards trained and cultivated by society. In consequence, the opinions of individuals may be generally known by the latitude and longitude in which they have been trained and educated.

*Fourth.* That all human actions proceed from the feelings or convictions which are forced upon each individual, or by the union of both; and these feelings and convictions are, in every case, created for the individual by God and society; and no one can ever rationally be blamed, much less punished, for these feelings and convictions, either here or hereafter. It is full time that such insane notions should be forever abandoned. With a correct understanding of the origin of the laws of man and of God, a constitution for the just government of the human race may be now formed, and a combination of favorable circumstances gives the preference for its introduction into practice to the Empire State of New York.

Before such a constitution could be formed or imagined, it was necessary that three new sciences should be discovered. These are—

*First.* The science of human nature; or an accurate knowledge of the materials to be acted upon.

*Second.* The science of society, or the knowledge of forming unions, or of associating populations, to create permanently the greatest advantages for individuals and society.

*Third.* The science of the overwhelming influence of external objects over all individuals for good or evil; or the knowledge how to select circumstances around individuals, and unions of individuals; to ensure to both the greatest number of advantages, and the largest share of permanent happiness.

These three all-important sciences have been discovered and applied in forming the new constitution for the State of New York, which constitution is also intended to be a model constitution for universal gradual adoption.

This constitution is purely DEMOCRATIC, and in perfect accordance with the far-seeing views of the founders of the Constitution of the United States. With some of those deep-thinking men with whom it originated, the writer had much confidential personal communication, and especially with the author of the "Declaration of Independence;" and he knew from them, after their long life of valuable experience, wherein they were disappointed in the practical results of their beautiful theory, and he well knew the CAUSES which created their disappointments.

It becomes now in order to consider what are the duties of an honest democratic government.



A democratic government, pure in its principles and practice, can be founded only to effect equal justice to all within its jurisdiction.

Equal justice to all requires equal education, occupation, and condition through life, according to age and capacity.

These results can never be attained under the ignorant, unjust, and most demoralizing laws of men, while they will be most easily secured under the laws of God.

It is, therefore, that this new democratic government, based on these laws, consistent in all its parts, and beautiful in all its practical results, is now submitted to the calm consideration of the delegates of every political and social party now met in this most important Convention.

These laws declare, throughout the entire history of the human race, without one exception, that God creates the organs, faculties, propensities, qualities, and, through them, the feelings, opinions, and conduct of every individual; and that, when this knowledge shall be fully understood and consistently acted upon, the population of all countries, without any exception, may easily be made prosperous, virtuous, and happy; and yet no two individuals can ever be found alike.

The duty of this new government of pure democracy will be to make all its rules and regulations for forming and governing the people in accordance with the knowledge thus derived through the unchanging laws of God, and to devise practical arrangements in undeviating accordance with those laws, by which all shall have equal rights, equal education, equal occupation, equal condition, and through life, according to age and capacity, shall be maintained in all things, so far as it is practicable, in a just equality.

To secure these objects permanently in practice, the population must be gradually withdrawn from its present arrangements in cities, towns, and country-places, and most especially from large cities, which are composed of most unfavorable, demoralizing, and vicious circumstances, and combined to form what may properly be termed scientific, federative, self-supporting, self-educating, self-employing and self-governing UNIONS, composed of the due proportion of each natural element of society; that is, of production and distribution of wealth, formation of character and government, in order that each individual shall be well cared for, have a good character formed for him from birth, be properly placed with his equals, surrounded with the most advantageous circumstances, and that the unions may be federatively extended without limit.

To form and federatively unite these unions will be a primary duty of this new democratic government. The State of New York has experienced important benefits from investing large capitals in canals and railways: but these advantages, great as they are, will become insignificant, compared with those which will arise from this change of its constitution, and the establishment of the federative system of scientific independent unions for the whole of its population.

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## THE LAWS OF THE CONSTITUTION.

### SECTION FIRST.

#### *Providing for and educating the population.*

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

2. All shall be educated from infancy to maturity, in the best manner known at the time.

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

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

5. All children shall be trained and educated together as children of the same family; and shall be early taught a knowledge of the laws of their nature, or the true laws of God.

6. Every individual shall be encouraged to express his real feelings and convictions only; or, in other words, to speak the truth only on all occasions.

7. Both sexes shall have equal education, rights, privileges, and personal liberty; their marriages will arise solely from the general sympathies of their nature and their unbiased affections, uninfluenced by wealth, station, or any other artificial distinctions.

## SECTION SECOND.

*General arrangements for the population.*

8. In these unions, after the children shall have been trained to acquire new feelings and new habits, derived from the laws of God, there shall be no useless private property.

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

10. These unions shall be composed of men, women, and children, in their usual proportions, from five hundred to twenty-five hundred.

11. As these unions increase they shall be formed, for local and general purposes, into federative circles of tens, hundreds, thousands, &c., according to the more or less extended objects and interests which shall require their consideration and direction.

12. Each of these unions shall possess around it land sufficient for the support, forever, of all its members, even when it shall contain the maximum in number.

13. The unions shall be so arranged as to give to all the members in each of them, as nearly as practicable, the same advantages, and to afford the most easy communication with each other.

## SECTION THIRD.

*Liberty of mind or conscience.*

14. Every one shall have equal and full liberty to express the dictates of his conscience on religious and all other subjects.

15. No one shall have any other power than fair argument, expressed in the spirit of charity, to control the opinions or belief of another.

16. No praise or blame, no merit or demerit, no reward or punishment, shall be awarded for any opinions or belief.

17. But all of every conscientious conviction shall have equal right to express their opinions respecting the Great Creating Power of the Universe, and to worship that power under any form and in any manner agreeable to their consciences, not interfering with the equal rights of others who may deem all such worship derogatory to universal power, and injurious to the rational faculties of man.

## SECTION FOURTH.

*Government of the unions and duties of the council.*

18. Each union shall be governed in its home-department by a general council, composed of all the members between the ages of thirty and forty; and each department shall be under the immediate direction of a committee formed of members of the general councils, chosen by the latter, in the order to be determined upon, and governed in its external or foreign department by all its members from forty to sixty years of age.

19. After all the members of the union shall have been rendered capable of taking their full share of the duties in the general council of government, there shall be no election of any individuals to office.

20. All the members at thirty years of age, who shall have been trained in the unions from infancy, shall be officially called upon to undertake their full share of the duties of management in the home-department; and at forty they shall be excused from performing them officially; but at forty they will be officially called upon to undertake the duties of the external or foreign department; and at sixty they will be excused from officially attending to them.

21. The duties of the general council of the home-department shall be to govern all the circumstances within the boundaries of its union, to organize the various departments of production, distribution, and formation of character; to remove all those circumstances the least favorable to happiness; and to replace them with the best that can be devised among themselves, or of which they can obtain knowledge from any source.

22. The duties of the general council of the external or foreign department, will be to receive visitors or delegates from other unions; to communicate with other similar unions;

to visit them ; and to arrange with them the best means of forming roads and of conveying surplus produce to each other ; to travel, to give and receive information of inventions, discoveries, and improvements, and of every other kind of knowledge that can be useful ; and also to regulate and assist in the establishment of new unions, to be composed of the surplus population of unions when they have attained their maximum in number ; and to send delegates to the circle of unions to which their union shall be federatively attached.

23. The general councils, home and foreign, shall have full power of government, *in all things under their direction*, as long as they shall act in accordance with the laws of God, which shall be their sole guidance upon all occasions.

24. All who are trained, educated, and placed in conformity with the laws of God, must of necessity think and act, at all times, rationally, except when they become physically, mentally, or morally diseased ; in which case the council shall remove them into the hospital for the care of bodily, mental, or moral invalids, in which they shall remain under confinement, or otherwise, as the case may require, until they shall be recovered by the mildest treatment that can effect a cure.

25. The council, whenever it shall be necessary, shall call to its aid the practical abilities and advice of any of the members not in the councils.

#### SECTION FIFTH.

##### *Annual review of the government and adjustment of all differences.*

26. To *prevent* injurious differences of opinions or feelings arising among the adult members of the union, and to maintain permanently all the laws of God in full purity, a meeting shall be held annually in each union on the first day in the year, at ten o'clock in the morning, composed of the elders who have *passed* the councils, and of those who have been trained from birth within the union, above eighteen years of age, who have not entered the councils, to hear read an official written report, prepared by the councils, and presented from them by the senior member of each council, containing a correct narrative of their respective proceedings for the past year. After the reports shall have been read, the meeting shall well consider them, and when it shall come to a general understanding respecting them, a committee of the three junior elders, and of the two senior juniors, shall draw up *their* report upon the reports of the councils, and state especially whether or not the laws of God have been maintained during the past year in all their purity in practice. And they shall also state, in the genuine spirit of truth and charity, their opinion upon any measure which to them may appear in any manner to contravene those all-wise and unchanging laws. These reports to be registered, preserved, and printed for the use of the members, and to be sent to other unions.

27. All differences, if indeed it be possible for any to exist in these unions, shall be amicably adjusted between the parties by the decision of a majority of the three members who have last passed the general council of the foreign department.

##### *Mode of introducing the new Constitution to supersede the old.*

28. That the present Constitution of the State of New York, with any alterations and additions which may be made by this Convention and accepted by the people, shall govern the State while the unions shall be in progress ; and the new Constitution shall commence and be in force in each union when complete and in full action.

29. That the old Constitution shall cease and die its natural death as these scientific federative, self-supporting, self-employing, self-educating, and self-governing unions increase and become themselves independent federative States, subject only to the general laws of *federation*.

30. That the occupiers of these unions shall be at first tenants upon lease to the State Government, and who shall engage to conduct their union in perfect accordance with the laws of the new Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, and to pay, from and after the first year of occupation, a rent or interest, half-yearly, at the rate of — per cent. per annum ; and, after the termination of two years, an additional per centage annually, to redeem the capital in — years.

31. That, until the interest shall be paid and the capital shall be redeemed, the unions shall be under the inspection of two or three commissioners appointed by the State Government, and who shall annually report to the Government the progress and condition of each union.

32. That when the interest and capital shall have been finally settled between any one union and the State Government, that union shall become itself a free federative State, governed by its own population, without control from any other authority except the general federative laws which may be mutually agreed upon between the confederated unions. This confederation may extend in increasing circles of unions until, as they no doubt will extend to the whole of this western hemisphere, each union having full sovereignty within its own boundaries, yet indissolubly united with the surrounding unions by the all-efficient laws of God.

33. That the State governs the unions parentally, and that the unions govern their respective populations parentally, as one family, on the principle that a pure democratic government will be impartial to all the governed, and be equally interested in the well-doing and happiness of each, insuring equal education, occupation, and condition, according to age and capacity, to all.

34. That the land shall be held in perpetuity by the State, and the unions possess in perpetuity the use of it within their own boundaries, on paying — contributions for the support of the State Government, in lieu of all other taxes.

35. The public lands in the State of New York shall be invested in the State for ever, and that the unions be first established on these lands, or upon such land as the present owners may desire to give and relinquish for the benefit of the unions, or the State may purchase.

36. That ten unions constitute a federative county, one hundred unions form a federative State, and — States a general federative Government.

37. That the council of the federated counties be composed of the three oldest members of the external council of each of the ten unions forming the county federation ; and the oldest member shall preside. The county delegates to assemble for business the first week in each quarter, and to continue until its business shall be finished.

38. That the federated State Council shall consist of the oldest member from each of the federated counties, the oldest to preside ; that this State union shall be held once each year for the transaction of business, and continue until it shall be completed.

39. That the executive shall be formed of the seven oldest members of the State union in the first instance, the oldest member retiring each year, and his place filled annually by the oldest member of the State federation.

40. That the executive shall continue to reside at the seat of government, to attend to and direct the business of the unions ; but, as each one will be trained and educated to well-govern himself, there will be little to govern either in county or State circles, especially as the interest of one will be at all times the interest of all.

ROBERT OWEN.

WASHINGTON, MARCH 11, 1846.

## APPENDIX.

### *Reasons for each law of each section of the new proposed Constitution.*

#### FIRST SECTION.

##### LAW I.

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

##### *Reasons for this law.*

Under this new Constitution, based upon and constructed in unison with the laws of God, each union becomes the parent of all within its jurisdiction, and the immediate agent of God to carry the laws of the universal creating power into execution, in order to bring and keep this world in harmony with all nature.

The parent, knowing that union is strength and wisdom, unites the children in one interest, upon a just and full principle of equality, knowing that without an honest and perfect equality there can be no permanent heartfelt union; and that, by uniting the faculties, feelings, and interests of a family averaging about two thousand in number, the advantages to each one may be increased, with reference to superiority of character and permanent and substantial happiness, not less than two thousand to one, compared with the present individual system.

By this Constitution it is intended that each union should generally form one agricultural, manufacturing, commercial, and educational family. In mining or fishing districts, this order will be varied in accordance with those circumstances. But in every case, the union will form those general arrangements that will provide all equally, according to age, with the best of every thing for human nature at each divisional period of life, and apply the faculties and powers of each, without exceptions, for the benefit of the individuals of the union and of the most extended circle of these federative unions. By the laws of God, every member of this family has received a different compound of the general qualities of humanity, and received them without their consent or even knowledge. No one, therefore, can rationally claim merit, if he possesses what may be considered a superior compound of these qualities; nor can demerit be attributed to any one, for having what may be now deemed an inferior combination of them. The Great Creating Power of the Universe alone creates these varied natural characters; and it is most probable that, as these unions gradually acquire full rationality, it will be discovered that these differing compounds are necessary, most useful in the order of nature, and without which society would be incomplete, and the happiness of the whole imperfect. Each one is therefore justly entitled to an equality with every other member of the family, according to age. No partiality or distinction, except that of age, should ever be introduced into any union.

This law states that the *best* of every thing for human nature should be provided for every one. Experience has ascertained that the highest economy is attained only by using the best of every thing that can be procured or created, upon a scale sufficient for the supply of all; and that the union would greatly gain by abandoning all that is *intrinsically inferior*, and adopting the use of every thing *superior*, to the utmost extent practicable.

This arrangement fully followed out, with the subsequent laws to be explained, will of necessity make every one happy, so far as his natural qualities will enable him to extend his enjoyment, under the most favorable combination of circumstances within the knowledge and power of humanity yet to create or conceive.

## LAW II.

“All shall be educated, from infancy to maturity, in the best manner known at the time.”

*Reasons for this law.*

The importance of this law has never yet been fully appreciated, by any nation, people, or individual, in any period of the history of man. It has never been clearly perceived by any one known in history, except perhaps Lycurgus, that to educate man is to manufacture a character for him; and that, according to the machinery used for the purpose, it will be well or ill manufactured, and the individual will of necessity become inferior, mixed, or superior, in his qualities. This principle being known, it becomes as easy to manufacture the Spartan character to day, as when Lycurgus lived, if there would be now utility in forming a character of high military spirit, and with great personal prowess and self-denial. But the time is passing to require any mere sectional character, which has been now or previously manufactured in any latitude or longitude. The period has arrived when the progress of knowledge demands a character, physical and mental, of full formed rational men and women; and the machinery is now required to manufacture from human nature this superior fabric, for the benefit of all who live, and for future generations.

To know how to manufacture the human character is to know how to remove the chief causes of the miseries of the world; to terminate the necessity for her laws; to withdraw the principle of repulsion between individuals, nations, and colors; to insure universal peace and good government; to put into active progress an ever-increasing advance in knowledge and prosperity; to uproot the cause of all the inferior and injurious passions which ignorance alone now maintains in the characters of all; to undermine the foundation of all crime and inferiority of conduct; to render individual punishment as unnecessary as it is unjust, and to make individual reward undesirable; to produce a *useful* and good and desirable physical, mental, moral, and practical character for ALL, without the injurious monotony of any two being the same in the compound of their individual qualities, but, on the contrary, possessing a much greater variety of character than now exists—the variety arising from an endless combination of excellences; in short, to know scientifically how to manufacture the material of human nature, the most ductile of all materials, in its endless capacity for varied knowledge, goodness, and happiness, is to know how to change the present universal disorder, consternation, and confusion, vice, crime, and misery, into a terrestrial paradise, in which the onward spirit of each inhabitant will be to PREVENT THE EXISTENCE OF ANY CAUSE OF EVIL, and to promote, cordially and actively, the well-doing, the well-being, and the permanent happiness, of every other individual; and then, without the necessity of wishing of himself to create selfish feelings, his own best interests and highest rational enjoyments will be secured to the greatest practical extent.

## LAW III.

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

*Reasons for this law.*

Without a full and complete equality, there can be no general permanent happiness, in fact, no justice among men. It is the pure principle of democracy, carried out to its full extent in practice, that can alone carry the human race onward toward the highest degrees of perfection. When ALL shall be well-trained, educated, and employed, under arrangements and amidst external circumstances formed and united to be congenial to human nature, then, and then alone, will it be possible to form a correct idea of the excellence, prosperity, and joyous happiness, to the attainment of which the human race, sooner or later, is destined. All the great national changes now in progress over the world are evident signs that this change is rapidly approaching. Especially are the excitements existing at this period in the two most energetic and advanced nations upon the globe unmistakable indications that the old errors in principle and practice are to be speedily abandoned by the authorities of the world, that they may be superseded by the laws of nature and of God, preparatory to man being new moulded, from his birth, to become, for the first time, a peaceable, intelligent, and highly cultivated rational being.

But this glorious change for humanity can never be effected by class, sect, or party, by sections or districts, by any favored nations or individuals. The almighty decree has gone forth, from the commencement of time, "THAT ALL OF THE HUMAN RACE SHALL BE HAPPY, OR NONE." It is an all merciful, wise, and benevolent decree, worthy of all reverence and admiration; it is the EVERLASTING CHARTER of human progress and happiness, of more extended, substantial, and abiding future progress in one year, than, under the errors in principle and practice of the present irrational system of the world, can be effected in a century, or, indeed, to speak correctly, in any given period; for error in principle, while continued, must lead, of necessity, to greater and deeper evils in practice. Hence the present extending crimes, individual mental contests, and increase of insanities, over the world. No! It is only by a just and pure equality, gradually extending over the human race, under a refined parental democracy, that goodness, excellence, progress, and joyous happiness, can ever be given and secured to humanity. ALL OR NONE will ere long become the watchword of democracy first, and then the universal motto of man, of every country and clime.

To attain this high elevation of equality, the children of the federative unions "must pass through the same general routine of education, domestic teaching, and employment;" and then the government of each union, and of the most extended federation of these unions, will become so simple and plain that every young person will readily be trained to comprehend them, and at the required age have sufficient knowledge and experience to take full share in assisting to govern them. This part of the subject involves so many important considerations, that it might be extended to a large volume; but that which has now been stated may be sufficient for the present purpose, merely adding that the kind of education, domestic teaching, and employment, are given in outline and detail to a considerable extent in a lecture on the new classification of society, and which will form part of this appendix.

#### LAW IV.

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

#### *Reasons for this law.*

There are many important causes to render this law necessary.

1st. The affections of parents for their own children are too strong for their judgments to permit them ever to do justice to themselves, their children, or the public, in the education of their own children, even if private families possessed the machinery, which they never do, to well manufacture character from birth.

2d. Children in small numbers can never be placed within the proper machinery to well form their physical, mental, moral, and practical characters, and make them full-formed rational men and women.

3d. The union, as the general parental authority over all, has a much wider and deeper interest in the formation of the character of each child, than its immediate physical parents; for the well-being, peace, and happiness of the union, and its federative unions extending to the widest circle, depend upon the character formed for each member of each union; and

4th. A superior rational character can never be formed by one or two or a few being trained in a confined place, and in private.

To form a superior and useful character in man or woman, machinery must be devised accordingly; and every age will require, at stated intervals, a change of this machinery, to suit the growth of the physical and mental powers as well as the propensities and other qualities of humanity.

Although the children will not be trained and educated by their parents, as in the present state of society, which unfits them for members of a pure democracy, yet the parents will have free access to them at all times, and will see them trained and educated to become, in disposition, habits, manners, temper, and judgment, so superior to that which any family formation of character could give, so that there would arise a very superior feeling and consideration between the parents and children to the frequently silly affection, and desire for injurious partial privileges, on both sides, which are now so common throughout all classes. The present family training well prepares the children to take advantage of all out of their immediate family circle. But there is no fear so unfounded, as the writer experienced in thirty years' practice upon a large scale, as that this new and superior formation of character will weaken the best affections between parents and children. And certain it is, that a pure democratic character can never be given by family training.

## LAW V.

“All the children in the union shall be trained and educated together, as children of the same family; and shall be early taught to comprehend the laws of God, and thus learn to know themselves—decisively the most important of all knowledge.”

*Reasons for this law.*

To form superior men and women, they must be trained from their birth alike, without partialities of any kind, and without the desire of being better treated than any others of the same age, or to have any thing which all the others have not.

All the children of the union being trained and educated together, proper machinery for the formation of character may be created upon the scale best adapted to secure the qualities of mind and body most beneficial for the individuals, for the union, and for the circle of unions, to their widest extent.

But that which will be soon discovered to be the most essential element in the formation of character, is to enable children, at an early age, to “know themselves,” and to comprehend what human nature is. When they shall be taught to understand the causes of their formation, of their feelings, of their opinions, and of their conduct, they will then “know themselves,” and what humanity is, through a knowledge of the unchanging laws of God. By children being enabled to ascertain this knowledge for themselves, through an accurate investigation of the facts on which the knowledge is based, their minds will be made rational, which no minds have ever yet been; the necessary consequences of which will be, that all anger, ill-will, envy, jealousy, and every repulsive feeling between themselves and for the human race, will die a natural death, and, instead of these evils to man, a new spirit of knowledge, sound judgment, charity, and kindness, will be made to pervade the mind and direct the conduct of every one. The laws of man have created every kind of repulsive and irrational feeling from man to man; the laws of God will change these for feelings the most attractive and rational. The laws of man *create* crime, and then punish it in the individual whose character they have previously formed to commit the crime. The laws of God *prevent* crime, and render individual punishment unnecessary, and individual reward unjust. The laws of God, early instilled into the mind, and fully understood, will make the individual a rational being; and then, without trouble or expense to society, he will always feel, think, and act rationally, and thus supersede all the cumbrous machinery and expensive paraphernalias now most ineffectually applied to prevent crime by punishment. Every punishment of an individual, by society, is a direct crime against the laws of God; and if there were any justice in punishment, the society, rather than the individual, ought to suffer; for society has the power to form the character of the individual, but the individual has not the means to form the qualities of society.

## LAW VI.

“Every individual shall be encouraged to express his feelings and convictions, as by the laws of God he is compelled to have them, and thus to speak the truth only, on all occasions.”

*Reasons for this law.*

While society shall be based and constructed on the laws of men, falsehood must be, of necessity, the language of the human race, as it ever has been and is to this day. These laws are the father of all lies, and the cause of all deception, cunning, and fraud. So long as the causes which render the language of falsehood unavoidable shall be permitted to form the character and govern the affairs of mankind, it is a waste of words, most childish, and worse than useless, to expect that virtue can be known or charity practised. There must be substantial causes to produce falsehood, crime, and uncharitableness, among men; these causes are the ever-demoralizing laws of men. There are equally certain and fixed causes, which can alone ever produce truth and good and kind conduct in all. Until the genuine language of truth shall become alone the language of mankind, it will be most irrational to expect an open, honest character to be formed, or any real knowledge of humanity attained, while exhibited under the veil of falsehood in all men and women, as they are now formed by and placed in society.

The world, created by the laws of men, has ever been and now is a compound of false-



hood, and consequent deception, and is governed, in consequence, alone by force and fraud; the strong ever deceiving or forcibly oppressing the weak. This state of gross irrationality must continue until the authorities which influence the destinies of nations can be convinced of the miseries generated by falsehood and deception, and of the happiness which will arise to all from the language of truth and the conduct of open straightforward honesty.

#### LAW VII.

“Both sexes shall have equal education, rights, privileges, and personal liberty; their marriages will arise from the general sympathies of their nature, uninfluenced by any artificial distinctions”

#### *Reasons for this law.*

The entirely new practical arrangement of society, created by the change of men's for God's laws, on the one hand, and by the illimitable progress of science, increasing so enormously the power of producing wealth with ease and pleasure, on the other, will render an entire change also necessary in the condition of women, and at once make it the permanent interest of both sexes, that a just and full equality should be now prepared, that the happiness of both may be largely increased and be continually progressive. In the new constitution, based on the laws of God, this change is provided for under new arrangements, devised to remove the causes of differences in the marriages to such extent, that although under the existing system they are innumerable, scarcely any will remain; none, indeed, that can destroy confidence and friendship between the parties, if the feelings of love should become beyond their power to retain, and should cease between them.

Under the ignorant laws of men, no arrangements have been made by any lawgiver, in any code extant, to unite the sexes; nor can any arrangements be made under those laws which will unite them, without producing more crime and misery than virtue and happiness. And at this day the hidden vice and misery, falsehood and deception, created solely by the errors proceeding from men's laws, are most appalling; and if the sufferings thereby produced, especially to the finest formed in body and mind of the female sex, were not thus hidden, and were made public, they could not be longer permitted, if it were known that they are the necessary results of false and most injurious legislation, emanating from the grossly mistaken first principles on which the present system of society over the world is alone based and supported.

In a pure democracy, there will be no motive to sexual crime, and soon sexual disease will be eradicated from society. Marriages will be formed, as the laws of God unequivocally direct, at a proper period of life, under such arrangements as will be the most likely to prevent ill-assorted unions, and to insure the greatest permanency of the first natural affections between the parties.

As a constitution of pure democracy will insure to all equal education, occupation, and condition, through life, according to age and capacity, the field of choice for the parties will be greatly enlarged, and the real character of every one in the unions will be accurately known from birth through every stage of life; and as the language of the unions will be alone the language of truth, there will be no deception before marriages, to destroy mutual confidence after marriages, when the deception becomes known, as so generally occurs under the present system. The law of God is, that humanity is compelled to *like* or *love* that which is *agreeable* or *lovely* to the peculiar combination of qualities given by God to each individual at birth, and from that period as cultivated by society, and to *dislike* or *loathe* those qualities which are made to be disagreeable or hateful to the instincts or natural feelings of the same individuals.

Any arrangements of ignorant men, which contravene this universal and unchanging law of God, are sure to produce physical and mental disease, crimes, and misery, to a fearful extent. And, whatever ignorance may say to the contrary, the laws of men have, in every country, in all ages, opposed this law of nature, which changes not; and by such irrational opposition to the laws of God, they have created and forced upon the human race more disappointment to natural innocent good feelings, more loathsome afflicting diseases, more unnatural crimes, more murders, more disordered imaginations, and more insanity, than the human mind is capable of fully apprehending or supposing to be possible, so cautiously are these dreadful evils veiled from public disclosure. The remedy for these diseases of body and mind is, to abandon the laws of men on this subject, to stay their endless prac-

tical evils—evils producing, to the female sex especially, more agonizing mental suffering than their nature can endure, so that they are often compelled to terminate them by suicide.

Who can estimate, who can compress within the limits of the most comprehensive powers of his imagination, the extent of the excruciating suffering experienced at this moment, from these ignorant sexual laws of man, attempting to contravene the laws of God? Those who, through their knowledge of the anatomy of the human frame, and their professional duties, are necessarily made acquainted with a small part only of these scourges of deceived humanity, could a tale unfold, were they but placed under circumstances that would permit them to disclose their secret knowledge, that would appal the stoutest hearts, and make them wonder that humanity has so long endured the irrationality of appearing to be blind to this gross insanity now prevalent throughout the world, but carried to all manner of destructive excesses in large towns, and especially in the most populous cities. Let the inexperienced inquire of the police authorities in New York and other large cities, and of those who have charge of lunatic asylums, and, if not deterred from speaking out, they can well paint the desolation made of the finest faculties and powers of humanity, by the yet untaught authorities of the world blindly forcing the most unjust and cruel laws of men to govern human destinies, instead of the all-wise, good, and most merciful laws of God.

## SECOND SECTION.

### LAW VIII.

“In these unions, after the children shall have been trained within them to acquire new habits and new feelings, derived from the laws of God, there shall be no useless private property.”

#### *Reasons for this law.*

Private property is one of the great demoralizing and repulsive powers, arising from the laws of men, and the cause of innumerable crimes and gross injustice. So long as private property shall be maintained, man will be trained through its natural influence to be ignorantly selfish; that is, to desire to grasp at every thing that may be converted into private property for himself; and all being educated in this principle, all will openly or more covertly oppose their fellows, with a view to obtain the largest share in the scramble of life. The principle of this selfishness, thus implanted in childhood and youth, tends to create a most vicious and unfavorable character for the adult. It has an isolating and individualizing influence upon each, that checks and stultifies the finest and best feelings of humanity. It is strongly calculated to make man look upon his fellow-man as his enemy, and to create general suspicions of the motives and actions of strangers, and even of neighbors—each being thus taught to endeavor to overreach others, and take advantage in bargaining even of those called friends to each other. The evils of private property extend in all directions; it produces a most unfavorable, unjust, and artificial character on those men and women whose wealth is large, and most unpleasant feelings of hatred and jealousy in those who are suffering the innumerable evils of poverty. It fills prisons, and aids to fill lunatic asylums; stands in the way often of great general public improvements, and increases the expenses of society, to protect itself to an extent that few know how to estimate. It accumulates immense useless property for a small portion of society, and compels the greater mass to live in poverty, or, which is nearly as bad, in the constant dread of it. It is now deemed by the laws of men an essential element of society; under the laws of God, it will be discovered to be an evil of incalculable magnitude, and a never-failing cause of disunion among all classes in all countries. Volumes would be unequal to detail the loss and unnecessary sufferings which it creates to the human race.

It is said to be a stimulus to individual exertion, and such a stimulant is required under the irrational system which has necessarily emanated from the laws of man; but, under the new arrangements which will arise in a system based on the laws of God, a far more powerful stimulus will perpetually exist, which, instead of stimulating to action for individual gain and isolated advantages, will call forth the daily exercise of all the higher faculties of humanity, for the godlike purpose of benefiting all to the utmost healthy extent of those powers.

### LAW IX.

“As soon as the members of these unions shall have been educated from infancy in a knowledge of the laws of God, trained to act in obedience to them, and surrounded by

external objects all in unison with them, and thus to acquire a true knowledge of their nature, there shall be no punishment or reward of individuals."

*Reasons for this law.*

It is known to those who have studied nature, that the general and individual qualities of all things created are given to them by the Great Creating Power of the Universe; and that not THE THINGS CREATED, but THE CREATOR, is the sole author of one and all, whether animate or inanimate, whether mineral, vegetable, or animal, whether rational or irrational existence; and of course, that whatever compound of the general qualities of humanity any may have; the general qualities and particular combination of them in each one is alone the work of that Creating Power, and for which it is *insanity to blame*, and the essence of *injustice to punish* the poor, passive, created being, whether man or any other animal, except in self-defence, or to obtain the means of sustaining life which could not be otherwise supported; and that every act of unnecessary cruelty is an act in opposition to the laws of God.

For man, then, to make laws to punish man by man, instead of training him from birth to know the laws of God, and to act uniformly in accordance with them, is to make it certain that man has not yet acquired a knowledge of humanity, or learned to know himself, or how to act like a reasonable or rational being. And from the past history of man, it is now made evident that he has been created with powers to progress slowly, through unnumbered generations, from the most ignorant unreasoning savage, toward a state in which, at length, he begins to approach to a condition in which circumstances are forming to advance the growth of his creation, that he may become, for the first time in his history, a full-formed man, or a rational being.

It is now only that he is beginning to acquire the knowledge that kindness, directed by a knowledge of what human nature has been made to be, is far more powerful for good than force of any character or description; that by kindness, wisely and judiciously directed, man from birth may be now easily trained and educated in accordance with the laws of God, to become, in every instance, to the extent that his created faculties will admit, good, wise, useful, and happy, while the government of force and punishment, in accordance with the laws of men, can never train one individual to be good, wise, or happy, in comparison with the goodness, wisdom, and happiness, which *all* will attain and enjoy under the government of the laws of God—laws which will produce continually, and without exceptions, charity, due consideration for all created or trained differences, consequent forbearance, and illimitable kindness. Under this change, all individual punishment will be discovered to be not only the very cruelty of injustice, but the most erroneous mode of governing beings who are intended to be made good, wise, and happy, and to be formed into rational men and women.

The good effects of the decrease of punishment in lunatic asylums and schools are beginning to be seen and acknowledged. In the best of both, physical punishments scarcely now exist. The time approaches when it will be discovered that the speediest mode to terminate the innumerable diseases—physical, mental, and moral—created by the irrational laws invented and introduced by men during their irrational state of existence, in progress towards human rationality, will be to govern or treat all society as the most advanced physicians govern and treat their patients in the best arranged lunatic hospitals, in which forbearance and kindness, and full allowance for every paroxysm of the peculiar disease of each, governs the conduct of all who have the care of these unfortunates—of unfortunates generally made to become so through the irrationality and injustice of the present most irrational system of society. The organized, absurd, unjust, and most ignorant system contrived to punish man by man, is, at this day, one of the strongest evidences of the extent of irrationality, or rather, to speak correctly and truly, of downright insanity, to which the laws of men lead; and the daily incarcerations and murders, private and public, and wars between nations, are unmistakeable declarations to the world of the low state of intellect and the total absence of right reason among the people, of all nations, climes, and colors.

One of the first measures of the population of the world, as soon as the present veil of ignorance can be removed so as to permit it to become rational, will be to adopt arrangements to prevent any necessity for a continuance of governing by force and fraud, and of punishing one created being by another equally created and as ignorant as itself. While men shall be so ignorantly trained and educated as to make laws, or maintain laws, in opposition to God's laws, and thus make man the judge of thoughts and actions which he

comprehends not, and therefore blames and punishes his fellow-men according to his notions, whims, and limited faculties, there can be a slow progress only made towards a rational and healthy state of terrestrial happiness and uninjurious enjoyments.

The writer had the peculiar opportunity of governing a population of two thousand five hundred souls, by principles of kindness, for thirty years; and although the experiments were commenced and continued under many strongly opposing circumstances, created by men's laws, yet was it successful in producing knowledge, morality, and happiness, far beyond his most sanguine expectations. And whenever an attempt shall be made to govern on the same principles, in accordance with the laws of God, the necessity to resort to human punishments will soon cease, and happiness will speedily produce goodness throughout any population that shall be thus wisely governed. The true way, being the shortest and most pleasant to produce goodness, is, first to adopt measures to make the parties happy. When they are made happy, goodness will be easily created.

The laws of men are the causes of crime; and when they have created the crimes they endeavor, by endless unavailing laws, to remove the evil effects proceeding from those laws; and thus are causes for punishments created by the crimes being continually reproduced.

The laws of God prevent the creation of the causes which produce crime, and render punishments thereby not only useless, but highly injurious; and the new constitution, emanating from these laws, may justly be termed a constitution for the prevention of crime and misery, and for the creation of virtue and happiness.

#### LAW X.

“The unions shall be composed of a regular population of from about five hundred as a minimum, to about two thousand five hundred as a maximum.”

#### *Reasons for this law.*

Man is, with the exception of his natural qualities at birth, a being whose character is formed *for him* by the external objects which surround him. He is altogether the creature of these circumstances, acting upon his individual constitution, as given to him by the Great Creating Power of the Universe. Or it may be thus stated: As is the original organization of any one at birth, and as are the circumstances which influence it from birth to death, so will be the character of the individual, or his conduct through every period of his life.

It therefore becomes of the first importance to learn the science of the influence of circumstances over human nature, in all its varied combinations, at the birth of each infant, in order to know what external objects will have a good or evil effect upon all individuals.

The unions now proposed are a scientific combination of the most favorable circumstances in which to place from birth through life individuals of every varied natural compound of faculties when born.

The number of the population within which each union should be limited is one of those circumstances.

Each union will have to cultivate the soil, to manufacture, to educate or to form character, and to govern. To effect these four objects in the best manner, will require a population from five hundred to twenty-five hundred—perhaps the best fixed number will be found to be about two thousand.

This population will give numbers of the different ages the most convenient for the attainment of these four objects; or, when mines or fisheries are to be substituted for manufactures, the number will yet remain convenient for this exchange of employment. A population of this amount will give the number of children that can be the best educated in one establishment, to form a family that will be the most easily well looked after, cared for, and well governed; supplying, also, convenient numbers for agriculture and manufactures.

Their numbers can also be arranged, for all domestic purposes, in such order that no street, lane, court, or alley, will be required in any of these unions, however wide the circle of their extension; and streets, lanes, courts, and alleys, are inferior and unfavorable circumstances in which to place any of the children of humanity, who by this new constitution are intended to be excluded from the evil influences of all inferior and injurious external objects, animate and inanimate.

This minimum and maximum of numbers can be most conveniently lodged, fed, taught, and rationally amused, in buildings which will form a square of such dimensions as will be beautiful and magnificent, under well-devised architectural arrangements—arrangements

which will afford the utmost extent of private and social accommodation and comfort, forming in fact a palace, with appendages far in advance of the palaces yet erected for sovereigns, either in ancient or modern times. The arrangements will constitute an aggregate of buildings, including colleges, and public apartments for superior instruction and amusements, that will accommodate the entire population of two thousand five hundred with every desirable private minor arrangement for each adult; and accommodate them while single, and after their marriage, more fully to enjoy, when requisite, the individuality of their nature, or, when desired, their social nature, than it is practicable to attain these advantages under any existing arrangements in any country, governed as all are under the laws, institutions, and arrangements, emanating from man's laws.

#### LAW XI.

“As these unions increase, they shall be federatively united, for local and more general purposes, in tens, hundreds, thousands, &c., until they may extend over the whole of this continent, from north to south, and from east to west, without, since the discovery of the electro-magnetic telegraph, the least inconvenience on account of distance.”

#### *Reasons for this law.*

It is the interest of each one of the human race that there should be but one interest, one language, one general code of laws, and one system of administering them. These unions offer the most natural, easy, and speedy mode of effecting these great and always to be desired results. The federative connexion of these unions by tens for more limited local objects, by fiftys or hundreds for more enlarged operations, and by thousands for the most extended interests, to insure peace and good will through every district and clime, will be effected without difficulty; for it will be discovered that the highest and more permanent interests of each one over the world will be the most effectually secured by these unions and federation of unions, without limit, until the population of the globe shall be cordially united as members of one family, all actively engaged in promoting the happiness of each other. These unions, thus separated and united, will form palaces, surrounded with gardens, pleasure grounds, and highly cultivated estates, on each side of all the railways, which will traverse every country in the most convenient directions for all general purposes.

#### LAW XII.

“Each of these unions shall possess around it land sufficient for the support, forever, of all its members, even when it shall contain the maximum in number.”

#### *Reasons for this law.*

Under this constitution of society, the inhabitants are taken to their food, while under the present city and town arrangements the food is carried to them.

In every point of view, this arrangement of old society is injurious to all parties—to those who are isolated in the country to produce it; to those who are crowded into towns, and particularly into large cities, who receive it more or less deteriorated by its keeping and carriage, and often by injurious mixtures by the parties whose hands it passes through, from the growers and producers, until it reaches the consumers.

By the peculiar arrangements of the unions, the smallest quantity of land will maintain each individual. At first, it would be perhaps better to allot a full quantity to each one—say, of a fair average quality, from one to three acres for every man, woman, and child; but after the arrangements for the unions are completed, and the soil brought into garden culture, an acre, in addition to the sites for the domestic and working squares, will be found to be ample for each one forever, under the superior knowledge of making the most of land that will necessarily be acquired by the accumulated experience of the members of these unions.

The domestic square, which will contain, including the terrace on the outside of it, about seventy acres, will be surrounded by from two thousand to three thousand acres, according to quality, and the particular objects of cultivation most suitable to its locality.

## LAW XIII.

“These unions shall be so arranged as to give to all the members of each of the <sup>m</sup> similar advantages, and to afford the most easy communication with the neighboring unions.”

*Reasons for this law.*

The laws of God, like rain and sunshine, respect not individuals, but treat all as members of the great family of man. A pure democracy adheres to these laws, and knows no distinction of persons or of conditions, except that of age. In consequence, all the arrangements of the union are made to give the same advantages to every one during the same period of life—the same apartments and accommodations of every description—so that one will never discover that another of the same age has been better provided for than himself or herself.

By this simple, honest, and just provision, a thousand of the present miseries of life will be prevented, and a union of hearts and affections will be permanently maintained, much stronger than the unions now existing in most families of brothers and sisters, parents and children. Perfect equality throughout life is the only foundation for a certain bond of union among men, and for an elevated democracy.

## THIRD SECTION.

## LAW XIV.

“Every one shall have equal and full liberty to express the dictates of his conscience on religious and all other subjects.”

*Reasons for this law.*

Any thing short of this liberty is tyranny of the most demoralizing character, and the father of falsehood. The law of God on this subject is, that man forms not his own opinions; he is compelled to have them by the strongest conviction made on his mind, and his mind is created for him. No man has therefore any just right to say to another, “You shall not think your own thoughts, but mine;” this is contrary to nature, and the laws of God declare that one man shall have no more power over the thoughts of another than that which fair argument, expressed in the spirit of charity, based on the knowledge of the true formation of opinion, shall give him. Truth can never become the language of the world until this mental bondage of one man’s thoughts to another shall be altogether abandoned. The language of the mind and heart is always a delightful language to humanity, and it is the only language of reason and rationality.

## LAW XV.

“No one shall have any other power than fair argument to control the opinions and belief of another.”

The reasons for this law are included in the preceding.

## LAW XVI.

“No praise or blame, no merit or demerit, no reward or punishment, shall be awarded for any opinions or belief.”

*Reasons for this law.*

The laws of God declare that man cannot form, or, of himself, change his opinions or belief; they are therefore, in every case, created for him. It is most irrational, then, to attribute praise or blame, merit or demerit, or to reward or punish men for the opinions which, by their nature, they are compelled to have. And yet the ignorance of man on this subject has produced, through the ages which have passed, more division of mind and feelings, and more violence and crime, than any other error of our inexperienced ancestors. It has destroyed all moral and mental charity, and made man far more irrational in his

conduct to man, than any other animal to its own species. This error, also, must be entirely abandoned, before there can be any chance for the language of truth to be introduced among the human race.

#### LAW XVII.

“But all, of every religion, shall have equal right to express their opinions respecting the Great Creating Power of the Universe, and to worship that Power under any form and in any manner agreeable to their consciences, not interfering with the equal rights of others who may deem all such worship derogatory to universal power.”

##### *Reasons for this law.*

The existing religious impressions over the world have been the natural effects of the circumstances of latitude and longitude, acting upon the easily impressible young mind trained within their influence. The inhabitants of these districts have, through this process, with comparatively few exceptions, been made conscientious disciples of the religions taught in their respective localities. They could not avoid having these impressions made upon their minds, and for them they are blameless. It would be therefore cruel and unjust to prevent any of these persons from expressing their conscientious impressions, or from following their respective modes of worship. The laws of God declare that man has an eternal right to express his thoughts, and to act according to the notions of right which have been given to him; therefore, openly to speak his belief, and act accordingly, and not to prevent any others from having the same liberty, however widely the thoughts and actions, if not injurious in practice, may differ from those which he has been compelled to receive. His knowledge of the true formation of opinions is the only foundation for universal charity, and kindness, and forbearance among men. No mere precepts can create these godlike virtues; they never have existed upon earth; they never can be formed under the laws of man. It is useless to expect to see them in practice until those uncharitable and unkind laws shall be abandoned and superseded by the all-merciful, benevolent, and wise laws of God—not until those laws shall become the laws of the world, and govern all the thoughts and actions of men. Then there will be true mental liberty, and pure charity, undefiled by the ignorant laws of our early inexperienced ancestors.

#### FOURTH SECTION.

#### LAW XVIII.

“Each union shall be governed in its home department by a general council, composed of all its members between the ages of thirty and forty; and each department shall be under the immediate direction of a committee, formed of the members of this council, chosen by themselves, in the order to be determined upon; and in its external or foreign department, by all its members from forty to sixty years of age.”

##### *Reasons for this law.*

In a real democratic government, there will be a just equality among all the governed, and of course each one, after being properly trained and educated in the science and practice of society, and of the required age to give the experience necessary for the office, will have to take his share in the government of the union, as a duty which he has to perform to his fellow-members.

In these unions of democracy, there will be no elections to office. Elections are demoralizing to the electors and elected, and fraught with innumerable evils to society. The worst passions and all manner of frauds are created by these contests; and charity, kindness, and forbearance, are seldom thought of by any of the parties engaged in these conflicts of interests. No good can ever proceed from practices so irrational and repulsive.

By the arrangements devised for the government of these unions, all the evils of governing are overcome, and the business of government is so simplified that all will readily comprehend its principles, and be easily taught its practice. Yet so effectual and all-powerful will it be, that each one will be well cared for from birth through life; and a continent fully peopled will be far more easily preserved in order, and kept without crime, than can the city of New York, under the government of the deranging and demoralizing laws of men, based on falsehood, and maintained by force, fraud, and punishment.

Each union, like an independent State, will govern itself by its own members, in accordance with the laws of God. All other unions will be governed in like manner, by the same laws. There will be a perfect well understood union between all these federative unions, and each one will assist the others as each member in each union will assist his fellow-member, and all will be trained to have an ardent desire to promote the prosperity not only of his own more immediate union, but of every other union, in the success of which all will have an equal interest; for all will have a right to remove at any time into any of them, when apartments are vacant, and thus will each one, in fact, for all practical purposes, be the possessor, with his equal fellow-members, of all the unions, however numerous or far they may extend, even over the whole western hemisphere; and in due time there will be no obstacle to the extension of these unions over the eastern hemisphere. It is the evergrowing interest of mankind, without a single exception, that this union over both hemispheres should be effected in the shortest period. And ere long that which can be proved to be advantageous for all will be carried by an overwhelming force of public opinion into execution.

#### LAW XIX.

“After the members of the union shall have been rendered capable of taking their full share of their duties in the general council of government, there shall be no election of any individual to office.”

#### *Reasons for this law.*

These reasons have been given generally in the preceding article; but it may be here added, in addition, that, under these arrangements, no one will become a member of the government until he shall be previously well trained and educated, theoretically and practically, to be an efficient member of it, and capable of giving his full share of aid in all the domestic affairs of the union, with every part of which his well-directed experience will have made him familiar, in practice, in all the general departments. There will therefore not be one useless or inefficient member of government, at any time, in any of these unions. Every one, at an early age, will more fully comprehend the whole of this new system for the production and distribution of wealth, the formation of a superior physical, mental, and moral character, and governing, than the most talented and experienced now understand any one of these important divisions of society. Such will be found to be the difference between the efficiency of men and women trained, educated, and placed according to the laws of men, and those whose characters, in these respects, have been formed under arrangements emanating from the laws of God. The one forms a heterogeneous mass of contradictions and of irrationality, while the other will be one connected system of order, beauty, and harmony—the one always producing falsehood, crime, and misery; the other, as uniformly creating truth, goodness, and an ever-increasing happiness. Such will be the result of a pure democratic government, that will not require any election to offices.

#### LAW XX.

“All the members, at thirty years of age, who shall have been trained from infancy in the unions, shall be officially called upon to undertake their full share of the duties of management in the home department, and at forty they shall be excused from officially performing them; at forty, they will be officially called upon to undertake the duties of the external or foreign department; and at sixty, they will be excused from officially attending to them.”

#### *Reasons for this law.*

The members, at thirty years of age, who shall have been trained and educated from birth within these unions, will be far more experienced in a knowledge of human nature, in the theory and practice of society, and in the manufacture of character from birth to maturity, than any parties could have been, at any period of life, under the overwhelming influences of a system based on man's laws and the deadening effects of the prejudices of latitude and longitude.

At thirty, then, each one in the vigor of intellect and of life will become, without election or contest of any kind, but by the rights of his birth, a member of the home depart-



ment of government, with those who are already familiar with all its details, and of whose experience, without jealousies of any kind, he immediately partakes to its whole extent.

This will be a government having but one interest with all the governed, namely, to promote, in good faith, openly and honestly, the well-doing and happiness of every one from birth to death—a government not liable to any sudden changes; to be influenced by the passions or inexperience of any; never in infancy or old age, but always in maturity of both mind and body; and never with less than nine years' experience of actual governing. By this simple arrangement, new vigor and new experience will be added every year, without disorder or confusion of any kind, or motive for contest or contention—the perfection of government, without any of its present endless evils. And each member of the union would know, at an early age, that, by right of his birth, he would have, at the proper period of life, his full share of the government of the world, as far as the unions extended; for at forty, when excused from officially attending to the duties, in detail, of the home department, every one will be called upon to take his full share in the government of the foreign department, which, under the federative arrangement of the unions, will become the great department of State, to devise and adjust measures for the general interests of all the unions, which, as soon as the first shall be seen in full operation, may be, and no doubt will be, rapidly extended, like the railways, from country to country, until they shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. The individual interest of all will demand this progress, and one of the important duties of this department will be to devise and assist to carry into execution measures to effect this most desirable of all results.

At sixty, which, under these arrangements, will be a period of great experience, when the mind will be filled with valuable knowledge, collected by extensive travelling into distant countries, and the judgment well matured by its own long practice in the operations and government of its native union, each one, for his future happiness through life, should be left, without official duties, to apply his time and faculties according to the dictates of that matured judgment, which there can be no doubt will lead every individual to apply his physical and mental powers the most beneficially to promote the general happiness of society, as well as his own. And in this new state of existence, created and governed by the laws of God, it may be expected that, when the *causes* which have heretofore created so many anxieties through the various ages of life, tending to shorten existence, shall be entirely removed, and a new mode introduced of growing to advanced age through the habit of exercising all the organs, faculties, propensities, and powers of our nature, to the point of temperance for each individual constitution, that health, strength, and life, will be considerably increased and extended beyond the period hitherto assigned to man; and that it is not unreasonable to expect that this change of system will prolong life thirty or forty years, in addition to its usual present duration. Should this expectation be fulfilled, this period for the enjoyment of life and of benefiting society will be one of great utility and happiness.

#### LAW XXI.

“The duties of the general council of the home department shall be to govern all the circumstances within the boundaries of its union; to organize and direct the various departments of production, distribution, and formation of character; to remove all those circumstances the least favorable to happiness, and to replace them with the best that can be devised among themselves, or of which they can obtain a knowledge from other unions, or from any other source.”

#### *Reasons for this law.*

The government of these unions is thus purely democratic and parental, except that the parent is always in full vigor of body and mind, and daily growing in experience. It has the democratic perfection of numbers, and the parental perfection of unity and decision for action. As all the members of the union, according to age, suffer or enjoy alike, and as all, as they pass through life, are upon a perfect equality, there will be no motive to influence those passing through their period of government to any action contrary to the happiness of all. The laws of God are always before them, short and simple, yet all-sufficient to guide them in every decision they may have to make. They are uncontrolled, except by the report from the annual meeting on new-year's day of the younger and older, who will judge accurately, yet charitably and kindly, of all their official sayings and doings; but from a government composed of individuals so trained, educated, and placed, no evil thought or

erroneous action is ever likely to proceed. All things within the limits of the union are placed under their sole management and direction. Should they ever be in doubt how to proceed on any new or more difficult affair than ordinary, and a difference of opinion arise on this doubtful matter, they can always resort to the advice of the older council; but it is concluded that occasion for such reference can scarcely ever arise.

#### LAW XXII.

“The duties of the general council of the external or foreign department will be to receive visitors or delegates from other unions; to communicate with other similar unions; to visit them, and to arrange with them the best means of forming roads and conveying surplus produce to each other; to travel; to give and receive information of inventions, discoveries, and improvements of every kind that can be useful; and, also, to regulate and assist in the establishment of new unions, composed of the surplus population of the unions, and to send delegates to the circles of united unions to which the union shall be attached.”

#### *Reasons for this law.*

The main object of this democratic constitution is, through the laws of God, on which it is founded, to unite the human race in one band of brotherhood, for the mutual benefit of all. The duties stated in this law are devised to promote this object, and to insure, at the same time, the happiness of the individuals composing this council, and the progressive improvement of the particular unions forming the circles of their federation. The delegations to be composed of the oldest members of the council, taken in rotation, according to the number required.

#### LAW XXIII.

“The general councils, home and foreign, shall have full power in all things under their direction, as long as they shall act in accordance with the laws of God; which laws, strictly adhered to, shall be their sole guidance upon all occasions.”

#### *Reasons for this law.*

The members of these councils will be so trained, educated, placed, and surrounded, that they will have no motives but to act according to the experience and judgment which they shall possess. And the laws of God, which are to be their undeviating guide, are so few, plain, and simple, that their conduct, by referring to these laws, can never be in doubt upon any occasion. The laws in themselves are so definite, and so directly applicable to all human transactions, under the arrangements of these unions, which are based on these laws, that, as soon as the parties shall have passed through the preliminary or transition state, previous to a generation being matured from birth in these unions, there will be little to govern when all shall be trained to think and act rationally from their birth. For when men shall be educated to become rational beings, and shall be placed amidst rational objects or circumstances only, they will always act rationally, with the exception stated in the succeeding law, but which exception cannot be supposed to apply at any time to more than one or two in each council, and the other members would have them removed, as directed, into the hospital.

#### LAW XXIV.

“All individuals trained, educated, and placed, in conformity with the laws of God, must, of necessity, at all times think and act rationally, unless they shall become physically, mentally, or morally diseased; in which case the council shall remove them into the hospital for bodily, mental, or moral invalids, where they shall remain under confinement, or otherwise, as the case may require, until they shall be recovered by the mildest treatment that can effect their cure.”

The reasons for this law have been given in the previous article upon the 23d law, but it explains itself.

#### LAW XXV.

“The councils, whenever it shall be necessary, shall call to their aid the practical abilities and advice of any of the members not in the councils.”

*Reasons for this law.*

It sometimes happens that young persons are born with peculiarly strong faculties upon some one subject; and it may occur that the advice of the longest experience may be required; and in these and other cases it may be desirable that such individuals should be in the councils, although, as the government is arranged, and the population to be governed will be made rational from birth, it may be reasonably expected that there will be little difficulty, under any circumstances, in governing.

## FIFTH SECTION.

## LAW XXVI.

“To prevent injurious expressions of opinion or feelings arising among the adult members of the union, and permanently to maintain all the laws of God in full purity, a meeting shall be held annually in each union, on the first day in the year, at 10 A. M., composed of the elders who have *passed* the councils, and of those who have been trained from birth within the union, who are above eighteen years of age, but who have not entered the councils, to hear read an official written report, prepared by the councils, and presented from them by the senior member of each council, containing a correct narrative of their respective proceedings for the past year. After the report shall have been read, the meeting shall deliberate and well consider them; and when it shall come to a general understanding respecting them, a committee of the three junior elders, and of the two senior juniors shall draw up *their* report upon the reports of the councils, and shall state especially whether or not the laws of God have been maintained consistently throughout the past year. And they shall also state, in the genuine spirit of truth and charity, their opinion upon any measure which to them may appear to contravene those all-wise and unchanging laws. These reports to be registered, preserved, and printed, for the use of the members, and to be sent to other unions of the federation.”

*Reasons for this law.*

This is an important law, devised to keep the mind of the members of all ages alive to the necessity of having the laws of God always present to them in their thoughts and practice, so that they shall become part of the constitutional growth of every mind; for as long as these laws shall be maintained consistently and in full purity in practice, the unions must rapidly progress in prosperity, and the members in virtue and every superior quality.

This annual meeting will be one of deep interest to every member of every union, and to the whole federation, however widely it may extend. These reports will particularly interest the young, from an early age; for the young, by their new mode of training, will be well competent to understand the laws of God, and to judge correctly when there is any deviation from them in practice. All children, under this new manufacture of the human character, in accordance with the laws of God, will understand human nature far better than the most experienced, at any age, whose minds have been formed by institutions emanating from the laws of men. They will also be familiar with the principles whence arise the science of society, and know when they are well or ill applied to practice, which they will already know to some extent by their own experience. They will not be altogether unacquainted with the great master science of “the overwhelming influence of circumstances, from birth, over all individuals;” and they will be made, even at this early period, competent to apply this knowledge to valuable purposes. This law will also assist to train the younger members, who have not entered the councils, for the business which, when they shall have attained the proper age, they will have to attend to and execute. It being intended that all, at an early period, should understand the principles of educating and governing, that at the proper age they may apply them wisely to practice.

## LAW XXVII.

“All other differences, of every description, if indeed it be possible for any to exist in these unions, shall be immediately and finally determined and amicably adjusted between the parties, by the decision of a majority of the three senior members who have last passed the councils.”

*Reasons for this law.*

Trained, educated, and placed, from birth, as the members of these unions will be, and speaking alone the language of truth on all occasions, and especially respecting the feelings and convictions which, by their nature, they are compelled to have, it is scarcely possible, with their knowledge of the laws of God or of their nature, that any difference of opinion or feeling, requiring the interference of other parties, should ever arise between any of the members of these unions. The laws of God, well understood and honestly applied to practice, are, each, laws of union between all of the human race; they are emphatically laws of prevention of differences between individuals and nations, and to insure unlimited charity for the widest possible differences between man and man over the world, by disclosing to all a knowledge of the causes of those diversities of feelings, opinions, habits, and conduct. But until this knowledge shall be engrafted, as it were, in the hearts, and minds, and habits of all, it may be useful, and for a time, until all shall be formed into rational beings, necessary to provide a simple mode to terminate differences of any kind which at first may arise between parties, before they become quite familiar with the application of these new laws to every day's practice. And the three junior elders, who have passed through all the routine of the business and government of the union, will be as good friends to decide any matter which may arise between individuals in such manner as will be satisfactory to all parties. The laws of God cannot fail to direct them aright in their decision upon every such case as may be submitted to them.

Indeed, after a reasonable time for the conflicting associations of ideas formed in the minds of all the present generation by the erroneous laws of men, to be unassociated, and to be replaced by consistent and true ideas, these laws now given, few as they are by comparison with men's laws, may be, and no doubt in one or two new generations will be, reduced to the simple primary laws of God: namely, that the Great Creating Power of the Universe alone forms man, his feelings, and convictions, and through these his conduct. This knowledge is sufficient to re create man and reconstruct society in such manner that the least in this new state of human existence will be far in advance of the greatest under the present worse than irrational system.

## SIXTH SECTION.

*Reasons for the mode of introducing the new Constitution, to supersede the old.*

## LAWS XXVIII AND XXIX.

“That the present Constitution of the State of New York, with any alterations and additions which may be made by this convention, and accepted by the people, shall govern the State while the unions shall be in progress, and until the whole of the population shall be formed into unions. The new constitution shall commence and be in force in each union when complete and in full action.”

The inconvenience in practice, from a sudden change of the Constitution of the State from the laws of men to the laws of God, would be so great as to render it inadvisable; indeed, it could not be effected without creating too much temporary confusion, and which, by the gradual change proposed, will be avoided.

The occupiers of the unions would be competent, by a short instruction, to act in them when the entire arrangements are formed, the buildings erected and furnished, and the whole prepared for action; but they would be unable to construct a scientific, self-supporting, self educating, self-employing, and self-governing federative union. This must be planned and executed by those who have had previous experience in devising and executing extensive combinations to accomplish given foreseen results.

The only real difficulty now, is in making the change from the one state to the other; and, to devise the means to effect this with the least inconvenience, it is requisite that both systems should be understood in principle and practice. Those who possess this knowledge know that the best mode of accomplishing this result will be through a well-contrived transition state, in which old ideas, habits, and prejudices, will be allowed to die their natural death gradually, and without violence or disruption of feeling. This kind of change may be made in the unions, when first established, by the responsible tenants of the unions, who may hire assistants to perform such work in which they have not had experience or been trained to practise, until the children born and educated in the unions shall be competent to the task. This gradual change from being served by human slaves and servants.

o being served by mechanism and chemistry and well-educated young persons, is necessary, because the first tenants of these unions should be persons well educated according to the old system, and who have been accustomed to the manners and habits of those who are called the respectable classes in general society; and some of them should be familiar in combining and directing extensive practical operations. The uneducated, with inferior habits and manners, are not, for those reasons, suitable persons to become the tenants who are to change the language, habits, and manners, created by the laws of men, for those which emanate from the laws of God; but their children may easily be formed to become most useful and valuable tenants, when they shall be educated in the unions from birth, in principles in accordance with those laws; but to attempt to form unions of equality in the first instance of the educated and uneducated—of those trained to serve and be directed, and those accustomed to be served and to direct—is to oppose the order of nature, and could not be expected to succeed. The unions must be completed by practical men, who have been experienced in extensive complicated operations, and carried into practice by those who have been previously trained to manage and direct large bodies; and hence arises the necessity for a transition state, in which to bring together the three classes of society—the operatives, middle, and upper classes—in order to have the best qualities of each selected, and given to each child of the union, without any of the inferior qualities of these classes; and that one superior class shall be thus formed, securing to each individual, in his own person, the combined advantages of the three classes: that is, the practical efficient operative qualities, the combining and directing qualities of the middle class, and the superior habits and manners of the upper, so far as they are compatible with the useful and necessary qualities of the other two classes.

The laws relative to private property, the abolition of all punishments, and the termination of slavery and servitude, can be carried into full force only with the children born and trained within the superior circumstances of these unions, based and constructed on the laws of God. But in the mean time these laws of God, and self-evident deductions from them, should be gradually introduced into each union, in proportion as the characters of the tenants, and those whom they employ as assistants upon wages, shall be improved by the new machinery for reforming the old and creating the new character of the occupiers of the unions. This change, under these improved circumstances, of putting off the old garments of iniquity and falsehood, and assuming those of goodness and truth, will proceed much more rapidly than is now generally supposed. The overwhelming influence of such a combination as these unions will afford will be much more powerful for good than those yet unacquainted with the science of the influence of circumstances can suppose to be possible. During this transition in the unions, patience, forbearance, charity, and kindness, will be required to be constantly applied by those to whom the direction of them shall be intrusted.

*Reasons for laws XXX, XXXI, and XXXII.—(See the laws.)*

It has been stated that the chief difficulty in changing the constitutions of the nations of the world, from the erroneous principles of the laws of men, and the most injurious evil practices which necessarily proceed from those erroneous principles, to the true principles of human nature, and the undeviating beneficent and good practices which would as necessarily emanate from the adoption of those unchanging true principles, would be at the commencement of the change, and that, therefore, it should be guarded carefully by well-devised arrangements at this period.

The tenants to first occupy the unions should be selected for their qualifications to undertake this new important task. They should thoroughly understand the fundamental laws of men, and their consequent practices; and the laws of God, and their consequent practices. They should be conscientious in their abandonment of the first, and adoption of the second, and enter the union with a fixed determination to act in it, and to assist to govern it according to the fixed laws of human nature—the laws given to it by the Great Creating Power of the Universe.

They should know that scientific, self-supporting, self-educating, self-employing, and self-governing unions require qualifications in the occupiers of them well adapted to accomplish these results in a superior manner in each division. They must know how to create wealth, and to distribute and use it to the satisfaction of the producers; to form the character from birth; to well employ all, and to govern without the necessity for punishment, in such manner as shall see to, provide, and well care for all, from birth to death. They must also understand the science of the influence of circumstances, so that not one object, animate or inanimate, having an inferior influence over human nature, should be allowed

to grow up within the boundaries of their union. They must be imbued with the spirit of industry and a well-regulated economy, that more may be always produced by each one than he will consume, in order not only to create a surplus of wealth to exchange on equitable principles for those things which are not produced within the boundaries of the union, but also to assist in forming new unions as they may be required, and as the population of the older unions increase to the extent of their maximum in number.

Under the arrangements proposed for the unions, the creation of wealth will be so easy and abundant, compared with existing arrangements for this purpose, that the interest for capital, with the gradual repayment of the capital itself required to establish the unions, will be paid with pleasure by no more manual and mental labor than will be necessary to keep the population in the best health of body and mind. And by this system of unions, federatively united, this western continent, with a population exceeding the present number upon the globe, may be so governed that each shall be so well cared for and placed, that he shall be well trained and educated from birth, well and pleasantly employed through life, and be surrounded in his union with superior objects only; and yet, by the principles of the federative unions, the whole continent will be more easily governed than the city of New York is under the existing system. And for an important element towards the perfection of this extensive governing, the world is indebted to Professor Morse's new telegraph. The commissioners' annual reports will be necessary to enable the General Government to have a correct knowledge of the state of each union while in progress, and until it becomes independent in its pecuniary resources of the loan from the State Government. When this debt and interest shall be paid, the union then becomes a free federative state, self-governed according to the laws of God, which never change or produce evil. Perhaps the most convenient circle of unions will be into tens and hundreds. The circle of ten will be useful for more local purposes, and the circle of hundreds for more extended measures. And as there will be but one interest among the whole of these unions, however numerous, there will be no difficulty in uniting them to any extent.

#### *Reasons for law XXXIII.*

The parental *principle* of governing, which combines *experience or matured knowledge* with an *ever abiding deep interest in the happiness of the governed*, will be forever the perfection of governing, when that principle is made permanent, and maintained in full physical and mental vigor, without the weakness of mere animal fondness and partiality for immediate offspring; and such will be the government of the unions, under the home and foreign councils. There will be but one interest, and that obvious to all, between the councils and the population. They will constitute, to all intents and purposes, one family of parents and children, brothers and sisters, husbands and wives, all desiring and all endeavoring to promote each others' interest and happiness. By the government of age and equal education, without partiality, as well as equal employment according to age, all contests and jealousies will be avoided, because the *causes* which have hitherto produced them will no longer exist. All will be trained to think, feel, and act correctly; they will be made, through the language of truth and the acquisition of real knowledge, to become superior independent men and women, who, being especially educated to be consistent rational beings, will, under all circumstances that can arise in a rational state of society, act at all times rationally; and to train a population from birth to become rational, will be found, on experience, to be by far the most economical as well as the most direct mode to permanently establish universal virtue and happiness.

#### *Reasons for laws XXXIV, XXXV, and XXXVI.*

It is evident, upon a little sober reflection, that, as man made not the land, and that it is necessary to every one's existence, it can be held in perpetuity only by force or fraud; and that, righteously, the use of it belongs to each generation, in natural succession. But the laws of men have attempted to make it private property forever, and many of its present possessors have honestly purchased what they hold, while others have never given a just equivalent for it, but hold it, as they have been trained to imagine, by a right which none can justly challenge. There is, also, an immense space upon the earth yet unoccupied, waste, and barren, awaiting an increase of population. Now, the question is, under this artificial holding of land, what is the most just and practicable mode by which a change can be effected, without violence, disorder, or injustice, by which the entire land of a country may be made to return to its original position and proper use. To take it from the present pos-

sessors by force would be to perpetuate the law of force, and those who obtained it would be always liable to be dispossessed by a stronger power, and there would be no end to strife and bloodshed. The most economical, just, and easiest mode will be, by purchase from the present proprietors, at a fair market price. But who are to buy it? Not individuals, because that would be to retain all the present evils of private ownership of land, and nothing could be gained to forward the object sought for—that is, to make the land the property of the population, for its use, without alienation, from generation to generation. To effect this object, the land must be purchased by the Governments, in the first instance, and, in the United States, by the State Governments; and, under the new constitution now proposed, repurchased from the State Government by the unions, who will hold it in perpetuity, for the use of each new generation, as it succeeds to the old. Thus will all private property in land cease, and die quietly its natural death.

The land of a State may be bought by the State Government, with its own bonds, of such convenient amount as to form a circulating medium for that State, at the least possible cost, without risk, or without change of value, and by which it would be enabled to establish these unions, in a short time, over the whole State, insuring, during this transition, a high prosperity, by this action, to every department of the old system of society, which will thus die the most easy natural death, without inconvenience to any parties. And thus would a circulating medium be created and obtained, in proportion as real wealth increased, and which medium would remain unchanged in its value.

#### *Reasons for laws XXXVII, XXXVIII, and XXXIX.*

Some of the evils of political elections have been previously stated, under reasons for the laws relative to the councils; but all who live in the United States, and have studied the effects of appointing to office by popular elections, must be conscious of the permanent errors inherent in such a mode of governing either a small or more extended population.

In forming a constitution for the government of society, based on the laws of God, it was early perceived that popular elections to office must be abandoned, in consequence of their practice arousing and keeping in action the most inferior qualities that can be implanted in man.

To remove the necessity for election or selection to office, it was necessary to simplify society, and make governing an easy task, and also to well prepare each individual who by rotation should be called upon to take his proper and full share in the government of the unions first, and afterwards of the federation of unions, either as state, or national, or continental federations. And under the constitution proposed, as every one will be educated to become, at an early period of life, a rational being, the government of the unions, singly or federated, will be a most easy and pleasant occupation, there being always more governing power provided than the necessity for it will require.

To preserve equality throughout the whole system, the meetings of the county delegates may be held each year in a different union, in an order determined by lot, and the meeting of the State delegates may be held also in one of the county unions, in similar succession, from county to county federation. When the unions shall have become independent, by the payment of their loans to the federative State, they will be opened to receive any member of other unions when vacancies occur, provided those members have been trained and educated from birth in one of the unions.

#### *Reasons for law XL.*

The executive of seven members, who will be required to reside in the union appointed for the year to be the seat of government, will necessarily divide the superintendence of each department between themselves, in such manner as experience will prove to be the most convenient.

The oldest will be president, and decide all doubtful matters that may be submitted to him by the two at the head of each of the three great departments of government; that is: 1st. The production and distribution of wealth. 2d. The formation of character from birth. And 3d, governing locally and generally. The executive will have to ascertain that these departments are kept up to the proper point in each union and county federation, and where any deficiency shall be discovered, by having the inferior circumstance speedily removed, and replaced by superior, that nothing inferior competent to be removed by united humanity should remain in one of the unions.

With a people thus educated, employed, placed, and governed, uniting their knowledge

and energies, aided by steam and electricity, and the government once systematized, so as to have a daily communication with each union, there would be less difficulty in governing the present population of the world, than there is now in the government of a small kingdom.

The difference between governing a population whose character has been based on the laws of God, and one whose character has been based on the laws of man, will prove beyond present estimate.

*Concluding remarks.*

The period for introducing a system of society based on the laws of God, for remodeling the character of man, and for governing the population of the earth in peace, unity, progressive improvement, and happiness, is near at hand; and it is evident, from the signs of the times in the four quarters of the world, that no human power can long resist the change.

The governments in all countries will soon be compelled in their own defence to adopt this superior system, to prevent their being involved in anarchy, wars, and ruin, from within and without.

This change will root up and utterly destroy the old vicious and miserable system of ignorance, poverty, individual competition, and contest, and of national wars, throughout the world—a system based on men's laws, in direct opposition to the most palpable facts. Instead thereof, this change will introduce another system, in accordance with all facts, based on the laws of God, creating an entirely new mode of human existence, in which competition, strife, and wars, will cease forever, and all will be trained from infancy solely to promote each others' happiness.

This system can be the best commenced by convincing Governments of the truth of the principles on which it is founded; and Governments, by the adoption of right measures, are as capable of conviction as other classes of individuals. There must be, also, a sufficient number of individuals united, imbued with the genuine spirit of universal charity, affection, and philanthropy, and instructed in the best mode of applying these virtues to practice—virtues which can emanate alone from a full and earnest knowledge of the laws of God. They must likewise possess patience and perseverance to overcome all the obstacles which the prejudices created by the laws of men will oppose to their progress; and, above all, they must be united, have full confidence in each other, and be directed by one heart and one mind.

Under the system formed upon and governed by the laws of men, the great majority of the external circumstances created by man are of an inferior and vicious character, while those that emanate from the system formed upon and governed by the laws of God will be of a virtuous and superior character only; and as these circumstances are, so will man become.

Under the existing system, based on men's laws, 250 individuals cannot be supported in comfort on a square mile of land of an average quality, while, under the system based on the laws of God, 500 may be immediately supported in abundance and in high comfort; and in a few years, when the arrangements of each union shall be completed, and the land made, as it gradually will be, into a garden mould, and judiciously cultivated, upwards of one thousand may be so maintained, surrounded with all the most desirable appliances.

And above all, it is the decided high interest of every human being, whatever may be their class, sect, sex, party, country, or color, that this change should be now effected with the least loss of time.

ROBERT. OWEN.

WASHINGTON, June, 1846.



## POSTSCRIPT.

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### CONTRAST

*Between the states of society emanating from the laws of men and from the laws of God.*

There are not many men or women whose minds have been so expanded as to be enabled to grasp the whole arrangement and consequences of two totally different and opposite systems for forming the character of man, and of governing the human race, and then, without the prejudices of latitude and longitude, draw a just and unbiassed comparison between them.

Yet such are the minds required to form a rational conclusion between two opposing systems for the government of mankind—between two distinct states of human existence, one emanating solely from the laws of men, opposed to facts, and the other proceeding from the laws of God, sustained through all past ages by every known fact.

The one has desolated the world with wars, violences, contentions, and repulsive feelings, producing endless crimes, and their consequent miseries. It is calculated to effect these results. The other will produce knowledge, unity, charity, and ever increasing prosperity. It possesses the power and capacity to insure to all these permanent blessings. Whenever the prejudices of latitude and longitude can be overcome, the extraordinary differences between these opposing systems for the government of the world cannot fail to make a deep and lasting impression upon all who shall give their attention to the subject.

The difference may be thus shortly stated:

1. The system which has emanated from the laws of men cultivates, and very imperfectly, a small portion only of the powers and faculties of the human race.

2. It gives such an injurious direction to the exercise of these faculties, as to produce a most imperfect character, physical, mental, moral, and practical, in all; while by a right education and direction of all our faculties and powers, with much less cost of capital, labor, and good feeling, a very superior character may be insured to each individual.

3. This system *prevents* the *creation* of an enormous amount of the most valuable wealth, and produces, with a large capital, and great, severe, disagreeable, and unhealthy manual labor, a much smaller amount of wealth, and generally of inferior qualities.

4. It distributes this wealth in the most unjust, inefficient, injurious, and expensive manner.

5. It has created, and now supports, over the world, opposing systems of superstition, at a most extravagant expenditure—systems which derange the human faculties, and compel men to act unjustly, unkindly, without charity for human nature, and most irrationally, to the injury of all, and benefit of none.

6. It supports codes of laws, based on ignorance, and supported at an enormous waste of capital, talent, and honesty, opposed to God's laws, and thereby creates universal disorder and confusion.

7. It creates and supports the spirit of war, and carries its evils to an extent that baffles all attempts to place them with the vividness of truth before the mind; for war is not only the great demoralizer of man, by making brute force the highest honored power which he possesses, but it destroys the means of existence for millions, and gives a false direction to the physical and mental energies of humanity. Had the nations of the world but a correct knowledge of the loss and sufferings created by their armies and navies, there is not one individual, prince or peasant, civil or military, who would not abhor the error, and use his utmost endeavor to terminate forever all motives for war.

8. This old system, by its innumerable physical and mental errors, fills the world with disease and accidents; and, while keeping the mass of the people in worse than brutal ignorance, renders the medical profession, like the previously named professions, necessary to maintain the system. The loss by the productive and educational powers of society, by so many naturally talented individuals being engaged in this profession, and so placed as to have an apparent interest in opposition to their fellows, is not only a great evil, by pre-

venting all persons being so trained and educated as to become their own best physicians or health advisers, but also a very large pecuniary loss is thus sustained annually by society.

9. This old system has created and supports the most vicious system of producing and distributing wealth—a system by which man is greatly demoralized—his best faculties being continually occupied in mercenary speculations to obtain money: first, to purchase those things necessary to a comfortable support for a family; and, afterwards, to acquire power and influence in society, to be applied for individual purposes, regardless of the interests of others. The pecuniary loss by this erroneous arrangement is more than sufficient to insure permanent prosperity to the whole of society.

10. This system, so long as men shall remain so insane as to support it, in opposition to the laws of God and to the highest and best interests of their race, will permanently keep the inhabitants of the world disunited and opposed to each other; will forever prevent the introduction in *practice* of universal charity or kindness, or a good, intelligent, and rational character being formed for the human race.

This is a true description, without exaggeration, of the present system, which, through the want of an education based on true principles, is now supported in opposition to the introduction of a system based on the laws of God, that would secure to themselves, in part, but fully to their children's children, to the end of time, the most important permanent advantages:

1. Because in this system, based on the laws of God, all the faculties and natural powers of all individuals will be well cultivated and duly exercised, from birth, in proportion to their strength and capacity, and thus will they be made of great value to themselves and society.

2. Because it will give a natural and therefore a right direction in practice to the organs, faculties, and powers, of every individual, in order that they may be at all times exercised to the point of temperance, to secure their physical and mental health.

3. Because, by this training, education, and exercise of the physical and mental powers of every individual, such a character will be formed for each, that the necessity for any of the professions will gradually diminish, until they entirely cease; and thus, besides overcoming the enormous amount of deception, error, and crime, with their consequent misery, which these professions now hourly produce throughout society, there will be vast masses of wealth created, which these professions now waste or prevent being produced.

4. Because, under this system, by a simple and beautiful arrangement, a surplus of wealth, all of superior qualities, will be annually *produced*, with great pleasure and advantage to the producers and consumers of it.

5. Because this wealth, so produced, will be *distributed* with little trouble or expense most beneficially for the advantage of all, and to their entire satisfaction.

6. Because, under this system, realities, and not mysteries, will occupy the attention of all; by which change, more valuable knowledge will be elicited among mankind in one year than has yet been usefully introduced in a century.

7. Because, under this system, *justice* will take the place of *law*; and all differences, if it be possible for such to arise in a state of society based on the laws of God, will be promptly decided by arbitration, without expense to either party, and with a view also to permanent reconciliation. Individual punishment and reward, after the present generation shall have died, and every one shall have been educated from birth in the principles and practices of this new system, will be altogether unnecessary, as well as prejudicial and most unjust, and therefore never adopted. The only code of laws in this system will be Nature's laws, made plain to all, easy of adoption, and always beneficial in practice.

8. Because, under this system, *war* cannot exist. There will be no motive for it; for man will be cordially united to man, and nation to nation, throughout the earth. *All* will be made too wise not to perceive the gross immorality, extravagant waste and loss of property, and utter madness of war, or of party or individual divisions, to give the slightest encouragement to either of these evils. And thus incalculable wealth will be saved to the world, for the use of its inhabitants.

9. Because, under this system, *health* will take the place of *disease*. The *causes* of disease will be greatly removed far from the whole of the population, as may be discovered by the inspection of the practical arrangements proposed, and the mode of conducting the business of life, by those so placed, trained, and educated.

10. Because, under this system, a superior mode of producing and distributing wealth, in great abundance, without creating any motive to falsehood or deception of any kind, will be adopted, and by which the interest, prosperity, and happiness of all will be essentially promoted, and wealth and power will be no longer objects of contest between individuals and nations.

In short, the difference between the two systems is the difference, as previously stated, between truth and falsehood, health and disease, morality and immorality, wealth and poverty, union and disunion, or misery and happiness; or between a very inferior and a very superior state of human existence. Under this view, it must be evident to those whose experience enables them to grasp a more extended subject than has ever been presented to the human mind, that the difference between the two systems is not to be estimated in dollars and cents. But even in this respect there can be no comparison; for the *general economy*, from what has been said, must be upwards of ninety per cent. in its favor; but with respect to the formation of character, and the enjoyment of superior happiness, there can be no comparison.

ROBERT OWEN.

WASHINGTON, June, 1846.









