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THE

SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT,

FOUNDED ON

NATURAL LAW.

BY

CLINTON ROOSEVELT.

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NEW YORK :  
PUBLISHED BY DEAN & TREVETT,  
121 FULTON STREET.

1841.

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THE BEQUEST OF  
EVERT JANSEN WENDELL  
(CLASS OF 1882)  
OF NEW YORK

1918





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## P R E F A C E .

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THE last words of an author are generally given first. Prefaces are written when the books are finished. They are generally intended as explanatory of something which the work itself will not explain, and in it the author takes the liberty to introduce himself and his motives. Few people, therefore, read the Preface, and perhaps it is as well to overlook it. The present writer acknowledges he has nothing in particular to say. The work was called for by some of his friends, who heard his lectures at the City Hall some two or three winters ago, and he has written it, rather hastily perhaps, within a few days past. A larger work would have been more imposing in appearance, **but the truth is, large works and long speeches are rarely made by men of powerful thought. The giant draws up by the roots the tree,**

which the pigmy hacks upon the livelong day. The little man may say it was not done *secundum artem*—not, nicely or critically. The giant says the work is done, and points him to his prostrate enemy. This for illustration, not to boast, but as an apology for so small a work, upon so great a subject—the greatest, by the way, of all the sciences, as it includes all others; the most benevolent, as it is intended to bring all to bear, for the greatest good of all mankind, now, and to come on earth.

As to boasting, the writer is well aware it is the worst policy imaginable, for any one in search of admiration. He had better seem extremely modest, make apologies, advance with cap in hand on tiptoe. This is the way to captivate all little minds, without a single spark of genius, in a work. But the object of the author is to speak exactly as he thinks, with mathematical precision. Truth may seem severe when it is not, and he who speaks it, like the



skilful surgeon at an amputation, calmly cuts, but only to save life or reputation. The man who will not do so is a moral coward. He is unfit to speak, or write, or act. He is selfish, and a selfish man is ready to do anything. He only fears the law, or sword, or pistol. But little mean minds look only at the present apparent good, regardless of all greater good and evil in the future. And there must ever be a war between the dispositions of the classes who look only at the present, and only at the future. We must look at both at once. But to effect a great and good result, all things must be TRUE TO NATURE. The simplest carpenter's apprentice can tell you from experience, that if the joints of any framework are not true, the parts will not well fit when put together, and it will rack down, and shake to pieces, at the first storm, which may arise. But the unwise think that they are wise, when they are only cunning. They know not the sublimity of simple

truth, and when a man with the full consciousness that he has done a noble work, may seem to feel its dignity, they cry "behold how vain!" Not seeing the great work which does ennoble him, they think him vain even of the merest trifles. They judge of others by themselves. Still let us speak the truth, if not in works of fiction, at least when great interests are at stake. How elevated, how sublime indeed the sentiment of **Sir Henry Wotton**, on this subject.

"How happy is he born or taught  
 "Who serveth not another's will,  
 "Whose armor is his honest thought,  
 "And simple truth his highest skill.

"This man is freed from servile bands,  
 "Of hope to rise and fear to fall.  
 "Lord of himself, if not of lands,  
 "And having nothing, yet hath all."

To resume :—

As it cannot be expected, that a new science of government complete, and founded on a law of motives which no system of education or philosophy has

recognized, can possibly escape the envenomed shafts of such, as would, but cannot show an original idea, we desire only to say one thing to arbitrators and thinkers for the public—think first of yourselves what is necessary to just criticism. If you do not know, allow us then to hint it to you. **First, a heart to feel for all the woes of all mankind, and not for those only which press now upon the senses, but for all time past, and for all time to come; and secondly, there must also be perception, with power like an eagle's eye, to see at a glance from far beyond the reach of vulgar organs, not merely the hare to satisfy his present want, but all the vast extent of states and empires, with one, and with the other eye, the sun which gives light to the earth.**

Learned men have long contended that it was impossible for any human intellect to grasp what has been here attempted,—that a Cyclopædia only, could embrace in one view, all the arts and sciences, which minister to man's necessity and happiness

—and that they give but little credit for, as a Cyclopædia is a mere arbitrary alphabetical arrangement. We would not say we have done even what we have, without much toil and sacrifice. **It has cost the best ten years of the writer's life, to settle its great principles, and give it form and substance.** The world has been the book, the teacher, God and nature. The mere writing is most unimportant. The thought is all. The great interests of man were in a state of chaos, and this science is to harmonize them, and run side by side with **true religion**, so far as that is meant, **“to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and make on earth, peace and good will to man.”**

These remarks are made, that none may lightly damn the work. Let them, we repeat, examine first their own hearts and heads, and learn if they are qualified to speak or write upon it. The poorest and most ignorant, with sound moral and mental powers, has faculties to judge, far better than he, who with envious and con-

tracted feelings, seeks only to detract from good, and embitter the existence of such as they may envy, but not emulate, with all of their advantages of Greek, and Latin, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, nouns, and pronouns.

This is the age of words. We mean in political and moral science, as well we fear, as in true religion. While mechanical and chemical sciences are advancing with such rapid strides, that excessive production has become a bugbear, the vast majority of the most enlightened nations are now dying from diseases superinduced by excessive labor, and deficient nourishment, and clothing. It is all owing to vapid words, words, words. Men should be ashamed to write huge tomes, while those who want the information most, have neither time to read nor means to buy.

There is such a thing as learned verbose folly, and also pigmies in long gowns on stilts; and they may nod or shake their heads, like plas-

ter Chinese Mandarins, as dealers in small wares may pull the wires for effect ; but the people need not care, and to the people we appeal from all self-constituted arbiters. But liberal criticism will be accepted as a favor ; and writers who may undertake the task, will confer an obligation by directing a copy of their articles, to the author, at New York, from England, France, or Germany, or any part of our own country, where this work may reach. Such as may take the trouble will receive the author's best acknowledgments. His tone may seem not strictly according to *bien science*, and he must claim indulgence from the men of real judgment and good feeling, while he lashes out the money changers from the temples of just criticism. They expect a tribute, and we pay them in advance.

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Producer. I toil, and others reap the fruits. Who will show me real good! To wha soever point I turn my sorrowing regards, nought but misery, and the prospect of still greater misery do I witness. Whichsoever party gains the victory, we still bear the burdens of society. In Great Britain also, the land from which our statesmen with an apparent consciousness of mental weakness, copy all their precedents and principles of law and government, it is self-evident, that with the increase of the means of happiness, the great body of producers have the less and less, and if like causes still effect like con-

sequences, so must it be in time with us, when our public lands shall all be occupied. Yea, even now, those who produce the most by genius and industry secure the least, while those who seek not to perform that which is truly useful to society, accumulate the most of all the fruits, of toil and ingenuity.

Turn we to the law for Justice? Even when grossly and directly wronged, there is no hope for us who most require the strong arm of law and government in our behalf—not for the strong but weak, was government ostensibly created. But bands of monopolists have corrupted legislators, and if we go to law, the cause may be referred and re-referred, accumulating costs at every stage of progress. until expenses swamp us in despair. No door of justice can be opened by the humble citizen, when once he has been robbed legally by artful men, of that, of which the courts themselves desire to obtain possession—money. Cerberus guards the portals to the courts of justice, falsely so called, and he must have his legal bribe,



which we, who have not, cannot give. Should we essay to plead in our own sad behalf, multitudes on multitudes of books beset our path, and we gain nought but ridicule. When rich monopolists raise prices in opposition to the spirit of the laws by their floods of paper, they go free, but when we seek to meet the most unjust depreciation in the value of the money given us as wages, we are sent to prison as conspirators. If we ask our highest learned institutions for a better system of Political Economy, by which we may obtain the means of meeting monied powers on the ground of money, we are told, "let men alone and things will regulate themselves." They send us off, to

**"Beg a fellow worm to give us leave to toll."**

And dreadful and savage is the thought ! the more that we produce, the nearer are we to starvation. When the master manufacturer cannot sell as rapidly as we can

make, we are discharged to pine away, until those in better circumstances can waste and wear out the excess of our productions. In **Great Britain**—the land from which our Political Economy is also borrowed — “**bastiles**” have been erected, as the only means to cure the crime of poverty. A sight of the green fields is denied unhappy inmates—partners for life are parted—the poor maiden’s only ornament, her glossy locks of hair, are closely cropped, as if a criminal—her wrists and neck are placed in stocks, while monsters thus despoil the destitute ; and all for what ? Those in better circumstances cannot consume or waste in riot, as rapidly as her poor companions and herself can produce the means of living happily, and when she asks a pittance from the poor rates, to prevent direct starvation, she thus suffers for excessive industry.

In the mean time, want increases with the increase of the means of living hap-

pily. We become the rivals of soulless insensible machinery. We are told there are too many of us. We are forbidnen to look even to affection from some tender partner, as a solace to our misery—I mean we in England, Ireland, France, and elsewhere, for our cause is one over the wide earth. **We the producers are the slaves of all governments alike.**

In England, those who know not the great difficulties of their lot, complain of corn-laws, tithes, or want of universal suffrage. Others say the great monopoly of land, is the master curse, and others say, “let all things be in common, and let there be no accountability to government.”

We in America, have no corn laws, tithes, or hinderance to almost universal suffrage. Land, also, is almost as free as air, if we choose to settle in the great territories of the public; but natural evils then arise from isolation, sickness and death may visit us, and none to help be near. We are social beings, and we wish to live together. **If we strive to do so,**

**we are rivals to the poor of Europe.** They undersell us in our markets, and tens of thousands of us at a time are often destitute. If our short-sighted statesmen seek protection from a tariff, they at the same time issue paper money, and by raising the prices of the raw material, rents, interest of money, and all other things, they thus nullify their work, and even give the foreign manufacturer an advantage over our own, and bring the nation annually in debt fifteen millions on an average, as our domestic enemies acknowledge when hard pressed, and for which our most available stocks and property are now mortgaged :—so short-sighted are our elected representatives. This has been the case for years, and those who first proposed the remedy (a reformation of the banking system,) when the union was shaken to its centre, by the danger of a civil war between the North and South ; have had exhausted on them every epithet that low imaginations could devise.

**Fashions which worship crosses,**

stars and garters, which are given to such as ravage and destroy, with fire and sword, the territories of the peaceful husbandman and civil citizen, have been brought to bear against us. The great banker, like the robber by the sword, men consider good society, while the honest man of value to his fellow men, is held as base, ignoble, vulgar, and looked down upon with scorn. Honest industry being thus despised, we are too generally led to seek to overreach by plausible pretences, rather than live by juster means ; and virtue, suffering persecution, flees from earth. In despair, I ask again—Who' can show me what is truly good? What seems at first view to be good, is evil in its consequences, and what at first seems evil, and is undesired, is in the end superior to that which we most ardently desired as good. Ah me ! What can I and my class do? **We are beasts of burden. If I look to heaven, its ministers I find are also "laying on our shoulders burdens**

**grievous to be borne, while they will not move a little finger " in our favor. I turn to them and turn away, and back to them again, since they make most pretensions of good will to man, but it is all a show. They too are striving to escape that hydra, want, and seek the glory of the world, and dare not speak against the great accumulator. In view of all we thus behold, does not the dreadful thought come home to our understandings, that there is no God of justice to order things aright on earth; if there be a God, he is a malicious and revengeful being, who created us for misery. If so, why toil for happiness? Who, I cry again, in deep despair, can show me real good?**

Author. I can.

P. Thou! art thou happy? Physician heal thyself. Dost thou want nothing?

A. Yea; I wish to make thee happy.

P. Why not first be happy of thyself, and give me an example?

A. Because, our good and great and wise Creator, has connected all mankind,

by the indissoluble ties of sympathy, so that none can be entirely happy or unhappy by himself alone. We must assist each other.

P. Why were we thus created ?

A. Because much greater good can come from many, than from any one alone.

P. But I do not believe that God is good. What you say may be, still does not exist. If you insist, explain then to me, why are we unhappy ? If it had ever been intended that we should have happiness on earth, why was it not created when the earth was made, and why was it not continued ? It is folly to pretend to me, that free agency was necessary to man's accountability. **We care not for a dogma of a theory, what we want is happiness.** But as to free agency, the strongest motive, or what seems strongest to our understandings when it is not overthrown by our temperaments, rules our wills, and we make not motives to ourselves, nor did we create our temperaments. It is easier to present motives

unto others, than to ourselves, and to take a city, than to conquer our own spirits, and govern our circumstances. We deserve then punishments, far more for others crimes, than for our own, for aught that I can find in true philosophy. But this excuse to punish is not the object of a benevolent Creator. Such an one desires no excuse to make us miserable, now, or in eternity. Happiness must be the aim of a good being, for his creatures; and we are exceedingly unhappy. I look not at the means, but at results, and if free-agency—a term which contradicts itself—must be thrown in the way of our happiness, it only proves our happiness was of small importance in the mind of our Creator, and restores my first position. God is not benevolent, and never intended us for happiness, and it is folly to exert ourselves, excepting to overreach and cheat, and then become a saint when we are rich. Such men gain the honors and glories of the world, and must be approved of God, whom they consider as selfish, and caring only for his own low glory ;



and they say if God, for his glory, sacrifices any creature's happiness, why may not they also? They think men wise or foolish just as they are less or more benevolent, and the more they sacrifice for others' good, the greater is their folly, and the less they sacrifice and richer they become, the greater is their wisdom. **Theories of system-makers are all visionary. Take care of yourself, they say, and your friends will value you more highly, than if you were to save the world from degradation or starvation.** The wisdom I now teach you is the practical—yours the theoretical. My only wish for my own part is, that I may have the opportunity, and whosoever else may sink or swim hereafter, I intend to float, and that without a theory of any kind whatever. I'll take the good that may drift near me of the wrecks of fortune when the law does not forbid. As for religion, I am ready to profess the faith in which I have been educated, without scruples, regardless of

all moral principles or considerations, which are only "filthy rags."

A. In other words, do you confess you mean to be a scoundrel, sir ?

P. Yes, **but I do not like the term.** It is not reputable. **There is nothing like a good appearance.**

A. **Neither is the name of a producer fashionable.**

P. No ; and I mean to leave it. **Besides, those who produce all, secure nothing ; while those who overreach, gain all at last.** I mean to be a pious gentleman, and trade and bargain fairly, as others do ; and hereafter care for myself and be respectable.

A. And when you gain your carriage, as you may, if you look only to pecuniary gains regardless of all others, allow me to recommend a motto and device. Make an ass, dancing amongst young poultry, crying "every man for himself ! every man for himself !" It will be homely, but it will be strong and true.

P. Well, is it not the doctrine of our colleges ? What do they teach on

Political Economy but this, "let men alone and things will regulate themselves." "Each man," say the learned professors of Political Economy, "knows best his own interests, and we are all by nature more inclined to regard ourselves than others ; therefore, each has only to pursue his own self-interest, and all interests will be pursued of course in the best manner possible, since there is in nature a fitness of things." That is their doctrine, but where the fitness is in practice I have never seen, whatever it may be in theory. So is the theory of Miss Wright as good as any taught as practical in our higher institutions ; for it is the same in principle, and may be summed up thus : "Consult the good only of the community, and individual interests will of course be best consulted, as the community interest embraces all our lesser interests." Her opponents teach only the converse of her greatest proposition. Why then has this outcry been raised up against her. Of the two, her application of the principle is most benevolent. It is only TOO CONFIDING

in the justice, and virtue, and wisdom of mankind. But there is no difference in the greatest principle of Adam Smith, Say, Ricardo, Wayland, and Miss Wright, (now Madame Darismond,) or Mr. Owen, on the subject of wealth of nations and communities. **As Adam Smith contended there should be no national bargains to prevent free inter-charges between nations of national advantages, so Miss Wright and Mr. Owen contended, on precisely the same general principles, that there should be no bargains between individuals. You yourself, sir, were the first to urge this on our learned institutions, and what was their reply ?**

A. None have taken up the gauntlet. Probably they have thought the proposition too startling or ridiculous even to be noticed.

P. No, that is not the reason. **Make a doctrine fashionable, and pay men well for teaching it, and however demoralizing it may be, a respect-**

**able professorship will keep men quiet.** Then, I pray you, call me not a scoundrel, if I resolve to follow the teaching and example of my "betters," as they are termed in good society.

A. My object, sir, was not, and is not, to insult you, or any man, or any class of men. I use hard words, **as surgeons and divines make use of them in their vocabularies, with no intention to abuse.** Abusive language is in print especially intolerable, excepting in the columns of political news-sheets. I pray you then return to a dispassionate inquiry.

P. With pleasure. I ask then, why, if God be good, are we unhappy; since if he be evil, it is folly to exert ourselves for good?

A. I answer: **Because it was impossible to create happiness immediately,**

P. Is not this a mere subterfuge? See in the universe the evidences of power without bounds, and wisdom inconceivable to accomplish other ends, and leave men

miserable. There is nothing God cannot accomplish.

A. You mistake his powers.

P. Give me an example of a want of power.

A. **Necessity is superior to all other powers.** Two mountains for example, could not be created side by side without an intervening valley. If the mountains be made, the valley also must be made. **So if good be made, some evil must be made.** The allegory of the tree of knowledge is strictly philosophical.

P. Prove your positions.

A. God could not make a self-existent being, as the idea is absurd. He could not therefore make a being with **self-existent knowledge**, since there must be a **commencement to created wisdom**. Simple sensation not being wisdom, and **wisdom being the result of comparisons of opposite sensations, of which mere words could give us no idea without experience of their meaning**; it is thus only, that we may

avoid the evil and choose the good, and be happy in the escape from one, and possession of the other.

P. May we not feel pleasure and pain from sympathy ?

A. Yes ; but that alters not the truth of the argument.

P. Subjection to pain, then, is not an evil, by your philosophy ?

A. **No.** It was necessary to guard us, and prevent a retrograde movement to that state, out of which the supreme intelligence desired to elevate us. I mean death and disorganization, chaos.

P. What then is evil ?

A. **The chaos of ancient night, is the great evil ; and all misery arises only from what tends to reduce man and nature to that state, in opposition to the laws of the supreme intelligence—God.**

P. What is good ?

A. All of the perfect organizations created from chaos, by the supreme intelligence.

P. Why are they good ?

A. Because, the more perfect the organization of any created intelligent being, the more happiness may he enjoy, and the more perfect the organization of the means of happiness, the more happiness may he procure. Hence, all the wisdom of man may be concentrated in two sentences.

P. What are those profound deductions?

A. 1st. ORGANIZE ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF THE GOD OF NATURE.

2d. DISORGANIZE NOT, UNLESS TO CREATE SUPERIOR ORGANIZATIONS.

P. Is there any original evil, and if so, whence did it arise?

A. Original evil is self-existent, as darkness prevails instantly on the withdrawal of light. Cold exists where there is no heat. Death, where there is no life. Silence, where there is no sound, and chaos, where order has not been established by superior power and intelligence. Ignorance and indolence exist also of themselves, where wisdom has not been acquired, or industrious habits formed.



Thus, false ideas of God and man, and the interests of society, prevail, and misery is the consequence. Of course the wiser men become, the better can they read the reason of the laws of nature's God, and the higher the ideas they then form of Deity.

P. Prove this by examples.

A. In barbarous ages they have cruel and blood-thirsty Gods, and as men become more civilized, they blush at the religions of their ancestors. We may know the degree of civilization of an age, or a sect, or individuals, by the character of the Gods they worship. Fear is the natural punishment of blasphemy, and love, the reward of justice to the character and disposition of our adorable and benevolent Creator.

P. Why then does not revelation teach the same to all.

A. Men read the bible as they do the book of nature. Each one lays a stress on certain laws, or texts, and lightly passes over others, and thus creeds as contradictory as all the systems of phil-

osophy prevail, and contending christians have too often burnt, and scourged, and crucified their brethren, each fancying he did God service and his victim also, when he sought to save his soul from hell by a temporary severity, which was as nothing to eternal torment. **Under the garb of christianity—intended for man's greatest good—ignorance and bigotry, have filled the world with blood.**

P. Do you then oppose religion also?

A. Not by any means; I desire to “feed the hungry, and clothe the naked, to make peace on earth, and good will amongst men.” All sects are useful in their times and places. Even the horrors of every kind of superstitions, are a spur to rouse the torpid savage to look up and discover the true God, and love and venerate perfection.

P. Why then seek out new principles of government?

A. Because there is much misery, as you acknowledge, and although “whatever is is right” amongst ideas in our

minds, there is existing a desire to improve, and in things a fitness for improvement, and higher and higher happiness, just in proportion to the degree to which we exercise in the right way our faith, industry and genius. It is right to follow nature humbly.

P. What general proof have you, in natural law, of the good intentions of the Deity in our creation ?

A. There is no organization to perpetuate pain in any sensitive being ; on the contrary, there is a natural tendency to health when injured, and every being may be the happier the better he is organized ; and when the means of happiness are lost, or by any accident the system is so far disorganized, that there is no chance for health and more pleasure than pain from existence, death is sent as a relief from anguish. In momentary agony fainting follows, and creates insensibility to pain.

P. But men fear death, even when in misery.

A. This is a wise provision, to prevent us from throwing off our lives on any

transient ill, or slight disgust. In all cases where we most imagine evil, in our ignorance, there do we discover good, when wise enough to understand the great design of our almighty, all-wise and infinitely good Creator.

P. Being for the present satisfied as to your views of the great designs of Providence, I now anxiously inquire, on what principles are human governments to be constructed?

A. I have answered in general terms—we must organize according to natural laws.

P. How will you commence?

A. We must look on man as he is, and not as our prejudices lead us to believe he should be; and we must adapt **our system to him as we find him, making it an instrument in his hands for continuous improvements.**

P. Is this possible, amidst all the variety of men and things and clashing interests in society?

A. I grant society is in a state of chaos—the hand of every man is raised

against his neighbor, in a low, cunning, selfish, overreaching competition, in which the strong is snatching from the weak his bread, and when he has enough, he still cries more, more, and is not satisfied. I grant that men reputed wise, and exercising at their ease their conscious strength, teach as the only true philosophy, "*laissez nous faire*—Let us alone." I know that those who most require help, are as it were on a lee-coast, and in a leaky ship, and must toil night and day to save themselves from sinking, and that those who might give them their assistance, are thinking only of themselves, by **the false philosophy of wealth, and of our colleges and universities.** But still I hope. There is sympathy and benevolence, as well as selfishness, in man. I appeal to both benevolence and selfishness, as both exist in man.

P. As they are opposing principles, how can you appeal to both at once?

A. The grand principle herein advocated is, to **HARMONIZE THE INTERESTS OF MEN BY AN ORGANIZATION OF MEN AND**

THINGS, BY WHICH IT WILL BE TO THE IMMEDIATE SELF-INTEREST OF EVERY ONE TO ACT CONSISTENTLY WITH THE GREATEST GOOD OF ALL.

P. Do you desire to effect a common stock system ?

A. Not by any means.

P. How, on your principle, can you do otherwise ?

A. Take an example from a regular army. Every blow a soldier strikes, and every shot he fires, is as much to the advantage of every other soldier of the army of which he is a member, as to his own gain. In the mean time, he has his own private pay and share of spoils to use as he desires, so that there is an union in action, and mutual assistance, without an amalgamation of self-interests. This I believe to be the great desideratum, and with the gratification of the desire for immediate returns for good endeavors, and immediate accountability for evil deeds, the system must be perfect.

P. But so many systems have been tried, and now so many are proposed, how

can you promise more success than others which have gone before ?

A. We have all of their experience to warn us of the breakers, and every shipwreck is a beacon to succeeding mariners.

P. But no outward physical arrangements can reform society. The heart must be the seat of reformation.

A. We have no objections to the reformation of bad hearts ; far the contrary ; but a pirate in a new and well found ship at sea, with a good understanding of the art of navigation, will weather many a storm in which pilgrims and missionaries in an old leaky vessel would be sure to perish. We desire to get a system useful alike to all, to prevent necessity for crime and extreme misery. All may profit by it, for each law of nature has its own penalty, and own reward. The laws of nature are the laws of nature's God. **The book of nature is God's oldest book, and therefore should be studied first. On this we base our system.**

P. What great lessons have you learned from it ?

A. We have mentioned some, and now we give another, which will show the reason why all systems of government, heretofore tried, have failed to be perpetual, and render mankind happy.

P. Can you trace the destruction of all forms of government to one simple source, when historians and statesmen give so many reasons for the decline and fall of Empires and Republics ?

A. Yes. All can be traced back to a law of motives, which governs all human wills to greater or less degrees in different individuals.

P. What law of motives do you thus refer to ?

A. IT IS A LAW ANALOGOUS TO THE GREAT LAW OF ATTRACTION, BY WHICH A SMALL OBJECT WHICH IS NEAR, HAS A GREATER INFLUENCE OVER THE WILL, THAN THE GREATEST WHOSE CONSEQUENCES ARE REMOTE.



P. How do you prove the existence of such a law of motives ?

A. There are many men who thoroughly believe in future rewards and punishments, but who still give way to present trifling temptations, and do not begin to fear until death approaches and awakens all their terrors. There are none who have the right to say they are above this law.

P. How does the operation of this law overthrow all governments, and even the religion of too many minds ?

A. Because, in the present deficiency of organization in society, the immediate interests of men are adverse to the general good ; which therefore is neglected by the well-disposed, and preyed on by the selfish, and those not selfish, but under the pressure of necessity.

P. I desire to hear examples.

A. It is to the immediate self-interest of lawyers to sustain a veneration for old abuses, even if they be "flatly absurd and unjust," and they do so, and oppose most pertinaciously every effort to introduce an amicable and cheap system of arbitrations,

on equitable principles.\* Hence all the expenses of the courts, the technicalities and forms of law, and uncertainties and delays of justice.

It is to the immediate self-interest of physicians to palliate diseases, rather than eradicate them ; to be plausible and popular, rather than profound. To prevent diseases entirely, would be to destroy their means of living.

It is to the immediate self-interest of merchants to export from Ireland, beef, butter, potatoes and manufactures, while the people are starving and naked, to this country, where we have all the natural advantages of producing and manufacturing,—to bring the people in debt many millions annually by excessive imports, because they gain a private pecuniary profit by so doing.

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\* See Blackstone's Commentaries, by Chitty, page 47, Eighteenth London Edition, where it is plainly acknowledged, that " precedents and rules should be followed if flatly absurd and unjust, if agreeable to ancient principles."

It is to the direct self-interest of bankers to expand and contract the currency, in order to raise and depress prices, and force men to sacrifice to them, through brokers, sheriffs and auctioneers.

It is to the direct self-interest of editors to bepraise those who will fee them best, and belie the men of honor, who despise their selfish and contracted policy.

It is to the direct self-interest of publishers to print the most frivolous and demoralizing romances, rather than the most profound works of philosophy, religion and the useful sciences.

It is to the immediate self-interest of workingmen to destroy machinery which comes in competition with their means of living.

It is to the immediate self-interest of all to rob inventors.

It is to the immediate self-interest of soldiers to have war, thus to obtain bloody spoils.

Thus we find that when men would do good, evil is necessary to support existence, and many a noble spirit mourns that

he cannot give exercise to his highest aspirations for the good of all, without the sacrifice of himself and family upon the altar of his patriotism. This condition is unnatural to men of noble, sympathetic minds.

P. Why do not legislators—the people's representatives—strive to effect a reformation by legal measures? In other words, what is there wrong in our republican system of government, that it has not effected the greatest good?

A. Our system of government is perhaps the best which could have been adopted under the circumstances. It is a system of compromise based upon the British model, and our laws are also founded on Anglo-Roman principles and precedents.

In outward form, the Houses of Assembly are copied from the House of Commons, and the Senates from the House of Lords. The first are elected for the shorter terms, the last for longer. The President is in the place of the Sovereign.

**But the outward forms of government**

are not of much importance. They are used as masqueraders use their dresses—to disguise their persons. There is a power behind the throne, and greater than the throne, which says to King and Parliament you shall or shall not go to war. You shall sustain the laws and constitution, or you shall suspend them both at our option. Which taxes as it pleases, and that without responsibility to any but stockholders. The reader can too easily divine the nature of this power, for it is now grinding America as well as England in the dust. It is the banking system, and its leader in this country has acknowledged, that by it alone, he and his class had the power to “make men willing to make sacrifices.”\* It is done simply by

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\* Biddle's letter published in Gouge's History of Banking. “The operation proceeds thus : By issuing no new notes but requiring something from your debtors, you oblige them to return to you the bank notes you lent them on their equivalents. This makes bank notes scarcer—this makes them more valuable—this makes the goods which they are generally exchanged for less valuable—the debtor in his anxiety to get your notes being

lending and withdrawing at certain times and places, and taking advantage of scarcities of money artfully created to buy at sacrifices **and also to gain usury.**

**Blackstone** truly has observed, that the outward form of government is of no importance. The government is in the real rulers who cause the laws to be enacted, and suspended as may best suit their own convenience. Again :—

It is to the immediate self-interest of nominating committee-men, to sell their votes to demagogues without principles, and for demagogues in Legislatures to sell their votes to their best patrons, and make fraudulent grants of monopolies, especial privileges, and suspension acts. There is *prima facie* as well as other evidence that all this has been done, and only the theory of a republic now remains existent.

Thus in England also, when a man has moral influence, he is bought over by a place or pension, if to crush him would be

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**WILLING TO SELL HIS GOODS AT A SACRIFICE.”—First Edition, Page 191.**

dangerous. If very great, he then is made a peer, and all his opposition ceases. It is immediate self-interest from first to last, in every form of government alike. Even the greatest emperors are generally ruled by favorites, and are strangers to their people. When they operate against the immediate self-interest of courtiers, even the greatest have reason to tremble for their crowns or heads.

**All governments are thus alike, and the only real difference of importance is in the administration of them.** "That which is best administered is best." They are variable, and dependent on the master spirit who raises up himself above the law, and looks upon his sovereign as his instrument—a "cerimony," or mere puppet in his hands. Sometimes it is true, the sovereign has the master mind, but this is not the case in general. **In all countries, enquire who it is who can command the greatest funds and property, and there you will find the government.** The outward pageantry is used merely to

amuse the vulgar, who look only at externals—music, songs, banners, carriages. Editors, coachmen, legislators, judges, and counsellors at law, alike with few exceptions, all quiet their consciences in the mean time, on the plea of absolute necessity and say :

“ You take my house, when you do take the prop  
That doth sustain my house ; you take my life,  
When you do take the means whereby I live,”

and I submit. Shipmates starving on a raft at sea, will devour each other from necessity, and mother's drink their offspring's blood when pressed by absolute necessity. **It is necessity operating on the means of living, which now rules the world.** Those of us not under that iron crown, have reason to bless God, not that we are not like other men, but have not been as sorely tried. Some will die for honor, and nearly all would doubtless act according to the noblest principles, had they the opportunity. **Unite the interests of men and they unite—**



divide their interests and they arrange themselves against each other in the deadly combat. All this may seem too clear to be repeated, and yet men too generally overlook this simple axiom in their pretending sciences of law and government, political economy, social systems and principles of education. In all these cases men imagine abstract reasoning on morals and religion will have influence. They may restrain to some degree, but the master feeling conquers in the end. Self-preservation overcomes all weaker influences.

P. What think you of Robert Owen's system ?

A. I have answered it already by the principle laid down. It is to the immediate self-interest of the indolent not to labor, and it is to the like interest of the industrious and acquisitive not to labor for the idle. Besides, there is no accountability. It is supposed that reasoning on abstract principles will be sufficient to overcome inertia in the idle, and create

forbearance in the active and impatient. At the same time it is contended, that men are plastic, and can only be what they are taught to be by their progenitors and circumstances. Then if our **fathers were not wise, must ignorance go round and round in an eternal circle?** It is said they were not. There is then no hope for man; for who can teach us any good, if we can look for wisdom only to our ignorant progenitors and circumstances, which now make misery as much as ever.

P. What think you of the system of M. Fourier?

A. I think it an abstraction. I do not think it practical for all. It professes to be based upon analogies but it is not strictly analogical. There is much in it that is good as well as in Mr. Owen's, but the work wants wheels to many of its "pivots," and it also wants a motive power. As in the case of Mr. Owen's system, there is no repulsive power, no accountability. If man's spirit be as if magnetic and subject to attractive indus-

try, there must be something to repel from natural inertia. **We are as well fitted by nature to be repelled by what we have reason to fear, as attracted by what we hope for.** There must be laws and prisons, or hospitals, for men not sane enough to act on honest principles. What if men prove so selfish as to refuse to be attracted? In that case we apprehend that all the world would be in hospitals for monomania :—only M. Fourier and his followers would be at large. It has long ago been said that were all men philosophers, or good christians, all government would be unnecessary. It is because men have a selfish principle in them, that government is necessary. The only reason why the robber plunders and murders is, because he cares not how much others may suffer if he only may enjoy. Moreover, there is a law of Providence which says, that what man does not value sufficiently to guard as well as gain, that shall he not continue to enjoy. Every animal has offensive or defensive means appointed him by Providence.

The bee has his sting to guard his sweets, the bull has horns, the horse can kick and bite and drive invaders from his pastures. According to analogy, man cannot, with safety, make an exception of himself, while any have passions.

P. But the shakers live without arms or laws.

A. Yes, but our government protects them, and a statesman never trusts to the protection of a foreign power. The wise man looks within for his resources, and in time of peace prepares for war. None can tell how long even the government we have—which is better far than none—is destined to endure. Anarchy must come at length, unless a reformation should be previously produced. Then, where would be a system without offensive or defensive means?

But M. Fourier says—or his interpreter speaks for him thus—“It is the great error of philosophers, politicians and framers of systems, in devising social institutions, to wish to suit them to man as they find him.”

To many it must seem as absurd to make a system perfect in the abstract, for an imperfect being, as to make—to use a familiar illustration—a boot, fit only for a perfect foot, for an individual whose foot was crumped. He could not draw it on, and the more perfect in itself considered it might be, the more useless for him, would it be sure to be. An iron shoe which might compress and turn the foot around, to its more natural position, would be far more scientific in the end.

And it is thus men do arise from barbarism. **First, the law of force, the conqueror's arms, are necessary; next come arbitrary laws, and justice by science is slow to follow on at last.** The rude cannot appreciate the wise or good, until they know by sad experience the evils of misgovernment, or the constraint improper distortions of the mind may render necessary. The brutal should be used as brutes or slaves. He who can consent to toil without a thought of rising to intellectual superiority, deserves to be a slave, and such are ren-

dered so. God is just in all his dispensations. But again :—M. Fourier does not recognize phrenology as true, and his arrangement of the passions seems to me to be arbitrary. In the mean time liberal phrenology is gaining more and more testimony in its favor, from the learned. If phrenology be true, the passional system advocated by M. Fourier is without foundation, and if that system be false, all founded on it is so likewise. According to the laws of nature, individual perfection is as undesirable as it is unattainable. General perfection comes from the fitness of parts. The harmony of society should be effected on the same principle that the leader of an orchestra arranges all the voices in a choir—each individual to perform the part to which his voice is by nature best adapted, each supplying the deficiency of others having other parts, and thus effecting harmony from an union and interchange of excellences. As the sculptor who desired to make a perfect statue sought through Greece for individual excellencies to unite them all in one,

so should the philanthropist seek to make one great and perfect mind of all the individuals of society. Individual perfection, excepting as a member of society, seems to be out of the nature of things. There is much wisdom in the homely proverb that "a Jack at all trades can be good at none." Groups of organs give to every mind some peculiar excellence, while almost every one has some deficiency, which it is to his interest to have supplied by friends, or by society, arranged in such an order as to sustain each other, and not take advantages of our individual weaknesses. With such a system, individual excellences and defects will tend to draw society together in a closer bond of union, from self-interest ; and thus may universal sympathy and love grow out of the union and prevail by scientific means. We find in armies, even where the business is to butcher our fellow creatures, an *Esprit du Corps* arises from the mutual dependence which all feel in action : and thus, accord-

**ing to the ways of Providence, good arises out of evil.** Out of the selfish principle, united to destroy, a spirit of love and harmony is mysteriously engendered, **by the true co-operation.**

P. Why will not the present banking system of government which has taken the place to a great extent, and continues to spread over other governments, have also a like effect ?

A. Because there is no great union or mutual interest consulted. It operates against the interests of the people, as well as all established governments, until it rules kings as well as people absolutely. The law of force is not worse than the law of fraud and corruption, which is so powerful in our country.

P. Would you then demolish, at a blow, the present system of government—I mean our ostensible republican system, for I know it is not a democracy ?

A. What, allow me to ask first, is your conception of a democracy ?

A. **A government in which the**



people vote directly on every law, before they yield assent to it.

A. You are right. Ours is in effect an aristocracy, in which the people delegate their powers, and Legislators too often imagine for the time, all authority is theirs; and then monopolies, especial privileges and suspension, and ex post facto laws are passed, in favor of those whose immediate self-interest is involved. The people are too often hardly thought of, excepting to be overreached.

P. But I ask again: Would you at once abandon the old doctrines of the Constitution?

A. Not by any means. Not any more than if one were in a leaky vessel he should spring overboard to save himself from drowning. It is a ship put hastily together when we left the British flag, and it was then thought an experiment of very doubtful issue, and the way to reformation was left open, making treason to consist solely in raising arms against our country-

men. Reason was left free with the people to reform or build anew, and we exercise our liberty fully, only we speak, act and write as we think, under reasonable limitations.

P. You term our ostensible system of government an aristocracy. Prove it to be so, according to civilians' understanding of the term.

A. Civilians recognize only three forms of government, to wit: Democratical, in which the people act directly on every law—the Aristocratical, in which a few make laws—and the Monarchical, in which one man has absolute power to pass or suspend all laws at his own pleasure. **Our real government is then a kind of aristocracy, still unsettled, however; the contest being still between the rich and poor, and productive of hatred on one side and fear on the other.** The one party asking for severer laws, the other for no laws or system of government or restraint whatever, even for vice. The combatants are chiefly demagogues and tyrants, and mixed with

the demagogues are "gentle optimists," who say, "let men alone and things will regulate themselves," and with the tyrants are many worthy men who ask only for law and order in society. **Whichever party gains the day, tyrants or demagogues are most sure to take the offices.\***

P. What are your objections to the free trade system ?

A. We have said before we are optimists, but you will observe, we recognize in the nature of men and things, a disposition and means of improvement by creating more and more perfect organizations. **To break down laws and constitutions, without building up a**

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\* Thousands of instances much like the following may be quoted, as every one can witness, and so can even worse, as late developments have proved in court. In the Manor of Pelham, a man not even fit to be a customer to a groggery, and who lost his eye in being expelled from one, and who was brought up begrimed with filth to match a negro's vote, turned the scale and elected all the officers to one of the richest towns in this state. Bad men thus turn the scale, and men of honor are too generally overlooked or laughed to scorn.

**better system, is to demolish your old homestead before the new is built. We must have where to lay our heads, even if it be no better than a rookery. Necessity must always be considered first. Men not practical, too often ask of statesmen what cannot be, consistently with the nature of things. In their wild love of freedom, they would break down the fences on the brinks of precipices. Free trade in absolute perfection, cannot possibly be had without some certain, precise and exact regulations, which we advocate.**

P. What for instance ?

A. **There must be a new mercantile system and a new kind of money or bill of exchange introduced.** The want of this is the source of one of your complaints at the commencement. You saw effects as others do, but not the cause.

P. What difficulties are there in the present system and medium of exchange ?

A. The difficulties are so great that it is absolutely impossible for the great body

of producers, even if men have the best possible dispositions, ever to arise to a competency under them, while they use that system and medium. **Any given amount of money, represents any amount of articles having exchangeable value, by a certain scale of prices, which is high or low, as there may be more or less money in circulation, out of the banks or mines.** Consequently, the position tacitly assumed by Dr. Adam Smith, Say, Ricardo, M'Culluch and others, that the prices in any country are an indication of the value of the articles to the people of any country, or that they indicate the advantages or disadvantages of any nation to produce or manufacture, is false. For example :— Ireland is densely populated, and often has famines, while the United States has an immense territory of soil unoccupied, and fertile, and yet we have imported beef, butter, hay and potatoes from Ireland,—starving them and glutting us—**simply because her absentees draw out their incomes and spend them**

abroad, and thus make prices low in Ireland ; while our bankers issue paper money excessively, and create high prices and induce excessive imports on the principle of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Wayland and others, buying cheap and selling dear, and leaving THINGS to regulate themselves. Alas ! poor "things" they die, for men are held as operative things, and thus are regulated, straightened for the grave, their only hope. There is a district in Ireland remarkable for its cattle, and the houses of the peasantry have been razed to the ground to give place to brutes, which are sold dear to the contractors for the foreign armies of Great Britain. If one ox consume as much as may sustain five men, then for every beast exported, a family is robbed of bread, in a densely populated country.

Moreover, excessive production and excessive population so much complained of in Great Britain is, according to my view of the subject, grossly misunder-

stood, even by her statesmen. The appearance of these evils, which have caused the monarch to tremble on his throne, from the heavings of the mass, on which the whole superstructure is reared up, arises solely from the use of the money of the free trade theory, on the principle of prices rising and falling as money increases in proportion to goods, or goods in amount in proportion to money: Whenever the machinery is improved, or the people are more than ordinarily industrious, goods increase faster than the money, to keep up their money price, and they must fall of course. The master manufacturer cannot then continue to have more and more produced, or he would be certain to fall to ruin himself. He therefore discharges his hands to consume their little savings, and then starve. Thus the great body of the people can never hope to arise to a competency.

The evils which you have in part depicted and complained of, thus arise from the unfitness of the present system

of commerce and medium of exchange, and I know too well they are absolutely appalling in the contemplation and prospect. There is no amelioration to be expected from extraordinary exertion on the poor man's part, nor can improvement in machinery assist him. **Machinery as you observe, becomes his rival. It is a nightmare, an incubus which sits upon his breast, and not in fancy but in fact, distorts his limbs, and blinds his eyes, and palsies his vital energies. His children have reason, I had almost said, to rise and curse him. He sends them through rain, sleet and snow in rags, to the heartless overseer of any factory, to inhale from morn to night its pestiferous vapors. It must go on or suffer its taskmasters' lash, or be cropped and shut up in a poor-house, termed as you say by the poor "bastiles," for out of them no green fields or cheerful passengers are seen. Their windows, as you justly have complained, are blinded and like prisons. The poor are**



forced to seek for parochial assistance, and then punished for their poverty when they do make an application. If in their despair they rise in mobs, a standing army is prepared to shoot them down. And thus there is no hope, and they turn to artificial stimulants, to find in temporary madness a relief from thought. Human life is shortened \* and human beings are deformed and words are like the idle wind. No mere moral or religious lessons can avail, unless men teach a better system of Political Economy and Government.

P. This last is a grave assertion ; how can you prove that vice will thus continue to prevail ?

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\*The celebrated Dr. Combe has given it as his opinion that the vast proportion of the poor of Great Britain, die early of diseases superinduced by excessive labor and deficient nourishment, and yet they boast of machinery equal in power to half the number of people on the globe, and talk of excessive production of the means of comfortable living.

A. Before the discovery of the great improvements in the cotton manufacturing machinery, there was not a more religious or moral people in the world than those of Scotland. About the year 1800 there were only eighty commitments per annum for crime in the whole kingdom. After that discovery the weavers had to work eighteen and twenty hours of the twenty-four, to obtain a sufficiency of the poorest provisions to sustain existence, and some labored—says a report to the British House of Commons—twice a week all night long. As the improvements in machinery increased between the years 1800–20, wages fell and want increased. Wages fell from eighteen shillings sterling per week, to about four shillings, and fathers, it is said, began to teach their children to commit crime to prevent direct starvation. And crime increased to about eight hundred commitments per annum. If such has been the effect amongst some of the most moral and religious people of Europe, can morals and religion be taught to any degree successfully, while mankind

are reduced to such a state of misery? All the physical, moral and religious evils, arising from the present mercantile system and medium of exchange, cannot be condensed within the limits prescribed to this work.

**P. But free trade does not exist in England; the corn laws and the whole British system is a system of shackles on trade. And England is obliged to deal with other nations having tariffs.**

**A. This does not alter the nature of the mercantile system, or the nature of money. Merchants only use a few more figures in their calculations. If they pay a duty, they charge a profit on the duty to consumers, and manufacturers compete with each other in machinery, and when allowed, obliged little children to labor fourteen, sixteen and eighteen hours per day, while complaining of excessive population. Issues and withdrawals of paper money, nullify all tariffs. When we raised our tariff highest, England curtailed her currency, and our bankers**

increased our circulation, and our greatest statesmen—at least those considered greatest by the vulgar, because they most agree with them—stood looking at each other—to speak figuratively—with their fingers in their mouths. From mere shame they may now desire to say nothing on the subject.

P. But does not the misery of the producing classes of Great Britain arise from excessive population ?

A. No. It has been conceded by men qualified to judge, that Ireland alone, under the spade husbandry, is sufficient to supply double the population of Great Britain and Ireland. Moreover, England has machinery equal to four hundred millions of man power, and the people are more and more in want as the great capitalists are enabled to increase their property. There are swamps, containing many thousands of acres as good as the Pottery Car near Doncaster, which was formerly a bog and now a garden yielding abundantly, but as it will

not pay over two or three per cent. to make investments on them, while manufacturing will pay perhaps from five to ten or fifteen, they are suffered still to send forth their miasms, fevers and agues; and those who might improve them, and be supported by them, are suffered to lie idle and sometimes die by the highway-side, seeking for labor, while it is not to the self-interest of the free trade capitalists to give employment. In this country, though independent of all other countries, the licentious character of the selfish free trade principle is apparent.

P. What is your opinion of the Hamiltonian or American tariff system ?

A. I have expressed it at various times in different publications, and shall briefly answer, as just hinted, that it is **self-contradictory and unworthy of a statesman**. It consists of two parts. The tariff, to encourage manufacturers by raising the prices of foreign goods so high when brought to our

**markets that the domestic may be preferred as cheaper ; and the banking system, to afford facilities to trade. But by the issue of paper money from the banks, prices are raised, and domestic manufactures are to a great extent neglected for the foreign articles, and no increase of the tariff, as experience has proved, can protect domestic productions, while the banks may issue paper money at their pleasure. We have fallen in debt fifteen millions of dollars annually on an average, as you truly have observed, and the nation is overwhelmed in trouble in consequence. Its state, canal and rail road stocks are mortgaged to our ancient enemy.**

**P. Why do not politicians rectify so great an oversight ?**

**A. It is against their direct self-interest to attack the banking system in reality.**

**P. What do you offer them as better ?**

**A. As an ordinary politician, the remedy we have uniformly advocated, is directly the reverse of the system of Alexander Hamilton in all its parts. On**

the same principle that the American system has swamped the nation in debt, a reverse of Hamilton's system will clear them of debt, and bring other nations in debt to us. In a word, we would break down the tariff and greatly reform the banking system, and regulate the nominal value of money to correspond with the real value it would have, on the withdrawal of bank paper such as we at present have.

P. Are bankers so much worse than other men, that you would have them all cut off at a blow, for the evils they have done the country ?

A. Not by any means. The evils which arise from the system are not foreseen or even apprehended by many of them. They consider it the merchants' own fault for overtrading ; not perceiving or thinking that they themselves raise prices up so high, as to offer the inducement to overtrade, and that merchants are taught by our highest institutions of learning to "buy cheap and sell dear, and let

**good order make itself” in the community according to the free trade theory. Moreover, criminations and recriminations of whole classes, are all useless. The evils arise simply from the absence of the true principles and system of just government. All are equally in fault, who do not seek for this the great remedy, in a perfect science of co-operation.**

P. How can we seek for that of which, as yet, we nothing know?

A. You are seeking for it. To be discontented with your present lot, and to aspire to a better, is to seek for what I have now to demonstrate.

P. I pray you then proceed. What are your great designs?

A. They run side by side with Christianity; “to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, to make peace on earth, and amongst men good will.”

P. Why do you not come out at once for christianity?

A. Because, what I have in view is an earthly government, and I desire not to



elevate a hierarchy. Jesus Christ himself has taught, his kingdom was "not of this world."

P. You are not then opposed to christianity ?

A. Not by any means. Christianity I hope may yield us great assistance. But a true statesman is ordained of God to read his laws in nature, and he looks with evil eye on no persuasion which the great Father of us all sees fit to tolerate. When any one would put down the "higher powers," then, and not before, should the true statesman be alive to hold his just prerogative—to give protection to all, superiority to none.

P. How do you commence the demonstration of the science of government ?

A. We consider : 1st. What are the wants of man ? 2d. How are they to be supplied ?

P. But the wants of man are different in various ages, times and places.

A. True. And yet our greatest wants are so similar, that, excepting in the slight differences of taste, we all agree.

Our first want is the clothing, food and shelter for the body. When these are secured,

Our second want is security for our persons and our property.

Our third want is general knowledge, refinement, amusement and glory.

We have thus the foundations of the science.

#### FIRST ORDER.

The creating  
or producing  
arts and sci-  
ences consist-  
ing of

1. Agriculture.
2. Manufactures.
3. Commerce.

#### SECOND ORDER.

Preserving  
arts and sci-  
ences.

1. Law.
2. War.
3. Medicine.

#### THIRD ORDER.

Refining  
arts and sci-  
ences.

1. Natural History.
2. Physiology.
3. Moral Philosophy.
4. Literature.
5. The Mathematics.
6. Fine Arts.

## FIRST ORDER, CREATING.

	Temperate Region. 1	Warm Region. 2	Torrid Region. 3
Agriculture.	{ Timber, Grazing, Wheat, Flax, Hemp & Corn region.	{ Cotton, Rice, Orange, Fig, Vine.	{ Sugar, Spice, Cocoa. 4 Fishre- gion.

Manufactures.	{ 1. Clothing Materials. 2. Viands. 3. Metals & Minerals. 4. Drugs, Paints, Dye Stuffs & Medicines. 5. Machinery.
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Commerce.	{ Appraisers' Board. Merchants' Stores. Bankers' House of Exchange. Sailors, Ships & Docks.
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## SECOND ORDER, PRESERVING.

Law.	{ Court for the correction of errors. Police system. Court of Arbitration.
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War.	{ Army. Navy.
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Medicine.	Central Board.	District No.1
		“ “ 2
		“ “ 3
		“ “ 4

THIRD ORDER, REFINING.

Natural History. { All the outward appearances and habits of things animate, and the changes of appearance of inanimate objects.

Physiology. { The organism of all organized Things & Beings.

Moral Philosophy. { The laws of mind.  
Logic.  
The evidences of the existence of an almighty, allwise, and perfect Creator.  
The motives to be presented to man { Selfish,  
Moral,  
Rational,  
Religious.

Literature { Modern Languages. { English.  
French.  
German.  
Ancient Languages. { Latin.  
Greek.  
Hebrew.

The Mathe- { Arithmetic,  
 matics. { Geometry, &c.

Fine Arts. { Painting, Poetry.  
 Sculpture.  
 Music.  
 Oratory.  
 Dancing, &c.

We here have the body of the science. The next object is to give the spirit and the moving power, and render it practical. Our object is to convert to the arts and sciences of peace, that system and principle of co-operation now best known in war; for that is, as experience proves, the only practical system of harmonious co-operation. We have marked out the ground on which every class of mind must take its place. We have a place for every art and science, and now the tactics to be observed in each, and how to gain the land on which to operate, is all we have to show.

First, of the art and science of co-operation. This is to bring the whole to bear for our mutual advantage.

To learn the art of government correctly,

men should begin to practice at the rudiments, as a soldier first learns the manual and if prompt and energetic becomes a petty officer and drills others. He then arises by degrees through every grade. It is thus that every art and science must, according to the nature of the human mind, be learnt. Some, of great quickness of perception and tact, may learn more readily than others it is true, but the system we have given is the only safe one. "An officer of a ship must creep in at the hauze hole and not through the cabin windows" according to a common maxim of sea-faring men, or they become ridiculous in action, as our politicians generally are. To hope to make a man a surgeon or physician, a moral philosopher or professor of belles-lettres, or divine, by an election of a majority, is not more absurd than to hope by the same means to make a statesman. In what condition would the arts and sciences be, if every year or two a new election and a general change should be effected, by electing hatters to be shoe makers; shoe makers,

tailors; tailors, lawyers; lawyers, sailors; sailors, divines; divines, soldiers; soldiers, merchants, and thus on ?

P. We should retrograde to barbarism!

A. Yes. We could depend on nothing being done correctly.

P. But as your system has not been in operation, how can it commence ?

Where will you find practically instructed officers ?

A. The greatest difficulty lies indeed in the first steps. But by dividing and subdividing, and simplifying all their duties, the risk of failure is so lessened that, as armies have been heretofore well officered and prepared for active service by a previous exercise, by like means and by degrees, may we also accomplish our object. I refer you to the diagrams, by which the bearings and dependencies of all the parts, may be at a glance perceived. On this, the lines of accountability are shown converging to a point from each inferior to a superior officer, and the superior being in like manner accountable

with others to a higher. We thus go on, until one is enabled to perceive at a glance where anything is wrong in government, and apply the remedy, by holding the officer having charge of the department accountable at once.

P. To whom should the officers be accountable, should the superior not perceive ?

A. To the people who may suffer.

P. Who will try the question ?

A. **The Court for the Correction of Errors.**

P. How will that Court be formed ?

A. The Grand Marshal will retire at the termination of two, three or four years, from the time of his accession to the chief command, and after that he will be a judge, immovable, unless for imbecility, insanity or immorality.

P. Who shall decide this point ?

A. The people may accuse him to his peers, and they shall try him when the number of his accusers shall amount to twenty-four good and respectable citizens.



P. What security have you that they will impartially do justice ?

A. Regard for the honor of their body, natural conscientiousness, and the desire to be relieved of all annoyance, and sustain a system in which they have gained their honors.

P. What is the general duty of officers ?

A. To see that those in the next rank below them do their duty, while they in the mean time do their own especial duty.

P. What are the especial duties of each class of officers ?

A. They are as numerous and as various as the wants of man. There will be a class for the supply of every reasonable want, and an officer accountable for the supply.

P. Will the men be strictly accountable to the officers, and be forced to labor for a certain time daily, willing or unwilling, as soldiers are obliged to drill ?

A. There will be no constraint other than Providence has now established. **Those who labor most will gain the most, while those who labor less will**

**have the less.** The officer has only to calculate correctly on the dispositions of his men. He is to learn how much a certain number of industrious and indolent men will on an average produce. A superior officer will supply men, fitted by their natural organization to excel in every branch of art and science, on the requisition of any proper officer.

P. Whose duty will it be to make appointments to each class ?

A. The Grand Marshal's.

P. Who will be accountable that the men appointed are the best qualified ?

A. A Court of Physiologists, Moral Philosophers, and Farmers and Mechanics, to be chosen by the Grand Marshal and accountable to him.

P. Would you constrain a citizen to submit to their decisions in the selection of a calling ?

A. No. If any one of good character insisted, he might try until he found the occupation most congenial to his tastes and feelings.

P. Would not this create confusion ?

A. Not at all. Few are desirous of undergoing all the awkwardnesses of new occupations, when once their "hands are in." Men also pride themselves on their consistency and steadiness of purpose, for nothing marks a strong mind so truly, as steadiness of purpose in any great design.

P. Will it not have a bad effect upon the constitution, to confine men, or suffer them to confine themselves to certain occupations ?

A. Men need not labor so long under a proper system of division of labors, to procure subsistence, as at present; for now, not only do accumulators reap the fruits of industry, but lonely labors are not so productive as associated labors, by a vast amount. Athletic sports and exercise of military arms, should relieve the toil-worn manufacturer and producer—music, dancing and games of skill and judgment, all are proper in their times and places to prevent diseases

**of the body and the mind. But each man should learn some part of some useful trade or science perfectly, to make him independent. Each should have his proper place, where he might be depended on to some extent, and know that he was useful to society.**

**P. What is the duty of the Marshal of the Creating or Producing order ?**

**A. It is to estimate the amount of produce and manufactures necessary for all, and the number of men necessary to produce a sufficiency in each department below him. When in operation, he shall report excesses and deficiencies to the Grand Marshal.**

**P. How shall he discover such excesses and deficiencies ?**

**A. The various merchants will report to him the demand and supplies in every line of business, as will be seen hereafter.**

**P. Under this order are agriculture, manufactures and commerce, as I perceive. What then is the duty of the Marshal of Agriculture ?**

A. He should have under him four regions, or if not, foreign commerce must make good the deficiency.

P. What four regions?

A. The temperate, the warm, the hot region and the water region.

P. Why divide them thus?

A. Because the products of these different regions require different systems of cultivation, and are properly subject to different minds.

P. Are not the different products of each region also various?

A. They are, and there is a natural succession of crops suited to each kind of soil. As for instance, the alternation of the white and green crops, which retains the soil's productiveness.

P. What do you mean by white and green crops?

A. It is a technicality used by scientific agriculturalists to indicate grain and roots, by which the necessity for fallows is avoided, and the land, by the system indicated, continues to increase in fertility. The white consists of grain, the green of

turnips, beets, carrots and potatoes, &c. For the routine of crops, each section of each region must have its proper officer accountable to his superior.

P. Should every section be divided into individual possessions, as at present?

A. **No. Men should work in large companies together, and the time of labor of each individual should be kept, if he could hold his place in the rank or do a fair day's work.**

P. What if not of average strength?

A. He must choose some other occupation or be content to work with boys, and take a part of a day's work for the time necessary to constitute a day of labor.

P. What if any man should have the strength and skill to do the work of two?

A. **He should receive certificates accordingly.**

P. Will it not be difficult to estimate a fair day's work?

A. **Not by any means. In almost every kind of work, it is already well established.**

P. What is to be done with the produce of the soil ?

A. **It is to be lodged in the graineries and stores of the community.**

P. How then can the producers receive the fruits of their own labors ?

A. This question will be answered under the commercial system and medium of exchange.

P. There are some occupations of husbandmen which are manufacturing, such as wine-pressing, cider and sugar making, cotton ginning, &c. Would you separate these from the callings of the husbandmen ?

A. **Where labors can be advantageously divided, the division should take place, but not otherwise.**

P. What other duties should devolve upon the **marshal of husbandmen** ?

A. He should observe the seasons, and if any drought, excessive frost, or cut worms, should destroy a crop, he shall give out notice that a substitute be sown or planted. As for instance, should the winter grain be frozen out, he should

recommend spring wheat, buckwheat and potatoes, and greater crops of Indian corn. **He should publish also the best systems of husbandry, or at least observe that such be published.**

**P. What are the duties of the Marshal of Manufacturers ?**

**A. He shall divide men into five general classes, according to the printed diagram.**

**1st. The manufacturers of all the means of defence against the weather.**

**2d. All kinds of viands.**

**3d. Metals and minerals.**

**4th. Chemicals.**

**5th. Machinery.**

All these have on the printed diagrams, banners, with a glory on one side and an appropriate motto on the reverse, showing the advantage each class is to all others : and by the way, we would remark, this should be universally adopted, to give a just direction to man's love of glory.

By a reference to the chart, and what has been before observed, the duties of the



officers under this department will all be obvious.

P. What will be the duty of the Marshal of the Commercial Region?

A. Under him, in the first diagram, will be observed a house of appraisers, stores and docks, and house of exchange, &c.

The evils of the present mercantile system and medium of exchange, or money of commerce, should now be recalled to mind. This is to rectify those innumerable and crying evils. As follows :

Wherever any articles are produced or finished, they are taken by the owners to the house of appraisers, and there men in every branch of art may find persons to value what may be presented.

The valuation is direct, and not through the medium of specie or the shadow of specie, paper based on specie, lands or other property.

P. What do you mean by direct valuations?

A. At present, all money values are

indirect estimates of the time of labor accumulated on any article or property. Indirect, because the precious metals are valued by the time of labor it requires to produce any certain amount, and then all other property is valued through that medium.

**But in this system, the valuation takes place immediately, without the intervention of the precious metals. The valuation is by the time of labor it has generally cost to produce the like to what it is to be valued.**

When this valuation is obtained, the article is taken to the proper store or arcade, and there deposited with the price marked on it, and the maker's names.

The producer or manufacturer next goes to the house of exchange, taking with him the certificate of deposit and also of appraisement. He then in return receives bills of exchange, engraved like a bank bill of the same form, and worded as follows :

“ On demand, the Eclectic Association

promises to deliver to the bearer the produce of one day's labor." To be signed and countersigned.

If the amount be larger or smaller, the common divisions of time determine the required amount, as hours, weeks, months and years.

By this simple process there can be no stagnations of trade, or appearance of excessive production or population, or usury, or bankruptcy, or want of any kind, in any man disposed to labor. All may be absolutely certain of a competency, and none need suffer as at present, when banks refuse to discount.

No distortions of the body from excessive fatigue, nor early death from long continued deficiencies of nourishment. No desperation from want, nor crime, nor blasphemy of the Deity, because those who earn all secure nothing, while those who do nothing valuable to society accumulate the fruits of industry of all others.

P. How can you prevent excessive issues?

A. This is a most important consider-

ation, and the community should guard this bank of currency with the most jealous care, for the right to coin and issue money is one of the highest prerogatives of sovereignty. The people must always hold the reins themselves. The purse in one hand, and the sword in the other, is the preservative against all great danger from the highest officers.

The bank books, therefore, should be offered at a certain hour daily to the people, that every entry of every clerk might be examined, and if any credit should be given to any unknown man, the certificates of deposit may be called for, and these, if found, will at once direct to the store or arcade where his productions have been lodged. Should no such articles be found, a forgery or fraudulent issue will be self-evident, and the proper officer will have to answer for it. Should the amount be large, and prove connivance or a want of caution, the officer will be dismissed with disgrace.

Various officers being thus personally liable for every false issue, and degraded

and disgraced at once for every wrong a degree of security will be arrived at equal to that which now obtains in the Post Office, where each clerk and officer holds a check upon those who deliver and those who receive valuable letters. The degree of safety and certainty is therefore admirable under that system.

Abstracts from the books shall be published daily by the Marshal of the Creating Order, and every one shall be shown when he desires, that the books do correspond with such publications.

P. What shall be the duty of the merchants?

A. To receive and give certificates of deposit for all property left with them for sale. To take an account of all demands for goods or buildings, and inform the marshals of the classes of producers having in charge the supply of the deficient articles, on which he as before remarked applies for men to the Grand Marshal.

P. What shall be done when there is an overplus of any articles?

A. It shall be the duty of the merchants to inform the Marshal of the Commercial Department, who shall examine and order an export, and send supercargoes to obtain supplies of whatever products the region of country will not produce abundantly. Specie may thus be introduced as an article of commerce.

P. What shall be the duty of the Port Admiral ?

A. To report on the state of the ships and docks, and take proper care of the marine department in commerce.

P. Who will have charge of other means of transportation, such as locomotive engines, &c.?

A. The chief engineer and his department.

P. How can house carpenters and joiners, masons, &c., lodge any of their works in the stores, and as they cannot, how can they be remunerated ?

A. Persons requiring houses, lodge the specification and plan in the builder's

stores, and an estimate is made of the time of labor necessary to finish every part, just as master builders now estimate when they make contracts. At the finishing of every part, the appraisers of buildings will be called, and certificates of the amount of labor done will be left in the builders' department, and a certificate of such deposit will be given, and with this in hand the mechanic may go to the house of exchange, and draw bills as any other mechanic might do, were the goods, instead of what answers for the deed of the house, deposited.

**P. How will a citizen be paid for any new invention in the arts or sciences ?**

A. An estimate of the amount of labor it is calculated to save, will first be made by the appraisers. The number who will be thrown out of employment for a time must be taken into account, and then a yearly payment of a certain proportion of the neat profit shall be considered the inventor's right for life, or until some superior invention shall supercede it.

P. Will not such great profits in the hands of inventors tend to create an aristocracy of wealth ?

A. It is not in the nature of inventors to hoard. The fascination of the inventive power leads to great sacrifices in experiments, and not more than one invention in twelve succeeds and becomes practically useful. Moreover, the possession of wealth will give no citizen an advantage in law, or government, or arms. It can only create greater elegance, which can not do real injury to any individual.

P. How can the share of inventors be collected ?

A. In the same manner and at the same time that commissions of merchants and means of paying officers, and interest on the debt for lands, and other liabilities which at first may have to be provided for.

P. How will all this be done ?

A. A discount will be made from the appraisalment and certificates, and bills will be given accordingly.



P. What amount of discount will be made?

A. That will depend upon the liabilities of the association for lands and outfit.

P. Do you advocate a national or state debt?

A. We must submit to circumstances. If we cannot remove without contracting a debt which it will require some extra labor to pay, it is better to endure the extra work, than toil without hope of final competency.

P. Have not the exchange bills been tried by Robert Owen, and did they not fail in the experiment?

A. Yes, in part; in 1833 in London.

P. If they failed then, why will they succeed under your system?

A. Because we have a mercantile system in connexion, which he had not. It has been herein explained. It is to keep a full supply of every article constantly, and not allow any to exhaust the stores of any one article. The wants of man being regular, any attempt by strangers to run the stores short of any article

should be at once resisted by the merchants. The surplus might be sold in any quantity at any time, but a sufficiency for the regular demands of the association must always be preserved in store. The means of doing this have been already explained.

P. The next order is the preserving, and I find under it Law, War and Medicine. What law do you adopt?

A. The simplest possible.

P. Which is that ?

A. That written on our hearts by the finger of God Almighty, and applicable at all times and places. It consists of only one sentence, to wit: whatsoever ye would not that another should do by you, that do you not by others, on pain of expulsion or confinement until reformed.

P. How will you bring this universal law to bear upon society practically ?

A. I take it for granted, that if impartial men generally, cannot, on a plain statement of a case, distinguish right from wrong, no books can teach it them, because wanting

**perception, they cannot distinguish between wise and unwise books of laws.**

Moreover, the attempt to specify every act which should not be committed, is to attempt an absolute impossibility ; because there are so many acts which are improper that the attempt to specify them all only leaves every variety of wrong open to the artful, and thus gives a tacit consent to wrong.

**The absurdities of the Anglo-Roman laws, which prevail in our country, are too numerous to be mentioned here.\***

P. In case of any difficulty between citizens, what shall be the course to be pursued by the injured party ?

A. **The complaint shall be laid before the Marshal of the Law, and he shall cause an officer to issue summons to a jury, to be drawn by**

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\* The author has a lecture written on this subject, which he may publish hereafter.

ballot, one for each of thirteen different occupations. A jury of thirteen shall thus be called, and the majority shall decide the case on the principles of equity, and cause full restitution to be made for any act of fraud or force ; and if violence should have been committed, the criminal should be considered as a man subject to temporary madness, and confined in an hospital until the temperament and will, be changed by proper regimen and instruction.

P. What ! would you treat moral diseases medically, under your system ?

A. Certainly. Depletion is the proper remedy for men subject to outrageous passions. Depletion will tame tigers and lions. High feeding insult and fullness of blood only tend to make the matter worse. Vegetable diet and sufficient instruction and labor, is the remedy for an outrageous disposition, if the organism be not defective.

P. Would you not hang a murderer ?

A. No. We should only confine him

as we would a ravenous wild beast. It is **wrong to disgrace their relatives, and it is beneath the dignity of society to take revenge on any individual.**

P. Is not that principle of Jewish law a good one, by which an eye is demanded for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth ?

A. It is in general, since we can only sympathize with such as we have wronged, by suffering as they have suffered, and sympathy is one of the greatest incentives to virtue. **But a dead man cannot sympathize and it tends to brutalize the mind to witness brutal punishments.**

P. How would you render the awards of juries practical ?

A. By the police system.

P. How should that system be arranged ?

A. Just as the militia system is arranged at present. All of an active age and powers should be enrolled, and the people should take their turns on guard in order to preserve society unharmed.

P. Should they not be paid for detecting and capturing freebooters?

A. No. It leads to the "stool-pigeon" system, by which the officers themselves are led to prey upon society. It must never be made to the interest of any officer to do anything in opposition to the general good.

P. What pay should they then receive?

A. The same as if at any other occupation which they may have left. They should be rewarded for their tact and courage by the thanks and praises of their fellow citizens.

P. Would you have no forms of law, nor deeds or instruments of writing?

A. They might be recommended by the marshal of the law department, but should not be arbitrary. He might also recommend a simple code of laws, but it should not be absolute with any jury. The natural sense of right and wrong should always be left free.

P. Would you have no pleaders or lawyers?

A. I would have orators, and have

them follow nature, but **none should have an entrée to the courts, to the exclusion, as now, of any class or individual.**

A. If there were no written laws, what could they do ?

A. Appeal to conscience, after plainly stating all the circumstances and proving them, as some men are not possessed of fluency, to do so in their own behalf.

P. Would you allow any person to give evidence in his own case ?

A. Certainly. I would never rule evidence out of court, however slight or unworthy of belief it might appear. **Nor should we believe any absolutely, for all may be mistaken even when with the best intentions, since our passions lead our minds astray, and "what ardently we wish we soon believe."**

P. The second Genus of the Preserving or Protecting order is the War department, the first species of which is the army, second the navy. What say you on this head ?

A. In the science and art of war, we recognize the nearest approach to perfection under existing things. Time may suggest improvements in arms and tactics but the true principle of co-operation exists in the navy as well as army.

P. Would you have a class of citizens bred to arms for the protection of the state?

A. No: all should be bred to arms. It should constitute a part of the education of every youth. To give one class a knowledge of the practice of arms and not others, is to raise up a class of tyrants to oppress their fellow-citizens. Liberty is safe only when the sword, the press and legislative power, are preserved by the people in their own hands, and never delegated to others.

By a reference to the first diagram, it will be seen that the army falls into its place, without any alteration of its arrangements.

P. At what age should citizens be subject to military duty?



A. Between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, and in cases of invasion at any age over eighteen, when able to do duty.

P. How would you man the navy ?

A. **By volunteers from the mercantile shipping, and by naval schools instructing boys.**

P. The third Genus under the Preserving order is medicine. How is this department to be conducted differently from the present mode ?

A. It must be made to the immediate self-interest of physicians to prevent diseases, and not to have sickness, as at present.

P. How is this possible ?

A. By the following arrangement. Let the community or nation be divided into districts, and let each district be subdivided into as many classes, as there may be advocates for the different **principles of medical jurisprudence**, and let each advocate arrange himself under that system which he may prefer, and those who have no preference will be drawn for by lot, until

**each physician have as many as he can attend to.**

It will be his duty then to prevent them from becoming ill, by proper instruction and advice, and detecting premonitory symptoms.

His pay will be by the head, and be so much the higher as there may be fewer ill under his care, and it shall stop for all who may fall ill, until they recover. The physicians shall be salaried officers.

P. Will it not be unfair to cause all to contribute to physicians' salaries ?

A. **Not by any means. Diseases are contagious in many cases, and the miasm arising from squalid wretchedness sends forth pestilence to the inmate of the palace. Hereditary diseases also are transmitted by inter-marriages. For these and other reasons, bodily disease should be guarded against by the community, as much as moral diseases which result in crimes against the people.**

P. What is to prevent physicians from neglecting incurable persons ?

A. A point of honor and conscience, and a coroner's inquest to be held in all cases, as when a naval officer loses a ship in battle.

P. What if neglect or mal-practice be discovered ?

A. He shall be degraded, suspended, or fined or imprisoned, according to the sentence of a court, to be summoned by the command of the marshal of the preserving order for the trial of such cases.

P. What other duties shall devolve on the medical fraternity ?

A. The care and cure of moral diseases in criminals.

P. What is the cause of crimes against society ?

A. **Want of sympathy, or extreme want, or fullness of blood or bile, exasperating the passions; also whatever in diet tends to stimulate and elevate the animal above the intellectual and moral nature of man.**

P. Are crimes then the result of want

of sympathy and bad or improper diet, and subject to the skill of the physician ?

A. When the organization of the individual is not radically bad, we have only to remove the cause of moral or physical diseases, and the effects will cease. As the body is convulsed by deleterious influences in the system, so is the mind which is wounded by the body politic the enemy of that body, and likely to produce disorders.

P. What is the remedy for want of sympathy, the immediate cause of crime against society ?

A. Solitary confinement, and the occasional visits of a humane and mild individual, of strong sympathies, not given to canting, but with much common sense to see that he himself under like temptations might have fallen.

P. Can men of good natural feeling ever be criminals ?

A. Certainly. As society is now organized, injustice often drives the conscientious man to do what he would not, because the law yields him neither justice,

nor protection. Even a strong indignation against wrong drives him to revenge. Such men should be soothed, and not exasperated more, as they are at present. By teaching them the nature of their minds, and how to regulate their passions by reducing their diet, or if in extreme want, placing them in the way to honest competency, radical cures can in such men be effected.

P. Will not the sanitary department have a double and most onerous duty to perform for small remuneration? Who, in such a case, would study or take a physician's office?

A. It will be one of the most responsible in the system, and therefore should be held amongst the most honorable: as to remuneration, the pay may be high enough for the healthy to compensate for the carelessness of the ill and unhealthy.

If it should be proved that a physician had given fair warning of disease from a certain course of life, and the patient persisted, the physician should not lose his just remuneration, were the jury of physi-

cians to confirm the opinion of the proper physician, whose advice had been contemned.

P. Do you apprehend much evil in society from the want of such a sanitary system as this above proposed ?

A. According to human nature and the nature of things, the evils of improper medical practice must now be incalculable ; because in general, what produces momentary good, such as mercury, narcotics, essential oils and other stimulants and irritants, preys at last upon the constitution, and it is to the direct self-interest of physicians to be plausible and popular, rather than to cure radically, and the fault of the practitioner cannot be laid to his charge.

At present, the community have no test of the merit of different systems of medicine, or of different physicians; but under this political science the average age at which men under the various systems of medicine might die, would afford the only certain test to laymen of their various merits or demerits.

P. The next great order is termed the Refining. Why so ?

A. Because its object is to give the highest finish to the human mind.

P. What is the course of study under this department.

A. It alternates with occupation in the useful arts and means of defence, under the two preceding orders.

P. What is the course under this order especially ?

A. Throughout the whole system the study is to follow nature, and the same principle is here pursued.

The first care then is to store the youthful mind with a knowledge of all the things in nature, rather than letters and mere words, which convey no ideas until the things they represent have first been seen or understood.

The school room of even the youngest should therefore be a perfect lyceum of natural history, containing specimens of every object in nature having a name.

The names of all these things should

first be taught. This is the alphabet, or part of it.

The second course of lectures will show the organization of all organized things and beings. As a child, after being amused with any curious toy, breaks it up to see how it operates, or cuts open a pair of bellows to look for the wind, from a laudable desire to know from whence it comes, curiosity thus shows the appetite for knowledge, and it should be gratified by degrees as the capacity enlarges.

It should never be disgusted or gorged by improper nourishment, but on the contrary be made the source of pleasures of the highest character.

The next course in order, after natural history and physiology, is moral philosophy. Because, after learning the outward appearances of things and their organisms, we desire to learn the laws of the spirits which animate and move them to act. This is the highest of all the genera of the great science. It is connected with physiology by phrenology.

Whether all of the powers and passions



of the human mind can be discovered or not—and it is not pretended by the writer they can be in every case—still on the degree of perfection of the body and nervous system generally, including the brain, depends the sanity or insanity of the individual or the capacity for higher or lower mental excellence; and moral disposition also depends first upon the conditions above named, and secondly on the circumstances which incite the brain generally, or any particular organs, to act.

Supposing the system of society we now are advocating to be correct, and calculated to bring all under favorable circumstances, after teaching phrenology from the crania of well known individuals, the next science to be taught are logic and the mathematics.

Thirdly. The evidences of the existence of an almighty, allwise and infinitely good Creator. The object of this is, to prevent superstitions and give men faith to pursue great designs, which require time and energy and genius for their accomplishment.

Fourthly. The next is the law of motives we have in the present work advocated, from which we inferred that no system of government, which looks not to this law, could be sustained. So great is its importance.

Fifthly. The proper motives to be presented to man to lead him to happiness.

P. What place do you give to literature and the fine arts ?

A. We consider them as elegant amusements, and therefore of a virtuous tendency.

P. When should youth begin to acquire literary knowledge ?

A. When they desire to remember the names of subjects of natural history.

P. When should youth begin to learn the various refining arts ?

A. As soon as they acquire the taste and ask for the instruction, professors should be ready, and the community should pay the salary, inasmuch as every intellectual amusement and elegant entertainment is a preservative from idleness, which leads to crime ; and the cost of pre-

vention is better than curing a disease, moral or physical.

P. Allow me now to ask you various questions, which were not in place under any certain order. For instance:

1st. **Where can you find lands suitable, and by what tenure would you hold them, and who is there to purchase them, when it is to the immediate self-interest of men of property to go on accumulating vast estates, and to the immediate self-interest of the poor to live from hand to mouth ?**

A. As to lands, we can find in the west some most desirable tract on which to commence, and in a short time, go to and from this city, by the line of rail-roads. We are certain we may take nearly all of the advantages of an old settlement into a new country, and thus secure the good of both at once, if we only look for proper men of industry, skill and virtuous habits. In consequence of the failure of their banking systems, land of the highest quality is selling for far less than the rent

of lands in our older settlements. We have heard of good cleared lands at seventy-five cents per acre.

You ask next, who is there to purchase them ?

There are several small associations now in progress, and each has chosen two, to represent them in a central board. This board is to make enquiries and report when the necessary preliminaries shall have all been settled. But other small associations must be raised, and each twenty-five individuals shall be entitled to send two delegates to the central board.

As to the immediate self-interest of men of capital, if possessed of large tracts superior to the lands of Government, they will be most happy to make sale to us, inasmuch as we must at once commence a town upon the lands, and raise mills and make improvements to increase its value very greatly. This gives the best of all securities, even if we should desire to raise capital on mortgage for the present, to assist such as might not be able to assist themselves. **We hold that the great-**

**est wealth consists in genius and industry, and the system of division of labors by which that skill and industry may best be brought to bear.** Should we be obliged to raise a stock at first, on the same principle as the national debt of any government is raised, how could it be otherwise than most secure to any lender, were all equally to enter into bonds to pay the interest on the loan. If we take no bad members into our society, and exclude distilleries and drunkards, and speculators, and other jockies without any useful means of living, we must succeed even with ordinary means ; but with a system of industry as perfect as the operations of an army, in which each officer and man knows precisely what to do, and that each citizen is helping all others, while he labors in the system ; security as perfect as human institutions will admit of will be given.

As to the immediate self-interest of the poor to live from hand to mouth, and not look after means of rising to a competency, their immediate self-interest will be

changed when all is prepared. Those who are willing to go forward first, must be in rather better circumstances than succeeding settlers need be. It will be necessary to undergo privations at the outset ; but what young man need care, if for a while he should be forced to lead a hunter's life and raise a camp of bark to live in, if in age he may look round upon a farm or factory, and boast that he had courage to step forward when few others had as much? And who that has real manly courage would not much prefer to struggle with the forest than with men, where each must snatch from others' mouths the bread, begrudged to all contending parties by hard-hearted landlords, whose only calculation is the capacity of tenants to bear heavier rents?

P. By what tenure would you hold the soil?

A. **The system should rule, and the system should look chiefly to the general good.** The soil should be owned as the capital of a stock company is owned, but no one shall vote upon his

stock. And the officers shall have the right to pay off the debt at any time, but the holders of the stock shall not have the right to demand payment while the interest continues to be paid. **In a word it should be taken and paid on the same principle that the national debt of England is raised and payable.**

P. Should not every man have a certain amount of land as his own exclusive property ?

A. Any individual might have a site for a house and garden, and even a farm, where it might be difficult to bring large numbers to labor together, as in some mountainous regions ; but where large numbers might congregate, they should labor together under leaders in the fields, and in factories under foremen and officers, precisely as soldiers in an army do.

P. Why so much precision ?

A. Because, the more perfect the discipline, the more certain the results from great bodies of men ; and the more loose and slovenly the discipline, the less confi-

dence will all practical men have in the end to be attained.

P. Many may not bear so much command from petty officers as soldiers do.

A. The respect will not be paid to the officers, but to the system. An officer without his badge of office, shall be laughed at even by boys, when he presumes to give command. And when out of the field or workshop, his authority shall cease entirely. But the higher officers, who must be on duty constantly, must always be respected, although they can give no orders to the people. Each class must receive its orders only through its proper officers—those directly over them.

P. Why make this arrangement ?

A. That the people may not feel constraint from any source, or at any time when discipline may not be necessary.

P. Will you not take all power from the people's hands by this arrangement ?

A. The people will have the whole power of the purse, and sword, and legislature, all the time in their own hands lit-



erally. They will all be soldiers, and the exchange account will be subject to their constant supervision, and as jurors they may nullify the code which the marshal of the law department may present to them, and overrule and fix the damages and decide the guilt or innocence of prisoners, and **as members of the national guard, they will have no petty tyrants as officers of the police.** They will themselves take this responsibility successively. The most perfect liberty, responsibility and scientific precision, even in the smallest particulars of government, will be the point at which to aim, and the result must be a body having many thousand, and eventually it is ardently to be desired, millions of minds, actuated by one motive and one will—one soul, and that the spirit of peace and good will to all. The power of union, discipline and division of labor, and such principles of government, will give such advantages to this system, that while it will be the easiest thing possible to live under it, it will be as impossible to resist it as for an undisci-

plined mob or horde of barbarians to resist a regular army of soldiers. We have only to say in conclusion, we hope those who approve, may not want the moral courage to support the system at least, if not all the principles by which the author has endeavored to establish it. We may arrive at the same resting place by various roads. Philosophy and christianity need not be at variance when the end of each is to "feed the hungry and clothe the naked," and create an universal bond of sympathy. **The man who will not use his influence in support of any well-digested system, to relieve the miseries of men, cannot be an advocate of any creed of true good will to man—he is no christian—for christianity consists not in making mere professions of faith, and saying Lord, Lord ! says the great founder himself, but in doing the will of God, and what that will is may be known by the terms of final approval and condemnation, for says he, "I was an hungered and ye gave me meat,**

thirsty and ye gave me drink, naked and ye clothed me, sick and in prison, and ye ministered unto me ; and inasmuch as ye did it to one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me." And when they asked him who his brethren were, he referred to the speechless man who had fallen amongst thieves, and could not help himself from the way side. The reviled Samaritan who assisted the distressed, was held up as an example to the faith-boasting Pharisee.

There is much in the view which many take of christianity, which has not convinced the understanding, and consequently has not gained the assent, of the author of this system. **He belongs to no sect, and has not as yet formed his religious creed.** But he desires especially the co-operation of conscientious christians, and particularly the ministry of every sect, who teach not open blasphemy, and weeping and wailing in the place of laudable exertion in behalf of

the distressed. There are men who throw stones when to them the poor do cry for bread, and who, when asked for fish or meat, do give a serpent in some dogma, and poison the existence they should strive to render happy. With such do we desire no communion. **Next to the government of money, a hierarchy most enslaves the mind, and tramples in the dust the noblest principles of our nature.** Away with them. We ask no man to join us, if he be not willing to stand upon the ground with other men, and seek no aid from institutions in which all may not equally partake according to the perfection of his nature on the eternal principles of equal rights, natural laws and justice.

THE END.





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