

# Phalansterian Tracts.

## NATIONAL EMIGRATION.

WHAT is the social malady of England at the present time, and what the remedy?

This question is too vast to be completely answered in a few short pages, but an elevated glance, or bird's eye view, may comprehend the whole without evolving those subordinate details which are less important in a general than a special point of view.

The malady of civilised society, in its decline, is twofold: organic and irruptive, or constitutional and circumstantial, or fundamental and incidental. By fundamental, organic, and constitutional, we mean the classification and connexion, or disconnexion of family interests and industrial pursuits; by circumstantial, incidental and irruptive, we mean those states which are successive, various, and peculiar to any particular constitution of society, barbarian or civilized.

### *Organic Social Evils.*

The basis of civilized society is family or feudal individualism, disconnected family and private interests in feudal opposition to each other; class warfare with respect to legal privilege; competition between individuals of every class respectively, for preference of place or pension, business or occupation in the various ranks of social and political, industrial and professional hierarchy. This is an organic malady or imperfection, which requires organic innovation as a remedy. Association is the only cure for this organic disassociation and discrepancy of family and private interests; but few have either leisure, or intelligence, or faith, or singleness of heart enough to understand the principles of social harmony, and constitutional progression, in mere abstract theory. Practical experiment alone will be self-evident to the unthinking mass of rich and poor, self-idolizing, grown-up children, and the more religious few must first combine to realize associative principles in practice, as a remedy for constitutional disease, before the busy crowd can understand them.

The circumstantial evils of society are then, alone, the object of our present observations, without reference to constitutional disease; and those persons who have no knowledge of associative principles can easily appreciate the facts we shall adduce, and also, we believe, the inferences drawn.

### *Circumstantial Social Evils.*

It is a fact, that all the palliatives hitherto applied to social evils in this country, since the termination of the European war, have been abortive to a great extent, or lamentably inefficient; for there are, at present, more alarming numbers of our fellow beings suffering from misery and vice, and crime, and insecurity, "or want, and fear of want," than ever were known to exist at any previous period of English history. According to the best authenticated reports, not less than one-fourth of the whole population, in some parts of the kingdom, are entirely destitute of employment during the whole or the greater portion of the year, and consequently exposed to every sort of privation and temptation; and we have reason to believe that, not more than three-fourths of the whole working population of the country are profitably occupied throughout the year.

We have first the awful fact, authenticated by the Commissioners of Poor Law Inquiry, that "more than 2,385,000 of the people of Ireland are, some for the entire and others for at least a portion of the year, in a state of absolute destitution." Two millions three hundred and eighty-five thousand! nearly one third of the whole population of Ireland!

In Great Britain the proportion of unemployed and partially destitute, is not much inferior to that of Ireland; for though we have not the same authenticated documents of general statistics, we have partial reports of a similar nature, well authenticated, and the enormous sums absorbed in poor rates every year, show that misery increases in the country. Where "Enumerations of the unemployed poor" have been made, as in Leeds, and other manufacturing districts, the results have been alarming. "16,156 unemployed persons

depending on 3,780 persons employed: average weekly income for each of the whole 19,936 persons, elevenpence-farthing. 5,776 persons who have no discoverable employment or means of subsistence, who possess no weekly income at all." More than 20,000 persons in a population of 120,000, either entirely or partially destitute in Leeds, and many thousands more, whose income is positively insufficient, for it is stated that "Those whose average income was more than four shillings a week were not included in the report. That the agricultural are as poor and destitute as the manufacturing districts, the following reports will testify:—"In the southern counties of England, Mr. Austin found from twelve to twenty-one persons crowded into a one-roomed cottage, and from three to four into every bed, married couples and unmarried, adult males and females, all crowded together. This was not in the close lanes and courts of manufacturing towns, but in rural villages. It is not bread alone that is wanted in England, but elbow room."—*Spectator*.

"When I was at Hindon, I found it to contain a population of nearly 900 persons of various ages. Of these a few were shopkeepers; a very few were people who had some little property, but most of them were people dependent on agriculture for employment; and yet not more than thirty men out of the whole, had any employment whatever. Still they depended on the land, and such subsistence as they found came from the land, they pilfered from the farmers until they were put in prison, &c.

"In every other respect these people are in a state of barbarism. Few of them can read or write. In their houses there is no furniture; literally none that we could call furniture. Such clothes as they have are all on their backs at once, and still their backs are bare."—*A. Brown's Letter, Nov. 1843*.

The reports of unemployed, partially employed, and ill-requited labourers, when employed, have been so numerous from all parts of the country, that we need not dwell upon them here. It is evident to all reflecting minds that labour is too plentiful for the present system of industry, and has long been so in this country. Nor is there any want of individual enterprise in those who give employment to the working classes in the manufacturing districts, for "over production," is one of the numerous charges brought against them by professed statesmen at the head of Government. The system is at fault, then, generally, and not individuals alone, except in so far as

they refuse to acknowledge the defects of the present constitution of society. The system works for the apparent elevation of the few who are possessed of property and privilege, and for the degradation of the many who depend exclusively on labour for their bread. We say the "degradation of the many;" for it is a lamentable fact, that moral destitution, vice and crime, increase with poverty and physical privation, amongst the pauperised community. And not only amongst the pauperised community, but also in the middle and the higher ranks of life. The vices of the pauper class have rendered those above them callous to their sufferings and privations to an extent which is revolting to common sense and justice, and the struggles of competition in trade have so far demoralised the middle classes, by habits of petty fraud and trickery in trade, the adulteration of alimentary and other substances, that the common sense of right and wrong is almost lost amongst them. Professions of religion, even, are so glaringly mixed up with private interests and worldly mindedness, in many cases, as to make a really religious person blush to seem devoutly simple and sincere in the profession of pure faith. The trading middle classes are the most professedly religious in this country; and yet, the "India Circular" reports, that "forty million pounds of heterogeneous substances are annually mixed with the sugar consumed in England," and similar instances of fraud in traffic are becoming general in every branch of commerce.

Exceptions there are, of course, in every class, and numerous enough, we hope, to save society from ruin; but still we are compelled in truth to say, that goodness, truth and candour, honesty and upright conduct, are exceptions only, in all ranks of civilised society at present; while selfishness and ill-advised professions of morality are every where conspicuous. We do not wish to make particular allegations against any individual class or person; but we are prepared to prove to any class or person, publicly, the truth of our general allegation against all classes collectively, without distinction. It is a very serious charge; we know it, and regret it should be true and easy to demonstrate from that standard of christian truth which is admitted by all. Instead of "loving one another," as christian brethren, and following the precept, "bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ," the utmost extent of love from the higher and the middle classes towards their brethren of the working pauper class, is quite infe-

rior to the regulations "for preventing cruelty to animals;" inasmuch as animals are not expected to take care of themselves, where there is no food to be had; while human beings are driven by ill usage and neglect to their "own resources," where neither food nor adequate employment are within their reach! But not to dwell too long upon this painful topic of indifference and inhumanity amongst the wealthy and the middle classes generally, with too few exceptions, let us return to the fact of ignorance, and vice, and crime, increasing with physical privation amongst the poorer working classes; the one being a necessary consequence of the other under present circumstances: and in order to give a fair specimen of general statistics, we will select a neighbourhood which is remarkable for its professions of religious discipline and education; but, before we leave this general charge against society, let us observe that we shall be indebted to any person, lay or clerical, who will give us an opportunity of proving it publicly, by an appeal to well authenticated facts, and that standard of religious truth, the Gospel. Liverpool is one of the most professedly religious towns in England, and, we have every reason to believe, that none exceed it in religious zeal and charity. It is not an individual class, or town, or district we impugn; it is the system of society in general, which works against the labouring classes, for the sole advantage of the rich in worldly wealth and privilege.

According to the report of the Statistical Society of Manchester, in 1836, "there were 32,700 children, of all ages, receiving instruction in Liverpool, of whom 26,700 were between five and fifteen years old; and there were not less than 30,000 children, between the ages of five and fifteen, receiving no education, either really or nominally;" and, according to the report of the Rev. Thomas Carter, chaplain of the borough prison, Liverpool, on the statistics of crime and ignorance in 1841, "it is much to be feared that little progress has been made since that period (1836) towards a better state of things," notwithstanding the efforts made by rival parties in the town to outvie each other in their educational endeavours. "The Campbells and McNeils of the one party, and the Rathbones and Rawdons of the other, have emulated each other," in Liverpool, and "an excellent system of sound religious, as well as secular instruction, was pursued in the schools of both parties in the winter of 1837," according to the statement of the editor of *Facts and Figures*; and still we

find, in the Rev. Thomas Carter's report of ignorance and crime in Liverpool, that "there have been committed during the year ending 30th September, 1841, 5,485, viz., 2,943 males, and 2,542 females." The number of juveniles committed to this prison during the year, is 687; committed to Kirkdale under contract, 335—total committals, 1,022; charges of *felony* (vagrancies I cannot ascertain) brought before the magistrates during the same period, and discharged, 1,062: total cases before the magistrates, exclusive of vagrancies discharged, 2,084. "From these figures some idea may be formed of the enormity of juvenile delinquency in Liverpool. Its causes and remedy is too wide a question to be gone into here; nevertheless, I cannot refrain from simply expressing my conviction, that our prison discipline will never materially, if at all, *lessen* the evil; and that if it is to be attempted it must be by other methods."

"From an enquiry recently made by the agents of the Town mission, in some parts only of the town, occupied principally by the labouring classes, it appears that amongst 22,634 families, comprising 96,323 souls, there are,—adults who cannot read, 10,108; children under fourteen years of age (who cannot read?) 33,995; children between two and fourteen years of age, not attending any school, and few with the means of employment, 15,797. With such a mass of ignorance and idleness around us, it must surely cease to be a matter of surprise that our prisons are so full."

These reports of crime and ignorance in one of the towns remarkable for zeal in religious and secular instruction amongst the working classes, are sufficiently corroborative of the fact, that moral and physical destitution are increasing everywhere under the present system of society, notwithstanding the increasing efforts made by influential classes to extend religious and secular education, church building, emigration and trade; and, during the last few years, strenuous efforts have been made in all these directions, not, indeed, without effect, but falling short of due efficiency. We do not wish to undervalue these palliatives: we merely wish to show that more efficient remedies are still required. We need not dwell on the increase of crime in England and Wales, which has doubled in twenty years; while the population has not increased by more than one-fifth, (from twelve millions to fifteen); the committals for crime have increased from 13,115 in 1821, to 27,760 in 1841.

The latest reports of matrimonial statis-

tics, show that ignorance is prevalent amongst the rising generation to a very great extent. From June, 1838, to June, 1839, there were 121,083 marriages registered in England alone; and of these parties, 40,587 men, and 59,959 women, could not write their names. The following year, ending June, 1840, out of a total of 124,329 marriages, 41,812 men, and 62,523 women, could not write their names. In 1841, 122,422 marriages; 40,059 men, and 59,896 women, signed with marks, being unable to write.

This is sufficient proof of the mental darkness which covers the land; and vice and misery are still increasing. Such is the present state of things in this country, notwithstanding the efforts made to prevent the increase of poverty and crime. Those efforts have not been inconsiderable, though quite inefficient on the old plans of *church extension, trade extension, education, emigration, poor law unions, and prison discipline.*

We have not at hand statistical reports of church extension, but it is a well known fact, that it is patronized by the most influential classes of society, and therefore cannot have been inconsiderable in extent, however inefficient in effect. For years, the bishops and the ministers of the crown have used their best endeavours to promote the cause of church extension in the country, and still morality is fast declining. Education has been zealously supported by all parties and denominations; but ignorance is still predominant. One half of the new generation, when they marry, are unable to write their names. Private charity has been extended constantly, and still the floods of destitution are more overwhelming. Emigration has been much increased, and yet the numbers of half-starving labourers without employment, are not registered by thousands only, but by millions. From the general report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, we learn that the "total emigration from the United Kingdom, in 1842, amounted to no less than 128,344 persons, an extent never before attained; and still the unemployed and destitute are swarming in the land.

Seeing that all these partial remedies are inefficient, the manufacturers are clamouring for extension of trade and commerce, as a more efficient palliative of distress; but, according to their own reports, the past experience of extension does not warrant us in hoping for relief, to any great extent, from this experiment.

Less than fifty years ago the whole amount of our export trade is reported to have been

but 19,672,503*l.* *official value*, the real value being 33,148,682*l.*—this was in the year 1798. In 1834 the *official value* of our export trade is reported to have been 73,831,551*l.*, being nearly four times the amount of 1798. In 1834, distress was less prevalent than usual, in England, and trade was further extended rapidly, so that our exports, for the year ending January 5, 1842, are reported to have been 102,180,517*l.* *official value*; being an increase of nearly one-third of the whole amount in seven years; and yet distress is greater than ever amongst the labouring population. Notwithstanding this extension of trade, to the tune of ONE-THIRD in seven years, the reporters of the League inform the public, in February, 1843, that "there is a considerable falling off in the demand for labour, and a serious decline in the rate of wages." They also testify that the operative classes "have less command of the necessaries and comforts of life, of nearly TWO-THIRDS, as compared with their means in 1834." So that, with an extension of trade, equal to one-third of the whole amount of our exports, the labouring population are two-thirds worse off than they were before, under the present system of things!

According to the same report "the rate of the increase of pauperism and poor rates, under these circumstances," unhappily admits of no doubt or cavil. From all the great seats of industry, the evidence on this head is uniform and distressing. Since 1839 the sums expended in the relief of the poor have, on an average, doubled; whilst the number of applicants has increased, in various ratios, from three hundred to five hundred per cent."

From these statistical reports, it must be evident that all the palliatives hitherto applied, however good in themselves, are quite inadequate to remedy the evils of society, or even to prevent increasing misery and destitution. Something more efficient must be done, and soon, or worse may still befall us. What can be done, then? that is the question.

The *Times* of Monday, December 11, 1843, in reference to the commission of inquiry, with regard to the relations between landlords and tenant farmers in Ireland, admits that palliatives, of a common order, are delusive; and concludes by recommending, not only palliatives on a larger scale than heretofore, but also "vigorous organic change, by which the constitution may be strengthened in its basis." The well-known shrewdness, and the wily caution of that journal, are a sufficient guarantee to the less informed

public, that organic innovation, and extensive palliatives, must be very necessary to the safety of the state, for that journal to suggest such startling measures, or to recommend them to the serious attention of the country.

The *Times* opines that emigration to the extent of 750,000 souls, annually, from Ireland alone, at an expense of 10% per head, would be required as an efficient palliative only, for distress in that unhappy country, without regard to surplus population in Great Britain; but, we believe an annual drain of 500,000 persons from the United Kingdom, would be sufficient as a measure of relief, in connexion with a gradual abolition of all commercial restrictions; and all classes are interested, more or less, in such a measure of relief: the rich, because their lives and property are insecure where millions are becoming daily more incensed with hatred against privilege of any sort; the middle classes, because competition in all trades and liberal professions is becoming ruinous; the working classes, because labour is too plentiful for the demand, and those who are unoccupied are constantly induced to work for less and less, until the rate of wages has, in many cases, fallen below the level of mere physical existence. According to the best statistical reports, there cannot be much less than one-sixth of the whole labouring population of the United Kingdom constantly unoccupied, and, probably, another sixth but partially employed throughout the year. These unfortunate persons must be fed and clothed some how or other, in prisons or poor law unions, or in the homes of their half-starving relatives who have employment. One-half of them may possibly be fed in prisons or in unions, or live on private charity; but certainly the other half, amounting to a very many thousands, and, perhaps, to millions, is reduced to the necessity of underbidding their poor fellow slaves in the great labour-market. This cut-throat system is now permanent; for those who have turned out the men who earned a loaf a day, by offering to work for half a loaf, have not increased the number of employed; they have reduced the men, turned out of work, by cheaper labour, to the dreadful necessity of underbidding, in their turn, the half-loaf labourers, by offering to work for less again, in quantity or quality; if not for less than half a loaf of bread, more hours for the same or coarser food, until at length the whole become reduced to beggary and coarse potatoes, as in Ireland.

This is the inevitable tendency of surplus labour in this country, under present

circumstances; and thence it is, we deem all classes interested in extensive emigration, as a palliative measure, until principles of gradual organic change can be discussed, and understood, and practically realized, to multiply productive occupations in our native land.

The labouring classes suffer most from present evils; but the middle classes are fast falling into poverty and insecurity, from competition. They are also much too thick upon the ground, and are reduced to the necessity of bidding higher every year for what may be accounted as their instruments of labour or of industry; *i. e.* land on hire, capital at interest, premises for shops, and stores, and offices, &c., &c., until necessity compels them to give half their profits in the shape of rent and taxes, interest on capital, &c., leaving less and less, as profits fall by competition, for the daily wants of civilized existence. Rents, in many cases, have been raised two-fold, three, four, five, six, and even ten-fold, within the last half century, at the expense of labour and of talent in the middle and lower classes; and thence it is, that rich men and monopolists of privilege are led to think that industry and trade, and general prosperity increase; while the poorer sort of people are complaining bitterly of want, and fear of want, throughout the country. The rich were never so well off, apparently, as now; and they are, very *naturally*, in their selfish and contracted views, "conservative;" but friction generates excessive heat, and moral friction, or oppression, causes anger in the minds of suffering multitudes, whose angry passions, acting on privation, bring about explosion in the state, and revolution. Incendiaries and robberies are rapidly increasing, and words of ominous import are running through the columns of the daily press. A social war seems imminent, if not prevented by efficient means; and yet the influential classes are preparing mere political coercion: police and military force, in lieu of economical relief. They do not fully understand the meaning of such paragraphs as this, which we here quote, and only arm themselves with violence and anger to oppose its influence.

IRELAND—ANTI-RENT WAR.—"On Sunday last," says the *Carlow Sentinel*, "about 200 persons, men and women, principally strangers, from the county of Wexford, assembled on the farm of Patrick Murphy, of Ballylean, near Ballon, in this county, and cut down and carried away upwards of ten acres of oats. The crop was not under seizure, and the object of cutting down and carrying away the corn

on Sunday is supposed to be for the purpose of evading a distress for rent, which it is said Murphy expected on the following day. The Ballon police were present and identified some of the parties, but could not interfere, Murphy's daughter having stated that it was cut down with her father's consent."

This is not a solitary case, and though not very general, as yet; it is the spirit of the social war which threatens ruin, if not met in time by a conciliating policy. The people will not fight the military, they will button up their pockets and refuse supplies in any shape. The signs are ominous. The first thing to be done should be to find employment for the poor at home or in the colonies. Voluntary emigration seems the best immediate source of occupation; but a different system is required to render it efficient. The individual system will not do. The following paragraph will show that it does not suffice:—

"RETURN OF EMIGRANTS FROM AMERICA  
—Almost every vessel that arrives, both from Canada and the States, comes well filled with passengers returning to this country. Several of our intelligent townsmen have returned within these few days, and they all concur in declaring trade to be in a very bad state in America, and employment and money not to be had. We can depend on the statements of these persons, and they every one assure us that a vast number of our countrymen are suffering under most trying privations, for want of labour, in all the coast towns, and that, if they could obtain passages, still greater numbers of them would come home."—*Glasgow Saturday Post*.

This fact indicates strongly that emigration, on the individual system, is but a precarious resource; and that associative emigration is necessary to protect individuals by mutual assistance and co-operation on the land. It is admitted now by those who are acquainted with this subject, that associative emigration, on a very large scale, would be efficient under present circumstances.

The *New Zealand Journal*, in advocating systematic colonization, says:—"If selfishness, and not lazy ignorance, has induced the present deplorable state of things in England, there is every reason to hope that selfishness will now mend it. That the payers of poor rates will, for very self interest, set about the work of systematic social colonization—that they will invest a few hundreds of thousands in creating new markets for mental and physical industry—that some of the immense capital of

England will find its way to the Antipodes—and that young communities will be aided to plant themselves in comfort as well as in hope on the coasts of New Zealand and Australia; the consideration striking the rate payer, for the first time, that Poor-Law Unions certainly pay no interest on the investment: that systematic colonization, therefore, even if it do not return 10 per cent. on the capital sunk, is no worse than systematic bastillation."

We do not feel assured that New Zealand and Australia are the best places for associative emigration; but, wherever the best localities may be, we believe the government ought to take some immediate steps for promoting emigration on a great national scale, and we suggest,—

- 1st.—That a national loan be proposed to all classes by government, as an emigration fund, to establish industrial clubs, or colonies of industrial emigrants, in the most approved colonial settlements, and on the voluntary principle of expatriation.
- 2nd.—That industrial clubs, or congregations of voluntary emigrants, be formed in this country, on the principle of joint-stock association and co-operative industry, to be located on the land in our colonial settlements. Each club to be independent as a collective body, and to consist of several hundred persons of both sexes and all ages, properly selected for habits of temperance, morality, and industry.
- 3dly.—That colonial land be given by government to each of these industrial clubs, in proportion to their respective numbers of co-operative members, and their probable increase within the first twenty years; say from three to four or five thousand acres of land, with wood and water, to each collective body of one hundred families.
- 4thly.—That a sum, equal to ten pounds for each person, be advanced by government from the national emigration loan fund, at a low rate of interest, to be repaid by gradual instalments within twenty years from the time of settlement.

This measure, like every other organic operation, is perfectly practicable for those who understand it thoroughly, and have the means within their power, but like every other social or mechanical construction, it is quite impracticable for those who do not understand it thoroughly, and could not realize it. To build a bridge over a very wide river is quite impracticable for those who are not versed in the science and practice of civil engineering,

and so it is with social and co-operative science. Before we venture, therefore, to pronounce a plan impracticable, we must ask ourselves in candour, how far we are prepared to judge in this branch of knowledge? We believe it to be practicable to a very great extent, if those who have the power to promote it, have the *will*; if not, nothing can be realized in practice, however true and just in principle.

We cannot enter into all the practical details of such a measure here, but we may offer a few general remarks.

There cannot be a doubt that thousands of industrial families would volunteer to emigrate, if such advantages were offered them by government in real earnest. The difficulty lies, then, chiefly in the plans of practical co-operation, and the raising of the funds for such a purpose.

With regard to the national emigration loan, we believe that government might easily show the rich and influential classes that such an investment of capital at reasonable interest, under present circumstances, would be highly advantageous to the interests of property and stability in this country, and if the selfish apathy and ignorance of these classes are so great as to offer serious obstruction, public opinion might easily be brought to bear upon this sluggishness; for it is a well-known fact that, while the condition of the labouring population has been almost stationary during the last half-century, the interests of property have increased four-fold and more. This has been abundantly proved by well-authenticated documents, and we ourselves were told, but recently, by the steward of one of the richest land-owners in Yorkshire, that the rent-roll of the present proprietor is five times as great as it was in the life-time of the father, though nothing has been added to the property. On the contrary, twenty thousand pounds worth of land has been sold from the estate. Thirty thousand pounds a year is now the rental of an estate which, forty years ago, was only six, while those who cultivate the land are just as ill requited for their labour as their fathers were.

The government has a right, therefore, to call upon the rich to come forward in aid of the poor and for the good of the state. The income-tax already established, furnishes machinery for collecting the money and managing the loan, which, after all, would not be sacrificed, as it would bear due interest and be re-paid in time.

Ten millions annually would be ample for this purpose, and that would not amount to more than five per cent. on the whole income of society; about twice the

amount of the income-tax at present; but then it should be levied on a graduated scale, as the richest families are most deeply interested in the success of the plan; and they must be brought to understand that wealth has not been given them for individual enjoyment only, but in trust for higher purposes, and first of all, "to bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ."

The rich are invested with authority for good or evil, and their duties are proportionate to their privileges. They ought, therefore, to contribute to the national emigration loan, on a graduated scale proportionate to wealth and privilege, and in some approximation to the following scale: One per cent. on an income from one to two hundred pounds a year; two per cent. from two to five hundred a year; three per cent. from five hundred to one thousand; four per cent. from one to two thousands; five per cent. from two to three thousands; six from three to five thousands; seven from five to ten thousands; eight from ten to fifteen; nine from fifteen to twenty; ten from twenty thousands a year upwards. If double this amount were necessary it ought to be levied for the emigration loan, under present circumstances.

This annual loan of ten or twenty millions, at two per cent., to be repaid by gradual instalments or annuities, would enable government to establish five or six hundred thousands of our unemployed population annually in our colonies, for the advantage of the state and all the parties interested; for the advantage, in fact, of civilisation and humanity all over the world.

The government possesses boundless tracts of land in all quarters of the globe; and these lands should be given in *freehold* tracts of several thousand acres to clubs of industrial and co-operative emigrants, subject to an easy tax or *redemption* to government for local and general advantage.

The only real difficulty connected with this measure seems to lie in the formation and government of these co-operative clubs of emigrants; but that might easily be mastered if the government were willing to call forth the prudence and intelligence which might be brought to bear upon the principle and the experiment. To organize and discipline an army of industrial associative and co-operative clubs of emigrants, would be as easy as to organize an army of destructive military companies, and the process would be very similar in some respects, though different in others. Each nucleus might be formed by a clergyman, and a few heads of industrial departments, who were willing to share the fortune of their

associates; and proper persons might be trained for leaders before leaving this country. The advantages of Etzler's mechanical system for economizing human labour, might also be brought to bear in this case. To enter into the details of such an operation would require more space than we have here; but all the works on Phalansterian association throw light on these principles, and may be consulted at a trifling cost by those who wish to make themselves acquainted with the practical bearings of the question. Meanwhile, we pledge ourselves to prove the practicability of the measure here proposed, to any public body who may desire to promote whatever is good in it; and we agree to take the subject on any ground it may be placed by such a body—religious, moral, or industrial, political or economical.

Social maladies are calling louder, every day, for cure, and social Doctors speak of nothing but repose and poorer diet. What the patient has to undergo is frightful to contemplate. The poor, who are too thick upon the ground, cannot help themselves, and we have no good reason to believe the rich will help them. Infatuation seems to paralyse the nation, while agitation and low social fever seems to baffle all the skill of all the Doctors, who are authorised to bleed and blister with impunity.

What a horrid mockery of Christianity the present system is! How gladly should we hail the symptoms of return to principles of common sense and common justice.

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