UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

"TRICKS UPON TRAVELLERS": ROBERT OWEN, NEW LANARK,

AND THE CHOREOGRAPHY OF CHARACTER, 1800-1826

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

CORNELIA C. LAMBERT
Norman, Oklahoma
2010

"TRICKS UPON TRAVELLERS": ROBERT OWEN, NEW LANARK,
AND THE CHOREOGRAPHY OF CHARACTER, 1800-1826

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE

BY

_____
Dr. Katherine Pandora, Chair

_____
Dr. Kathleen Crowther

_____
Dr. Piers Hale

_____
Dr. Suzanne Moon

_____
Dr. Zev Trachtenberg

_____
Dr. Stephen Weldon

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

> *Invention, it must be humbly admitted, does not consist in creating out of void, but out of chaos; the materials must, in the first place, be afforded: it can give form to dark, shapeless substances, but cannot bring into being the substance itself.* – Mary Shelley

someone who understands my style of invention which, as Shelley describes "consists in the capacity of seizing on the capabilities of a subject." Dr. Pandora challenged me, as she does all her students, to dispute the received narrative; I can only hope that my efforts achieve this worthy goal.

Finally: Robert Owen's argument for the sources of individual character has spurred reflection on the springs of my own. I am indebted to those who have contributed, through the mysterious alchemy of nature and nurture, to make mine what it is: Fred Lambert, Jr., Ruby Blackburn Lambert, Kathleen Abernathy Campbell, F. Cantine Jones, and Leslie Lambert-Jones. Although Mr. Owen would disagree, any remaining shortcomings are—as are errors in my academic work—my own.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

When he assumed management of the cotton manufactory at New Lanark, Scotland in 1800, Robert Owen (1771-1858) faced a population made up of employees of "ill-formed" character. Over the course of the next twenty-six years, however, New Lanark became a showcase of successful "pauper management" and through what he purported to be a "New View" of human character, Owen effectively eradicated lying, cheating, and disorderly and drunken conduct. New Lanark became a tourist destination not only because of its proximity to Cora Linn and other local natural features, but because of the way Owen crafted scientific spectacle to appeal to those in search of sensational activities. At the Institute for the Formation of Character, Owen developed a unique, performance-based curriculum which imparted lessons of cooperative and national behaviors while appealing to culture-conscious visitors. Owen also began, though did not bring to fruition, plans to manipulate the physical surroundings which dictated family structures in the village. In sum, a visit to New Lanark in the years under consideration provided travelers with a variety of experiences which Owen believed would convince them of the efficacy of his claims.

x

INTRODUCTION

A. A Life and Its Memorialization

Robert Owen was born in a small town in rural Wales in 1771. At the age of ten, he left the home of his father, who was a saddler, for London, where he became an apprentice to a draper. Although he failed to mention it in his autobiographical account of 1857, the young Owen would not have known English when he made this journey, and the customs of the bustling English town would have been equally unfamiliar to him. Yet Robert excelled in sales, and eventually this, as well as his interest in the mechanical side of the creation of fabric goods, led to positions in the up-and-coming industry of cotton spinning.

At his death in 1858, however, Robert Owen was memorialized less for his rapid rise in or contributions to cotton manufacturing but more for a whole series of seemingly unrelated accomplishments. In his early forties, Owen began a career in social reform, a calling not uncommon for someone with his social standing, but unlike many of his co-reformers, Owen participated in various projects for social change for the rest of his life, and on two continents. Before he died at the age of 87, Owen had been involved in poor law reform, the improvement of labor laws, the foundation of infant education, the establishment of a national trade union, and the definition of the principles of the co-operative movement.

Because he came from such a limited background, Robert Owen is often held up as an exemplar of one of the Victorian era's favorite stereotypes: the self-made man. Although it did not originate with him, the model of the self-made man is often associated with Samuel Smiles

(1812-1904), the Scottish editor and reformer who published, among many other titles, the book *Self-Help* in 1859.[1] As it is typically described, Smiles's gospel typifies the mid-century focus on the individual and his power to control the formation and expression of his own character and thus determine his own course through life. The training of youth to honorable and admirable talents was of utmost importance. Positive examples were to be set before the child (and negative ones kept away from her) in order to encourage the child to make conscious choices to behave in accordance with the values of duty, thrift, and hard work.[2]

Since his death in 1858 (just a year before the publication of Smiles's *Self-Help*) Owen has been interpreted as someone who, through only the power of his own will, had contributed to several of the most important movements in Victorian society: increased industrialization, mounting support for universal education, the early definition and working-class development of socialism, and the theory and practice of co-operation.[3] As recently as 2008, for example, in an exhibit at the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland entitled "Heroes: Nineteenth Century Self-

---

[1] A few titles which illustrate Smiles's emphasis on biography and character traits include: *Lives of the Engineers, with an Account of their Principal Works* (1863; 1874), *Character* (1871), *Thrift* (1875), *Duty* (1880), *Men of Invention and Industry* (1884), and *Life and Labour; or, Characteristics of Men of Industry, Culture and Genius* (1887).

[2] Adrian Jarvis, *Samuel Smiles and the Construction of Victorian Values* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1997). See also Kenneth Fielden, "Samuel Smiles and Self-Help," *Victorian Studies* 12:2 (Dec. 1968), 155-76; and R. J. Morris, "Samuel Smiles and the Genesis of Self-Help: the Retreat to a Petit Bourgeois Utopia," *The Historical Journal*, 24:1 (Mar. 1981), 89-109.

[3] The best known treatment of Owen is undoubtedly John F. C. Harrison's *Quest for the New Moral World: Robert Owen & the Owenites in Britain and America* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1969). To this, several other key treatments can be added: Gregory Claeys, *Citizens and Saints: Politics and Anti-Politics in Early British Socialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Ian Donnachie, *Historic New Lanark* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993, 1999) and *Robert Owen: Owen of New Lanark and New Harmony* (Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press, 2000); Barbara Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983); and R. G. Garnett, "Robert Owen and the Community Experiments," in Pollard, Sidney and John Salt, *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor, Essays in Honour of the Two-Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth* (London: Macmillan, 1971) 39-64. Frank Podmore's *Robert Owen: A Biography* (1906; reprint, New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1971) is largely a recapitulation of Owen's autobiography, *The Life of Robert Owen; Written by Himself, with Selections from his Writings and Correspondence* (London: Effingham Wilson 1858; reprint, New York: A.M. Kelley, 1967).

Help Role Models," Owen was held to this standard of analysis. Mary Ann Knight's portrait of

Robert Owen [FIGURE 1] was featured first in the exhibit. According to the museum's website,

Knight's likeness of Owen as a fashionable young man was included to represent one of "the

people who were promoted by Smiles as contemporary role models and critically re-examines

what we mean by 'Victorian values'."[4] Ironically, however, Owen's own position on human

nature and the development of character would have conflicted with this estimation. Because he

emphasized the creation and influence of healthy "circumstances" on the formation of character,

Owen would have disagreed not only with Smiles, but with the curator of the "Heroes" exhibit.

Yet the prevailing attitude in historical memory is to associate a figure with the historical period

which came after and as a result of his or her time period, and not to seek the contexts from and

in which he or she lived. In the case of Smiles, for example, as T.H.E. Travers points out, the

author's works are representative of mid-Victorian values, but the roots of his ideals are to be

found in "his early Scottish background and Calvinist training, [which] stressed personal reform

and moral values," and in "Enlightenment concepts."[5] Similarly, Owen is interpreted in light of

the movements to which his lifework contributed, namely industrialization and business,

education and child welfare, socialism, and co-operation.

   The descendants of each of these movements claim Owen for their own. In popular

British memory, Owen is most often associated with the history of education and child welfare.[6]

A cenotaph to his memory at Kensal Green Cemetery in London is inscribed with a list of

---

[4] National Galleries of Scotland, "Heroes | Nineteenth-Century Self-Help Role Models," http://www.nationalgalleries.org/whatson/exhibition/5:368/4805. Accessed Nov 20 2009. The exhibit ran 31st May-7 Dec 2008.

[5] T. H. E. Travers, *Samuel Smiles and the Victorian Work Ethic.* (New York: Garland, 1987), 164.

[6] Owen's place in the history of education is found in books such as M. V. G. Jeffreys's entry "Robert Owen," in A. V. Judges, *Pioneers of English Education: A Course of Lectures given at King's College, London* (London: Faber
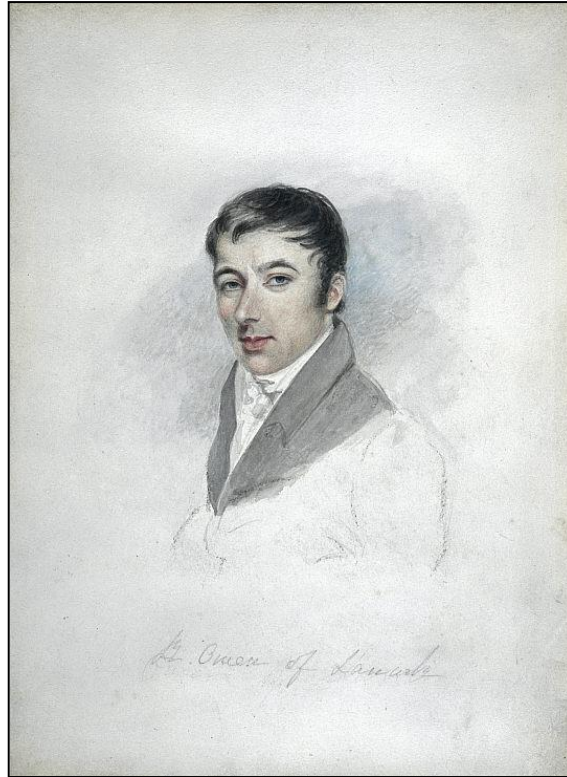
FIGURE 1 Mary Ann Knight, *Mr. Owen of Lanark*, c. 1799,
watercolor, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.
Courtesy of the New Lanark Conservation Trust

accomplishments which begins with the simple sentence, "He organised infants schools" [sic].

Although other accomplishments are noted, four of the six listed include the words "children" or

and Faber, 1952), as well as in monographs like such as: John F. C. Harrison, "'The Steam Engine of the New Moral World': Owenism and Education, 1817-1829," *The Journal of British Studies* 6:2 (May 1967), 76-98; Karen C. Altfest, *Robert Owen as Educator* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1977); Paul R. Bernard, "Irreconcilable Opinions: The Social and Educational Theories of Robert Owen and William Maclure," *Journal of the Early Republic* 8:1 (Spring 1988), 21-44; Frank T. Carlton, "Robert Owen, Educator," *The School Review* 18:3 (March 1910), 186-191; Elizabeth Bradburn, "Britain's First Nursery-Infant School," *The Elementary School Journal* 67:2 (November 1966) 57-63; Harold Silver, "Owen's Reputation as an Educationist," in Sidney Pollard and John Salt, *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor, Essays in Honour of the Two-Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth* (London: Macmillan, 1971) 65-83; and Helen L. Carlson, "Care and Education of Young Children of Pauper and Working Classes: New Lanark, Scotland, 1790-1825," *Paedagogica historica* 28:1 (1992) 9-34.

"education," indicating at least a preoccupation with this facet of Owen's work on the part of the committee who erected the commemorative obelisk in 1879.[7]

Other public monuments stress Owen's work on behalf of children. In his hometown of Newtown, in addition to his gravesite, tourists can visit the Robert Owen Gardens (renovated in 1999) which features a bronze relief and a 1954 sculpture by Gilbert Bayes [FIGURE 2]. The figure of Owen reaches down to caress the head of a kneeling child at his knee, his coat protectively enclosing her. A 139-square centimeter plaque also located at the Robert Owen Gardens similarly displays a relief representation, apparently based on the Bayes sculpture, of Owen with not one, but two children nestled protectively in his coattails [FIGURE 3]. Completed in 2000 and unveiled a year later, this plaque illustrates Owen within the Powys landscape and amongst recognizable local landmarks. Also set in relief, so that even the visually impaired can read it, is the following caption:

Robert Owen, Y Drenewydd (1771-1858),
yn gyflogwr goleuedig yn New Lanark, fe adeiladodd ysgolion ac ysbrydoli'r
mudiad cydweithredol. O fagwraeth ym Maldwyn fe addysgodd y byd.

Newtown's Robert Owen (1771-1858),
enlightened employer at New Lanark, built schools and inspired the co-operative
movement. From the cradle of Montgomeryshire to teach the world.[8]

---

[7] The full inscription reads: "He organised infants schools. He secured the reduction of the hours of labour for women and children in factories. He was a liberal supporter of the earliest efforts to obtain national education. He laboured to promote international arbitration. He was one of the foremost Britons who taught men to aspire to a higher social state by reconciling the interests of capital and labour. He spent his life and a large fortune in seeking to improve his fellowmen by giving them education, self-reliance, and moral worth. His life was sanctified by human affection and lofty effort."

[8] Public Monument and Sculpture Association, "Robert Owen Memorial Plaque," http://pmsa.cch.kcl.ac.uk/AH/POWYS063.htm. Accessed 20 Nov 2009. According to the Public Monument and Sculpture Association National Recording Project, this bronze, (POWYS063), is installed into and was commissioned by the Argos store, a retail chain outlet of the UK's Home Retail Group.

Although the inscription refers, in both its Welsh and English versions, to Owen's contributions to industrialization, school-building, and co-operation, it emphasizes, in its last statement, Owen's role as an educator in all of these capacities. He is credited with "teach[ing] the world," a clear reference to his association with the development of modern education. In fact, perhaps the most obvious case of this is the presence of the Robert Owen Memorial Primary School on Smyllum Road in Lanark. Established in 1973, the school represents the continued association of Owen with popular education. A few years later, in 1979, Rowen House, a boarding school, was established in Belper, Derbyshire. Although Rowen House closed in 1992, several other memorial schools remain, such as a Greenwich (London) nursery school that is called The Robert Owen Early Years Centre.[9]

In addition to these sites which emphasize Owen's contributions to child welfare and education, another segment of the British population claims Owen for its own. In 1994 a replica of Bayes's sculpture was placed near the Co-operative College at Holyoake House in downtown Manchester, directly in front of the Co-operative Bank headquarters on Balloon and Corporation Streets. In commissioning a replica of Bayes's Newtown sculpture for Manchester [FIGURE 4], the image of Owen as protector and educator became allied with the cooperative cause, despite the fact that Owen's cooperative activities spring from a later stage of his life. Yet because Owen spent his last years involved in co-operative projects, and because his close friend and fellow co-operator George Jacob Holyoak inherited Owen's letters and memorabilia, it was the co-operative movement that stepped in to claim Owen's legacy in the first fifty years after his death.[10] The Kensal Green Memorial [FIGURE 5] was erected by a committee headed by co-

---

[9] "Robert Owen Early Years Centre," The School Index, http://www.school-index.co.uk/urn/100102.php. Accessed 20 November 2009.

[10] http://archive.co-op.ac.uk/background.htm 17 November 2009.

FIGURE 2 Gilbert Bayes, Robert Owen, bronze, 1956, Newtown, Wales, UK.
Image courtesy of the Town Council of Newtown & Llanllwchaiarn

FIGURE 3 Bronze commemorative plaque, Newtown, Wales, UK.

operator and reformer Joseph W. Corfield.[11] Corfield also spearheaded a project to raise a "Reformer's Memorial," which was completed and installed next to Owen's Memorial in 1885.[12]

In July of 1902, a group of co-operators, led by Holyoake, gathered to erect a memorial at Owen's gravesite in Newtown, further staking claim on the memory of the leader [FIGURE 6].

FIGURE 4 Gilbert Bayes, Robert Owen, 1953 [replica, 1994], bronze. Image courtesy of Mike Peel (www.mikepeel.net) and shared via the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.5 Generic license

---

[11] Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrrell, "Introduction: The Public Memorial of Reform: Commemoration and Contestation," in *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth* Century Britain (London: Ashgate, 2004) 1-24; 2-3.

[12] Ibid., 2.

FIGURE 5 Memorial to Robert Owen, Kensal Green Cemetery, London.
Image courtesy of Edward Hands,and shared via the Creative Commons
Attribution-Share Alike 2.5 Generic license

Because the grave had become a destination for co-operative "pilgrims," the Cooperative

Union installed a cast iron railing to protect the forty-five year-old grave, and while the grave

was initially "a very plain structure," the committee, led by a Mr. Shillito, sought to provide

"something worthy of the man to remind [Wales]medallion attached to the back of the grave and

a "bronze plaque, symbolical of the life of one of her noblest sons."[13] This included, in addition

to the railing, an oval portrait of Owen" attached to its side. On this plaque a parade of laborers

approaches Owen who, in a two-dimensional *contrapposto* stance, receives them with open

arms. His left hand stretches out to touch the arm of the first laborer, who carries a sack on his

shoulder. Behind Owen, emerging from a wood, is the female figure of Justice. In his speech to

those gathered, Holyoake commemorated his friend's contributions to the causes of national

FIGURE 6 Owen's grave at Newtown, with railing and plaque installed in 1902.
Image courtesy of Cyngor Sir Powys County Council,

---

[13] G. J. Holyoake, "Robert Owen Co-operative Memorial at Newtown. The Unveiling Ceremony On July 12th, 1902; Address . . . By Mr. G. J. Holyoake" (Manchester: The Co-operative Union Limited, 1902), [2].

education, the fair exchange of goods on the basis of labor, co-operative trade, and factory legislation. As with the replica of the Bayes sculpture installed in downtown Manchester, the recitation of Owen's contributions by a famous co-operator and in the name of a co-operative venture served to ally Owen's early work with that of his later projects. The sculpture of Owen in Manchester is located in the heart of a district dominated by buildings operated by Co-operatives-UK, the organization that connects and oversees all of the co-operatives in the country. This location further connects Owen to current co-operative initiatives, including the Co-operative Party, a center-left political group closely allied with the Labour Party.

B. History as Memorialization

As these examples indicate, the memory of Robert Owen is called upon to serve many ends in British memorial culture. It should come as no surprise that Owen's image experiences a similar fate in historical scholarship. The theories and practices of Robert Owen have been treated by historians of politics and socialism, business and management, education and child welfare, and even religion, the results of which are a condition I call "the drawing and quartering" of Robert Owen. John Butt's volume *Robert Owen, Prince of Cotton Spinners* (1971), for example, features chapters titled "Robert Owen, Cotton Spinner"; "Owen's Reputation as an Educationist"; and "Robert Owen and Revolutionary Politics," which each

provide discrete perspectives on Owen's legacy.[14] Butt pursued this method because, he noted,

previous studies had been "based more on the intellectual and philosophical positions of their

authors than on Owen's own position."[15] Whether the result of limited understanding of Owen's

contributions or because of historians' attempts to avoid hagiography, steps taken to remedy the

"Owen predicament" typically yield only unsatisfactory results. While it is not surprising that

scholars and practitioners of various stripes want to claim Owen as a key figure in their creation

stories, this makes finding treatments of Owen without readily obvious political biases quite

difficult. In fact, it is one of Owen's legacies that, as a person of many parts, he eludes

scholarship which is both integrated and thorough.

One of the most intense motives in recent scholarship has been to reclaim Owen's

position at the birth of socialism. Marx and Engels minimized Owen's contributions in the

Communist Manifesto, published ten years before the Welshman's death. The duo made light of

Owen's thinking by labeling his schemes "utopian" in juxtaposition to their own "scientific"

developments of socialism. As a result of this early attack, scholarship on the socio-economic

aspects of Owen's career was cast in the mold of the Marxian attitude.   Frank Podmore's 1906

Life of Robert Owen and A.L. Morton's *Life and Ideas of Robert Owen* (1962) were assessments

biased by the authors' own Marxist leanings—Podmore's account most notably by his

participation in the Fabian Society. But even more recently, scholars have continued to wrestle

with Owen's reputation in regards to his political contributions.[16] For example, in his book

---

[14] John Butt, ed., *Robert Owen: Prince of the Cotton Spinners*: *A Symposium* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1971).

[15] Ibid., 9.

[16] Owen is treated in his political context by: Noel Thompson, *The People's Science: The popular political economy of exploitation and crisis 1816-34*, especially chapter 2, "The need for a working-class political economy," (pages 35-64); Eileen Yeo, "Robert Owen and Radical Culture," in Pollard, Sidney and John Salt, *Robert Owen: Prophet of*

Citizens and Saints: Politics and Anti-Politics in Early British Socialism (2002), Gregory Claeys

revives Owen's contributions by asserting that "Marx and Engels were . . . more indebted to their

socialist predecessors than has usually been conceded."[17] As a result, however, Claeys's

treatment implies that Owen's "elementary" developments in socialism were his most important

contributions to British culture and society—that he is important because he contributed to the

thought of Marx and Engels. While it is exciting that he restores Owen to his rightful place in an

intellectual pedigree, Claeys does so at the expense of Owenism itself, defining it simply as

"socialism." [18] In so doing, Claeys fails to take into account Owen's early, non-socialist career in

societal reform and the development of a following from his paternalist period onward.

The other modern political movement that calls upon Owen to serve as one of its

progenitors is the co-operative movement. Just as partnerships which can anachronistically be

termed "co-operative" existed long before the development of industrial labor and its threat to

workers' sources of revenue and respect, the typical narrative of the history of co-operation

begins with Owen, whose New Lanark store is generally considered "the first co-operative

---

the Poor, Essays in Honour of the Two-Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth. London: Macmillan, 1971; Chushichi
Tsuzuki, "Robert Owen and Revolutionary Politics," in Sidney Pollard and John Salt, *Robert Owen: Prophet of the
Poor, Essays in Honour of the Two-Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth* (London: Macmillan, 1971); Ralph
Miliband, "The Politics of Robert Owen," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 15:2 (April 1954), 233-245; and Serge
Dupuis, "Utopian Socialism and Revolution: Robert Owen," *Cahiers victoriens & edouardiens* 48 (Oct. 1998), 89-
104.

[17] Claeys, *Citizens and Saints,* 51.

[18] In his index, for example, the entry for Owenism states, simply, "see socialism" (358). In this I follow Harrison
who notes the "death" of Owenism as a movement in the late 1840s and who traces vestiges of Owen's thought in
secularist, cooperative, associationist, and spiritualist veins. See J. F. G. Harrison, "The Owenite Socialist
Movement in Britain and the United States: A Comparative Study," (*Labor History* 9:3 Autumn 1968, 323-337)
326.

store."[19] Whatever Owen's contributions in the New Lanark, New Harmony, and London years,

co-operative principles were not codified until the creation of the Rochdale Society of Equitable

Pioneers and their "Rochdale Principles" in 1844. By this time there were many co-operative

stores in Great Britain.   Current scholarship produced by the co-operative community in Britain,

which includes a political party that allies with Labour, refers openly back to Owen as progenitor

of their way of thinking, as does the volume *New Views of Society—Robert Owen for the 21st

Century* (2008).[20] While co-operation as a *movement* clearly started in nineteenth-century

Britain, it is harder to relate those origins to Owen and harder still to disentangle Owen's legacy

from those who wish to claim it.[21]

C. A "New View," and its Foundations

This project seeks to reinforce the factual and chronological distance which separated

Owen's New Lanark project from the projects and contributions of his later life. It also tries to

separate the meanings of New Lanark from the bodies of scholarship—the history of socialism

---

[19] Popular literature and encyclopedias cite Owen's New Lanark shop as the first cooperative store; academic books tend to name earlier efforts like Aberdeen's Shore Porters Society (established 1498), the Fenwick Weavers, a consumer cooperative of 1769, and the Lennoxtown Friendly Victualling Society, established in 1812.

[20] Richard Bickle and Molly Scott Cato, eds. (Biggar, Midlothian: Glasgow: Scottish Left Review Press, 2008).

[21] Other contexts in which Owen is evaluated, but which are not explored here, are in the histories of nineteenth century millenarianism and spiritualism. See, for example, Anne Taylor's analysis of Owen's New Harmony project in the context of American millenarianism in *Visions of Harmony: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Millenarianism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987) and J. F. C. Harrison's contextualization of Owenite millenarianism in the British spiritual tradition in *The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism 1780-1850*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1979). For emphasis on 1817, a year in which Owen first declared his belief in a perfect future, see W. H. Oliver, "Owen in 1817: The Millennialist Moment," in Sidney Pollard and John Salt, *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor, Essays in Honour of the Two-Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth* (London: Macmillan, 1971), 166-187. See also Moshe Hazani, "'Behold That Victim!': Robert Owen and the Sinner-Redeemer Syndrome." *Biography* 15:4 (Fall 1992), 331-347 for one reading of Owen's early spiritualist expressions.

and the history of the co-operative movement—which anachronistically claim his New Lanark experiments. As Butt points out, New Lanark was not a socialist project but was a deeply paternalist one; he also states that "there are many preconceptions about New Lanark as an embryonic village of co-operation. Except in its setting in the countryside, it was nothing of the sort."[22] Subsequent scholarship, however, intent upon locating in Owen's early endeavors the seeds of his socialist *telos* forget that, while Owen was certainly one of the early socialists, he was not practicing socialism during the years of reform at New Lanark. And despite his making the case for shared property and communal living in the years covered by this treatment, there was no "movement" as such during this time period.

As a result, my analysis deemphasizes the Marxian premise that Owen's "utopian" ventures were failures in their lack of support for the working class and its necessary overthrow of the bourgeoisie.   If we look at New Lanark on its own terms, as a business venture and experiment in social change, we can make a better claim for its success or failure. As a business venture it was moderately successful;[23] as an experiment in social engineering, any success it had was perceived as only moderate when it failed to translate as such to an audience wanting a particular kind of empirical proof of social change. For this last reason, I believe it is necessary to understand how Owen's experiment fit into the culture of the British middle-class—its ways

---

[22] Butt, "Introduction," *Robert Owen, Prince of Cotton Spinners,* 15-16.

[23] Owen describes his own profit in his *Statement Regarding the New Lanark Establishment* of 1812. According to Wren, New Lanark profits increased 15% in the period under Owen's management, with the steepest increase (4%) in the period from 1811-1814 (64). On the other hand, Pollard argues that Owen was not a good businessman and that the heady profits he gained during the New Lanark years, despite his investments in his workforce, are a testimony to the extraordinary strength of the cotton market at the time. Sidney Pollard, *The Genesis of Modern Management: A Study of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1965) 246.

of seeing, its ideas about truth and proof, and its thinking about the origin and creation of social

life—in order to see how Owen's work was understood *at the time*.

It is important to see Robert Owen's work as Travers insists on seeing that of Samuel

Smiles: as a culmination of earlier factors rather than just a source of later movements.

Therefore, the purpose of this dissertation is to correct the overdetermined focus on the *legacy* of

Owen's work by focusing instead on his earliest projects. It also seeks to add to the recent, most

stimulating research that places Owen and his projects in a wider cultural context, such as Ian

Donnachie's treatment of Owen as a native Welshman in early nineteenth-century Scotland and

his investigations into the contexts in which people traveled to Lanark.[24] My general argument is

based on the conclusions of several studies which locate in early nineteenth century Britain the

culture I believe had the most influence on the public's reception of Owen's experiment at New

Lanark. What is important here is not what influenced Owen, but what influenced how visitors

and critics analyzed Owen's project.

First, my general argument is based on the conclusions drawn by David Allan in his most

recent work, *Making British Culture: English Readers and the Scottish Enlightenment, 1740-*

1830.[25] In this book, Allan provides ample proof for his contention that mid-to-late-eighteenth-

century and early nineteenth-century English readers were not only familiar with but very

accepting of the principles laid out by the Scottish moral philosophers. His contention is

supported by the work of other scholars of Scottish culture, for example Murray Pittock, who

---

[24] "Robert Owen's Welsh Childhood: Kin, Culture and Environment 1771-c.1781," *Montgomeryshire Collections* 86 (1998), 81-96. See also Donnachie, "Historic Tourism to New Lanark and the Falls of Clyde 1795-1830. The Evidence of Contemporary Visiting Books and Related Sources," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 2:3 (2004).

[25] David Allan, *Making British Culture: English Readers and the Scottish Enlightenment, 1740-1830* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

notes that, although the Scottish Enlightenment was established upon "a fairly narrow urban intellectual base, [but] its cultural effect was much more marked than this might suggest, not only in terms of its great contribution to the foundation of disciplines and the spread of ideas, but also in the more immediate realm of Scottish society."[26] It is further supported by recent works of literary history, such as Katie Trumpener's *Bardic Nationalism,* in which she illustrates the "centrality, interconnection, and international influence" of Anglo-Celtic literary cultures.[27] Even historians of science have taken note of the interplay between the voraciously reading public and the circulation of new texts exploring human nature in a scientific manner; Marina Frasca-Spada explores, for example, reactions to texts including Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40) and novels, like those of Samuel Richardson, which employed the new moral philosophy.[28]

  This new perspective is useful not only in understanding Owen, but in understanding the cultural context of visitors to New Lanark, most of whom were English. Adam Smith's descriptions of social interaction in his 1759 *Theory of Moral Sentiments* played a large role, in how bourgeois audiences responded to the display of "regenerated" pauper children in the classroom at New Lanark, for example. Therefore, my argument is based on the assumption that visitors to New Lanark were reasonably aware of Smithian social theory and that this theory impacted the way they interpreted Owen's presentations.

---

[26] *Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 138.

[27] Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*: *The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton University Press 1997), xi.

[28] "The Science and Conversation of Human Nature," in *The Sciences in Enlightened Europe*, William Clark, Jan Golinsky, and Simon Schaffer, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 218-245. Richardson's well-read novels include *Pamela: Or, Virtue Rewarded* (1740) and *Clarissa: Or the History of a Young Lady* (1748).

Although I drew on a variety of works that demonstrates the influence of eighteenth-century Scottish moral philosophy on subsequent generations of thinkers, I depend (secondly) on John Dwyer's important contention that "[a] major insight of the enlightened writers was the primary role which the human emotions played in individual motivation and social organization."[29] This fact is often obscured by overemphasis on the period as "the Age of Reason,"[30] a fact important in the early nineteenth century when in Britain, especially, reformers like Owen were committed to bringing science into their improvement initiatives. To be sure, Owen argued that his reforms at New Lanark were part of a "rational system," in keeping with contemporary rhetorical demands. Yet the mechanism by which he crafted the visitor experience, and indeed the prevailing attitudes towards travel, the interpretation of the bodies of the poor, and analysis of bodies in social contexts, were driven by the attitudes of Adam Smith and other Scottish moral philosophers who saw individuals as part of a dynamic social whole held together by the bonds of sympathy. In sum, my emphasis on the role of Scottish Enlightenment-era social philosophy in my interpretation of Owen's project is not intended to emphasize the Enlightenment as a period of unmitigated belief in progress, but as one in which the feasibility of improvements and advancements was called into question.

I contend that Owen's project, although typical in many ways of Poor Law reform, was understood as a distinctly scientific approach to social problems and, as such, was greeted with both hope and reluctance. I hope to explain how he believed that the success of his venture depended upon his ability to appeal to the popular sense of visual beauty, public benevolence, and social propriety. This is not to say that Owen did not take risks in challenging these *mores*,

---

[29] *Age of the Passions: An Interpretation of Adam Smith and Scottish Enlightenment Culture* (Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press, 1997).

[30] Ibid., 1.

but to illustrate his interaction with them. I hope to show that, as important as the intellectual origins of Owen's ideas were, the cultural considerations would exert more influence over public reaction to his experiments. Therefore, part of this account seeks to make sense of the criticism of Owen's projects: not the theoretical debates which might have arisen in Scottish university classrooms and publications about political economy, but the consideration and approbation or criticism of the public.

Another piece that sets the stage for my interpretation of Owen's New Lanark project is Sandra Sherman's *Imagining Poverty: Quantification and the Decline of Poverty*. Sherman's project concerns the ways in which poverty was conceived in late eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Britain, most specifically how the condition of the poor was increasingly quantified by reform-minded members of the middle class. The concept of "imagining" is based on Charles Taylor's concept of the social imaginary, or "the ways people imagine their social existence," including the "deeper normative notions and images that underlie" these social expectations.[31] Put another way, the "social imaginary" is that picture one group holds of themselves or others in order to do the work of modern social life, whether that is analysis or reform. This can involve social science; as Sherman's study illustrates, the use of statistics to comprehend poverty increased over the course of the nineteenth century. But unlike simplistic narratives that point to quantification as defining the modern objective sciences, Sherman emphasizes the fact that the use of numerical data did not eradicate subjectivity from the science of pauperism; it involved even more "images, stories, and legends,"[32] or "non-scientific" means of forming judgments about one's "Other." Ideas about the poor and their bodies are important

---

[31] *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004) 23.

[32] Ibid.

to this study since I am framing Owen's New Lanark project as an experiment in pauper management. In other words, I am not only emphasizing Owen's project as one in response to public ideas about the poor and their bodies, but also as an example of what counted for scientific research in Owen's day.

This leads to my final reference point. In her article "Evocations of Sympathy: Sympathetic Imagery in Eighteenth-century Social Theory and Physiology," Evelyn Forget argues that the concept of "sympathy," so readily used in a variety of eighteenth-century discourses,[33] lost its power by the early nineteenth century. Building on some of Forget's remarks about the nature of this concept, however, I build an argument that Owen's New Lanark experiment was based upon popularly-conceived ideas about sympathy and its role in the creation and maintenance of social groups.

With its roots in ancient and medieval concepts nature's interconnectedness, the late-Enlightenment theory of sympathetic connection showed up in medical discourse (to explain how the disparate parts of the human body worked together, for example) as well as philosophical treatments of human behavior and political organization. In fact, the idea of sympathetic bonds became the bedrock upon which Scottish Moral Philosophy was founded. But after the French Revolution, Forget argues, the term itself became "tainted by political events, and too much a product of a worldview that encouraged metaphorical associations rather than the analytical precision that came to dominate the scientific aspirations of the nineteenth century, to survive intact."[34] Put another way: the concept of "sympathy" was out-of-date by the time Owen created his regenerative project at New Lanark; to many practitioners of the nascent

---

[33] (*History of Political Economy* Annual Supplement to Volume 35: 2003), 282-308. For description of all the different uses of the term, see Forget 283-6.

[34] 284.

"social sciences," explaining phenomena by citing "sympathetic connections" was not enough. Sympathy was neither demonstrable nor, as Forget notes, "observable, either in its social aspects or in its bodily operation. It was visible only in its presumed effects."[35]

Forget's claim, therefore, is that sympathy was effectively removed from political discourse in France and England; she cites only the socialist utopian Charles Fourier and the political philosopher John Stewart Mill as "vestiges" whose thinking reflected the tradition. I argue below, however, that Owen's experiment at New Lanark embodies the spirit of Enlightenment belief in the power of sympathy to maintain political structures. Indeed: Forget explains that part of the reason the term went out of fashion was its use by marginal scientific figures such as proponents of the theory of animal magnetism. Similarly, Owen's use of similar concepts[36] in his "science of character" and in the creation of a new type of pauper community marked him as old-fashioned, and left his arguments, which were largely based on observed phenomena, open to criticism.

This might help explain why Owen's "science of character" has heretofore remained unrecognized by historians of science. On one hand, science was not clearly defined in this period, and relative to later nineteenth-century practice, the "scientists" of this period under-emphasized quantification. On the other hand, there are more specific reasons why Owen's reforms at New Lanark have not been treated by historians of science. First, the experiment at New Lanark lies outside the parameters of the disciplinary approaches that make up the bulk of histories of the sciences; Owen's work falls neatly in neither the histories of psychology,

---

[35] Forget, 303.

[36] I stipulate "similar concepts" here because Owen does not use the work sympathy. As I have explained below, Owen was a reader but not a very sophisticated writer. For this reason it is important to look closely at what he said and not for his use of specific vocabulary to say it.

sociology, anthropology, nor medicine. For this reason, it is easy to discount Owen's work as

"unscientific" and therefore not worthy of investigation by historians of science. This attitude

has as much to do with Owen's chronological placement during the "pre-history" of modern

disciplines as with his particular work. As Theodore Porter describes, the social sciences are

literally unrecognizable to the modern eye in the decades from their inception until

approximately 1890. Put another way: the investigations of early nineteenth-century figures into

human nature and society appear "unscientific" to the contemporary scholar, and have thus been

ignored.

More often, the studies of human nature performed in the post-Enlightenment period are

"relegated . . . to the borderlands of history of science," and are treated as having "peel[ed] off

from philosophy."[37] For example, in the early 1930s Gladys Bryson argued (in her article "The

Emergence of the Social Sciences from Moral Philosophy"), that what we identify in the

twentieth century as social science grew from philosophical enquiries about human nature; later,

in *Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century*, Bryson argued more

specifically that Scottish Enlightenment Philosophers (Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith and David

Hume in particular) played the most important role in helping transform early modern moral

philosophy into the social scientific disciplines recognizable to modern eyes. While Bryson's

account is no longer considered complete,[38] both it and the work inspired by it remain a

significant ingredient in my understanding of Owen's perspective. It is untenable to recreate

---

[37] Ted Porter, "The Social Sciences," in David L. Cahan, ed., *From Natural Philosophy to the Sciences: Historiography of Nineteenth-Century Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 254-299; 267.

[38] For a more recent examination of this topic, see David Carrithers, "The Enlightenment Science of Society," in Christopher Fox, Roy Porter and Robert Wokler, eds., *Inventing Human Science: Eighteenth-Century Domains* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 232–70. For a careful study of the role of judgment and value in the development of the sciences from Scottish moral philosophy, see David Allen, *Virtue, Learning, and the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993).

Owen's "reading list," but there are reasonable assumptions to make about his awareness of moral philosophy and his participation in a culture in which the contributions of Enlightenment moral philosophers—especially the Scottish ones—had become part of the fabric of understanding human nature. Combining a cultural approach to Owen's context, as well as a nuanced understanding of what constituted science at this time, reveals Owen's New Lanark experiment to be an important moment in the development of the social sciences from at least one of its sources.

Another reason that Owen has been ignored is that, in addition to conveniently ignoring "the comparatively unstructured empirical methods of the nineteenth century," Porter notes that historians of science also "eschew the union of investigation and reform."[39] Those who study the history of these questions, he continues, have typically "believed in the wider importance of their subject . . . but have rarely made this larger story their focus."[40] In other words, historians are quick to imply the social and cultural significance of the ideas they study but are wary of following those ideas into the socio-cultural realm. Theory is one thing, but practice is another.

In many ways, Owen's work is about the conversion of theory into practice and the trials he faced in convincing the wider public of the efficacy of his claims. Unlike a scientist embedded in a community of like-minded practitioners, Owen did not seek the approval of other social scientists to any great degree but looked to the public for approbation. He did not acknowledge the work of others who approached similar problems through similar or differing means. And most obviously, he used neither the word "science" to describe his work nor

---

[39] Porter, 258.

[40] Ibid.

"scientist" to describe himself. For all these reasons, Owen "broke the rules" of what modern historians of science look for when defining the practice of a scientist in history.

The best analogue for my treatment of Owen in the context of the history of science is Anke te Heesen's treatment of an eighteenth-century German encyclopedia, *Die Bilder-Akademie für de Jugend (The Picture Academy for the Young)*, in *The World in a Box: The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Picture Encyclopedia*.[41] This encyclopedia consisted of both texts and illustrated plates, the latter of which was to be cut up and arranged in a specially-designed box. Upon first glance, te Heesen's subject appears to fall outside of the purview of the history of science: the man who designed this object, Johann Stoy, was a trained theologian, and the overriding themes of the toy were biblical. Yet te Heesen illustrates Stoy's pedagogical goals as a significant example of perception of the child's ability to organize and learn. On the surface, Stoy fails to embody the typical subject of a study in the history of science, but under the magnification of te Heesen's lens, he and his product provide important insights into children's literature and pedagogy. Both te Heesen's *World in a Box* and similar works are examples of a genre I think of as "hidden histories of science," or studies which reveal the scientific thinking behind items and events deemed "unscientific" in modern eyes. Like Stoy, Owen has not caught the attention of previous historians of science, but my detailed analysis of some of the less-studied aspects of his experiment at New Lanark likewise renders a distinct snapshot of the status of a practical, reform-based science in early nineteenth-century Britain.[42]

---

[41] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

[42] There is one more aspect in which my treatment is like te Heesen's. She admits that "neither the Academy nor Stoy had any appreciable effect upon either the educational doctrines or the forms of artistic representation current in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries" (5-6). Similarly, I make no claims about consequent influence of Robert Owen's New Lanark experiment on the development of the modern social sciences.

These works on the Scottish Enlightenment, early nineteenth-century British culture, and "hidden" histories of science contribute to my goal of distancing New Lanark from Owen's later socialist projects. This approach will prove to be valuable as well to those who want to understand Owen's place in the history of both socialism and co-operation.[43] My treatment explains the context in which socialism and co-operation developed: during the late-Enlightenment, when an increasing population of paupers challenged the philosophical ideal that the bonds of sympathy were enough to save society's traditional cohesion from the tensions of individualism.

D. Parameters of Study

I apply two strategies in order to make this study feasible. Although these strategies may be seen as limitations, they provide a unique perspective on Owen's work that helps to focus attention on significant aspects of his early career. First, my study is limited to Owen's projects during the time period from 1800 to 1826, with a concentration on his publications in the period

---

[43] Some scholars have sought connections between Scottish Enlightenment philosophy and socialism. See, for example, Ronald L. Meek, "A Scottish Contribution to Marxist Sociology," *Economics and Ideology and Other Essays* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1967), 34-50. See also Andrew Skinner, "Economics and History: The Scottish Enlightenment," *Scottish Journal of Political Economy,* 12 (1965), 1-22. Following John Dwyer, however, I focus on the philosophical emphasis on community-building which, Dwyer notes, connected these thinkers less with modern economics and sociology than with earlier traditions of civil humanism and natural jurisprudence. For the former, see (for example) J. G. A. Pocock, "*Adam Smith and History*," in Knud Haakonssen , ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Adam Smith* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 270-287; and Donald Winch,. *Adam Smith's Politics: An Essay in Historiographic Revision* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978). For the latter, see Knud Haakonssen, *The Science of a Legislator: The Natural Jurisprudence of David Hume and Adam Smith* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). For a volume that contains essays promoting each side of the debate, see Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff, *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

from 1812 to 1822.[44] His career as a cotton spinner began in the 1790s, and his career as a social

reformer extended from the period I cover until his death in 1858. Attention to the earliest parts

of his career as a social reformer serves to separate Owen's ideas from the later body of thought

and literature known as "Owenite." In making a distinction between early and later parts of

Owen's career, I seek to avoid falling into the trap of eliding his capitalist beginnings with his

later, socialist ventures; maintaining distance between earlier and later manifestations of Owen's

thought helps to emphasize New Lanark as an experiment in social management carried out

within a capitalist framework. A better understanding of Owen's first public experiment will

perhaps help future scholars understand the roots of his later Socialism in this earlier, more

paternalistic phase.

My second strategy is to limit my study to only one of Owen's projects. While the dates

include the period of Owen's New Harmony experiment in the United States (1825-7), my

treatment considers only Scottish projects, because I am placing special emphasis on New

Lanark as the site of local spectacle within a nationalist framework. New Lanark is an

interesting subject from the point of view of cultural and national studies because, even a century

after the Act of Union of 1707, the Scots were the subject of and participants in negotiations for

an acceptably defined cultural identity.[45] Scottish Enlightenment philosophers such as Adam

---

[44] This is the second of Harrison's six periods of Owen's life. The first, from 1771 to 1799, includes Owen's early education and apprenticeships; the third, which follows the years under consideration here, is dated from 1824 to 1829 and consists of Owen's communitarian experiment at New Harmony, Indiana. Upon his return to England in 1829 until approximately 1834, Owen was the acknowledged leader of the working-class movement that, although it developed largely when he was in the United States, bore his name. In the period from 1835 to 1845 Owen continued to serve as leader of the Owenite movement through the publication of a journal, *The New Moral World* (1836-1844) and another attempt at establishing a communitarian community at Tytherly in Hampshire. The last fourteen years of his life, 1845-1858, were filled with travel, writing, and promotional activities. See Harrison, *Quest,* 6-7 for this chronology.

[45] For the context of the negotiations for ethnic and national identity in the Celtic Fringe that began after the Act of Union of 1707, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 1994), Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History 1740-1830* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997),

Smith and David Millar developed conjectural histories to understand why different societies,

such as their own as compared to those being described in travel accounts of the New World, had

reached different levels of social cultivation. Stadial theory—the idea that societies pass through

stages of development before reaching the civilized level at which cosmopolitan Edinburgh

found itself—was used by historians and philosophers in their attempts not only to explain

differences in human groups but to justify (or in some cases criticize) the further development of

commercial actions. That the neighboring Highlanders and other less civilized Scots "provided a

powerful concrete example of stagnation at an early stage of social development" only served to

make the argument all the more pressing and true.[46] Debates about the relative levels of

"civilization" of different Scottish subgroups, as well as those concerning social hierarchy in

general, took place against a backdrop of cultural attitudes towards aesthetics, landscape, and

tourism.

Finally, in an attempt to maintain the chronological parameters of this project, I refrain

from using the word "socialist" to describe Owen's project. For similar reasons, I use

---

Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity*, 1689-c.1830 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), Colin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), Bruce P. Lenman, *Integration and Enlightenment: Scotland 1746-1832* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981), and Bernard Bailyn, *Strangers Within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991). Owen's personal experience of ethnic differences in Britain are detailed in Ian Donnachie, "Robert Owen's Welsh Childhood: Kin, Culture and Environment 1771-c.1781," *Montgomeryshire Collections* 86 (1998), 81-96 and Margaret Nicholson and Ian Donnachie, "The New Lanark Highlanders: Migration, Community, and Language 1785-c.1850," *Family & Community History* 6:1 (May 2004), 19-31. For other references to Owen's connection to ethnology and proto-anthropological anthropological thought, see Barbara Taylor's reference to the use of ethnographic literature by feminist socialists in *Eve and the New Jerusalem* (28), and (implied), Chapter 3, "Charles Hall and Robert Owen: anti-capitalist and socialist political economy before the Ricardian socialists", in Noel Thompson, (65-81).

[46] Colin Kidd, "Gaelic Antiquity and National Identity in Enlightenment Ireland and Scotland," *The English Historical Review* 103, no. 434 (November 1994): 1198. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/573872. > (accessed 15 April 2008).

"communal" in discussions of the shared spaces in the New Lanark community, unless for particular reasons I wish to stress "co-operation" in its basic sense.

E. Plan

My first chapter concerns the political and philosophical context in which Owen developed his ideas. Despite his subsequent radicalism, Owen is a typical Poor Law reformer in many ways when we consider his New Lanark experiment in its own context. But his refusal to employ the vocabulary of political economy in the public debate set him apart from his peers. Owen turned his attention instead to one of the issues at the foundation of political economy: the question of human nature. The support and the criticism lodged at Owen in the succeeding years concerned people's hopes and fears about a "science of circumstances" which promised to reform the characters of pauper-class individuals.

Chapter 2 describes the aesthetic attitude of a typical visitor to New Lanark and how training in the visual arts and landscape interpretation prepared this visitor to see the beauty and efficacy in Owen's philanthropic experiment. I illustrate that this outlook, which was arguably typical of many of the persons who visited New Lanark, played a role in the acceptance of Owen's experiment as an attractive alternative for the management of pauper populations. The Romantic-era witness believed fervently in what he or she *saw*, especially if the sight was perceived to comply with an intrinsic order. For a visitor prepared to analyze the aesthetic qualities of any given place, New Lanark and its society were beautiful.

In Chapter III, I describe the curriculum of Owen's school, emphasizing its reception by both admirers and critics. In particular, I chart Owen's development from that of an ardent supporter of the monitorial system of Joseph Lancaster to that of an advocate for his own, unique system. The plan of "universal education" advocated by Owen and made manifest in the distinctive curriculum of the school at New Lanark included presentations of popular culture to a visiting public. A close look at the elements of this curriculum helps us frame Owen's distinct position in the debate over "education for the masses." While I include positive reactions to the public displays of dancing and singing children, this chapter concludes with an analysis of negative responses, illustrating that not all who visited the Institute for the Formation of Character succumbed to its beauty.

Finally, I consider in Chapter IV one of Owen's reforms that was less palatable to early nineteenth-century British audiences: change to what was conceived of as "traditional" family structure. Unlike other reformers whose plans bolstered bourgeois family structure, Owen planned for the inhabitants of New Lanark and future Villages of Unity and Mutual Cooperation to live in "federated familes." While only inchoate in form in the New Lanark years, reforms to family structure were increasingly important to Owen as he developed plans for the future. Despite his insistence on visitors observing his work at New Lanark, changes to family structure were effectively hidden from view; Owen forefronted the performances of the Institute school children. It was only in 1817 that Owen made public, in a lecture in London, his intentions for the future of Britain's families. In this chapter, I reinterpret some of the commonly acknowledged reforms at New Lanark in terms of how they contributed to the creation of a new social unit. Some of the complaints lodged against Owen are best interpreted in this context.

F. Conclusion: The Seen and the Unseen

Owen's improvements in the *appearance* of the New Lanark populace are typical of eighteenth and nineteenth-century social improvement projects. Many reformers sought solutions for the ills associated with the employed class: drunkenness, theft and dishonesty, poor domestic habits, and meager diet. Perhaps the most important goal, however, was the cultivation of habits of neatness, cleanliness, and industriousness, highly visible indicators of what the middle class embraced as signs of good character.   For Owen's experiment, just as for those of others, the display of a reformed collective body of paupers was meant to provide proof that the proposed project was effective.

What was different about Owen's reforms was first his belief that he could change the bodies and characters of New Lanark villagers on a fundamental level. Other reformers paid attention to the visible aspects of poor bodies because their reforms were believed only to work so far: if born into the poorer class, a person was believed to have a body which limited him or her to that station.[47] But Owen's beliefs about human nature supported a reform project which was more complete, taking on "utopian" and even millennialist arguments that a whole new race of persons would develop when whole groups were remade, both physically and morally, by his reforms. His proposals challenged the fundamental assumptions about poverty that were at the basis of debates over the Poor Law, and his recommendations made a convincing—and

---

[47] For more on the physical and social limitations of the bodies of the Other, see K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority over Mind and Body," in Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline Urla, *Deviant Bodies.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995, 197-218.

threatening—argument that paupers could be not just trained and disciplined but actually regenerated.

In order to convince the public of the efficacy of his plan, Owen had to present the most convincing and complete parts of his experiment to the visiting public. For this reason, there were parts of New Lanark which were open to the public and decidedly visible, and parts that were not. According to Ian Donnachie, Owen feared industrial espionage; he resisted showing anyone but the most trusted visitors tours inside his mills.[48] For most of the 20,000 visitors who signed the guest registry at New Lanark in the years from 1815 to 1825,[49] the "elegant . . . modern architecture" was all they would see of the village, save Owen's classroom and carefully constructed tours of villagers' living quarters and select parts of the Institute for the Formation of Character.[50]

Despite his best plans to reveal only what was the most convincing, the wide variety of reactions to Owen's New Lanark experiment makes clear that his audiences were divided as to the efficacy of Owen's claims. The juxtaposition of positive and negative reactions illustrates the awareness with which visitors to the mills on the banks of the Clyde comprehended Owen's experiment as a public spectacle. Perhaps no one recognized that more than a visitor from the mid-1810s who wrote an article for the September 1, 1816, issue of *The Examiner*. He predicted that once the public was made aware of the spectacle at New Lanark they would cease to attend its performances. He argued that, in the near future, "[Owen] shall not put his tricks upon travelers." Nor, he wrote, would he "clap his bad shillings into our pockets, nor pass off any

---

[48] Ian Donnachie, "Historic Tourism to New Lanark and the Falls of Clyde 1795-1830," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 2:3 (2004), 145-162; 144.

[49] Ibid., 142.

[50] Davidson, *History of Lanark*, 123.

sentiments he pleases as our's by his nasal ventriloquism."[51] What this visitor had experienced,

in other words, was exploitation by Owen in a style that reminded him of the age-old swindle of

out-of-towners. The coins Owen had stamped for use by villagers he called "bad shillings," and

the manipulation of the audience he described as Owen's "pass[ing] off" of feelings. In other

words, the author left not with the joy of witnessing hundreds of pauper children dancing

simultaneously, but with the feeling that Owen's project was a massive sham. To this witness,

Owen had tried to woo the visitor into believing that the experiment in the "science of

circumstances" was effective, and, through a type of "ventriloquism," convince him that this type

of benevolent pauper reform had been the visitor's own idea. These scathing words—not

surprising for a Tory-operated journal like *The Examiner*—help put into relief the vehemence

with which some persons reacted to the experiments in character-formation and social

regeneration at New Lanark. The question, of course, was not only whether or not Owen's New

Lanark experiment was effective, but if it was morally right.

---

[51] *The Examiner* (London), 1 September 1816. The use of the idiom "tricks upon travellers" by this writer would not have been lost on contemporary audiences. A comic opera by the same name opened on 9 July 1810 at London's Lyceum Theatre, with a libretto by James Bland Burgess and music composed by Horn and Reeve. Husk, William H. "Horn, Karl Friedrich." Vol. 1, *A Dictionary of Music & Musicians: (A.D. 1450-1889) By Eminent Writers, English and Foreign. With Illustrations and Woodcuts, ed.* George Grove (London: Macmillan & Co., 1890), 752-3.

CHAPTER I: Robert Owen and the 'Science of Circumstances'

A. Introduction

When he arrived at his newly-purchased cotton spinning mill in Lanarkshire, Scotland, in January of 1800, the young industrialist Robert Owen (1771-1858) confronted a problem. The village had been established in 1784 by David Dale and Richard Arkwright, the latter of whom was the inventor of the labor-saving water frame.[1] But at the time of Owen's arrival, the village was known less for its technological innovations than for the lying, cheating, stealing, and alcohol-drinking prevalent in the 1900-person village. They were, in Owen's own estimation, "the most ignorant and destitute from all parts of Scotland, possessing the usual characteristics of poverty and ignorance."[2] As a result, and most frightening for someone who had just invested in the business concern, their work was of poor quality. According to Owen's recollection, he realized that the people of the village:

> had not been taught the most valuable domestic and social habits: such as the most economical method of preparing food; how to arrange their dwellings with neatness, and to keep them always clean and in order; and what is of infinitely more importance, they had not been instructed how to train their children, to form them into valuable members of the community, or to know that principles existed, which when properly applied to

---

[1] An improvement on the spinning jenny of James Hargreaves, the water frame mechanized the processes whereby cotton was prepared for spinning (after carding) as well as the spinning process itself. The mechanically-produced spin on warp threads was tighter than that which could be achieved by hand, and led to the development of finer calicos. For Arkwright's role in the development of the cotton industry see A. J. Cooke, "Richard Arkwright and the Scottish cotton industry", *Textile History,* 10 (1979), 196–202 and R. S. Fitton, *The Arkwrights: Spinners of Fortune* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989). For details of the patent controversy which ensued, see John Hewish, "From Cromford to Chancery Lane: New Light on the Arkwright Patent Trials," *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (January 1987), 80–86.

[2] Robert Owen, *A Statement Regarding the New Lanark Establishment*, in *The Selected Works of Robert Owen*, 4 vols., Gregory Claeys, ed. (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1993) v1 13-21; 14.

practice, from infancy, would insure from man to man, without chance of failure, a just, open, sincere, and benevolent conduct.[3]

Although he had been "gratified" by his first trip to see New Lanark, he was greeted upon his permanent return to the village by a population defined by "distrust, disorder, and disunion."[4]

Why was this the case? Anyone would have expected the population of New Lanark to conform to the high standards of its manager. David Dale was known in his day for his benevolent treatment of workers and children in particular.[5] In keeping with parish practices, Dale adopted orphaned children from Poor Houses and provided them with clean clothing, warm food, a basic education, and employment. Dale was a religious man, having been a founding member of a dissenting sect known as the Old Scotch Independents in 1768,[6] and he put his religious-based civic principles into practice at New Lanark, providing work and homes for Highlanders who had been evicted by The Clearances, the enclosure of lands by Scots landowners for the purposes of sheepherding and other "improvements."[7] Dale also employed hundreds of Edinburgh and Glasgow pauper children, for whom he provided homes and education. In his estimation of the village for the Society for Bettering the Condition and

---

[3] Owen, *A New View of Society; or, Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character, and the Application of the Principle to Practice,* (London: Cadell and Davies, [1813]), The Making of the Modern World (Gale 2008, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U103252708&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 18 December 2008), "Essay III," 11-12.

[4] Robert Owen, *Life of Robert Owen Written by Himself, with Selections from his Writings and Correspondence* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1858; reprint, New York: A.M. Kelley, 1967)*,* 46.

[5] Margaret Cole, *Robert Owen of New Lanark* (London: The Batchworth Press, 1953), 43.

[6] Dissenting sect well known for its development in the late 1730s and its membership made up of progressive manufacturers and others receptive to economic development. See Callum G. Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London and New York: Methuen, 1987), 43.

[7] For more on the Clearances, see T. M. Devine, *The Great Highland Famine: Hunger, Emigration and the Scottish Highlands in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh: J. Donald, 1988) and Eric Richards, *A History of the Highland Clearances: Agrarian Transformation and the Evictions*, 1746-1886, (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1982).

Increasing the Comforts of the Poor, the philanthropist Thomas Bernard (1750-1818) wrote that

"the healthy and pleasurable appearance of these children has frequently attracted the attention of

the traveler."[8] The *Annual Register* of 1782 described the mill community as a model village,

and Owen himself remarked in *A Statement Regarding the New Lanark Establishment* (1812),

that Dale's "benevolence and philanthropy are well known."[9]

Therefore, it was something of a shock for Owen, who first traveled to New Lanark in the

late 1790s, to realize the extent of the problem and to have to probe its possible causes. Was the

benevolent Dale to blame? Were the workers, all native Scots and some of Highlander stock,

bad workers by nature? Were they sinful creatures who had chosen to cultivate bad characters in

defiance of Dale's kindness, the teachings of their village schoolmaster, and the admonitions of

the parish priest?

In "A Statement Regarding the New Lanark Establishment" of 1812 and a subsequent

series of essays titled *A New View of Society, or Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the*

Human Character (1813-1816), Owen gave accounts of the disorderly community, a fact he

associated with Dale's mismanagement.[10] Although he praised Dale's general benevolence, he

criticized his antecedent for absenteeism. "Mr. Dale's principal avocations were at a distance

from the works, which he seldom visited more than once for a few hours in three or four months;

he was therefore under the necessity of committing the management of the establishment to

---

[8] Qtd. in Podmore, 71.

[9] Owen, *Statement Regarding . . . New Lanark*, 13.

[10] Podmore claims, though does not show, that "there is sufficient testimony to assure us that the state of New Lanark under Dale was not quite so desperate as it was represented by Owen" (88, Note 1).

various servants with more or less power."[11] This description served to explain the disorder in

which Owen found the mills. It also emphasized the need for proper management as the main

ingredient lacking in the otherwise benevolent system employed by Dale. Dale himself had

admitted that he "seldom visited his factories,"[12] and as he left New Lanark, he complained that

New Lanark had "not [been] managed with the success that he had expected."[13] In making this

point, Owen emphasized the need for good management where other manufacturers might have

responded with disciplinary action.

     In the next quarter-century, Owen would develop an experimental village at the New

Lanark site which, at least at first, represented his remedy for rural pauperism. While he began

his tenure at New Lanark as a typical mill manager, Owen took management to new levels in a

series of innovative moves, all of which reflect his commitment to the practical application of

scientific principles. Owen developed improved housing for his nearly 2000 charges, and he

devised ways to break their dependence on alcoholic beverages. He consolidated the many

inefficiently-run stores in the village into one which offered basic items at low prices. Although

he had been offering basic education for years, he opened his Institute for the Formation of

Character in 1816, a state-of-the-art building where his classrooms and other public-use rooms

---

[11] Robert Owen, "Essay Second," in "A New View of Society; or Essays on the principle of the formation of the human character, and the application of the principle to practice," Robert Owen, *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2008, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): 12, http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U103252708&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 18 December 2008).

[12] "Letter to the Manchester Board of Health, 1796," qtd in Podmore, 73. Dale reported that only 80 of 507 children could read. However, he was regarded by the board as the epitome of enlightened employee care. For more on the Manchester Board of Health and the reports of industrial conditions organized by Thomas Percival (1740-1804) in the latter decades of the eighteenth century, see Henry Harris, "Manchester's Board of Health in 1796," *Isis* 28:1 (Feb. 1938), 26-37, http://www.jstor.org/stable/225803 (accessed 27 June 2008).

[13] The older manager also admitted that, "as improvements were made in new establishments all over the kingdom, which increased the competition in the business, . . . he was afraid he could not long contend against." Owen, *Life,* 50. Owen omits, however, his own schedule, which after 1813 included a lot of time away from New Lanark.

were open for display to the public. The Institute provided educational programs not just for the infants and children of the village, but for adults as well, staying open into the night to accommodate their working schedules. Even after years at the site, Owen continued to develop his vision for what New Lanark could be, as well as for what a perfect village, designed from the ground up, could accomplish for the laboring class and for Britain as a whole.

In this chapter, I describe the process whereby Owen, disappointed with the state of affairs at New Lanark in 1799, transformed it into an idealized village, open to the public for their observation and approbation. In describing Owen's life and work, I tell how Owen had all of the characteristics of a typical Poor Law reformer of his day. He was a member of a new class of persons who had risen to distinction through manufacturing and trade. As a result, he had personal knowledge of the dire situation facing the laboring class. Like many others, Owen was concerned enough to form his own explanation for pauperism and upset enough to formulate his own prescription for its remedy. Finally, his recommendation for the treatment of poverty was centered around a plan which focused on character education. In these factors, Owen was not alone. Despite the radical directions of his later work, Owen's ideas and opinions at the time he established his New Lanark experiment were anything but drastic. However, his emphasis on the malleability of the human character would set him apart from his co-reformers and set the stage for his notoriety among public persona of the day.

B. Owen as Typical Poor Law Reformer

Although few have approached him from the perspective of the histories of pauper relief and charity reform, Robert Owen and his New Lanark project were direct responses to an intense debate about the future of a growing pauper population. Changes in agricultural practices and landowning patterns over the course of the eighteenth century had resulted in a larger-than-traditional population of migrant and often unemployed labor.

Owen's managerial problem was an example of an issue facing all of newly industrialized Britain: the proliferation a new pauper class stimulated by the establishment of manufactories. Driven from enclosed farmlands into industrial labor, these laborers were faced with new kinds of work for which they had little or no training. These, whom Owen described as "poor, half-naked, half-famished, untaught and untrained," were "daily increasing to a most alarming extent in these islands."[14] The strain was in the collection of poor rates by parishes in accordance with the Elizabethan Poor Laws, the aggregate of all the laws passed from 1601 until Owen's time, which placed the administration of relief to the poor at the local level. By the late eighteenth century, parish relief systems were so strained that both Parliamentarians and the public began thinking about reforming the system, although whether the problem was to be solved by economic or demographic reforms was up for debate. Owen argued that the motives behind the gradual adoption of the Poor Laws very likely had been "[p]ure and benevolent," but that parish-based relief as it stood in the early nineteenth century was woefully inadequate for allaying the booming numbers of paupers.[15]

Owen's previous experiences in the burgeoning cotton industry had brought him already into contact with this "alarming" trend. Owen was born in Newtown, Montgomeryshire (now

[14] Owen, *New View*, "Essay I," 23.

[15] Owen, *New View*, "Essay IV," 80.

Powys) in Wales in 1771. The sixth of seven children, Owen left his family after a basic education to become apprentice to a draper in London at the age of ten. His precocious mechanical and social skills led to quick advancement. By his early twenties he was managing a mill in Manchester, and by 1794, at the age of 23, he entered into a cotton spinning business, the Chorlton Twist Company, with several partners. A skilled technologist and entrepreneur, Owen designed and repaired his own machinery and was, by his own account, the first manufacturer to adopt American Sea Island cotton.[16]

In addition to his practical experience of manufacturing communities, Owen had also been introduced to the theoretical study of society. In Manchester, he had been elected a member of that town's Literary & Philosophical Society in 1793 and the town's Board of Health in 1796. Roy Porter described the former cohort as a collection of "marginal men . . . attempting to exercise intellectual overlordship through essentially Enlightenment values."[17] Active participation in such societies marked one, even if from commercial roots, as a gentleman.[18] Owen's exposure to the legacy of Joseph Priestley and the dissenting tradition (and to the likes of

---

[16] This claim is not substantiated in any of the academic works on sea island cotton, although it could still be true. The fibers of the Sea Island variety of cotton (*Gossypium barbadense*, also known as Pima cotton) were longer and less brilliantly white than the varieties typically accepted by English cotton spinners. Owen's trials with this resource included manipulating his machinery to accept the long fiber and his realization that, although darker to begin with, the fibers bleached whiter in the end. The significance of this discovery is the development of strong trade relations between Southern (and later Confederate) cotton growers and British manufacturers, as well as the concomitant abandonment of southeast Asian cotton. These ramifications would have been apparent to Owen only in the late 1850s when he was writing his autobiography. See Owen, *Life,* 33-34. For Sea Island cotton, see S. G. Stephens, "The Origin of Sea Island Cotton," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (Apr., 1976), 391-399 and Richard Dwight Porcher and Sarah Fick, *The Story of Sea Island Cotton* (Charleston: Wyrick & Co., 2005). For context regarding cotton manufacturing in Manchester, see Douglas A. Farnie "The Role of Merchants as Prime Movers in the Expansion of the Cotton Industry, 1760-1990, in *The Fibre that Changed the World: The Cotton Industry in International Perspective, 1600—1900s,* Douglas A. Farnie and David J. Jeremy Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004,15-55.

[17] Roy Porter, "Science, Provincial Culture, and Public Opinon," *The British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 3 (1980) 20-46; 34.

[18] Ibid., 29. See also Arnold Thackray, " Natural Knowledge in Cultural Context" *The American Historical Review* 79:3 (June 1974), 672-709.

John Dalton and Samuel Taylor Coleridge)[19] illustrates his participation in the creation of Post-Enlightenment utilitarian values and the practical extension of theory. In keeping with one Society member's statement that "Practical knowledge should be united to theory, in order to produce the most beneficial discoveries,"[20] Owen, we can surmise, maintained habits of self-education and took for granted the idea that scientific developments had the ability to transform the problems of commercial society. With this knowledge, he came to New Lanark in 1799 after learning on a business trip to Scotland that Dale's mill was up for sale. Dale accepted not only Owen's offer to purchase the mill, but also his proposal of marriage to Dale's daughter Caroline. An up-and-coming man of science, Owen "[u]ndertook the management of the concern, and fixed his residence in the midst of the population."[21]

1. Personal Knowledge of the Problem

As manager of New Lanark, Owen had first-hand experience in the problem of increased rural poverty. After the unification of Scotland with England with the Act of Union of 1707, progress-minded lowlanders and their English counterparts participated in what became a veritable fashion for "improving" the parts of Scotland which were not deemed civilized.

---

[19] According to Porter, only three members of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society during this period were Unitarian (24).

[20] Porter, 31.

[21] Owen, *New View* Essay II, 16. Owen and Caroline lived at the house at the center of the village until their family—eventually to include seven children—outgrew it. Then they rented the larger Braxfield House, which was located in a wooded area near the river about a quarter of a mile from the village. Podmore, 175. For a description of the trope of the missionary "among the natives," see Pramod K. Nayar, *English Writing and India, 1600-1920: Colonizing Aesthetics* (London: Routledge, 2007), 102.

Improvements included not only the contributions to communication and transportation

described in Chapter II, but also the development of new crops to replace the oats and barley

typical of the area, as well as the introduction of new breeds and systems of animal husbandry.[22]

The most dramatic occurrence, however, was the displacement of Highland populations by the

enclosure of land for large-scale agricultural production, especially after the last Jacobite

rebellion at Culloden in 1745.[23] Before, "the Forty-Five" landlords (*lairds*) provided small plots

of land to tenants in return for rent. In Highland areas where the clan system still dominated,

territorial chiefs acted much in the same way as lowland lairds, renting land to *tacksmen*, or

gentleman clan leaders, who in turn rented smaller parcels of land to tenants, called *cottars*.

Whereas rents in the lowland were typically paid in grain, clan leaders retained the right to

conscript their tenants in the case of inter-clan warfare.[24] In the Highlands, joint tenancies were

also common, where people in small settlements of six to twelve families worked commonly-

rented land in *fermtouns* or *clanachs*.

---

[22] Robert A. Dodgshon, "Agricultural Change and its Social Consequences in the Southern Uplands of Scotland, 1600-1780," in *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development*, eds. T. M. Devine and David Dickson, (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, LTD., 1983). 47.

[23] Though the roots of eighteenth-century agricultural improvements are debated, the fact remains that Highland enclosures and concomitant commercialization of former estates resulted in increased agricultural output after "the Forty-Five." Scholars debate whether or not the period of 1750-1800 constitutes an agricultural revolution for Scotland. Most argue that, though there was an increase in livestock breeding and use of the Norfolk four-course shift (wheat, turnips, barley, clover), most of the changes that took place were simply the lasting effects of late sixteenth or seventeenth century changes. For a basic argument about the role of rotation and livestock breeding practices, see Jones, E. L. *Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1974, 88-9. For an argument for a three-hundred year span of agricultural improvement, see Whyte 1979; for arguments for a two-hundred-year space of improvement, see Macinness 1987, and Fenton and Smout 1965. As Catherine Douglas points out, however, even these revisionist treatments imply "the destruction of the traditional rural social structure" by more commercially successful agriculture. Catherine Douglas. "Enclosures in Scotland: Evidence from the Old Statistical Account," Masters Thesis , August 2000 University of British Columbia http://hdl.handle.net/2429/10601 UBC Retrospective Theses Digitization Project [http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/retro_theses/]

[24] A. J. Youngson, *After the Forty-Five: The Economic Impact on the Scottish Highlands* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973). [13].

The British victory over the rebels at Culloden, however, resulted in the final

establishment of English financial hegemony and large-scale commercial farming. This

circumstance reduced the amount of land available for small-scale and subsistence farming and

led to an increase in rent prices two to three times the traditional rate. [25] Each farm supported

fewer tenants, which in turn "redirect[ed] . . . the farm economy away from subsistence towards

a more active marketing strategy and the conversion of all rents in kind to cash."[26] People who

had previously farmed as tenants on large estates or as cottars in *clanachs* were pushed into

other, less secure forms of employment. Landowners expected rent payments in cash at the same

time that workers had to look to the market to buy food, when before they had grown their

own.[27] What the tenants lost in job security, aristocrats gained in revenue from grain farms and

sheep husbandry for wool production.   In the Highlands, those who had farmed on clan estates

or in common within *clanachs* were forced to accept the terms in rental of crofts. These strips of

land were the less-cultivatable stretches unclaimed by commercial farms;[28] they were too small

to support enough agricultural output for both subsistence and rent and were so few in number as

to severely limit the number of people who could depend on them. These undersized properties

were economical only for the landowners, and they fractured livelihoods to the extent that both

men and women were forced into making ends meet through a combination of seasonal

---

[25] Douglas, 2.

[26] Dodgshon, 47.

[27] See Ibid.

[28] Douglas emphasizes the vast variation in the land quality in Scottish parishes due to geographic and climatic differences. Despite what eighteenth-century commentators reported, there were some areas of imminently cultivatable land in the Highlands. See 9-10.

agricultural and domestic work.[29] Increased agricultural production typically failed to provide

the needed jobs, and "the customs of hiring and disciplining labour, and the drive of the men in

control tended to keep down the rural population to a[n employable] level."[30] Consequently,

wages remained low, a trend supported also by a constant movement of Irish and Highland

workers who were willing to travel wherever work was to be had.[31] Although later in the century

these migrations would contribute to increased urban growth, those that occurred during early

industrialization were largely what Malcolm Gray calls "balancing movements," or migrations

between "adjacent rural areas"[32] as out-of-work laborers sought new employment.[33]

    Many of the families at New Lanark were persons Dale had attracted to the area

specifically to work in the manufactory, since those native to Lanarkshire were already involved

---

[29] Malcolm Gray, "Migration in the Rural Lowlands of Scotland, 1750-1850," in *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development*, eds. T. M. Devine and David Dickson, 105 (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, LTD., 1983), [108-9.]

[30] Ibid., 109-110.

[31] Ibid., 107-9; 116.

[32] Ibid., 104-105.

[33] The other option promoted by some middle class advisors was overseas emigration. Proponents of this solution argued, as poverty was, in the words of one author, "the unavoidable concomitant of civilized society," the best thing to do with the landless poor was to get rid of them. The author of Colonial Policy of Great Britain continued, "There is the highest authority to know that 'the poor we shall have always with us.' The best regulations, the most equal laws, the most perfect state of liberty can-/not altogether prevent, though they may combine to mitigate, the evil. It is a face, proved by experience, that as a nation advances to riches, refinements, trade and manufactures, the condition of one part of its community will be ameliorated while that of the other is deteriorated." What is more, in the wake of the War for American Independence, the government should promote emigration because peopling the former colonies with British emigrants will ensure future markets for British goods. The argument for emigration: "duty of the British government to encourage and promote emigration to the utmost of its power." A British Traveler, *The Colonial Policy of Great Britain, Considered with Relation to her North American Provinces, and West India Possessions; Wherein the Dangerous Tendency of American Competition is Developed, and the Necessity of Recommencing a Colonial System on a Vigorous and Extensive Scale, Exhibited and Defended, with Plans for the Promotion of Emigration, and Strictures on the Treaty of Ghent* (London: Baldwin, Craddock and Joy, 1816), 126, 127 and 129; italics in original. According to Gray, overseas migration was uncommon at this time (105).

in agricultural pursuits.[34] Therefore, the New Lanark workforce was largely made up of

migrants participating in Gray's "balancing movements": persons, many Highlanders, whose

lack of steady work was the result of nearly a century's-worth of changes to agricultural and

landholding practices. By the time Owen made Scotland his home, a century of "improvement"

of Scottish agricultural practices had resulted in a migratory labor force of displaced Highlanders

and strained parish poor rates. As in other parishes, the poor rates in Lanark were "severely

felt,"[35] as collected funds did not alleviate the burdens on the parish. If Lanark was typical, this

meant that increasingl,y poor rates were being allotted to persons who were already working; the

national crisis was not one of employment, but of wages.[36] Owen's problem of mill management

was encased in this larger national crisis of increased numbers of paupers in rural areas.

2. Owen upset with the status quo

The overriding public attitude was that parish-based relief as it stood in the early

nineteenth century was woefully inadequate for the booming numbers of paupers.[37] Although, as

Owen argued, the motives behind the adoption of the Poor Laws were likely "[p]ure and

benevolent," their result was that the landed and rising classes, the "industrious, temperate, and

---

[34] Ian L. Donnachie and George Hewitt, *Historic New Lanark: the Dale and Owen Industrial Community since 1785* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 28. Later in the nineteenth century, however, rural areas showed little population growth; what there was was "well below any credible rate of natural increase." Gray, 105.

[35] See W. Davidson, *History of Lanark, and Guide to the Scenery; with List of Roads to the Principal Towns* (Lanark: Shepherd & Roberton, 1828), 42.

[36] Richard Ashcraft "Lockean ideas, poverty, and the development of liberal political theory," in *Early Modern Conceptions of Property* ed. John Brewer and Susan Staves (London: Routledge, 1996), 50.

[37] Owen, *New View,* "Essay IV," 80.

comparatively virtuous," as he described them, were tasked with supporting the "ignorant, . . .

idle, and comparatively vicious" laboring classes. In so doing, he argued, the poor laws

"publicly proclaim[ed] greater encouragement to idleness, ignorance, extravagance, and

intemperance," he argued, "than to industry and good conduct."[38]

Since their inception in the fifteenth century, the Poor Laws designated that aid for the

poor was to be provided at the local, or parish, level. In Scotland, the Kirk provided the

institutional structure for poor relief; clergymen and parish heritors (landowners) were at pains to

keep the parish rolls limited to the names of local persons in need of help, and vagrants were

either run out of town or made to register with the parish as beggars.[39] These persons were

categorized as "poor" in the general sense that they were, as Rosalind Mitchison defines them,

"in no way contributing to the local economy and unlikely to do so for some time."[40] To be

more specific, however, it was the pauper population which grew (or appeared to be growing)[41];

G. E. Mingay argues that those described as "poor" were all unskilled persons in the laboring

classes, while the term "pauper" was reserved for those who applied for and received public

relief.[42] Migration brought people into parishes that were not their own and consequently

---

[38] Owen, New View Essay IV, 80.

[39] Rosalind Mitchison, "Who Were the Poor in Scotland, 1690-1830?" in Rosalind. Mitchison and Peter. Roebuck, *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland, 1500-1939* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1988), 140-148, 144. For the importance of local identity in parish welfare, see K. D. M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), especially "Introduction—Belonging and Local Attachment," 1-27 and "Chapter 2: The Culture of Local Xenophobia," 28-81.

[40] Mitchison, 140.

[41] Ibid.

[42] G. E. Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution: Changes in Agriculture, 1650-1880* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1977), 93. In one sense, it is not important to worry about the specific vocabulary used by late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century spokespersons on Poor Law reform, because, as John Barrell puts it, over the course of the eighteenth century "the poor came to take on the status of an undifferentiated class, whose need for charity was their most distinguishing characteristic" (3). Similarly, Bronislaw Geremek aptly describes how the verbal and

complicated the question of who was to support those who were not finding the work they had

expected. While parishes disregarded migratory populations in the middle of the century, "it had

become much harder by the 1780s for a parish to ignore its duty."[43]

Parish registries largely consisted of the "ordinary" or "regular" poor, those whose names

were permanently on the parish rolls, including older members of the parish, orphans,

foundlings, and those with considerable handicaps. These people could not be expected to

support themselves. Poor rates also covered expenses for ill persons or those whose physical

ability to work was temporarily handicapped. Although it varied from parish to parish, poor

relief was sometimes available for the unemployed, those between seasonally-based

---

pictorial images of "worker" and "pauper" in the social imaginary became one and the same, a conglomerated category which constituted society's greatest problem. "The working masses, composed of the urban and rural proletariat, henceforth delineated the social zone of indigence. Workers were assimilated to the poor; their housing and living conditions, their state of health, their large families, their appearance and behavior, in short, all the characteristics of poverty, identified them as belonging to that social category" (233-4). In short, where once "the poor" had been a specialized category of people unable to support themselves because of circumstance (age or disability, for example), the definitions of poverty became elided with membership in the laboring class in general. This shift is in keeping with Victor Turner's anthropological theory, which describes how liminalized figures, or those who do not fit into any of society's categories, function as blank screens onto which society projects its own desires for them. Similarly, Barrell argues that the poor are only portrayed in the middle and far distances in the paintings of early nineteenth-century artists such as John Constable; in order to be rendered "safe," they must be beyond the foreground, and in order to be considered noble they must be rendered only sketchily. Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972) and Bronislaw Geremek, *Poverty: A History*, translated by Agnieszka Kolakowska (Cambridge MA: Blackwell, 1994). See also "Liminality and Communitas," in Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969).

[43] Mitchison, "Who were the Poor," 143. Although it is still up for debate, the main differences between English and Scottish Poor Laws had to do with their institutional bases: in Scotland the Kirk provided the structure on which to base poor relief, and while English parishes increasingly relied on workhouses for the regulation of the poor, Scottish ones continued the practice of "outdoor relief," with weekly disbursements of cash and oatmeal to needy families. However, Mitchison regards the Scottish system as it was carried out under the Old Poor Laws (pre-1848) as grossly inadequate, although other scholars differ in their analyses. Mitchison also argues that Scottish parishes avidly avoided assessment, or the collection of Poor Rates from parish landholders, a view deemed correct by Cage, but about which Cage differs in analysis. While Mitchison regards assessment avoidance as a source of inadequacy, Cage argues that Scotland's system was always more reliant on privately-gathered funds, like those collected in the church's poor boxes. See Rosalind Mitchison *The Old Scottish Poor Law In Scotland: The Experience of Poverty, 1574-1845* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), a result of twenty-five years'-worth of research. Mitchison's earlier claims in "The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law" *Past & Present* 63 (May 1974) 58-93 were much criticized. See R. A. Cage, "Debate: The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law," *Past & Present* 69 (1975) 113-118. Cage argues that Mitchison's most glaring mistake is her contention that the able-bodied were not given aid in the Scottish system.

employment, or those who were in need as the result of bad luck.[44] In 1800, for example, a

failed harvest resulted in a season of increased numbers on the parish rolls. Subsequent

fluctuations in the labor market increased the rolls even further.[45]

The practices of parish-based poor relief evolved in the context of traditional, received

ideas about the poor and their presence in society.   Poverty was considered a natural part of any

community, not a problem to be solved. In traditional European society, the poor had an

accepted "place" in society, and this "natural" order was corroborated by seventeenth- and

eighteenth-century studies in natural history and economy. The presence of the poor ensured

that there would be people in society who could work the soil, husband animals, and in other

ways provide sustenance for all. In fact, economic wisdom dictated that the smartest thing to do

was to "[keep] prices high and wages low so that workers would have to work nearly every

waking hour just for subsistence."[46] This would keep this segment of the population from

becoming idle and lazy, thereby abdicating their proper role in society.

This perspective was confirmed by Bernard Mandeville in his *Fable of the Bees* (1716;

1723).[47] To this theorist (who, although born in the Netherlands, wrote in English), the poor

---

[44] Mitchison, "Who were the Poor," [140.]

[45] Ibid.

[46] Sarah Jordan, "From Grotesque Bodies to Useful Hands: Idleness, Industry, and the Laboring Class," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 25:3 (2001), 62-79; 63. As Jordan notes, this rationale for increased pauper labor is described as the "utility of poverty" theory by Edgar S. Furniss' *Position of the Laborer in a System of Nationalism: A Study in the Labor Theories of the Later English Mercantilists* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920); 117.

[47] The main argument of Mandeville's *Fable* was, as the subtitle indicates, that the vices of individuals were the engines of collective benefit. What other philosophers conceived of as "virtue" was a modification of natural human behavior which would ultimately harm market outcomes. Instead, political management of the economy to maximize citizens' natural inclinations (even their vices), would render the strongest economy and thus benefit the most. The 1723 edition of *Fable of the Bees* included "An Essay on Charity and Charity Schools" in which Mandeville argued against the use of charity schools for the education of the poor. Despite his arguments for the "naturalness" of the poor, he did not ascribe any particular evil to them, and therefore disagreed with education for their moral reform. He also maintained one of the strongest traditional arguments against education for the poor: that teaching them would only increase their desires to participate more widely in society.

were society's natural labor force. Need for subsistence drove persons to work; those who had

not the money to purchase subsistence were logically those who needed to work to produce it.

Mandeville corroborated the idea that wages should remain low through the promotion of a large

laboring class. In fact, Enlightenment-era thinkers proposed that a large population was a sign of

a nation's health; even in the utopian vision for "Colleges of Industry" promoted by John Bellars

in 1695, the goal of society was a large population of workers.[48] This attitude was popularized in

England in Joseph Townsend's *Dissertation on the Poor Laws by a Well-Wisher to Mankind* of

1786; hunger motivates people to work, and the poor are "meant" to be manual laborers.[49]

   The viewpoint epitomized by Mandeville and Townsend ranged from belief that poverty

was a necessary evil to the more nonchalant attitude that it was a "natural and inevitable"

counterpart to the development of wealth.[50] Either way, the presence of poor persons within the

social framework, whether attributed to original sin or any other cause, was supported by

"objective . . . observations of the limited ability and social productivity of many of the poor."[51]

In other words, what was common was deemed natural, and therefore ordained by God.

   Under this basic system, it was the responsibility of the landed elite in any given

community to carry out their Christian duty to aid those in need. In England and Scotland,

religious precepts about charity and kindness towards the poor had customarily resulted in active

alleviation of their suffering by the rich in the form of the adoption of poor rates, soup kitchens,

---

[48] Ashcraft, 48.

[49] Donna T. Andrew calls proponents of the attitude that only necessity motivated the poor to work "minimalists." She distinguishes this attitude from that of the political economists who emphasized instead the human desire for self-improvement. *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989), 136-232.

[50] Geremek, 231-3.

[51] Harold A. Boner. *Hungry Generations: The Nineteenth-Century Case Against Malthusianism*. (New York: King's Crown Press/ Columbia University, 1955). 4.

reasonably priced rents, and even the manipulation of prices, like that of coal in the winter. With

its roots in feudal social organization, estates constituted the level of society at which help was

given to those who needed it; in the family-like community of the manor, everyone's well-being

was intertwined. The old moral economy was "[f]ounded on the feudal concept of a reciprocity

of obligation between men rather than on economic interest."[52] It was the duty of the rich to help

the poor, whether in the form of governance, guidance, or charitable aid. As F. David Roberts

describes in his explanation of paternalist practice in the early Victorian period, it was taken as

an ancient and sacred duty to support those upon whom Providence had not bestowed riches;

God entrusted the rich as stewards of their wealth. In turn, the lower classes were intended to

reciprocate in deference and service.[53] Philanthropic efforts toward those within one's sphere of

acquaintance were the responsibility of the gentleman, but in their nostalgic preference for an

organically constituted, hierarchical society, landowners promoted a "live and let live"

philosophy that not only insured the inevitability of poverty, but also rallied to support the landed

gentry so that they, in turn, could bestow philanthropic acts on others.[54]

    In the period under consideration, however, the landed classes became notoriously lax in

the completion of these sacred tasks. Without relationships based on tenancy, landowners no

longer felt obligated to care for the needy—their interests were no longer linked. Migrant

workers in particular were no longer part of social webs of obligation but found themselves

related to their employers only by ties of economic interest. What had been important to

---

[52] James D. Mulvihill, "Thomas Love Peacock's Crotchet Castle: Reconciling the Spirits of the Age," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 38:3 (1983): 266, http://www.jstor.org/ (accessed 7 October 2006).

[53] *The Social Conscience of the Early Victorians* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 4-7.

[54] Roberts, 5-7. For a description of the development of the myth of sympathetic moral economy, see Ashcraft, 27. See also J. R. Poynter, *Society and Pauperism: English Ideas on Poor Relief, 1795-1834* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969) and Peter Dunkley, "The Landed Interest and the New Poor Law: A Critical Note," *International Review of Social History* 24:3 (1979) 371-97.

members of the land-owning class was the concept of small, local circles of charity, and many

argued against the shift from "'the ties of relationship and neighborhood' as the basis for charity"

to the "coercive system of parochial aid."[55] According to one author, an overwhelming number

of eighteenth-century sermons concerned the duties of the affluent to the poor, illustrating that

clergymen sought to stem the tide of apathy in their parish congregations.[56]

The breakdown of the traditional moral economy of the estate was not met with parliamentary

measures to stem its effects: in the vacuum, the middle class stepped forward to manage the

increasingly disruptive problem of caring for the poor. Owen's publications and his New Lanark

experiment are part of this trend. Members of the new middle class saw themselves as the group

best prepared to "superintend" the poor. As they saw it, the rich lifestyles of the Regency-era

aristocracy were not contributing to the maintenance of their traditional social responsibilities.

Beth Tobin cites, for example, a piece entitled "Essays on Riches and Poverty" in the *Lady's*

Magazine of 1790, in which author "J. H." argued that the tastes of the upper class for "luxury

and debauchery," were the habits that "have rendered them insensible to the wants to their

fellow-creatures . . . and destroyed the sympathizing tenderness of humanity."[57] In losing their

abilities to sympathize, the upper classes had abdicated their traditional obligation to care for the

poor, and it was up to the middle classes to pick up the slack. With the idle poor on one side of

them and the idle rich on the other, the middle class conceived of itself as the only segment of

society available for maintaining social progress.[58]

---

[55] Ashcraft, 47

[56] Ibid.

[57] Qtd. in Tobin, 2.

[58] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*
(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987). For analysis of the rhetorical strategies applied by middle class

Yet the attribution of poverty to the realm of the social world—and therefore, subject to change with aid from the social sciences—was a threat to the accepted social order of Britain. If all persons were perfectible, then seemingly "natural" economic divisions observed in society were artificial, and the landed classes were, therefore, in danger of losing their property and their way of life. The upper classes:

> feared that the masterless lower sort were quite literally out of control and that they constituted a highly visible and very tangible threat to the persons, property, and republican society of their betters. The bodies of such men and women were to be controlled, thus preserving social stability, and a new language of class replaced older ideas of orders and ranks in society.[59]

Put another way, acknowledgment of the social causes of poverty threatened the balance which had defined Europe for centuries. If the laboring class could "improve" themselves, who would perform the manual labor necessary to support society? Society's structure, once static, was now conceived of as a dynamic entity and could no longer be relied upon to exemplify truths about being and existence. If the poor were not, by their physical and mental natures, essentially "poor," then those who considered themselves privileged by birth and good breeding were equally vulnerable to social recategorization.

Although it was scientific enquiry which had brought these changes to bear on late-eighteenth and early nineteenth century Britain, people of a variety of classes, but mainly the upper middle class, also looked to science for help. In particular, middle-class thinkers looked to eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century philosophical debates about the role of human nature in the development of commercial relationships. But while Owen would concentrate on

---

novelists to demonstrate the inability of the upper class to manage the poor, see Beth Fowkes Tobin, Superintending the Poor: Charitable Lades and Paternal Landlords in British Fiction, 1770-1860 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

[59] Simon P. Newman, *Embodied History: The Lives of the Poor in Early Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 5-6.

human nature, most commentators focused on the relationship between human social groups and their commercial success in a field that came to be known as political economy.

C. Scientific Prescriptions: The Development of Political Economy

Bernard Mandeville's explication of the divisions of society simply put into words the traditional reasoning behind what appeared to everyone to be a natural phenomenon: some persons have wealth; others do not. This reasoning was rooted in the larger question broached by the *Fable,* the question of whether or not the pursuit of individual desires or vices brought about benefits for society at large. Mandeville argued that they did; if individual bees lost their cravings for nectar's sweetness, the hive's honey would never be produced. Mandeville did not support charity schools and other educational opportunities for the poor since training large segments of the population would prove detrimental to economic systems which depended upon greed and competition.[60]

Mandeville's analysis spurred many to question the basis of his assumptions, and the ensuing debate set the tone for the development of political economy as a distinct discipline from within the larger constellation of Enlightenment topics.[61] Often defined simply as the study of

---

[60] For an overview, see E. J. Hundert, *The Enlightenment's Fable: Bernard Mandeville and the Discovery of Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[61] My treatment of the development of political economy is necessarily limited in scope. My reliance on the connections between Mandeville and Scottish Enlightenment thinkers is supported by Laurenz Volkmann, "Mandeville's Beehive and Smith's Invisible Hand: Conflicting Voices of Ethics and Economics in Early Industrialism," in *Talking Forward, Talking Back: Critical Dialogues with the Enlightenment*, ed. Kevin L. Cope and Rüdiger Ahrens (New York: AMS Press, 2002), 13-42. For histories of the early development of political economy that focus on its development from Scottish moral philosophy, see Margaret Schabas, *The Natural Origins of Economics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff, *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986),

how goods flow through market-based societies, political economy (known now simply as "economics") was one of several products of the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century preoccupation with bringing the rational enquiry to the study of human society. To be sure, many had thought critically about both natural materials, and the products of human craftsmanship before the advent of political economy. But as the governments of Western Europe nurtured commercial relationships and new industrial technologies drove further division of labor, the links between commercial activity and personal behavior became increasingly important. Conditions such as the pauperism drove the central questions of the fledgling discipline: Did social inequalities serve any purpose? What connection, if any, exists between the rich and the poor? What elements of human nature support economic growth, and what elements impede it?

Mandeville's argument that greed fueled the socio-economic machine enraged many; most famously, the philosophers of the Scottish moral school responded with arguments for the role of benevolence in the maintenance of social peace and economic balance. Focus on the sympathies that bind society, as well as the self-interest that counterbalances that sympathy, was the hallmark of Smith's response, which was typical of the Scottish moral philosophers. Unlike their English and Continental counterparts, the Scots argued that the civilized state was the result of development from a social state of nature. The "state of nature" was a hypothetical condition used by eighteenth-century philosophers to try to understand the original condition of humanity. They believed that, if they could conjecture the original condition of human life, they could then discern the natural laws which should guide civil society. The Englishman Thomas Hobbes

---

Gladys Bryson, "The Emergence of the Social Sciences from Moral Philosophy," *International Journal of Ethics* 42:3 (April 1932), 304-323, T. Sakamoto, *The Rise of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment*, Routledge Studies in the History of Economics, 56, (London: Routledge, 2003), and Knud Haakonssen. "James Mill and Scottish Moral Philosophy" *Political Studies* 33:4 (1985), 628–641.

(1588-1679) had argued in his 1651 volume *Leviathan, The Matter, Forme and Power of a Common Wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil* that this state of nature was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short," thus necessitating the creation of government through contract. To Hobbes, the development of society and government came at the price of individual freedom. For John Locke, in contrast, men lived by reason in the state of nature until the adoption of property-ownership, at which time people's ability to maintain the standards set under natural law became strained. In this context, early humans sacrificed these moments of peace to the hope that, under a government, their property and liberty might be protected and their peace more lasting.[62]

Scottish moral philosophers on the other hand, responded with the argument that society was a natural condition of society. This idea was put forward most forcefully by Adam Ferguson (1723-1816), who rationalized that, since there is no way, using written sources or stadial theory, to learn about an asocial human, there must never have been a human before there were social groups in which he could live.[63] In other words, social organization had always existed, and any change concerned only the structure of society, not its origination.

Therefore, Scottish Enlightenment philosophers studied the varieties of social organization. They hypothesized that all human groups develop through a series of set stages defined by their mode of subsistence: hunting ("savagery"), pastoralism ("barbarism"), farming, and commercialism.[64] If trying to understand early societies, these philosophers argued, they

---

[62] John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government,* ed. with an Introduction by Thomas P. Peardon, Library of Liberal Arts (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merril, 1952), 16.

[63] Christopher J. Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 29.

[64] Marvin B. Becker, *The Emergence of Civil Science in the Eighteenth Century: A Privileged Moment in the History of England, Scotland, and France* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), 108. For more on the historical project of the Scottish Enlightenment, see Alexander Broadie, "History and Enlightenment," in *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Historical Age of the Historical Nation* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1991), 43-77.

need only study contemporary cultures that shared the representative characteristics of a society at the given stage. Any extant social group was representative of one of these stages and was therefore understood to be either on its developmental path towards commercial society or, as in the case of Western Europe, already commercial. Clearly, the philosophers' theory was predicated on their privileging the modes of production and principles of property-ownership that characterized their own culture.[65] Histories like Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767), William Robertson's *History of America* (1777) and John Millar's *Origin and Distinction of Ranks and Society* (1771) were based on material from travel accounts which detailed social groups in the so-called New World. [66] This real-life example allowed the historians to cite empirical evidence to support their theories about the history of various nations and other social groups.[67] While stadial theory was influential in the period between 1760 and 1780, it became virtually orthodox in the twenty years after that as subsequent writers wrote for and were received by popular audiences.[68]

---

[65] Becker, 108. The exception to this claim was Ferguson, who, "while adopting a scheme of history quite like the four-stage theory, [did] not subordinate this to any global assumptions about the superiority of either the 'rude' or the 'refined' state." See Peter France, "Primitivism and Enlightenment: Rousseau and the Scots," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 15 (1985): 73, <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0306-2473%281985%2915%3C64%3APAERAT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-V> (accessed 6 September 2007).

[66] Adam Smith, Ferguson's protégé, was the first to use American Indians as examples of early societies; the practice became more common in popular conjectural literature after the Seven Year's War, 1756-1763. Troy O. Bickham describes how, as colonization of the Americas developed, the stadial theories of Scottish conjectural history provided Britons with "an intellectual framework for their assumptions of Indians' natural inferiority." *Savages within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 176-182; 171.

[67] Murray G. H. Pittock emphasizes that the "historiography of progress" of which stadial theory was a part was at the same time the "historiography of accommodation with Britain." See *Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland*, *1685-1789* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), especially 140-152.

[68] Ronald Meek, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 176. For more on the development of conjectural history in popular discourse, see Bickham, 175.

Although these contributions broached a basic philosophical question about the development of human society, these histories also represented the opinions of Scottish Enlightenment-era philosophers in the debate over the moral status of lives increasingly defined by economic factors and commercial exchange. Some Scots, like James Burnett, Lord Monboddo (1714-1799), argued that an increasingly commercial society signaled not advancement, but retreat from the classic, republican values which had made the states of antiquity so great.[69] The "Citizen of Geneva," Jean-Jacques Rousseau, agreed, writing in his *Discours sur l'inégalité* of 1755, that modern man lacked the most noble virtues common to his earlier counterparts: fortitude and independence. David Hume, on the other hand, argued in several pieces, including "Of Commerce" and "Of Refinement in the Arts" that virtues such as industry, trade, and urbanization were the very factors what made modern [Western] society worthy of study and emulation. All three factors served to make the lives of modern individuals safe, socially-productive, and, in short, "civilized." Adam Smith, in his letter to the *Edinburgh Review* of 1755, responded to Rousseau's *Discours* by acknowledging the merits of the Genevan's argument. It was true, he responded, that the development of industry and the subsequent division of labor led to the dulling of the human intelligence and spirit. "The torpor of his [the laborer's] mind," he described, "renders him not only incapable of relishing or bearing a part in any rational conversation, but of conceiving any generous, noble, or tender sentiment, and consequently of forming any just judgment concerning many even of the ordinary duties of

---

[69] France, 71.

56

private life."[70] On the other hand, as he would argue later in *The Wealth of Nations* in 1776, only vigorous commercial life afforded "affluence and abundance" unheard of in other cultures.[71]

Therefore, Smith's response to Mandeville was this: people *do* live in accordance with their own interests, but that enlightened self-interest is informed by sympathy, or the ability we have to identify with the interests of others. Mandeville conceived of humans as fundamentally incapable of acts of true benevolence because even acts of compassion are born out of vanity. But more in line with Rousseau, for whom the pursuit of goodness vanquishes *amour-propre*, or pride, Smith noted that some people seek attention for vain reasons, others for true glory.[72] But what was best for the public good was neither vanity nor pure benevolence, but mutual self-interest. Smith's self-interest was defined as "mutual" in that, in following our own needs, he argued, we are actually supplying the needs of others in a mutually-beneficial relationship. Since commercial society is governed by the laws of supply and demand, every desire for an object (demand) can be met by a desire to sell one (supply). For this reason, what might be considered a "vice"—self-interest—was actually a beneficial constituent of the well-run commercial machine.

Smith also put forward several statements about the role of the poor. Turning the tables on previous writers, he argued that "no society can be flourishing and happy of which the greater part are poor and miserable." While it was the labor of the poor that supported the idle rich in

---

[70] "A Letter to the Authors of the Edinburgh Review," (1755) qtd. in J. R. Lindgren, ed. *The Early Writing of Adam Smith* (New York: Augustus Felley, 1967), 23-28.

[71] France, 71-72.

[72] Ryan Patrick Hanley, *Adam Smith and the Character of Virtue* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 95-7.

the form of rent and taxes,[73] a major imbalance in the ratios of haves and have-nots would weaken commercial society. Workers should earn money for the products of their labor; he saw nations that paid their workers well as more advanced than those that do not.[74] The result of this new attitude was that poverty went from being "a precondition for economic development into a symptom of economic decline." [75]

Another, perhaps larger, consequence of this shift in the debate is that social realities once regarded as simple products of nature were redefined by the Scottish moral philosophers as social in origin. No longer just a "natural" condition, poverty was now an issue to be explained, challenged, and potentially ameliorated. Enlightenment-era notions about the perfectibility of nature influenced these debates as commentators argued that food supplies could be increased and that indeed the human being, in all its forms, could be improved. In a sense, the Enlightenment—epitomized by Helvetius's comment that "If the physical universe be subject to the laws of motion, the moral universe is equally so to those of interest"[76]—had finally come to the question of poverty. The result, by the last years of the eighteenth century, was a growing enthusiasm for scientific cures for poverty. As J. F. C. Harrison wrote, "[e]very country parson felt qualified to prescribe his nostrum for the cure of rural pauperism; political economists, social reformers and country gentlemen all held emphatic views on the 'Poor Law question.' while

---

[73] Adam Smith, "Report of 1766," in *Lectures on Jurisprudence,* vol. 5 in *The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence,* ed. R. L. Meek, D. D. Raphael, and P. G. Stein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

[74] Ashcraft, 54.

[75] Ibid., 14-15.

[76] Helvétius, Claude Adrien, *De l'esprit or, Essays on the Mind, and Its Several Faculties*, (London: 1759), 42.

successive governments managed to avoid anything so controversial as a comprehensive

reorganization of the system."[77]

Pamphlets and treatises like Joseph Townsend's *Dissertation on the Poor Laws* of 1786,

Jeremy Bentham's *Pauper Management* of 1798, and Patrick Colquhoun's *Treatise on Indigence*

of 1806 reflect the view that the management of the pauper classes was a problem to be tackled

in a scientific manner; in 1798 Thomas Bernard wrote in "The Reports of the Society for

Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor," "Let us make the inquiry onto

all that concerns the poor, and the promotion of their happiness, a science."[78] This was a key

issue in the burgeoning science of economy.

The most famous contribution to the early science of economy was Thomas Malthus's

Essay on the Principle of Population, as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society with

Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and Other Writers[79] of 1798. In

keeping with late-Enlightenment recognition of natural laws, Malthus (1766-1834) put forward

that the growth of food supply would always be outstripped by the geometric increases in

population. Bound by these natural laws, populations would always include some who would

starve; even if there were bumper crops of food, misery would eventually ensue when the

---

[77] J. F. C. Harrison, *Quest for the New Moral World: Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America,* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1969), 13.

[78] "Preliminary Address to the Public", 27 April 1797,' *Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor*, qtd. in Harrison, *Quest,* 21.

[79] In this edition of the essay, Malthus criticized Condorcet's *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain. (Sketch for a Historical view of the Progress of the Human Mind),* (posth. 1795). This French philosopher foresaw a future "of unbounded technological improvement where all inequalities of class and gender would disappear [and] population would be controlled by contraception." People were to be equal in wealth, education, and social status. Malthus included a critique of William Godwin's plan to get rid of private property and marriage positing instead that extreme population increases would render any benevolent schemes too paltry to be of any help to the poor. "'The mighty law of self-preservation' would . . . lead to virtual anarchy." Qtd in James P. Huzel. *The Popularization of Malthus in Early Nineteenth-Century England: Martineau, Cobbett and the Pauper Press* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2006), 20. Malthus would use later editions of the *Essay* to respond to Owen.

overfed poor married, propagated, and brought more hungry stomachs into the world.   For this

reason, Malthus argued that the Poor Laws only encouraged population growth, as the well-fed

would continue to reproduce without forethought, a skill Malthus believed the underclass to be

without. Unless stimulated by their "betters" to contribute to "productive industry,"[80] the poor

would just fall back on their natural propensity for leisure and dissipation. In sum, it was a

natural process for the poorest segments of any given population to succumb to death when their

needs could not be met by their own toil.[81]

To Malthus, the poor were irrational and, like animals, followed their passions and failed

to think about the consequences of their behavior. Since they preferred leisure, they needed to be

stimulated and motivated to work. Although he did concede that work asylums should be

provided for the people in the worst shape, Malthus believed that nothing would ever do away

with the problem of the indolent.[82] There was no need for humans to even try, because, echoing

the natural theology of William Paley (1743-1805), Malthus saw the poor as part of God's

creation. Called by one biographer of Malthus, "the theology of scarcity," the Malthusian

attitude was that evil exists in the world so that we will labor to counteract it. Human

improvement and even, possibly, perfection, comes through this work.[83] When he became

---

[80] Huzel, 21.

[81] Ibid., 25.

[82] Ibid., 21-22. Eventually, in the 1817 version of the 2nd edition, Malthus changed his mind about two things: After the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Malthus admitted that "state-sponsored public works," like the construction of roads and canals, would be a good short-term remedy to "carry the sufferers through to better times." He also began to posit that manufacturing, rather than weakening the economy as he had argued previously, might actually be grounds for "balanced growth and its potential benefits." He saw life for the poor laborer as ultimately of better quality in an industrial setting. See Huzel, 35.

[83] D. C. LeMahieu "Malthus and the Theology of Scarcity" *Journal for the History of Ideas* 40 (1979), 467-74. Mitchell Dean sees Malthus as a Christian apologist, while Donald Winch describes him as "a theological utilitarian." With A. M. C. Waterman, Winch argues that Malthus's theology is inseparable from his science. See Dean, *The Constitution of Poverty: Toward a Geneaology of Liberal Governance* (London and New York:

labeled an enemy of the poor—and the object of the criticisms of Romantics like Southey,

Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Hazlitt—Malthus introduced the concept of the "Moral Restraint, or

a new preventive check that entailed neither vice nor misery and would 'soften some of the

harshest conclusions of the first essay.'"[84] Malthus's work was popular upon its publication

because it was clearly written and came out in a year when crops were poor and food was

scarce.[85]

     Malthus's treatment of poverty epitomizes post- Enlightenment, Newtonian science in its

reliance on a definition of society as a functioning economic machine in which all cogs play a

vital role to the production of state wealth. Recognition of nature's laws pointed the way for a

society's ability to prevent pauperism, or to prevent there being defective cogs in the economic

machine. Although his prophylactic prescription is social in nature, his insistence that the pauper

population rose or fell according to natural laws effectively snatched the issue back from those

who maintained that poverty was a social issue, thus exonerating the landed classes, for whom

acceptance of the social theory of poverty meant nothing less than an admission of guilt. Put

another way: Malthusian theory was a throwback to the argument that poverty was natural. As

for the Poor Laws, the Malthusian theory provided one answer to the problem of skyrocketing

Poor Rates: abolish them! Any support of the poor *via* parish rates or otherwise would only

prolong the misery of the poor by enabling reproduction. Benevolence should be "administered

---

Routledge, 1991; Donald Winch, *Riches and Poverty: An Intellectual History of Political Economy in Britain, 1750-1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); and Donald Winch and A. M. C. Waterman, "Reappraisal of 'Malthus the Economist'," *History of Political Economy* 1998 30(2): 293-334. See also Huzel, 22.

[84] Huzel, 27; 32; 24.

[85] Ibid., 23.

very sparingly," and in lieu of state or private intervention, families—especially fathers—should take responsibility for their own needs.[86]

On the other hand, Malthus's argument was largely ideological and provided little factual evidence; it had only the "appearance of quantitative and empirical reasoning."[87] It nevertheless appealed to those who felt the imminent threat of hungry populations of Britain's growing pauper class.[88] Malthusian doctrine was made popular by writers such as William Cowper and Hannah More, who capitalized on the growing print industry to share their opinions about the pauper problem with a wider public. These writers simultaneously promoted the middle class values of thrift, cleanliness, and industry—the habits that had fueled their ascendency—while decrying the values of the dissolute upper classes.[89] More, in particular, provided a model for other women who felt it was their philanthropic duty to cultivate in their circles' and families' sympathy for the poor; benevolent action "occupied a border land between religion and economics"[90] in which women could provide leadership.[91]

Malthus argued that society will never reach the state of perfection so longed for by Godwin and Owen. Malthus deemed population control a truly impossible task, while it did not

---

[86] Ibid., 25.

[87] Roger Smith, *The Norton History of the Human Sciences* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1997), 333.

[88] Michael Perelman, *The Invention of Capitalism: Classical Political Economy and the Secret History of Primitive Accumulation* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000) 81; 80.

[89] Sarah Jordan, *The Anxieties of Idleness: Idleness in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2003), 217.

[90] Harrison, *Quest,* 20.

[91] Tobin, 3. See also B. Kirkman Gray, *History of English Philanthropy, from the Dissolution of the Monasteries to the taking of the First Census* (London: P. S. King and Son, 1905), 247. For More in the context of other female writers on philanthropy, see Patricia Comitini, *Vocational Philanthropy and British Women's Writing, 1790-1810: Wollstonecraft, More, Edgeworth, Wordsworth* (London: Ashgate, 2005).

Owen at all. The Reverend was "correct," Owen wrote, "when he says that the population of the

world is ever adapting itself to the quantity of food raised for its support; but he has not told us

how much more food an intelligent and industrious people will create from the same soil, than

will be produced by one ignorant and ill-governed. It is however as one to infinity."[92] Supply

and demand, as construed by the political economists, were only artificially linked. While

demand was limited, Owen believed, "no limits could be assigned" to supply since "the means of

producing them depend on man's progress in the knowledge of nature, and in the arts and

sciences."[93] As he later explained, "[t]hat the period is arrived when the means are become

obvious, by which, without force or fraud, or disorder of any kind, riches may be created in such

abundance, and so advantageously for all, that the wants and desires of every human being may

be over-satisfied."[94] Owen's faith in the ability of humankind and the application of the "arts

and sciences" to the problem of food production, however, would seem to make the Malthusian

argument irrelevant. Malthus combined Christian teleology with an almost Aristotelian view of

human inertia.[95] The result was a pessimistic theology of the human condition in which evil

existed in order to motivate human improvement. Unfettered by such teleological constraints,

Owen continued to embrace Enlightenment-era optimism based on an infinite faith in progress.

---

[92] Owen, *New View*, "Essay IV," 113-114.

[93] See "Visit to New Lanark: August 1822," in *Report of the proceedings at the several public meetings held in Dublin by Robert Owen on the 18th March, 12th April, 19th April, and 3d May : preceded by an introductory statement of his opinions and arrangements at New Lanark : extracted from his "Essays on the formation of the human character"*, Dublin, 1823. *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2009, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): 102.
http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U106980466&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 12 January 2009).

[94] Robert Owen, "Two Memorials on Behalf of the Working Classes," in *Selected Works of Robert Owen in 4 volumes*, ed. Gregory Claeys (London: Pickering, 1993), 251-68; 225.

[95] LeMahieu, 469.

D. Owen's analysis of the problem

Unlike the typical argument that married poverty's "naturalness" with the scientifically-inspired concept of control, Robert Owen was one of several early nineteenth-century thinkers who argued that poverty not only disturbed the proper functioning of society, but that it could be completely eradicated.[96]   In keeping with the conclusions of Smith and all those who saw poverty as a social problem, Owen attributed the cause of poverty to social circumstance. "Strictly speaking, . . defect of character ought not to be attributed to the individuals possessing it, but to the overwhelming effect of the system under which they have been trained."[97] Put another way: Malthus located the crux of the problem *within* the poor—in their very natures— Owen identified the nature of that which was *outside* of them.

Owen's strongest argument for the innocence of individuals when it comes to character formation was his reference to infancy, a ubiquitous stage of life at which the individual has no agency of choice. "[N]ot one of [the] causes of character is at the command or in any manner under the control of infants," he argued, "who therefore, whatever absurdity we may have been taught to the contrary, cannot by possibility be accountable for the sentiments and manners

---

[96] Although I am following Geremek in my division of attitudes towards poverty, I am not placing Malthus in this second category. As argued by LeMahieu, Malthus's theology allowed for a natural place in God's creation for the poor; Malthus does not argue for the eradication of poverty, just for its control. I argue, in other words, that Malthus is not so much upset about poverty but about the vast numbers of the poor in society. See Geremek, 233.

[97] Robert Owen, "Observations on the effect of the manufacturing system: with hints for the improvement of those parts of the system which are most injurious to health and morals," London, 1815, *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2008, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): 5, http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af+RN&ae= U103306385&srchtp+a&ste=14 (accessed 24 December 2008).

which may be given to them. And here lies the fundamental error in society, and from hence have proceeded, and now proceed, most of the miseries of mankind."[98]

After a little over a decade as manager at New Lanark, Owen published a series of essays under the title *A New View of Society, or Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character*. The main message of these essays was the announcement that he had discovered the root cause of the predicament of pauperism. Although the development of an industrial economy and wartime economic conditions had exacerbated poverty, the cause was to be found in a "fundamental error in society," he wrote, which "from hence have proceeded, and now proceed, most of the miseries of mankind." [99] The problem was the erroneous belief that individuals are responsible for their own moral character. In the explanation that became the cornerstone of his career and, indeed, the rest of his life, Owen wrote:

> THE CHARACTER OF MAN IS, WITHOUT A SINGLE EXCEPTION, ALWAYS FORMED FOR HIM; THAT IT MAY BE, AND IS CHIEFLY, CREATED BY HIS PREDECESSORS; THAT THEY GIVE HIM, OR MAY GIVE HIM, HIS IDEAS AND HABITS, WHICH ARE THE POWERS THAT GOVERN AND DIRECT HIS CONDUCT.[100]

Just as it was ludicrous to believe that infants had any control over the development of their habits of moral choice, it was absurd to assume that adults whose choices were limited by poverty had any control over theirs.

In the Second Essay of *A New View of Society,* Owen recounted a history of the industrial revolution in which he traced the British economy from its agricultural roots to the changes

---

[98] Owen, *New View*, "Essay Second," 2.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Owen, *New View,* "Essay III," 23. Emphasis in original.

brought about by the advent of "mechanical inventions."[101] The invention of "Messrs Watt and Arkwright's improved mechanism" resulted in a period, which Owen dates to about 1792, when the country was prosperous and "pauperism among the working class was but little known." Manufacture produced desirable objects which, when purchased, caused the wealth of individuals (factory-owners and investors) to increase. More innovations were invented in order to keep these "objects of desire" coming, and trade expanded into other parts of the world.

Yet the introduction of machines into the manufacture of goods also caused a decrease in wages as more workers were brought into the industrial labor force. The development of steam and spinning machinery led to an increase—not a decrease—in the proportion of citizens employed (from 1/4 to 1/3), by the inclusion of women and children into the workforce.[102] As a result, Owen calculated, "[h]uman labour, hitherto the great source of wealth in nations," was "diminished in value at the rate of not less than from two to three millions sterling per week in Great Britain alone."[103]

Historical factors also contributed to the creation of the pauper class. Both the War of American Independence and the more recent Napoleonic Wars played a large role in making

---

[101] Here Owen's claims echo those of Rousseau, whose fallen "l'homme civil" develops as a result of changes in technology and economics. As Peter France puts it, "Agriculture and metallurgy were seen in the body of the discourse as the real agents of the enslavement of mankind; and [through these] Rousseau widens his attack to include the many branches of commerce" (65-66). See Julie Marie Dugger, "Historic Possibilities: The Rhetoric of British Utopia, 1815-1848," Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago (1998), in *Dissertations & Theses: Full Text* [database on-line]: 69n5, available from http://www.proquest.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/pqdweb?did=732950301&sid=2&Fmt=2&clientId=41954-&RQT=309&VName=PQD (publication number AAT 9910862; accessed 24 December 2008).

[102] See Owen, "Two Memorials," 258-9.

[103] "Owen's Report to the Committee of the Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and Labouring Poor (1817), in *Selected Works of Robert Owen in 4 volumes*, ed. Gregory Claeys, 143-5; 145.

Britain a great industrial power,[104] and they resulted in further stimulation of industrial

production. Yet the cessation of these conflicts exposed the fleeting and exaggerated nature of

the output; in peacetime, Britain had the huge capacity to produce items but only a diminished

capacity to consume them. The peace provided by Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo and the

second Treaty of Paris only proved the immorality of the economy's reliance on profit, because it

could "only be successful through foreign or domestic war, pestilence, or famine."[105]

According to Owen's analysis, the creation of manufactured goods made money for those

who owned the manufactories, but it depleted wealth from the class of people who worked to

provide the raw materials for manufacture and ran the factories themselves. Parliamentary

action, Owen argued, served only to promote manufactories and the wealth they generated, not

taking into account the drastic alteration in the distribution of wealth.[106] "It is a very common

mistake," he noted, "arising from the confusion of ideas inseparable from the present erroneous

system of society, to believe that the rich provide for the poor and working classes, while, in fact,

the poor and working classes create all the wealth which the rich possess?"[107] In turn, the wage

decreases had actually served to weaken people at all levels of the economic hierarchy; this was

---

[104] Although usually dated from 1793 until 1803, the Napoleonic Wars were and continue to be treated more
specifically as part of longer conflicts between England/Britain and France: namely, as part of the Great French
Wars, which lasted from 1792 to 1815, and the longer Second Hundred Years' War conflict, which lasted from 1689
to 1815. For the most recent opinions on the chronology of the conflict, see François Crouzet, "The Second
Hundred Years War: Some Reflections". *French History* 10 (1996), 432–450, and H. M. Scott, "The Second
'Hundred Years War' 1689–1815". *The Historical Journal* 35 (1992), 443–469.

[105] See Robert Owen, *An explanation of the cause of the distress which pervades the civilized parts of the world and
of the means whereby it may be removed*, London, 1823. *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2009, Gale,
Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): 3,
http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U106980451&srchtp=a&ste=14
(accessed 12 January 2009).

[106] Owen, *Observations*, 2.

[107] Owen, *Report on the proceedings,* 19.

the means by which "the farmer, tradesman, manufacturer, and merchant, have been so greatly impoverished," he wrote.[108] In this way, he explained, "People are daily injured by the effects of the new scientific power,"[109] resulting in the "destruction of human life . . . and . . . waste of . . . materials."[110] Anyone proposing a remedy for pauperism, he argued, would have to find a way "to permit society to benefit by the scientific improvements which have been so extensively, but . . . hitherto injuriously, introduced."[111] But as it was, the promotion of industrially-driven commercial culture only trained people "to buy cheap and to sell dear;" and, as he insisted, "to succeed in this art, the parties must be taught to acquire strong powers of deception; and thus a spirit is generated through every class of traders, destructive of that open, honest sincerity, without which man cannot make others happy, nor enjoy happiness himself."[112] With the mention of "happiness," the watchword and end-goal of all utilitarian projects, Owen brought his argument full-circle, back to the problem of character.

The problems with ill-formed character were not just the result of the unregulated proliferation of industrial production but in the poor management of that production by manufacturers themselves. Because they did not properly train those who worked with machines, manufacturers were responsible for those with ill-formed characters. Industrialization made workers worse than slaves or serfs because of the lack of fair payment, proper education,

---

[108] "Owen's Report to the Committee," 145.

[109] Robert Owen, *An explanation of the cause of the distress which pervades the civilized parts of the world and of the means whereby it may be removed*, London, 1823. *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2009, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): 6, http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U106980451&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 12 January 2009).

[110] "Owen's Report to the Committee," 144.

[111] Robert Owen, *An explanation of the cause of the distress*, 6.

[112] Ibid., 5.

and reasonable work hours rendered them "injuriously degraded and oppressed."[113] Owen

pointed out that these conditions were completely under the control of the manufacturer, whom

he blamed for causing physical harm to workers, rendering them "living human skeletons."[114] It

also caused them to be "[t]rained in bad habits which render their mental faculties inferior to the

instinct of many animals."[115] "Such a system of training," he wrote, "cannot be expected to

produce any other than a population weak in bodily and mental faculties, and with habits

generally destructive of their own comforts, of the well-being of those around them, and strongly

calculated to subdue all the social affections."[116]

Owen was particularly concerned with the status of children in manufacturing

communities. As allowed by the Acts of 1598 and 1601, orphans and pauper children were

apprenticed to farms—and later manufactories—in order to relieve parishes from their heavy

poor relief burdens.[117] Other children were given freely to perform industrial work by their

parents because of the financial support their labor provided for their families. Indeed, as Frank

Podmore points out, the fine detail of textile work made children important members of the

manufactory's labor force because of their ability to slip in the tight spaces between machines

and thread the tiny apertures in the machinery with their small fingers. The Health and Morals of

---

[113] Robert Owen, *An address to the master manufacturers of Great Britain, on the present existing evils in the manufacturing system*, Bolton, 1819, in *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2009, Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): 5, http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U103540793&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 3 January 2009).

[114] Owen, *Observations on the effect of the manufacturing system*, 3.

[115] Ibid., 11.

[116] Ibid., 8.

[117] Pamela Horn. *The Rural World 1780-1850 Social Change in the English Countryside* (London: Hutchinson 1980), 103-4.

Apprentices Act of 1802 set standards for cleanliness and ventilation in the mills in which pauper

apprentices were working, but these standards did not apply to those who employed "free"

children, or the children of extant families. In addition, as Podmore notes, many mills were

located in rural areas where supervision was rare, so factory owners pushed and indeed exceeded

the limits placed on them by parliamentary rules. Like his fellow Manchester Board of Health

member Dr. Thomas Percival (1740-1804), Owen believed that the conditions in which the

children worked— dark mills lacking ventilation, in which children were exposed to extreme

temperatures and rarely allowed for the extension of limbs for comfort or exercise—caused

physical disability in the young population. In addition, he argued, children taken into industrial

communities from a young age were "surrounded by evil conditions" [118] whereby their characters

were formed to vicious habits such as theft and deceit. Although his case for improved working

conditions and limited working hours for children was not supported by his fellow

manufacturers, Owen presented his proposal to a Parliamentary committee. When the Factory

Act was passed into law in 1819 it looked quite different from what Owen had proposed.

Owen extended his criticism to include not only problems at the industrial level, but also

at the level of society at large. Relating the industrial microcosm to the social macrocosm, Owen

argued that the miseducation of man was responsible for "disorder and discord, [and] wars and

persecutions, both religious and civil."[119] In this broad stroke, Owen explained the history of

human misery in terms of the effects of education on small communities, such as New Lanark or

any other industrial population. Miseducation was the fault of a variety of state leaders, and

therefore, he argued, the remedy was with them as well. First, he appealed to his fellow

---

[118] Owen, *Life*, 84.

[119] Horn, 103-4.

manufacturers. Owen's appeal to other industrialists in the fourth essay of *A New View* and in his 1819 *[A]ddress to the master manufacturers of Great Britain, on the present existing evils in the manufacturing system* signals his belief that it was the responsibility of the privileged commercial class to manage their employees, and thus many of the poor, in their local areas. He also implored the government, however, stating that it was the government's duty to form a polity with the best sentiments and habits "which shall give the most permanent and substantial advantages to the individuals and to the community."[120] In her analysis of Owen's rhetoric, Julia Marie Dugger proposes that Owen appealed to multiple groups as a strategy to "[leave] no possible avenue of action untested." Although this approach might seem contradictory, it is appropriate to see Owen's plan as multi-layered; "[t]aken together," Dugger writes, "these essays develop an ever-widening public arena for the practicing of Owen's plan: what began at New Lanark ends up in Parliament."[121] Owen's participation in the Lancastrian Society (and his delivery of a speech at a dinner for Lancaster in 1812) also indicates his participation in private reform. Dugger argues that "*A New View of Society* is in fact argued more as the solution to this problem—the problem of the wealthy who must govern these 'dangerous subjects'—than to the problems of the working classes whose unhappy lot it presents and promises to improve."[122] Dugger is correct to describe Owen's pleas as "ever-widening" over the course of his early public career, but his ideas, with the exception of his contributions to the 1819 Factory Act, do not come to legislative fruition. Instead, *A New View* epitomizes the attitude of practicality espoused by the post-Enlightenment-era reformers. It also prefigures the development of

---

[120] See Owen, *New View* "Essay IV," 68.

[121] Dugger, 47; 62.

[122] Ibid., 63.

Owenite "anti-politics," or the attitude "that representative institutions and popular sovereignty were incapable of resolving the… problems of a market-oriented and industrialising society."[123]

E. Early Solutions within Context

At first Owen's concentration on the effects of machinery on the laborer predicated the development of his answers. Aside from getting rid of machinery completely or idly standing by while people starved, Owen argued, the only solution was to find "[a]dvantageous occupation . . . for the poor and unemployed working classes, to whose labour mechanism must be rendered subservient, instead of being applied, as at present, to supersede it." Science was the root of society's ills, but it also held the promise of helping to create a better societal form. Owen argued that:

> All the powers of production which can be derived from science, may be beneficially called into action; the introduction of a machine for the abridgement of human labour, will not, as at present, have the miserable effect of wringing from the labourer an increased amount of exertion in return for diminished means of decent subsistence; but, on the contrary, will give him increased advantages for less labour.[124]

Owen's emphasis on the promise of human powers, instead of machine power, reveals his criticism of the philosophers of the new discipline of political economy. He became increasingly disappointed with the political economists—James Mill, John Ramsay McCulloch,

---

[123] Gregory Claeys, *Citizens and Saints: Politics and Anti-Politics in Early British Socialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 2.

[124] Robert Owen, *Permanent relief for the British agricultural and manufacturing labourers and the Irish peasantry*, London, [1822?]. *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2009, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): 5, http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U104483387&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 12 January 2009).

and David Ricardo, in addition to Malthus—whom he believed to be blind to the real suffering of

Britain's poor. They maintained a *laissez-faire* stance against government interference in

commerce, trade, wages, or rents while millions starved.[125] Although it developed from the

previous era's "science of man," political economy as practiced in the early nineteenth century

was seen by Owen to be "entirely ignorant of human nature."[126] Had commerce developed in

line with the natural instincts and proclivities of mankind, the social affections, and the inherent

inclinations for people to like and care for one another, it would not have been restrained. Put

another way, if successful businesses were not dependent upon the principle "buy cheap and sell

dear," the persons who created the product would not be cheated out of the fair price for their

labor. Instead, the economic exchanges were greed-driven, just as Mandeville had so

pessimistically delineated.

Owen recalled later in life that he thought that the Malthusian "dread of excess

population [had] no better foundation than exists for the nursery terrors of ghosts and

hobgoblins."[127] Their solution was nothing more than "depress[ing] the poor out of existence,

instead of finding [them] employment at decent living wages. . ."[128] Although he agreed with

them that labor was the source of value (he explains his view of this on his *Observations on the*

effect of the manufacturing system of 1815), he located that value in the work of laborers, not in

---

[125] Ibid., 30.

[126] Owen, *Permanent relief,* 8.

[127] Robert Owen, "A Letter to the Earl of Liverpool on the Employment of Children," in *Selected Works of Robert Owen in 4 volumes*, ed. Gregory Claeys (London: Pickering, 1993), 244.

[128] Owen, *Life,* 155

the management of industrialists, as others had argued.[129] The political economists, Owen

realized:

> have always reasoned as though man were an inanimate machine, without the capacity of
> suffering, understanding, or enjoying, and have consequently recommended those
> Measures which were calculated to reduce the mass of Mankind, into mere implements of
> production, and to deteriorate the general powers, physical and mental, of each
> individual, that some small part of his faculties might be unnaturally and most injuriously
> cultivated.[130]

This last element—the inhumanity of the political economists—spurred Owen to think about

reform in a different way. Instead of focusing on the elements of economics concerned with

commerce, Owen went back to the origins of the discipline and concentrated his attentions on the

role of human character in the development of just societies. Owen, too, believed that the Poor

Laws were in need of reform; like Malthus, he believed that they "resulted in the acquisition of

bad habits by the indigent."[131] But unlike more popular economists, Owen largely abandoned

debates about commerce to concentrate instead on a practical solution to the problem of

pauperism. In returning to the question of character, Owen was rehashing an older part of the

debate over the connection between human nature, social structures, and trade, and his

nonchalance about the financial aspects of supply and demand marked him, in the eyes of his

contemporaries, as naïve.

---

[129] Owen, *Observations on the effect of the manufacturing system,* 4.

[130] Owen, *Permanent relief,* 7. Despite his disagreement with its principles, Owen occasionally used the term
"political economy" in order to refer to his idea of an economic system based on his own premises. In his
presentations to the congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, for example, he said: "That the period is arrived when the
principles of the science of political economy are become obvious, by which, without disorder, force, or punishment
of any kind, the rising generation may be, with ease and advantage to all, surrounded by new circumstances, which
shall form them into any character that society may predetermine." I attribute this misstatement to the contested
status of the discipline at this time. See Owen, "Two Memorials on Behalf of the Working Classes," in *Selected
Works of Robert Owen in 4 volumes*, ed. Gregory Claeys (London: Pickering, 1993), 261.

[131] James H. Treble, "The Social and Economic Thought of Robert Owen," in Butt, John, ed., *Robert Owen: Prince
of the Cotton Spinners*: *A Symposium* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1971) 20-51; 29.

F. Owen's Solution: The 'Science of Circumstances'

1. Character

One of the major ways which Owen typifies middle class reform was his emphasis on character as the variable which, if manipulated, would render workers happy and the collection of poor rates unnecessary. In a broad sense, nineteenth century character education is radical in and of itself because what starts as a tradition in education for the well-to-do became the backbone of societal reform in the hands of Owen and later nineteenth century society reformers.[132] But reformers looked to character-reformation for different reasons; as Sidney Pollard explains, manufacturers were naturally concerned with character in the educational programs for their employees. Owen's intense focus on the issue is exceptional in the radical nature of his claims. Unlike his contemporaries who were concerned with training employees to behave better, Owen declared that his program for character education actually changed the fundamental natures of the persons under his direction.[133]

---

[132] Although it is recapitulated in support of public education to this day, Locke's recommendations were limited to the governing class families he advised. His curriculum for the development of good character included virtue, wisdom, and breeding, "subjects" which, like his academic subjects of reading, writing, arithmetic, Latin, literature, and the natural sciences, were for the upper class only. See Adriana Silvia Benzaquén, "'Follow a Child from its Birth…': John Locke's Children and the Origins of the Sciences of Childhood," paper presented at the annual meeting of CHEIRON, The International Society for the History of the Behavioral and Social Sciences, Toronto, Canada, 27 June 2008.

[133] For commentary on the history of [American] character education, see Stephen M. Yulish, *The Search for a Civic Religion: a History of the Character Education Movement in America,* 1890-1935 (Latham, MD: University Press of America, 1980) and Young Jay Mulkey, "The History of Character Education," *The Journal of Physical Education, Recreation & Dance*, 68 (1997).

Although rarely defined in contemporary texts, character was a subject of great importance for those who made decisions about the distribution of poor relief on the basis of character. The received definitions of "character" included not just one's individual morality, or the inner traits that defined someone's public actions, but those physical features which indicated what the more mysterious inner qualities might be.[134] Put another way, character is "not some hidden inner constitution of a person; it is the outward expressive face of that inner nature, which helps determine the role a person plays among other persons, and the reputation thereby acquired."[135] Interest in character implied an interest in the conduct of individuals, and in particular for the parish councils, whether or not this conduct merited (or did not merit) help from the parish coffers. As Ivor Pritchard details in his description of the difficulties in the history of character education, the British liberal tradition as epitomized in John Locke's *Second Treatise* emphasizes the freedom and privacy of individual belief within the public sphere.[136] While one's beliefs can be effectively kept secret, character is exhibited through behavior, and as conduct affects others, it is that which can be policed—and, some believe, taught.

---

[134] Traced in the Oxford English Dictionary, the etymology of "character" indicates that it began as a word for an impressed mark or stamp in the fourteenth century; this is the first definition given by Samuel Johnson in his 1755 *Dictionary of the English Language*. This literal meaning was joined by a figurative reference in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the inclusion of an entry for an individual's character, or features and traits. Uses in the seventeenth century indicate that this figurative sense included references to the facial and bodily features that exposed an individual's moral qualities, no doubt a reference back to the word's more literal meaning. For example, in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (I.ii, 51): "I will believe thou has a mind that suits/ With this thy faire and outward character." In the eighteenth century the term was used to describe the total qualities which make up an individual (or a "race, viewed as a homogeneous whole"), which come either from nature or culture, as well as the general meaning "reputation. In his treatment of "Of the Love of Fame" in his *Treatise of Human Nature,* Hume spoke of "Our reputation, our character, our name," for example. (qtd. in Annette Baier, *Death and Character: Further Reflections on Hume* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 4. It also came to refer to eccentric persons, on the understanding that it must have been unique natural and cultural circumstances that brought about unique individuals. For more on character as "a semantic complex in which the ethical, the physiognomic, the typographic, and even the numismatic merge," see Deirdre Shauna Lynch, *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture, and the Business of Inner Meaning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) especially 29-47.

[135] Baier, 4.

[136] Ivor Pritchard. "Character Education: Research Prospects and Problems," *American Journal of Education* 96:4 (Aug., 1988), 469-495.

To Owen, human nature was the malleable "stuff" out of which character was modeled. All persons "are born with certain faculties and qualities, or with the germs or seeds of them," Owen wrote, "and . . . these combined constitute what is called human nature." He continued, "[T]hese faculties and qualities differ in each individual in strength and in combination, and to so great an extent as to render it highly improbable that any two infants have been, or ever will be, born alike."[137] The first thing every person had in common, therefore, was the presence of a seed-bed (to extend Owen's analogy), though the type of seed therein might vary from person to person. The second thing every human had in common was that every person's "nature" responds in the same ways to educational influence, despite these variations "in strength and in combination." Therefore, every person's nature constituted a seed-bed from whence the vegetation of character would grow, given the correct environmental stimuli; sunlight and water would produce lush foliage; lack of these "circumstances" would render only dead stalks.[138]

While his emphasis is on extrapersonal conditions, Owen cannot be seen as a strict environmentalist since he recognizes different "faculties and qualities" in each individual's unique human nature. Owen was so convinced of the strength of his claim that he describes the process as occurring "[i]n conformity with what appears to be a universal law in creation."[139] His argument is the most similar to that of Hume, who argued in the *Treatise* that:

> The skin, pores, muscles, and nerves of a day-labourer are different from those of a man of quality: So are his sentiments, actions and manners. The different stations of life influence the whole fabric, external and internal; and these different stations arise

---

[137] Robert Owen, "Two Memorials on Behalf of the Working Classes," in *Selected Works of Robert Owen in 4 volumes*, ed. Gregory Claeys, (London: Pickering, 1993), 261.

[138] For a history of the analogy of humans to plants and the metaphor of education as "cultivation," see Rebecca Bushnell, *A Culture of Teaching: Early Modern Humanism in Theory and Practice* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

[139] Owen, "Two Memorials," 261.

necessarily, because uniformly, from the necessary and uniform principles of human nature.[140]

To paraphrase, the work done by bodies—in this case that dictated by an individual's "station"—determine his or her physical and moral features (external and internal "fabric").

Owen insisted that he devised his argument for character education not from reading the texts of Locke, Hume, or other philosophers but from first-hand "study of human nature itself."[141]   The consistency of human nature from person to person is "a fact obvious to our senses," he argued; one would have to be:

> defective in knowledge . . . to imagine that it is a different human nature, which by its own power forms itself into a child of ignorance, of poverty, and of habits leading to crime and to punishment; . . . or to fancy that it is some undefined, blind, unconscious process of human nature itself, distinct from instruction, that forms the sentiments and habits of the men of commerce, of agriculture, the law, the church, the army, the navy, or of the private and illegal depredator on society.

What is unique about Owen's passage is his insistence, clear in this last passage, that persons of different socio-economic levels of society are subject to the same "universal laws" by which human nature operates and whereby character is formed. Both "the men of commerce" and "the men . . . of agriculture" are formed of the same stuff; the characters of "the men of . . . the church" made of the same material processes as the "depredator," or thief. What is more, it is the same human nature "which constitutes the societies of the Jews, of Friends, and of all the various religious denominations which have existed or which now exist. No!," he continues, "human nature, save the minute differences which are ever found in all the compounds of the creation, is one and the same in all; it is without exception universally plastic."[142]   In other

---

[140] Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature, Introduction by A. D. Lindsay, In 2 Volumes* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1940, Vol. 2, 115-116.

[141] Owen, *New View*, "Essay III," 11.

[142] Ibid., "Essay IV," 84-85.

words, an infant was not born into a particular social status, but was impressed into it by the physical and social circumstances which defined the environment of his growth. Owen projected that continued attention to circumstances would result not just in populations with uniformly improved characters, but something approaching "a new existence, so greatly excelling, in all respects, that which we have hitherto known, that we shall be inclined to consider it as a new human nature."[143]

2. Character Education

Character was considered a key part of the debate over the efficacy of the Poor Laws because, unlike the ordinary poor, to whom aid was habitually given, those whose names were new to parish registries were the subject of scrutiny when monies were low. Both the bodies and the characters of those applying for aid were evaluated to determine whether or not they were "deserving" or "undeserving" of aid. But as Judith Frank writes, the body and the character were elided because "[t]he fixing of character takes place through the testimony of the body."[144] Put another way, one "read" character in bodily signs.

Since this distinction was made on the basis of the appearance and demeanor of the applicant, it was in the interest of the pauper to attempt to maintain a clean, healthy body, to

---

[143] Report of the proceedings at the several public meetings held in Dublin by Robert Owen on the 18th March, 12th April, 19th April, and 3d May : preceded by an introductory statement of his opinions and arrangements at New Lanark : extracted from his "Essays on the formation of the human character", Dublin, 1823. *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2009, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): 11-12. http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U106980466&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 12 January 2009).

[144] Judith Frank, *Common Ground: Eighteenth-Century English Satiric Fiction and the Poor* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.), 99.

wear neat clothes, and to avoid any behavior which indicated mendicancy. The "deserving,"

therefore, were typically persons who were gainfully employed yet still struggling with their

budgets. Although it would become more prevalent later in the century, already the concept of

self-help—emphasis is on individuals in general and the poor in particular relying on their own

wits and resources—was considered a key indicator of someone's character. The result, as Sarah

Jordan describes it, was that those who "appear[ed] less in need of charity, . . . receive[d] more

of it."[145] Put another way, aid was not just given on account of need,[146] but upon what Harrison

calls "a self-reflexive projection of middle class values,"[147] a projection of what kind of person

made the best citizen in the increasingly liberal state. It was the wish of every middle class

reformer to see members of the working class doing as they had done: as the rising classes took

over the care of the poor from the traditional governing classes, they imposed upon the poor their

own values of hard work and their increasingly dominant belief in the power of self-help. This

not only served to discipline the laboring classes but to bolster the argument for their own

leadership.[148]

Physiognomy, or evaluation of the inner qualities of a person through analysis of his or

her outer appearance, is not unique to the early nineteenth century.[149] However, its use in

---

[145] Jordan, "Grotesque Bodies," 67.

[146] Lauren M. E. Goodlad, *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State: Character and Governance in a Liberal Society* (Baltimore : The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 593.

[147] Harrison, *Quest,* 24.

[148] Goodlad, 594.

[149] The most recent treatment of physiognomy in this time period is Sharrona Pearl's *About Faces: Physiognomy in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Pearl's consideration of physiognomic methods as diagnostic practice illustrates that, although physiognomy began as an analysis of individual character, it became a way of evaluating whole groups of people. See also Lucy Hartley, *Physiognomy and the Meaning of Expression in Nineteenth-Century Culture,* Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture 29 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

character analysis is associated with the late eighteenth- and nineteenth century shifts in charitable reform because the middle classes reformulated the ways that pauper bodies were interpreted.[150] Under the old moral economy, poor persons were bound by reciprocal duty to those who aided them, and they adhered to bodily habits which indicated their deference to their betters. They bowed, for example, and in so doing, their bodies were "shap[ed] . . . to a more to a more slumped and servile posture."[151] But stripped of these conformity-inducing behaviors, the bodies of the poor were laid bare, and their actual physical condition was open to scrutiny. Close inspection of the bodies of the poor indicated difference: their undernourished bodies and their dull and unvaried clothing stood in stark contrast to the well-fed, disciplined bodies and distinct clothing of persons of the upper classes.[152] In fact, "To most comfortable-class writers, the bodies of the so-called 'idle' poor were grotesque, objects of fear and revulsion." Jordan writes. [153] Newman adds that "[t]he rapidly increasing number and concentration of poor bodies disturbed and disgusted their betters, filling them with fearful Hogarthian visions of a world without order."[154] This latter reference is to the engravings of artist William Hogarth (1697-1794) whose vivid engravings on moral subjects, like the series "Industry and Idleness" and the pair "Beer Street" and "Gin Lane" [FIGURE 7] were familiar to late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century readers. Although "Beer Street" and "Gin Lane" reference contemporary connotations about alcohol consumption and productivity of various classes, the decrepit bodies

---

[150] Newman, 16-17.

[151] Ibid., 9.

[152] Ibid., 8-10.

[153] Jordan, "Grotesque Bodies," 62.

[154] Newman, 9.

of the gin-drinkers in the latter print came to epitomize the bodies of the poor in general: unsympathetic (the mother, center, whose child is falling into the sewer), diseased (the pock-marked leg of the careless mother), and soon to die, as symbolized by the coffin-makers shop sign and the ominous hanged figure in the top-right corner of the print.

When the laboring-class body was not industriously engaged in work that would benefit 'society' (by which was generally meant the middle and upper classes), it was seen as disgustingly appetitive, dirty, and uncontainable. Conversely, bodily attributes considered grotesque were seen as signs of idleness, and therefore, of undeservingness. Following John Barrell, Sarah Jordan argues in *The Anxieties of Idleness: Idleness in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture* that the cultural preoccupation with industriousness in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain was the glue that held the society together as the landed classes withdrew from their traditional role as the nation's donors of charitable aid. Without the moral economy of the estate to regulate the behaviors of the laboring classes, members of the governing classes promoted the concept of industry to stem the tide of what they perceived to be the propensity of the poor for idleness. After a century of massive market growth, the English considered themselves among the most industrious citizens of Europe, and correspondingly stereotyped the French as liberal and lazy.[155] It was a matter not just of personal taste or even middle class aesthetic standards but rather of national interest, that those who received aid were those who would contribute to national success.[156]

---

[155] Jordan, *Anxieties of Idleness,* 16-17. See also Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 1994).

[156] For the sources of what Jan De Vries calls the "industrious revolution" of the eighteenth century, or changes in attitudes towards work and leisure that accompanied rapidly growing markets, see De Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), and Hans-Joachim Voth, "Work and the Sirens of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century London," in M. Bianchi, ed., *The Active Consumer. Novelty and Surprise in Consumer Choice* (London: Routledge, 1998).

In her article "From Grotesque Bodies to Useful Hands: Idleness, Industry, and the

Labouring Class," Sarah Jordan describes how authors employed select rhetorical strategies to

render working-class persons less menacing. More specifically, the use of the term "hands" to

FIGURE 7 William Hogarth, *Gin Lane*, engraving, 1751.

refer to members of the laboring-class is not only a figure of speech, she argues, but "metonymic

and metaphoric dismemberments [that] worked to erase the threatening or disturbing aspects of

the bodies."[157] References to workers as "hands," (or, although more rarely, "feet") were references to those parts which were economically useful; the brains and hearts of the pauper were not invoked.[158] Any body parts that were "drunk, sick, [or] contaminated . . . appeared to demonstrate flawed character."[159] Therefore, both the moral and physical features of a candidate for relief were taken into account. For example, in his treatment of charity relief in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Philadelphia, Simon P. Newman notes that relief registries indicated not just the physical but the moral condition of individual bodies. Instead of relating the handicaps of bodies in what we would call clinical terms, descriptions of deformed bodies included "expressions of strikingly caustic and negative judgments" regarding those who were applying for aid.

This practice would have made character education desirable for the poor as well as for the members of the governing classes who sought their productive labor. If paupers were able to portray or even merely simulate the appearance of someone with good character, their likelihood of receiving parish aid would increase. As parishes grew in number and the persons applying for aid were increasingly unknown to heritors, an applicant would be able to get away with simply feigning the bodily language of goodness.

G. New Lanark as Experiment: Theoretical Considerations

---

[157] Jordan, "Grotesque Bodies," 69.

[158] Ibid., 68.

[159] Newman, 8.

84

Owen had several choices when faced with the two-pronged problem of proposing Poor Law reform in general and managing New Lanark in particular. He deftly combined these efforts by referring to his own management reforms at New Lanark as an "experiment," one which, he described in the essays of *A New View*, could be replicated at other sites as a remedy of the nation's Poor Law problems. Like other groups of industrial workers, the inhabitants of New Lanark had been "systematically impressed with early errors"[160] and as a result, had developed characters "formed upon . . . principle[s] quite unfavourable to individual or general happiness."[161] Yet he remained hopeful, arguing that it was not just the village of New Lanark but all of Britain (and later, he would argue, the entire world) that was in need of a new system of society.

Although he did not refer to himself as a scientist in the period under consideration, Owen framed himself in terms of someone who had observed the mechanisms of society and understood, better than others, the laws of society and how to manipulate them. What the "men of science"[162] and political economists could not do, he could: "This appalling difficulty, in political economy, can be alone overcome in the present stage of society, by scientific arrangements, founded on foresight, produced by extensive experience."[163] While his *Observations on the effect of the manufacturing system* (1815) provided only modest "hints for the improvement of those parts of the system which are most injurious to health and morals,"

---

[160] Owen, *New View*," Essay III," 33.

[161] Owen, *Observations on the effect of the manufacturing system*, 3.

[162] Owen, *Permanent relief,* 3.

[163] Owen, *An explanation*, 4-5.

Owen spoke directly to his fellow manufacturers in the Fourth Essay of *A New View*. Sharing

the secret of his reform, Owen revealed even to his competitors that:

> From the commencement of [his] management [he] viewed the population, with the mechanism and every other part of the establishment, as a system composed of many parts, and which it was my duty and interest so to combine, as that every hand, as well as every spring, lever, and wheel, should effectually co-operate to produce the greatest pecuniary gain to the proprietors.[164]

In doing so, he realized that disorders in the social "machinery" of the manufactory could

and should be treated in the same manner as those in the inanimate machines upon which the

industrialist's wealth was built. "Experience has also shown you," he wrote:

> the difference of the results between working machines which are neat, clean, well arranged, and always in a high state of repair; and those which are allowed to be dirty, in disorder, without the requisite ingredient to prevent unnecessary friction, and agents and instruments which therefore become, and work, much out of repair. In the first case the whole economy and management are good; consequently every operation proceeds with ease, order, and success. In the last the reverse must follow, and a scene be presented of counteraction, confusion, and dissatisfaction among all the interested or occupied in the general process, and which cannot fail to create great loss.[165]

Through the development of this extended metaphor, Owen set up his readers for the crucial

question: "If then due care as to the state of your inanimate machines can produce such

beneficial results, what may not be expected, if you devote equal attention to your vital

machines, which are far more wonderfully constructed?" In other words, Owen brought to the

attention of his readers the economic importance of paying attention to their labor forces.

Workers had "real value," he wrote; when manufacturers directed their attentions from their

technological gadgets to their "living machines," they would "discover that the latter may be

easily trained and directed to procure a large increase of pecuniary gain." Although this passage

reads as Owen's attempt to appeal to the more selfish motives of his readers from the

---

[164] Owen, *New View,* "Essay III," 3-6.

[165] Ibid.

manufacturing class, it also implies an appeal to their moral sensibilities, because his logic

reveals his contention that, just as the movements of machines can be known "with mathematical

precision," the mechanism which operated beneath the surface of human groups was just as

knowable.[166] Knowledge about human nature could allow manufacturers to harness the powers

and strengths of capable, well-maintained "vital machines." Although proposed at the local

level, these reforms, if carried out *en masse*, all over the country, would result in a "collective

force" that would correct the country's rampant pauperism. And because the manufacturing class

was so wealthy, this reform would take "little exertion" since, he told them, "you . . . have, all

the funds which are necessary."[167]

His reform plans to manufacturers largely ignored, Owen extended his offers of reform to

the both the monarchy and the Parliament. In fact, by the time he wrote *A New View*, Owen

placed the burden of reform squarely on legislators, arguing that "[t]he only mode by which [his

plans] for remedying society" can be accomplished is to obtain an Act of Parliament."[168] He

would later advocate, "It is surely deserving the attention of the legislators of the present day to

make one grand and united effort."[169] So despite his industrial roots and his early aspirations for

entry into parliamentary government, Owen ended by fashioning his identity as a guide to the

government on his credentials as a scientist of society. The new scientist demanded a laboratory.

---

[166] Ibid.

[167] Owen, "Mr. Owen's Speech at a Public Dinner at which he presided, Given to Joseph Lancaster at Glasgow in 1812" in *Selected Works of Robert Owen*, ed. by Gregory Claeys, (London, W. Pickering, 1993), 7-10; 9.

[168] Owen, *Observations on the effect of the manufacturing system*, 9.

[169] Owen, *New View*, "Essay I," 7.

H. Conclusion

      Owen might have chosen to follow the path of many of his fellow manufacturers by establishing harsh disciplinary consequences for bad behavior, such as longer hours and corporal punishment. Instead, he sought "to introduce confidence, regularity, and harmony" through new methods of village administration.[170] These methods included management of the relationship between people and machines within the manufactory and proper education, for both children and adults, within the community at large.

      With his focus on the "circumstances" with which industrial workers are surrounded, Owen wrote that he had "to commence de novo in creating my own combination of conditions, . . [ones] very different from those which existed at this period in the village and works of New Lanark."[171] But because he started this experiment at the mill purchased from Dale, Owen did not, despite his own description, start "de novo." There were too many important elements which he could not change. The physical layout of the village and its position outside Lanark, and both the occupational and domestic arrangements of the village workers were established by Dale and Arkwright before Owen became a purchasing partner of the firm. Even a decade and a half after moving to New Lanark, Owen said of his project at the opening of the institution on 1 January 1816, that "more preparation is necessary, and must take place, before the whole can be introduced. It is not intended to put it into practice here. The establishment was too far advanced on the old system before I came amongst you to admit of its introduction, except to a limited

---

[170] Robert Owen, "Essay Second," 19. See also Owen, *Address on opening the Institution*, 6.

[171] Owen, *Life*, 79.

extent."[172] He clearly felt frustrated. "There would have been no difficulty in forming, without individual punishment or reward, a good character upon all; nor in enabling them with pleasure to surround themselves at all times with a superfluity of the most valuable wealth, if I had had the means to create, on a new foundation and site, the combination of conditions which can alone effect these results."[173]

To counteract the exasperating behaviors of the adult population, Owen focused on education of the new generation of villagers. In order to "to take them . . . out of . . . evil conditions, and to place them within better conditions for forming their tempers and habits," he wrote, Owen committed an estimated £5000, "a considerable annual outlay after [the Napoleonic] wars," in order "[t]o erect and finish a building" to serve as a school for New Lanark's children. Though it was going to be expensive, Owen argued that the cost "would gradually be amply repaid by the improved character of the children, and the improved condition of the parents." As Owen goes on to describe, this action prompted the ire of the parish minister, whose duty it was to educate the children of the parish, the parents who were not accustomed to sending their children to school at as young an age as Owen proposed, and his partners, who did not understand the necessity of spending so much money on what appeared to them a superfluity.[174] "I began in 1809," he wrote, "to clear the foundation for the infant and other schools, to form the new character of the rising population."[175] Although he was unable to establish this school until 1 January 1816 because of problems with partners, Owen persevered

---

[172] Robert Owen, *Address on opening the Institution,* 25.

[173] Owen, *Life*, 79.

[174] Ibid., 84.

[175] Ibid., 85.

because he believed his educational project to be "the first rational step ever carried in practice towards forming a rational character for the human race."[176] He believed:

> The difficulty of undoing and overcoming that which has long been wrong, greatly exceeds the difficulty of putting matters right from the beginning. That which I could have done comparatively perfectly in two years, had I possessed the means unfettered by partners and ignorant prejudices, I could not effect under the erroneous combination of a cotton spinning establishment, such as then existed at New Lanark, with the most devoted attention to the subject in the thirty years during which I directed the operations of that establishment.[177]

He did this on the assumption, stated years earlier, that if you "[g]ive but a rational education, now easily to be accomplished, to all those in the lower walks of life, and the character of the whole community will rise many degrees; and, while none can suffer by this measure, all must be essentially benefited."[178]

In rejecting the claims of the political economists and turning to the study of human nature, Owen was not only seeking an answer outside of the context of the popular debate, but he was also returning to some of the most basic assumptions of political economy itself. Believing himself advanced in theory, Owen concentrated on practice and, feeling himself accomplished, opened the doors of New Lanark to the world.

---

[176] Ibid., 153.

[177] Ibid., 79.

[178] Owen, "Mr. Owen's Speech at a Public Dinner," 9.

CHAPTER II: Not "Born to Blush Unseen": New Lanark and the Romantic Witness

A. Introduction: Witnessing

In the "Second Essay" of *A New View of Society*, Owen argued that if the leaders of the state really wanted to improve society, they had no excuse but to implement his plan. "What then remains to prevent such a system from being immediately adopted into national practice? Nothing, surely, but a general distribution of the knowledge of the practice."[1] For this reason, Owen continued Dale's practice of keeping the New Lanark mills open for visitors. The empiricist rhetoric of Owen's *New View* and other writings indicate very clearly that he thought the best way to understand New Lanark was to see it. Writing to convince readers of the efficacy of his plan, Owen wrote that his own "experience . . . made [the proof of his experiment] evident beyond all doubt."[2] But unless they could trust his word on the matter, first-hand experience was their only option.

When Owen dedicated the first Essay of *A New View* to William Wilberforce, in an attempt to lasso the help of the famous abolitionist, he pointed out that Wilberforce would be unable to understand, much less champion, Owen's plans without witnessing them. He wrote:

My experience of human nature, as it is now trained, does not, however, lead me to expect that even your mind, without personal inspection, can instantaneously give credit to the full extent of

---

[1] Owen, *A New View of Society; or, Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character, and the Application of the Principle to Practice,* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1813), *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2008, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U103252708&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 18 December 2008), "Essay II," 233-4.

[2] "Political Economy," *Derby Mercury*, 1 August 1818.

the practical advantages which are to be derived from an undeviating adherence to the principles displayed in the following pages.[3]
Owen not only expects Wilberforce to need to view New Lanark for himself, but coyly bases this

assessment of Wilberforce's needs on his own "experience of human nature," thus implying that

he can understand Wilberforce's needs as he would understand anyone's. In fact, he adds that

"far less is such an effect to be anticipated from the first ebullition of public opinion."[4] In other

words, any person, even a champion of human rights like Wilberforce, is essentially ignorant of

the truth of Owen's claims until he or she witnesses the results of his New Lanark experiment

first-hand.

Steven Shapin notes that practitioners of phrenology in this time period also emphasized

the nakedness of truth and the ability of the public to see the truth for themselves.[5] Similarly,

John van Wyhe describes the practice of phrenology as a "science of faith"; practitioners added

to their use of received knowledge about the meanings of cranial topography a "belief in

observational certainty."[6] These conclusions are supported by the statements in the anonymous

article on "Phrenology, Morals and Metaphysics" in the *Edinburgh Magazine and Literary*

Miscellany:

---

[3] Owen, *A New View of Society; or, Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character, and the Application of the Principle to Practice,* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1813), The Making of the Modern World (Gale 2008, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman):
http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U103252708&src htp=a&ste=14 (accessed 18 December 2008), "Essay I," iii-iv.

[4] Ibid.

[5] See "Phrenological Knowledge and the Social Structure of Nineteenth-Century Edinburgh" (A*nnals of Science* 32, 1975): 219–243; and "*The Politics of Observation: Cerebral Anatomy and Social Interests in the Edinburgh Phrenology Disputes*," in *On the Margins of Science: The Social Construction of Rejected Knowledge*, ed. Roy Wallis, Sociological Review Monographs, vol. xxvii (Keele: Keele University Press, 1979), pp. 139-178, 146.

[6] John van Wyhe. "Was Phrenology a Reform Science*?* Towards a New Generalization for Phrenology," *History of Science* xlii (2004) 313-331.

The great and preliminary question which is at issue between the disciples of the new [Phrenological] school and their antagonists is one of *fact*, and as such it is a question which may, and which ought to be, settled by observation.-Those who have taken the affirmative side are, in language at least, sufficiently candid. They desire none to embrace their opinions upon their evidence. They merely state, they say, the result of their own observations, and they anxiously solicit others to observe for themselves.[7]

This "nakedness" corresponds to Matthew Wickman's recognition of the increasing emphasis on first-hand understanding in Romantic-era Scotland. Traveling to New Lanark was a personal experience of landscapes and peoples which shaped cultural attitudes towards truth and representation.   In a country filled with so much potential for the pursuit of fantasy, Owen's experiment was no less about the creation of the belief in the potential of reform, than about reformation itself. In this chapter, I treat New Lanark as a tourist destination and the role that this played in Owen's attempts to convince the public of the efficacy of his claims. People visited New Lanark to witness Owen's social experiment in pauper management, fully expecting to see and evaluate poor persons, their bodies and their characters. But the proximity of New Lanark to the Falls of Clyde, and in particular the sublime views of Corra Linn, rendered a visit to Owen's social experiment part of a larger recreational and aesthetic experience for visitors.[8]

For example, a gentleman wrote to a friend in London on 24 June 1819 about his tour of Scotland. The letter was reprinted in *The Kaleidoscope; or, Literary and Scientific Mirror* of 20 July. In this letter, he detailed a common experience for visitors of Scotland's west side. After a peaceful stroll through "beautiful grounds," he was "suddenly awakened from [his] reverie, by the roaring sound of many waters." Then, with "sensations of delight and of terror," he writes, "I was standing on the precipitous brink of a fearful and giddy height, and down below, through the misty and spangled abyss, I looked on the awful cauldron of Cora Lynn."

---

[7] October 1819, (299-304) 300.

[8] In the interest of consistency, I employ the modern spelling of the four waterfalls of Lanarkshire— Bonnington Linn, Corra Linn, Dundaff Linn, and Stonebyres Linn. However, I retain other spellings if quoting from primary documents.

Immediately following this sublime experience, however, the author continues the narrative by relating a very different experience. He continued, "I have a much greater curiosity than this to tell you of, the beauties of which, though born to blush unseen, must be seen to be believed, as they defy all description: I mean the moral and infinitely superior beauties of the village of New Lanark, which I visited on my return from the Falls."[9] The remainder of the letter, which takes up three columns on the front page of *The Kaleidoscope*, describes the village and the school as a "happy valley." This view he describes as deserving of "much greater curiosity" than even the sublime views of Corra Linn.

This narrative illustrates how visitors to Lanarkshire often combined visits to the area's breath-taking natural attractions with a visit to Owen's experimental village. Just a short walk apart, Corra Linn and New Lanark were natural partners in a visitor's itinerary. The *Kaleidoscope* narrative also shows how both experiences fit into early nineteenth century visual culture. By visual culture, I do not mean the creation or interpretation of pictures of New Lanark, but the meanings and cultures of seeing and experiencing. Although Owen presented detailed descriptions of New Lanark in his *New View* and other writings, he wrote that "[t]he proof of this is in existence, open to the inspection and investigation of all. It is reduced to matter of fact, by an experiment which was made under the following circumstances."[10] He taunt his reader to go beyond reading his plans; to see them: "Let them be scrutinized with the eye of penetration itself."[11]

---

[9] *The Kaleidoscope; or, Literary and Scientific Mirror*, 20 July.

[10] Owen, *New View*, "Essay II," 10.

[11] Ibid., iv.

FIGURE 8 Anonymous, "View of Corra Linn, Falls of the Clyde," from
*The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of
Useful Knowledge* 29 September 1832. Collection of the Author.

What was "the eye of penetration?" I argue that it was the "eye," or the vision, with

which Owen wanted and expected visitors to New Lanark to examine his experiment.   The same

"eye" that grasped the goings-on at New Lanark was that which had been trained through

literary and cultural means to interpret landscapes, like that of Corra Linn, and to construct

picturesque sites, like those found in the surrounding countryside. This was the eye of

experience, an eye that not only viewed scenes of public benevolence but was able to

contextualize and understand its wider import and meaning. "Experience" in the eighteenth

century was understood to be not only a person's physical and even physiological presence

within a plenum of sensory stimuli, but also the individual's reflection upon that stimuli. This

definition was rooted in Locke's associationism, which theorized how the mind converted

sensory experience into ideas and then grouped these ideas into categories and, ultimately,

knowledge. Owen was aware that many of the people who visited New Lanark were tourists in

search of particular kinds of experience, and so he crafted their time there to complement their expectations. In turn, visitors became part of Owen's social experiment, providing the spectatorship necessary to effect real social change.

Spectacle and spectatorship were not without their moral implications, no matter how entertaining their context. By definition, spectatorship set up the spectator in a moral relationship with the objects of spectacle.[12] This relationship, forged through visual means, was a necessary part of Owen's attempts to convince visitors of the practicality of his project. But it also placed the visitors in a place similar to that of the inhabitants of Owen's village, because that which attracted visitors to Lanarkshire's waterfalls and crumbling ruins—the ability of that environment to affect and even change them—was the same on which Owen based his experiment. What is more, they were observing this experiment in Scotland, a place described as magical and primitive in contemporary literature. As we shall see, this context was not without its consequences for the public's analysis of Owen's works.

With these factors in mind, this chapter is based on the following questions: If a significant number of visitors to New Lanark were in Lanarkshire to take in the sublime and

---

[12] I am using the term spectacle in its most basic sense: a visual display crafted to appeal to the eye and to remain in the memory. In its critical sense, however, the term refers to the politics of modern capitalism, a usage introduced by Henri Lefebvre in *Critique of Everyday Life* in 1947 and elaborated with Marxian theory by Guy DuBord in *Society of the Spectacle* in 1968. Michel Foucault set up his analysis of surveillance in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975) in direct opposition to these theories, arguing that surveillance (punishment inside the prison, for example) is the pattern of power that replaced the spectacle (punishment at the public scaffold). But as Jonathan Crary has noted, actions can be at once spectacular and surveillant. I have argued elsewhere ("'Living Machines': Dance Education at Robert Owen's New Lanark School, 1816-1828," a paper presented at the annual meeting of CHEIRON, The International Society for the History of the Behavioral and Social Sciences, Toronto, Canada, 27 June 2008) that Crary's statement applies to the performances of dances by children, but for the purposes of this argument I maintain instead that the visual patterns in operation in Owen's Institute classroom were structured around the more dynamic uses of vision described by Adam Smith in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759). See Conclusion below. See also, Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life* (New York: Verso, 1991); Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle* (Detroit: Red and Black, 1970); and Jonathan Crary, "Spectacle, Attention, Counter-Memory," in *October: The Second Decade, 1986-1996*, ed. Rosalind Krauss, et al. (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997), 415. For a clear example of the elision of spectacle and surveillance, see John S. Turner, II, "Collapsing the Interior/Exterior Distinction: Surveillance, Spectacle, and Suspense in Popular Cinema," *Wide Angle* 20:4 (1998), 93-123.

picturesque sites of the county, how did this experience affect their reactions to Owen's experiment? If trained to understand the meanings deemed inherent in landscapes and other designed objects, did they approach the spectacle of Owen's "science of circumstances" with the "eye of penetration" he desired them to have? What, if any, "associations" were forged between the sublime experience of viewing Corra Linn and the potentially beautiful experience of listening to happy, well-fed pauper children sing a Scottish air? Why was New Lanark described by the writer of the article in the 20 July issue of *The Kaleidoscope* as beautiful?

Several scholars have noted New Lanark's position adjacent to such sublime sights, but few have analyzed this historical circumstance. Ian Donnachie points out that "[t]he astute Owen" was not only aware of the attraction of Corra Linn to visitors, but he "realised the potential to exploit this situation, and from 1815 onwards it was undoubtedly the beauty of the surroundings and celebrity of New Lanark as a place of social reform that helped trigger the apparent growth in tourism."[13] In other words, Owen was not responsible for the placement of New Lanark at its close distance to Corra Linn and its attractions, but he was certainly aware of the effect this situation would have on visitors to his school and village. Although Donnachie describes the picturesque as one "ingredient" in New Lanark tourism (and industrial tourism in general), he does not relate the effects of this aesthetic on the viewer.[14] Similarly, Malcolm Andrews pointed out in his survey of landscape aesthetics in the time period under consideration that "the New Lanark cotton mills a few hundred yards downstream [from Corra Linn] were noisily harnessing the Clyde's hydraulic power. The two worlds lived side by side: refined

---

[13] "Historic Tourism to New Lanark and the Falls of Clyde 1795-1830. The Evidence of Contemporary Visiting Books and Related Sources," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 2:3 (2004), 160.

[14] See Ibid., 145.

patrician pleasure-grounds, and the new age of mass production and experimental socialism."[15] Although Owen's experiment was not what can rightly be called socialism, the point remains that that juxtaposition of Owen's experiment in social reproduction with the sublime sights requires more consideration. In fact, New Lanark, as constructed by Owen, was a laboratory *within* a pleasure-ground, a place where a new kind of mass production—that of citizens—was taking place not "side by side," but in the same space and at the same time.

B. 'All the world is travelling to Scotland'[16]

In the quarter-century before Owen established New Lanark as a public site, tourism to Scotland increased as a result of several factors: technological innovations which improved the comfort of visitors to the Highlands and other rural locales, a growing British middle class that was interested in viewing the more primitive places in the United Kingdom, and cultural trends which promoted travel in general and landscape tourism in particular. In the period from 1770 to 1800, travel to Scotland went from being a rare and uncomfortable experience undertaken by only the most curious élite, to a much sought-after experience for the *bon ton*, a trend which would not abate until the advent of rail travel in the 1840s.

Owen's own travels into the northern half of the United Kingdom can be used to illustrate the state of travel into Scotland at the end of the eighteenth century. Owen first traveled to

---

[15] Andrews, *In Search of the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Aldershot, 1989), 231. Andrews's description of Owen's factory as "noisy" is debatable. Lorna Davidson of the New Lanark Conservation Trust argues that, since they were water-powered and not steam-driven, the mills at New Lanark did not generate a lot of noise. I contend that even without the noise of steam, several mills-worth of machinery would produce quite a clatter. Davidson, Lorna. *Personal Communication*. September 2008.

[16] Elizabeth Diggle, Letter [1788], qtd. in Andrews, *In Search of the Picturesque,* 201.

Glasgow in the 1790s to meet customers of his Chorlton Twist Company. It was "no easy

traveling," he wrote, adding that, "[t]his was before mail coaches were established, and we were

two nights and three days incessantly traveling in coaches, in going from Manchester to

Glasgow, -- for the roads were then in a deplorable condition."[17] When he and an acquaintance

went further north, "to see the country," a young woman he met, "Miss Dale," he wrote later,

"asked me if I had seen the falls of the Clyde and her father's mills…."[18] As he later noted,

"This visit to Glasgow was the cause of a new phase in my history, and became a circumstance

which had a great influence on my subsequent proceedings." Not only would he later marry

Miss Dale, but he would, in 1797, purchase the New Lanark Mills from David Dale. "Little did I

imagine when I first saw this establishment . . . that I should ever become part proprietor and

ultimately sole manager of it."[19]

As it turned out, Owen's first visit to Scotland in the 1790s coincided with the first major

wave of mass travel there. Traveling to Scotland became popular in the eighteenth century when

various notables, such as Samuel Johnson and his friend James Boswell, himself a Scot, braved

the difficult roads and passages to see the primitive Highlands and islands. Although Johnson

was famously critical of the peoples and landscapes of Scotland, the trend continued in a more

positive direction, and Thomas Pennant's *Tour in Scotland* (1774), for example, became a

popular guide for the increasing numbers of people who looked North from England for a place

---

[17] Owen, *Life,* 44.

[18] Ibid., 46.

[19] Ibid., 53.

to visit for a holiday.[20] In this way, Owen's visit to Scotland "to see the country," detailed from

memory in his *Life* of 1857, is typical of the wave in that he was of the representative

demographic: British male; middle class, yet newly rich from industry; relatively educated,

curious, and interested in self-cultivation.

The choice of Scotland as a destination was also determined by the demographic make-

up of those taking the tours. By the 1760s and 1770s, a century of thriving commerce led to the

development of a middle class that could afford to imitate the Grand Tours of the aristocracy

with travel holidays of their own. Travelers focused their sights on Scotland because such

journeys "could also be more easily constructed as a patriotic exercise, in keeping with a self-

image that identified the middle classes as the moral and economic heart of the nation"[21] Travel

to Scotland as "patriotic exercise" was further strengthened when the Continent was effectively

"closed" by the Napoleonic Wars (1793-1803). Tourists then chose travel itineraries within their

own country in keeping with patriotic demands. This only increased the vogue for alternatives

like tours of the Lake District, walking tours, and Scotland.[22]

These treks were made possible by improvements in transportation and hospitality.

Before the rich development of commerce and trade in the eighteenth century, roads were not a

necessity in Scotland. Taxation defined by the Highways Act of 1555 provided only a small

---

[20] Johnson's comments were published in his friend James Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson L.L.D.* in 1785. For more of Johnson and landscape, see Alison Hickey, "'Extensive Views' in Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*," Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900, 32:3, Restoration and Eighteenth Century (Summer, 1992), 537-553.

[21] Thompson, 32.

[22] Amanda Gilroy, "Introduction," in *Romantic Geographies: Discourses of Travel, 1775-1844*, ed. Amanda Gilroy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 1-18; 2. The popularity of Loch Lomond, the most visited site for late eighteenth-century visitors to Scotland, likely derived from the fashion for visiting the Lake District, yet was less crowded. See Kenneth R. Cervelli, *Dorothy Wordsworth's Ecology* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 34.

amount for the maintenance of roadways, and since most travel was by wagon, many laws were in effect to limit weight and maintain standards for wheel size so as to keep the roads in as good a condition as possible. Even travel by horse in Scotland was rare because Scots used oxen as draft animals.[23] The development of commerce and trade necessitated better roads, and therefore, turnpike trusts, the private organizations set up by British merchants since the late seventeenth century to provide funds for road improvement and maintenance, increased in number and spread into Scotland in the late eighteenth century.[24] Improvements in road-building, like the development of macadam in the 1820s, made travel by road smoother and more efficient; even carriages, for those who could afford to own or rent them, became more comfortable in this period, especially after the invention of the elliptical spring by Obadiah Elliot in 1804.[25] Inns and other hospitality services were established, which would become a veritable industry with the help of the railroad in the 1840s.[26] These technologies made travel better and more enjoyable for the rich, for whom travel was a standard way to spend part of the year. They also lowered the costs of travel to distant parts of the Island, thus making travel something that the rising middle class could both afford and enjoy.

---

[23] Philip S. Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution from 1770* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 35-6.

[24] For example, there were over 1600 turnpikes by 1800, and 116 more by 1830. See Bagwell, 38-9. While the first wave of road-building was enacted for military purposes during the eighteenth century, the second wave, from 1803-1825, was funded in order to create employment opportunities, control emigration, and ease market transactions. This latter initiative was managed by the engineer Thomas Telford (1757-1834), a man called by Robert Southey "the Colossus of Roads." For a summary of statistics on the modernization of the Highlands, see John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, *Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism Since 1750* (Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1995), 61.

[25] The spring replaced leather strapping which held the carriage sufficiently but bounced the passengers to such a degree that the term "coached" was coined to describe someone accustomed to the nausea of travel. See Bagwell, 48.

[26] Gilroy, "Introduction," 2, and Thompson, 22; 41.

C. Living History: Scotland in the Romantic Age

Yet these advancements did not render the culture of Scotland any less archaic. When Owen first traveled to Scotland in the late 1790s, again using his experiences as typical of visitors to Scotland, he was reminded that services considered basic in other parts of the Kingdom were lacking in the less sophisticated North. Owen found, for example, that he did not have the correct change for tolls when passing through one of the three tollbooths on the road between Glasgow and New Lanark. For one thing, he carried large coins—guineas and half-guineas—and he also did not have the currency provided by local banks which the Scots used at the time. Therefore, at the first booth the toll keeper asked instead that Owen provide payment upon his return. When Owen replied that he was not sure of returning, the toll keeper replied "I will take the chance of that, rather than take money I do not know anything about." In the end, Owen passed all three roads without having to pay any of the tolls. He concluded that "[he] had come into a very primitive district."[27]

Just as "primitive" were the people to be found in these "district[s]"; in fact, part of the attraction of Scotland to English and even Continental visitors was the chance to glimpse "remote and primitive" peoples believed to be representative of "the infancy of society."[28] One of the more impressive and memorable sights recorded by Owen was that of washerwomen in the Edinburgh area [FIGURE 9]. He recalled:

---

[27] Owen, *Life,* 52.

[28] Murray G. H. Pittock, "Scott and the British Tourist," in Gerald Carruthers and Alan Rawes, eds., *English Romanticism and the Celtic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 155; and Kenneth McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire: Writing the Highlands, 1760-1860* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2007), 3.

As we drew nearer, our surprise increased when we saw these women with their naked legs, and their clothes held up much higher than decency required, or appeared to us at all necessary. My friend stopped, and with the greatest astonishment in his countenance said –'Is it possible, Mr. Owen, that those are living women?' I said –'They look like them, although I have never seen such an exhibition before; but these must be the habits of a country new to us'—in which we were confirmed, for as we came up and passed very near to them, they took no more notice than if we had not been near them, and made no difference in their tramping and turning in their tubs.[29]

He continued, remembering that he told his friend, "'It is evident these women think nothing of this practice,—it is another proof among thousands, that, commencing early in life, we may be taught to think any custom right or wrong, and a valuable lesson may be learned from it; for, as you saw, not one appeared to feel or think there was anything strange or wrong in what they were doing."[30] This image, which Owen described as "a singular introduction into Scotland," was, at least in his memory, an impressive sight which confirmed his environmentalist leanings. Similar associations in the text reveal that his first foray into the wilder third of Great Britain may have stimulated his thinking on the variety of human traditions, their geographical specificity, and the influence of local "circumstances" on the development of character.

Like the American Indians, Highland Scots were considered to be economically and culturally "backward" by the standards of civilization advanced by the Enlightenment-era stadial theorists.[31] Ferguson, Smith and other lowlanders saw the pastoral- and simple farming-based

---

[29] Owen, *Life*, 44.

[30] Ibid., 44-45.

[31] For the history of stadial theory and other types of proto-anthropological inquiry, see Robert Wokler, "Anthropology and Conjectural History in the Enlightenment," in Christopher Fox, Roy Porter and Robert Wokler, eds *Inventing Human Science: Eighteenth-Century Domains* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995; 31-52), 36; G. S. Rousseau, "The Anthropology of Mind and Body in the Enlightenment," in *Enlightenment Crossings: Pre-and Post-Modern Discourses, Anthropological* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991); Andrew Skinner, "Natural History in the Age of Adam Smith," *Political Studies* 15:1 (1967) 32-48; H. F. Augstein, *James Cowles Prichard's Anthropology: Remaking the Science of Man in Early Nineteenth Century Britain*, Clio Medica 52 (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999); L. J. Jordanova, "Naturalizing the Family: Literature and the Bio-Medical Sciences in the Late Eighteenth Century," in Jordanova, L. J. *Languages of Nature: Critical Essays on Science and Literature*

WASHERWOMEN.

Carlton Hill, Edinburgh.
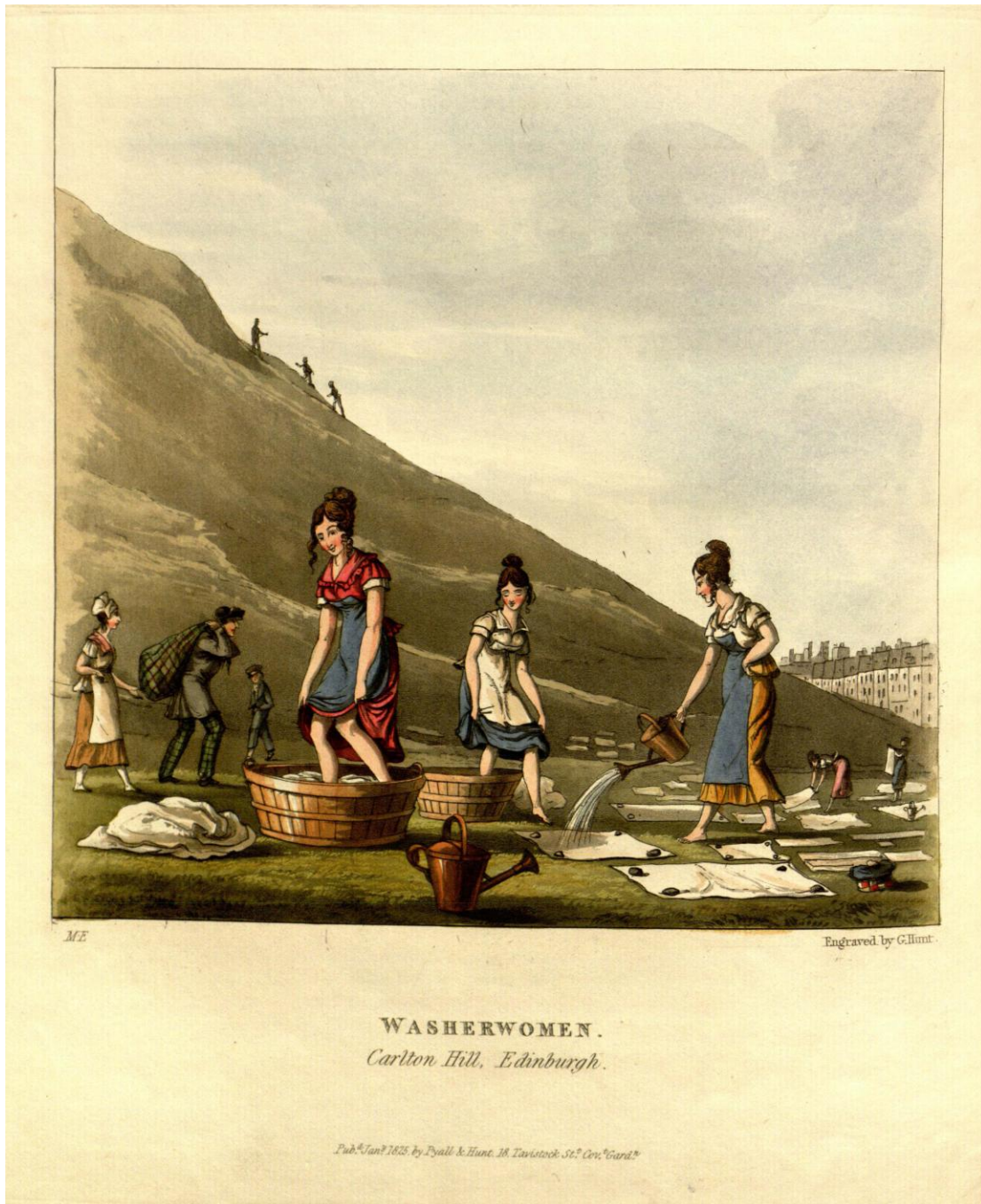
FIGURE 9 M. Egerton, and G[eorge] Hunt, "Washerwomen, Calton Hill, Edinburgh," aquatint engraving, 1825. In *Airy Nothings, or, Scraps and Naughts, and Odd-Cum-Shorts: in a Circumbendibus Hop, Step, and Jump by Olio Rigmaroll* (London, 1825). Image courtesy of the Special Collections Department of the University of St Andrews Library, St. Andrews, Scotland, UK.

(New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986); and Roger Smith, *The Norton History of the Human Sciences* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1997).

economies of Highland Scotland as exemplary of a more archaic stage than that achieved by

their English neighbors to the south. Furthermore, in contrast to civilized cultures which

embraced liberty in the form of the constitutional state, the Highlanders lived in clannish groups

whose political culture was characterized by its reliance on blood ties and covenants instead of

contracts.[32] The Highlanders were not likely to change unless they developed not only

commercial economic infrastructures, but also the polite, taste-based social sympathies that

Smith argued formed the basis of advanced economic exchange.[33] Although they displayed "fine

feelings and noble sentiments," the warlike nature and "cultural simplicity" of the Scots marked

them as savages—*not* noble savages; later, Sir Walter Scott chose to liken them to the war-like

tribal peoples of Afghanistan.[34]

Even several generations after the stadial histories of writers like Adam Smith and

William Robertson, "the rudimentary level of economic and cultural life of the Gaelic Highlands

… provided a powerful concrete example of stagnation at an early stage of social

development."[35] In his *Enquiry into the History of Scotland* of 1789, John Pinkerton (1758–

1826) used Enlightenment stadial theory to determine that Highlander savagery was due to their

---

[32] Ibid., 87.

[33] Colin Kidd, "Gaelic Antiquity and National Identity in Enlightenment Ireland and Scotland," *The English Historical Review* 103:434 (November 1994) 1197-1214; 1213. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/573872> (accessed 15 April 2008). See also Daiches, David. *The Paradox of Scottish Culture: The Eighteenth-Century Experience.* The Whidden Lectures for 1964 (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., 1198.

being Celts; he determined the Lowlanders to be of Gothic descent. This explained to him and

his supporters why the Highlanders had contributed so little to civilized life.[36]

It is ironic that the judgment that the Highlands were "primitive" came from philosophers

who lived in Lowland areas in the same nation.   Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen[37] were all

urban centers with well-established commercial classes. Their universities (with the exception of

the University of St. Andrews in Fife, which was too religious), were hubs of intellectual

creativity where a variety of ideas were tolerated in a manner unprecedented for this nation with

a religious tradition as strict as that of the Church of Scotland.[38] Despite their intellectual

toleration, denizens of the four ancient universities of Scotland saw their neighbors to the north

as "an anachronism, a people on the first rung of the ladder of social progress, sharing affinity

with other contemporaneous 'primitives' around the globe." Yet, Kenneth McNeil adds, these

peoples were also "living adjacent to, and sometimes venturing into, the civil space of the

modern nation."[39] For that reason, he points out, the case of early modern Scotland "complicates

Benedict Anderson's theory of a national community that moves 'calendrically through

homogenous, empty time.'" Regarded as a "retarded primitive society,"[40] Highland Scots lived

almost as if outside of time. For this reason, McNeil proposes that a nation is something that is

---

[36] See Ibid., 1207.

[37] Before the establishment of the University of Aberdeen in 1860, the "granite city" of Scotland had two colleges, King's College, established in 1495 and Marischal College, established in 1593. The University of St. Andrews was established in 1413, the University of Glasgow in 1451, and the University of Edinburgh in 1582.

[38] Alexander Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Historical Age of the Historical Nation* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001), 25-6.

[39] Kenneth McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire: Writing the Highlands, 1760-1860* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2007), 4. For the same point, see Kidd, "Gaelic Antiquity," 1206.

[40] Kidd, "Gaelic Antiquity," 1206.

"staged as a series of cultural encounters that are analogous, but not reducible, to simultaneous encounters in the imperial spaces elsewhere."[41] Put another way, "nationhood" exists in the interfaces between differing cultures, in the spaces created when one culture discerns itself as different from another. As Reginald Horsman states about Anglo-Saxonism, for example, "The surge of interest in primitive European peoples, an interest which encompassed their history, their language, and their myths, and which eventually became a main thread of the Romantic movement, ultimately helped to give a whole new emphasis to the Anglo-Saxons as a 'race'."[42] Owen's presentation of New Lanark villagers (whether Highlander in origin or simply of the pauper class) demonstrates this point. It is imperative to view Owen's presentation of Scottish children to the visiting public in terms of a burgeoning Romantic aesthetic which bridged the perceived temporal gap between rural individuals and the bourgeois audiences who viewed them. As will be discussed further in Chapter III, Owen's choreographed presentations of New Lanark children to visitors was a public presentation of a similar boundary.

This irony of the stadial judgment of Highland Scots was further exacerbated by the fact that, at the same time that the theory was so influential, Scotland was in fact undergoing dramatic social, economic, and technological shifts.[43] The result was "a rapidly changing country where

---

[41] McNeil, 6-7. Anderson, 26.

[42] Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism in Great Britain before 1850," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 37, no. 3 (July – September 1976): 390. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=002-0537%28197607%2F09%2937%3A3%3C387%3AOORAIG%3E2.0.CO%3B2-K> (accessed 5 February 2007).

[43] T. C. Smout, "Where Had the Scottish Economy Got to by the Third Quarter of the Eighteenth Century? in Hont, Istvan and Michael Ignatieff, eds *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 45-72.

the primitive and modern existed in striking proximity."[44] In other words, despite the fact that the area was in actuality "rapidly changing," the belief that Scotland was a primitive place played an important role in the development of a tourist industry with its advertised attractions and updated amenities. In fact, the influx of English and Continental tourists into Scotland was perceived to be a source of "[a]n additional civilizing influence."[45]

As the century went on, increasingly Highlanders participated in the creation of the Highland romance.[46] Highland contributions to the romanticization of Scottish culture constitute the Scots responded to the analysis and judgment of their neighbors, even if it was through the use of the vocabulary of that judgment. The most famous example in nineteenth-century Scottish culture is Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) who, although born in Edinburgh, was raised in the Borders at Sandyknowe. Scott, along with the folk poet Robert Burns (1759-96), native of Ayr, did as much as the English to promote the image of Scotland as a Romantic destination. Scott's poem "The Lady of the Lake," (1810), and his novels (*Waverley* of 1814, *The Heart of Midlothian* of 1818, and *Ivanhoe* of 1819), as well as his participation in the dramatic political spectacle of George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822, were so compelling that visitors sought his truths on their visits. As one visitor wrote in 1825 that, "Of all the fairy scenes which Scotland had hitherto presented to our observation, the Trossachs and Loch Katrine must undoubtedly be

---

[44] Peter France, "Primitivism and Enlightenment: Rousseau and the Scots," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 15 (1985): 71, <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0306-2473%281985%2915%3C64%3APAERAT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-V> (accessed 6 September 2007).

[45] Andrews, 201.

[46] See Kenneth McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire: Writing the Highlands, 1760-1860* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2007), 22.

set down as the most enchanting." The tableaux of the Highland landscape were, "just as . . . described in the first Canto of 'the Lady of the Lake'."[47]

As the example of Scott's literature indicates, what started in the universities as theory was propagated in popular reading. The cultivation of interest in Scottish history only supported the popularization of stadial notions. As romantic taste turned to interest in "the Gothic, medievalism, . . . ruins, . . . [and] balladry and folk literature," belief that the Highlands were a site of "living history" became widespread.[48] As one commentator wrote in London's *Monthly Review*,

Scotland seems, of late years, to have been viewed with somewhat of the same kind of curiosity with which we regard those countries that are first discovered, or that have never been explored. Travellers from the Southern division of our Island generally set out for the Northern parts of it with the same romantic ideas as if their visits were intended for New South Wales, or Otaheiti, or the recesses of Abyssinia and they return with a similar kind of admiration of what they have seen, and of what they have achieved.[49]

In other words, travelers in search of exotic locals and stimulating cultural displays need not visit "Otaheiti" or Abyssinia, but needed only trespass Gretna Green.

One of the most popular literary bases for travel to Scotland in the Romantic period was the work of James Macpherson (1736-1796), who in the century before had purportedly collected the literary works of a third-century Scottish bard by the name of Ossian. Published as "Fragments of Ancient Poetry" in 1760, "Fingal" in 1762 and "Temora" in 1763, Macpherson's "translations" were determined by most to be fakes, but this did not prevent the epic poems from

---

[47] Quoted in Robert Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero: The Image of the Highlander, 1745-1830* (East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 1998), 122.

[48] John Glendening, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland, and Literature, 1720-1820* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 11.

[49] *Monthly Review* XIV (1794), 132. in Qtd in Fernand Baldensperger, "1793-1794: Climacteric Times for 'Romantic' Tendencies in English Ideology." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 5:1 (January 1944): 3-20; 4. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-5037%28194401%295%3A1%3C3%3A1CTF%22T%3E2.0.CO%3B2-I> (accessed 2 February 2002).

becoming exceptionally popular.[50] Macpherson's suggestion that Scotland had an ancient

literary tradition equal to that of its Continental counterparts appealed to those invested in

promoting the country's merits. Yet Ossianic literature also underscored the image of Highland

peoples as primitive by bringing elements of the Highland past, however manipulated, into the

present. For the tourist, this engendered the ability to "peopl[e] the landscape with their

imagination," or to see in the Scottish countryside not just the non-human elements of the

landscape but to see history in action within it as well.[51]

In their treatment of the development of tourism in Scotland, John and Margaret Gold

point out that tourists sought evidence for the truth of the existence of Macpherson's characters

---

[50] According to John Dwyer, even those who, like Samuel Johnson, doubted the authenticity of Macpherson's poetry were loathe to criticize it; it was at least *inspired* by early Scottish and Irish writing which in Macpherson's hands became, in the words of critic Henry Mackenzie, "Eloquent, tender and sublime." Henry Mackenzie, *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland Appointed to Inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian* (Edingurgh: Constable & Co., 1805), 151. Standard works on the Ossian controversy include Fiona J. Stafford, *The Sublime Savage: A Study of James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988); and the essays in Howard Gaskill, ed., *Ossian Revisited* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1991). For a variety of views on the role of the Ossian controversy in the context of Scottish national identity, see William Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1998); Colin Kidd, "Enlightened reconstructions: the Routes of James Macpherson and Gilbert Stuart," in *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689-c. 1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993), 219-247; Susan Manning, "Ossian, Scott, and Nineteenth-Century Scottish Literary Nationalism," *Studies in Scottish Literature* 17 (1982): 39-54; Murray G. H. Pittock, especially Chapter 5: "Orc and the Primitives" in *Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789* (London: Routledge, 1997); Janet Sorensen, *The Grammar of Empire in Eighteenth-Century British Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000); Kenneth Simpson, *The Protean Scot: The Crisis of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Scottish Literature* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen Univ. Press, 1988); Richard B. Sher, "Those Scotch Imposters and their Cabal: Ossian and the Scottish Enlightenment," *Man and Nature: Proceedings of the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, ed. Roger L. Emerson (London, Ont., 1982), 55-63; Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press); Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1997); and Peter Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1989). For a reading of the sublime in the Ossian poems, see Leah Leneman, "Ossian and the Enlightenment," *Scotia* XI (1987),13-29.

[51] John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold. *Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism Since 1750* (Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1995), 54 See also L. Leneman, "The Effects of Ossian on Lowland Scotland," in J. J. Carter and J. G. H. Pittock, eds, *Aberdeen and the Enlightenment*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), 357-362.

as well as proper landscapes for recreating the Ossianic scenes in their minds.[52] A tartan-clad

Highlander on an outcropping over the heath could be considered, in the mind's eye, a character

from Scott's *Ivanhoe*, while a white-haired old man could be considered Ossian himself. As

Murray G. H. Pittock points out, many of the epic's episodes were "thinly disguised" incidents of

Jacobite history, events recent enough to be familiar to the reader. Most important to this

narrative, however, is the fact that the craze over "Ossian's" poems fed into the vogue for travel

to Scotland because the curious were anxious to see the places where scenes of the epic story

took place. A visitor to Scotland, even if only basically familiar with the controversy over

Macpherson's Ossian poems, was entering extraordinary territory when venturing to Scotland.

Here, evidence gleaned from observation and experience, like the sighting of a kilted laird or a

visit to the breath-taking geological formations at Staffa might override any "academic"

information which explained these Romantic images without resorting to mythical

interpretations.[53] In his treatment of the development of evidentiary proof in the late eighteenth

century, Mathew Wickman explores the paradoxical role of the concomitant popularity of the

"primitive" Highlands. In most of Europe, witness testimonies came to be replaced by ideas

about likelihood and other statistical means of evaluating evidence. But in Scotland, first-hand

understanding came to represent something more valuable than knowledge. In keeping with

developing Romantic ideals, eyewitness accounts became more, rather than less, utilized in

---

[52] Gold and Gold, 57.

[53] In his treatment of Ossian and other Gaelic myths Murray G. H. Pittock refers to the terms "logos" and "mythos" used by Peter Heeks to characterize dialectical identities in the construction of history. Whereas "logos" is the "demonstrable truth" of history, the "mythos" is that which is maintained by the authorities in control of the "official" narrative. Pittock summarizes that "[i]n short, British history has often neglected logos for mythos." Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland*, 1685-1789 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 174. See also Peter Heeks, "Myth, History and Theory," *History and Theory* 33:1 (1994), 1-19.

Scottish courts. I contend that the unique relationship between witnessing and truth in Scotland

is important to understanding the context of travelers' visits to New Lanark. Scotland, the site of

the primitive in the present, was a place where the mythic was authentic and where the truth was

to be challenged.

D. New Lanark and the Varieties of Romantic Experience

The people who visited New Lanark in the period under consideration (1816-1826) are

what we can call "Romantic" travelers. "Romantic Travel" is a category used to describe the

various trends in and characteristics of the travel in the period between the era of the classic

Grand Tour and the heyday of rail travel, which spawned mass tourism in the 1840s.[54]   Unlike

their Enlightenment-era counterparts, Romantic-era travelers were largely middle class and, as a

new class of consumers, the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Britons who

participated in the vogue for travel to Scotland were very likely to be of the first generation of his

or her family to make such a costly trek.[55] Despite the democratizing influences of the

technologies which made this travel possible for a larger segment of the population, Romantic

travelers, although not as rich as the Grand Tourists on whom they modeled their experiences,

were still something of an elite, because finances, literacy, and education still played a role in

access to travel.[56] In general, these travelers sought spaces and experiences which stimulated

---

[54] Gilroy, "Introduction," 2.

[55] See Glendening.

[56] Gilroy, "Introduction," 4.

their learning about themselves and the world around them. Romantic journeys were epistemological in nature, with sentimental experiences fueling conclusions about truth and moral existence.

In the case of travel to New Lanark, we can be even more specific: Owen's village attracted tourists. Although publicized as an experiment, New Lanark was functionally less a meeting-site for proto-professional scientists than a recreational site.[57] The words "tourist" and "tourism" were coined in the 1780s and 1810s, respectively, the latter defined as "travel as leisure pursuit, as . . . a source of diversion, personal self-edification, and . . . social one-upmanship."[58] If New Lanark was a tourist site, it was a place where visitors sought subjective experiences to augment their sense of self and individuality. European travelers of the Grand-Tour-era sought strictly empirical experience in keeping with their training in the Newtonian sciences, and consequently their itineraries were social markers that indicated the traveler's adherence to socially-defined taste about specific sites and rules. Travellers to Italy, for example, visited the art museums of Rome and Florence, marking themselves as conversant in the best of Continental culture for their return to polite society. Romantic tourists, on the other hand, sought unique experiences that defined them as individuals "in contradistinction to other

---

[57] Scholars debate the date of the advent of professional specialization, but it is generally concomitant with the period under consideration. J. R. R. Christie described the typical Enlightenment-era scholar as a generalist, which, as Waterston reminds his readers, does not imply he (or more rarely, she) was a "mere dilettante" (317). Making Christie's description of early nineteenth-century professionalism more specific, Susan Faye Cannon named the 1830s as the basic date for professionalization in the sciences for Britain. In turn, Roger L. Emerson argues that the process took place a near half-century earlier in the Scottish context, with specialization occurring mid-century with the members of the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh. See Christie, "The Rise and Fall of Scottish Science," in M. Crosland, ed. *The Emergence of Science in Western Europe* (London: MacMillan, 1975); Susan Faye Cannon, *Science in Culture: The Early Victorian Period*, (New York: Dawson, 1978); and Roger L. Emerson, "The Scottish Enlightenment and the End of the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 21 (1988).

[58] Thompson, 32.

contemporary tourists"[59] as well as to those who had come before. The natural world supplied

an infinite number of sites and experiences that could be transformed through personal

experience into sources of deep reflection and personal knowledge. For this reason, Romantic

destinations were typically wild, outdoor places as opposed to cathedrals and man-made sites.

On one hand, Owen's experimental village was a marked exception to this last principle.

New Lanark was man-made and heavily managed, but as it represented a unique spectacle, it was

exactly the type of place a Romantic tourist would make a great effort to see in person. John

Glendenning argues that "[t]he romantic impulse, like that which motivates touring, is to escape

into some idealized space believed contrary to the routine, banal, and unpurged tensions of

commonplace, vocational life."[60] The romantically-inspired traveler chose out-of-the-way sites

or exceptional places that sparked the imagination and satisfied the Romantic pursuit of the

unique. For this reason, the newly constructed bridges of Thomas Telford and other

"improvements" served as fitting destinations for Romantic travelers. If travelers expected to see

the insides of Owen's cotton-manufacturing mills, they might have added New Lanark to their

itinerary if novel technologies were their interest.

If the romantic explorer sought new experiences—even dangerous and misadventurous

ones[61]—he or she did so in the mold provided by the legacy of Romance itself: tales of hardships

---

[59] Ibid., 46.

[60] Glendening, 9.

[61] The trope of the dangerous journey permeates Romantic literature. Unlike the Grand tourist, who typically navigated the European continent within a cocoon of luxury, the Romantic traveler was prototypically a suffering traveler. The very body of the explorer was to undergo character-defining trials in order to merit true knowledge and genuine "experience."   This symbolic act was brought to the attention of late -eighteenth and early- nineteenth century readers by Rousseau, whose novel *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) recounts the tale of lovers seeking truth and peace within a sublime landscape. Popular writers reinforced the standard: Coleridge's ancient mariner was a traveler, as were Wordsworth's "footsore vagrants." These and other poets were themselves travelers, suffering in their artistic quest to translate nature-inspired passions into literature. As Thompson reminds us, Percy

though which one reaches a form of truth or knowing. Even in their safer, more genteel manifestations, Romantic excursions were to include climactic moments during which personal transformations were to take place. Every authentic journey had an epistemological outcome: the experience gained through travel rendered a new person with a unique individuality and his or her own grasp of reality.

Travel to Owen's Institute for the Formation of Character was in keeping with the experiential needs of the Romantic traveler: if reports were to be believed, a visitor fully expected to leave Lanarkshire having witnessed a radical transformation in the manners of the laboring class. If ever there was an "idealized space" (to return to Glendenning's description) on the typically-promoted tour of Scotland, it was within the confines of Owen's village. Here Owen promoted a way of organizing and educating the poor which rendered them happy and useful. Compared with the scenes of destitution and pauperism in other industrial areas, both rural and urban, the civic peace experienced at New Lanark prompted one visitor to call it a "[h]appy little colony,"[62] one definitely "contrary to the routine."

In this regard, the varieties of Romantic experience described thus far fall into the larger category of sentimental experience. According to Locke's associationist theory, both the body and mind reacted to sensory stimulation; Scottish moral philosophers added to this the argument that sensory experience engaged the innate moral sense. One of the justifications for travel, as

Shelly's death at sea and Lord Byron's death in Greece "[sealed]. . a persona[,] that the traveller was already cultivating." See Thompson, *Suffering Traveller* 5-6; 12; 46-8.

[62] Henry Grey Macnab, *The new views of Mr. Owen of Lanark impartially examined, as rational means of ultimately promoting the productive industry, comfort, moral improvement, and happiness of the labouring classes of society, and of the poor; and of training up children in the way in which they should go: also observations on the New Lanark school, and on the systems of education of Mr. Owen, of the Rev. Dr. Bell, and that of the new British and foreign system of mutual instruction. London, 1819. The Making of the Modern World*. Gale 2010. Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries. 09 May 2010., 30. Emphasis in original. <http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U103547110&srchtp=a&ste=14>, 208.

well as for education, was therefore the pursuit of experiences which stimulated the body in novel ways. These served to provoke moral development through the use of the senses. The role of sensory experience in travel was evident even in travel literature in which, as Thompson writes, particular travelers "explored—often in a highly digressive prose—not so much the scenes around them as their reactions to those scenes."[63] As a form of travel, this subgenre became established with the publication of Lawrence Sterne's *Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* of 1768. Although Stern was poking fun at the eighteenth century's emphasis on sentiment and sympathy, the emphasis is on subjective experience maintained by Romantic travelers, though for the latter type of tourist, the impression of various experiences is not treated comically but in a comparatively serious tone. In fact, travel for the purpose of self-fashioning.[64] Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746) had defined the moral sense as a "sixth sense" stimulated by the five basic human senses, but his student Adam Smith concentrated his analysis of human moral capacity in terms of sympathy, or the desire to understand the feelings of others. Sentimental journeys were thus important excursions because they provided travelers with new sensory environments which could then, in turn, stimulate new thoughts and feelings, and even a new sense of identity. In fact, travel for the purpose of self-fashioning was popular in romantic circles because through exposure to various types of people—especially the needy—travelers could "identify, in themselves and others, a 'natural' tendency to benevolence and sympathy." This is another reason why Romantic travelers tended to visit places like Scotland, because however advanced the lowlands, the whole country was associated with the primitivism of the

---

[63] Thompson, 35-6.

[64] Judith Frank, *Common Ground: Eighteenth-Century English Satiric Fiction and the Poor* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 99. For an extended treatment of sentimental literature in particular, see Terry Eagleton, *The Rape of Clarissa* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982).

Highlands. For our purposes, it is important to note that the sentimental traveler's wish to excite their native feelings of benevolence "often took them to "less developed regions—the Scottish Highlands, for example—where it was felt that . . . human nature could be observed in a less corrupted form, untainted by luxury and modernity."[65] New Lanark was something of an oddity, then, because Owen insisted that the character of the persons in his care were highly developed, despite their rural beginnings. And despite Owen's assertions that the inhabitants of New Lanark had been trained in the most rational methods—had been civilized—visitors flocked to the village not to see people they believed would be like themselves, but to excite their feelings of benevolence towards the Scottish poor.

1. The Sublime

Two types of interaction with the environment attracted Romantic travelers. Related to both the voyage of hardship and the epistemological travail of Romantic travel was the journey which culminated in the awe-inspiring physical and emotional experience of the sublime. Visitors to Lanarkshire were not spared these, as the *linns*, or waterfalls of the Clyde, had long been tourist attractions. Defined by Edmund Burke as "[w]hatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger,"[66] the sublime landscape was sought in order to bring scintillating

---

[65] Thompson, 36.

[66] Edmund Burke, "A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful," 2nd ed, 1759, in *Burke: Pre-Revolutionary Writings*, ed. Ian Harris, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 63-64. Burke's essay was influenced by a new translation in 1739 of a Greek piece *On the Sublime* attributed to Longinus (c.100-300). Longinus described the sublime as that which caused "ravishment and transport." After Burke, Smith contributed to the literature on the sublime in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. He describes the human reaction to

and danger-tinged pleasure. Proximity to active environmental elements like rushing water and craggy rocks worked on the senses of the body and stimulated the passions.   This was possible because, as Burke explained, a danger beheld at a distance would not cause pain, but would be "at certain distances, and with certain modifications . . . delightful."[67] Therefore, travelers sought "terrible" objects like violent waterfalls or brutal storms. The Falls of Clyde were especially breathtaking for their "frightful declivities, and ever varying prospect of the mighty chasm below, which must appal [sic] the stoutest beholder with deep amaze."[68] Upon leaving "the abodes of men," or the historically significant attractions of the shire, one author wrote that "with feelings of high anticipation . . . we leave . . . for the more awful, but enchanting glories, of the rock, the cataract, and the flood", or "the more delightful part of our task."[69] Again, the "delight" was the result of exposure to, from a safe distance, "awful . . . glories" in an act which was guaranteed to stimulate the senses and thus bring new awareness to the observer.

Burke credited the sublime, whether viewed in person or through the medium of art, with being "productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling."[70]   In keeping with the goals of the Romantic traveler, to come under the control of Corra Linn's "[m]ajestic

---

the sublime as that of "wonder and surprise." See Rachel Crawford, *Poetry, Enclosure, and the Vernacular Landscape*, 1700-1830 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 67-8.

[67] Burke, "Sublime and Beautiful," 64. Burke's particular description of the physiology of sensation differed from the more popular associationist theories of Locke and others, but I would argue that the various arguments about the sources of reason and the passions did not affect the traveller. See Vanessa L. Ryan, "The Physiological Sublime: Burke's Critique of Reason," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62.2 (2001), 265-279; 269.

[68] W. Davidson, *History of Lanark, and Guide to the Scenery; with List of Roads to the Principal Towns* (Lanark: Shepherd & Roberton, 1828), 128.

[69] Ibid., 93.

[70] Burke, "Sublime and Beautiful," 63-4.

grandeur"[71] was to, in a sense, surrender oneself to nature; this and other views of sublimity, in other words, were sought in order to stun the senses and the sensibility to the point of arrest. One visitor described the "thousand ideas" that "burst upon the mind, in this region of sublimity and solitude."[72] Corra Linn often rendered viewers speechless.[73] These explosions of feeling were defined by Immanuel Kant as the result of the body's attempt to comprehend the myriad sensory stimuli inundating the body. Burke, on the other hand, credited the feeling to the "sense of self as insignificant before the overwhelming object"[74]

The power of the sublime had to be carefully mediated, and the sites near New Lanark were no exception. A viewer had to come close enough to the source to experience it, yet not too close to be exposed to danger. The paths surrounding Corra Linn had been constructed to maximize the overwhelming reaction to the falls, all while making sure that the viewer maintained a secure distance. The Lanarkshire *linns* were to be viewed from designated "root houses," or perches which had been provided in places where views of the waterfalls were deemed stimulating, yet safe. According to one writer, "[m]ost of these glimpses had been judiciously cut by the proprietors of the estate, Sir John and Lady Ross,"[75] who were contemporary neighbors of Owen. These vantage points were not carved subtly from the environment but were obviously man-made manipulations of the landscape. Seats and perches

---

[71] Davidson, 99.

[72] Ibid., 137.

[73] See Andrews, 233.

[74] Ron Brogio, *Technologies of the Picturesque: British Art, Poetry, and Instruments*, 1750-1830 (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2008), 94.

[75] Andrews, 231.

were often inscribed with literary passages "to charm the visitor into a receptive mood or to provide a clue to the emotion which the scene was intended to evoke."[76]

Similarly, a hundred years before the Rosses, Sir James Carmichael of Bonniton commissioned a construction described by Dorothy Wordsworth as a "pleasure-house" on the banks of the Clyde. "This building," expressed another visitor, "commands a noble view of the cataract below," by way of "[m]irrors that are suspended throughout the room. A visitor "sat upon the crazy board below," where he (or she) could "behold the formidable rushing of the waters. . . , the "tremendous cataract seems ready to burst forth, and overwhelm him with its foamy flood."[77] In sum, just as the specific was constructed by its description and prescriptions for how a person was supposed to experience exposure to it, specific vantage points were constructed out of the Lanark landscape in order to ensure specific views and sensational reactions.

Those who failed to conform to the protections provided by benevolent landowners such as the Rosses and Sir Carmichael were destined to experience the power of the sublime up-close. Stories abound about the sad fates that befell persons—typically women—who behaved recklessly, and therefore, inappropriately, along the treacherous banks of the waterfalls. Corra Linn in particular was understood to be particularly dangerous, especially since its name was believed to have been derived from the "unfortunate death of CORA, daughter of one of the early Caledonian Monarchs."[78] One account reads:

---

[76] H. F. Clark, "Eighteenth-Century Elysiums: The Role of 'Association' in the Landscape Movement." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 6 (1943), 165-189; 177.

[77] Davidson, 148-149.

[78] Davidson explains that, wandering away from her attendants, Cora became startled when she saw an unknown youth and, subsequently, steered her horse in the wrong direction. The youth, who had been "struck at her amazing beauty," tried to stop the horse, "but reached the brink only in time, to behold her now unrestrainable steed bound

From the top of the height,-eighty-two feet,—in summer 1826, a rash and adventurous youth was precipitated thirty feet; and, 'mirabile dictu', escaped, with only a broken arm, and a few bruises. In order to obtain a more commanding view of the cataract, he ascended the small tree upon the brink: and in his descent, trusting to a small bough, it yielded to his weight; and he was thrown down headlong.[79]

After an initial accidental descent, the "rash and adventurous youth" fell to his death as the result

of imprudent behavior not becoming of a self-contained tourist. Davidson also notes that a

similar fate also befell a teacher at the New Lanark Institute, one Alexander Wilson Burrage,

who, "while scrambling . . . up from the narrow part of the stream" at Corehouse Fall, "fell

backward into the current and was seen no more."[80]

　　　Trespassing on nature—lured to its secret spots despite the warnings of danger given off

by it—the Romantic traveler assumed the role of willing victim to the mad rush of sensory

---

over the precipice, into the dreadful cataract, and the boiling waters bury her beneath their dashing foam." *History of Lanark,* 156. This association of the site not only with danger but also with Scottish antiquity leant it a romantic character and the cast of an authentic experience.

[79] Davidson, 100. Davidson provides two more stories; these narratives rely on the familiar Romantic tropes of the emboldened and consequently ill-fated woman and the young male suitor. "In 1758," starts one, "a woman attempted to passage, carrying a burden of meal, on her back; delighted at the thought, that she would save many a weary footstep, and give an agreeable surprise to her family, by her sudden, and unexpected, appearance at home. . . . [H]er buoyant spirits lent additional nerve to her arm, and she heaved the burden across, with facility. – And now, there was but a step between her and death; she sprung from the rock, like one confident of success; but, O dreadful! Falling short of her aim, she sunk in the stream, and in a moment, was buried in the gulf below." The other tells of ". . . a young man [who] had frequent occasion to pass here, to visit his sweetheart. . . . Unfortunately, one night in winter, in time of a severe frost, he venture the dangerous leap; but, it had almost proved fatal: for the slipperiness of the rock betrayed his footing, and he plunged headlong into the stream, which would soon have carried him over the rocks, had he not caught the hollow of a projection, and with a death-grasp, clung for life. In this situation, he continued for an hour, vociferating louder and louder for help, benumbed with cold, and almost deprived of his senses; when some men, attracted by his cries, appeared just in time to rescue him from his perilous condition. . . ." Davidson, *History of Lanark*, 101-2. Note that, in keeping with the gendered aspects of Romantic travel and the sublime in general, the young woman's physical feat ends in death while the young male lover is saved. This indicates that his actions, although dangerous, were appropriate and that his pursuit of a lover within hetero-normative structures is socially sanctioned. His fall into the stream is deemed the result of an "[unfortunate]" situation in which nature, or in particular, a slick rock, "betrayed" him. See Anne K. Mellor, *Romanticism and Gender* (New York: Routledge, 1993) for more on the status of women as writers of the sublime.

[80] Davidson, *History of Lanark*, 152. Similar stories are familiar to readers of Romantic travel narratives because, "[a]lthough there had of course been British travelers who suffered conspicuously before this period, and there had likewise been an interest taken in the fate of unlucky travelers and in accounts of their ordeals, it is nevertheless in the Romantic era that a fascination with such misadventures becomes especially prominent in British culture." See Thompson, 5.

experience and the consequent muddled mind. "Contrasted with the Falls of Corehouse and Bonniton," wrote one, "Stone byres [sic] possesses more savage sublimity than either . . . here nature reigns uncontrouled."[81] Beyond the reach of improvement, the sublime attractions of Lanarkshire spoke to the power of nature to maintain its power in the face of the ever-increasing progress of mankind.

A significant number of visitors to New Lanark were women,[82] a detail which indicates that, although the more misadventurous types of Romantic travel were not appropriate for women,[83] visits to Owen's experimental village were socially-sanctioned. The genteel tour of Owen's mill was not physically taxing, but if combined with a jaunt to the basin of Corra Linn, a woman's experience could become physically challenging and socially risky like that of Sir

---

[81] Davidson, 98.

[82] Donnachie, 145.

[83] Specifically geographical literature became popular in both England and Scotland not only because it promoted tourism and helped to aid future travelers in the creation of their itineraries, but also to educate and entertain those for whom journeys were not possible. For women in particular, whose domain was increasingly defined as domestic, the opportunity to read about places and scenes from afar plac\yed a role in how women constructed their domestic spaces and activities. A middle class genre, this literature included private travel journals, letters, and printed pieces in public newspapers on topics ranging from medicine to politics to the arts. For Scots readers in particular, to give one example, geographical literature played a role in the development of national identity, as the description of key tourist sites was increasingly framed by references to Scottish history. Just as romantic travel provided an experience whereby someone could experience "the other" in order to better define his or her self, travel literature provided what Amanda Gilroy describes as "the experience of geographic displacement [which] . . . helped Romantic-era writers to renegotiate the cultural verities of 'home'" (1). Ironically, books by female authors formed the bedrock of the genre because it was a vastly female audience who purchased and read works like, for example, Sarah Scott Murray's *Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland* (London, 1799). Female tourists gained authority as adventurers over the course of the Romantic period, but for the most part it was men who were seen as travelers, while what made a woman a woman, as Cynthia Enlow writes, was her "sticking close to home." With all of this in mind, one might argue that there were more "visitors" to New Lanark than can be counted in the guest registry. For gender and travel literature see Thompson, *Suffering Traveller* 16; 33; 56; Gilroy, "Introduction," 9; and Jacqueline M. Labbe, "'A species of knowledge both useful and ornamental': Priscilla Wakefield's Family Tour Through the British Empire," in Amanda Gilroy, ed., *Romantic Geographies: Discourses of Travel, 1775-1844* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 1-18; 2. Cynthia Enlow writes, "In many societies being feminine has been defined as sticking close to home. Masculinity, by contrast, has been the passport for travel." Qtd. Gilroy, "Introduction" 5. See Enlow, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 21. For the importance of geographical literature in national identity, see Withers, 121 and Gilroy, "Introduction" 1.

Walter Scott's Lady Staunton. In *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), the intrepid Lady Staunton pursues the "energy" she feels while "in the open air." After climbing hills "grander and higher than any [she] had yet visited" she stops in a "steep and slippery and dangerous" niche in the craggy riverbank to view an "abyss."[84] Lady Staunton's unfeminine pursuit of such a view results in a "moment of terror and perplexity" when she becomes stuck in the "perilous" situation and is saved not by her guide, a young boy of fourteen, but by two Scots "savages" who approach her "in tattered plaid and philibeg, no shoes, no stockings, [and] no hat or bonnet."[85] She comes perilously close to savage bodies whose animal-like "keen and sparkling eyes" epitomize why Burke's awe and terror was applied not only to landscapes but to primitive peoples.[86]

One reason why women's participation in the pursuit of the sublime was scandalous was that the sensory experience of the sublime was associated with the raw passions, believed to be too strong for the female sensibility. Although commentators recognized the role of the passions in civilized social life—indeed, Hume argued that reason had no motivator but the passions—the power of the raw emotions stimulated by sublime terrors were associated with masculine ambition, power, and destruction, not with the more feminine forces of sympathy and beauty.[87] This distinction has an important consequence for analysis of New Lanark and its situation among the sublime views of the Falls of Clyde. Treks to Corra Linn and other sublime locations

---

[84] Alasdair Clayre, *Nature and Industrialization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 50.

[85] Ibid., 52.

[86] See Murray G. H. Pittock, "Scott and the British Tourist," in *English Romanticism and the Celtic World*, eds. Gerald Carruthers and Alan Rawes, 155 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[87] Gibbons, 109.

stimulated visitors and churned their emotions. Yet this precarious state of being was quickly

remedied if the trek was followed by a visit to the peaceful and beautiful village of New Lanark.

In other words, the powerful and destructive linns of Lanarkshire and Owen's community

provided significant foils to one another. In his work on the meaning of Edmund Burke's

sublime in colonial contexts, Luke Gibbons coins the term "sympathetic sublime" to describe the

soothing effects of civilized society. Man's passions are raw, and only the comforting

regulations of society can soothe them. Similarly, a Lanarkshire tourist's spirit might be agitated

by a trip the county's "region[s] of terror," then pacified by a visit to Owen's school, a place

where the forces of social sympathy reigned.

2. The Picturesque

In the precise years that Owen operated New Lanark "[a]ll were going to Scotland," as a

result of improved technologies, financial feasibility, and patriotic demand for domestic travel.

But there were several other reasons Romantic visitors were attracted to Scotland in general and

even Lanarkshire in particular. Tourists' appreciation of landscape and their searches for literary

and historical landmarks marked these romantic travelers as participants in ways of seeing upon

which Owen drew in creating an experiment open to the public. In contradistinction to the

practice of seeking the sublime was the practice of landscape appreciation guided by the

principles of the picturesque.   Just as the sublime churned the senses and thus the emotions, a

picturesque tableau could, like scenes in Owen's village, calm the spirit and render the person fit

for a place in polite society once again.

In keeping with the associationist principles that informed their beliefs about the body and the self, Romantic travelers expected to exercise their senses—mostly their sense of sight—in pursuit of bodily pleasure and stimulation of the imagination. In the case of the picturesque, the basis of their experience was the analysis of landscape. As a visual ideology, the concept of "landscape" can be traced back to the Renaissance when, according to Dennis Cosgrove, increasingly capitalist economies necessitated a new way of seeing and ordering the environment.[88] The "landskip" became manifest in texts and in art which presented the resources available in any given locale in an orderly and "readable" fashion. The seventeenth-century Italian painters Claude Lorraine (c.1600-1682) and Nicholas Poussin (1594-1665) introduce the features of the landscape—painterly descriptions of *flora*—into their historical paintings of the Roman countryside, and when this and Dutch influences reached England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the genre of the British landscape was born.

More important to our context, however, is not landscape as the subject matter of painting, but as a visual ideology that informed the types of experiences sought by Romantic travelers. Developed by the clergyman and sketch-artist William Gilpin (1724-1804), the picturesque was defined, as in Gilpin's 1768 *Essay on Prints*, as "that kind of beauty which is agreeable in a picture."[89] The characteristics Gilpin listed as "agreeable" in this sense were ragged, broken lines and stark irregularities in lightness and darkness—all features standing in

---

[88] Dennis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1984). In this analysis, I am referring to "landscape" in its most generalized sense, as *any* natural inland scenery and not, as might be inferred, an area that has been manipulated by cultivation.

[89] The full title is: *An Essay on Prints: containing Remarks Upon the Principles of Picturesque Beauty, the Different Kinds of Prints, and the Characters of the Most Noted Masters, illustrated by Criticisms upon Particular Pieces to which are Added some Cautions that may be Useful in Collecting Prints* (London: J. Robson, 1768). Both the first and second editions were published anonymously, but Gilpin's identity was readily acknowledged by the time the third edition was published under the more simplified name *An Essay on Prints* in 1781. See H. P. R., "The Vicar of Boldre 1724-1804," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 46:264 (Jun. 1948), 36-39; 36.

sharp contrast to the smooth, balanced lines and clean order typical of the neoclassical aesthetic.

Therefore, a picturesque scene might include, for example, a landscape made up of leaning, broken trees, cloudy skies, and "ruins," "hovels," and other crumbling structures. But the picturesque was more than just the location of items with these characteristics, but the construction of those elements in the mind's eye into a composition that suited picturesque principles. In other words, picturesque travel necessitated participation in a practice in which the mind not only referred to previous associations, but also *constructed* them. What Gilpin developed was the science of "making" picturesque views and capturing them in quick sketches or travel narratives. Gilpin tied his instructions to particular sites in books such as *Observations on the River Wye and several parts of South Wales, etc. relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty; made in the summer of the year 1770* (1782) and the similar *Observations on the Lake District* (1786), both of which included plates of his sketches reproduced in aquatint.

Practicing picturesque viewership necessitated particular behavior and bodily decorum. In order to see a landscape appropriately, one had to be mindful of "[w]here to stand, where to approach, where to stop the tour to admire a view, and what object to observe as the center of one's views."[90] In order to do this correctly, a person often had to assume a low perspective from which the largest object of the panorama, preferably slightly off-centered, would take on an ominous quality and from which the elements would assert a ragged, not straight, line across the field of vision. Like an art enthusiast before a large paining, the viewer of landscape had to manipulate his or her relation to the scene in order to gain the best vantage point, whether this meant climbing rocky crags, or even lying on the ground on order to afford the most exciting viewpoint. Jacob More's painting *The Falls of Clyde (Corra Linn)* (c.1771) is not only a

---

[90] Broglio, 58.

picturesque view of the powerful Lanarkshire waterfall, but also demonstrates picturesque viewership.[91] Four figures at the lower left-hand corner of the painting approach the brightly-rendered torrent from the shadows of the surrounding forest. They do not observe the waterfall from the nearby precipices but approach it from rocks within the Clyde itself in order to experience the enormity of the spectacle. Their postures (respectively, from right to left) represent a timeline of the adventurer's experience: standing and out of breath from pursuit, fearful, excited, and contemplative. Similarly, the anonymous print "View of Corra Linn, Falls of the Clyde," [FIGURE 8], though necessarily less picturesque itself,[92] demonstrates the juxtaposition of impressive scenery with undersized human figures typical of the recreation as well as its rendering.

This kind of dynamic pursuit often produced comic results as the "sensationalist nomads"[93] who sought the special vantage points proceeded to exhibit "a considerable amount of jockeying for position, of screwing up the eyes, [and] of moving back and forth." These activities were necessary as the "rearranging objects in the imagination[,] had to be gone through before a view came right."[94] However, such activities earned Gilpin a bad name as his reputation became inextricably tied to the use of his methods by the fanatical middle-class tourist—to the extent that he became the unnamed subject of satire in the book *Dr Syntax in Search of the*

---

[91] Image available at http://www.nationalgalleries.org.

[92] Picturesque pieces were best rendered in pencil sketch or aquatint, media best suited to portray the dramatic variations in lightness and darkness inherent to the genre. See S. T. Prideaux *Aquatint Engraving: A Chapter in the History of Book Illustration. Illustrated by an Original Aquatint, Two Collotype Plates and Numerous Half-Tone Plates*. (London: Duckworth & Co., 1909).

[93] Kim Ian Michasiw, "Nine Revisionist Theses on the Picturesque," *Representations* 38 (1992) 76-100; 82.

[94] John Barrell, *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place 1730-1840: An Approach to the Poetry of John Clare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 5.

Picturesque (1812), with engravings by Thomas Rowlandson and playful verse by William Combe.[95]

If a landscape lacked the appropriate elements of an ideally picturesque view, the Romantic traveler could artificially manipulate his or her vision of it. Many tourists in search of the picturesque used Claude glasses, or small, darkly toned, slightly convex mirrors in order to perfect prospects to picturesque standards. With her back to the landscape in question, the user of the Claude glass held the glass slightly to the right or left of her forward-facing line of sight in order to view the dim, tonal reflection of the landscape in question. Since the reflection gave the landscape a "painterly" quality, Gilpin named the device after the revered landscape artist, Claude Lorraine. The Claude glass effectively blocked out the foreground, making the viewer feel as if he or she was in direct contact with the subject of her gaze. This "direct contact" was singularly ocular, as the disappearance of the foreground constituted the loss of haptic space.[96] Ron Broglio notes how the Claude glass shared this "decorporealizing" effect with the theodolite, the tool surveyors used to measure angles along horizontal and vertical planes. Both of these instruments helped mask the fact that the images were, "in fact . . . constituted and ordered at a distance by the tourist."[97] This ocular perspective helped render picturesque image-making—and the construction of roadways—seemingly objective experiences and obscured their political meaning.

---

[95] Syntax sets off on his old mare Grizzle to "make a TOUR" in which, he claims, he will "prose it here, . . . verse it there,/ And picturesque it eve'ry where." Rowlandson and Combe's collaboration was first published in serial form in *The Poetical Magazine*, starting in 1809. For Gilpin's later writings and attempts to salvage his reputation as the official philosopher of the aesthetic, see Thompson, 36-7.

[96] Broglio, 59-66. Brogio follows Jonathan Crary's analysis of the *camera obscura* in *Technologies of the Observer* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1990), 25-66. Broglio also describes the use of picturesque vocabulary in survey-making (66).

[97] Ibid., 59.

The exercise of picturesque vision began as a hobby of the "the leisured connoisseur élite," whose classical training in art appreciation familiarized them with the works of painters such as Claude and Poussin. They were also interested in applying the aesthetic principles of the picturesque to "improve" upon the gardens of their manors. While neoclassical designs, with their smooth, undulating hills and limpid streams, had appealed to the tastes of their parents' generation, these gentlemen paid "improvers" like Lancelot "Capability" Brown (1716-1783) and Humphrey Repton (1752-1818) to integrate the irregularity of nature into the panoramas available to them from the windows of their palatial homes. These gentlemen, like Jane Austen's feckless Mr. Rushworth, an outspoken fan of Repton, although a less than observant husband, participated in the philosophical debates surrounding the ambiguous status of cultivated landscape and the irony of the artificial creation of "natural" scenes.[98]

But while the picturesque aesthetic began as a hobby for landed gentlemen with the interest, money, and time to devote to landscaping, it became associated with "tourism," a pejorative term for middle class excursions defined less by taste than by trend.[99] Many readers became familiarized with the principles of the picturesque in popular fiction, like Mrs. Radcliffe's gothic and relatively uncultured novels *The Romance of the Forest* (1791) and *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794).[100] The novels of Scott drew travelers to the wild and picturesque

---

[98] See David Marshall, "The Problem of the Picturesque," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35:3 (2002), 413-37. See also Andrews, 236; Thompson, 54. For the development of "the gardenesque" see Clark, 189 and Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park* (London, T. Egerton, 1814).

[99] Thompson, 36.

[100] This is how Austen's Catherine Morland becomes familiar with the basics of the landscape, although it takes Henry Tilney to explain to her just how to look at the Bath countryside. *Northanger Abbe*y (London: John Murray, 1816). See Christina Marsden Gillis, "Garden, Sermon, and Novel in 'Mansfield Park:' Exercises in Legibility." *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction* 18, no. 2 (Winter, 1985): 117-125. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1345771> (accessed 11 January 2009).

sights of Scotland in particular; his "work was a spur to tourism in the Highlands and suggested

that the land and seascape there were beautiful and atmospheric rather than ugly and sterile" as

Dr. Johnson and other earlier travelers had described.[101] In fact, the development of this

aesthetic sense in the ideals of travelers to Scotland is epitomized by a shift in popular

guidebooks for travel in the romantic Caledonia. While travelers in the 1780s and early 1790s

were guided by Johnson's tour of the 1770s and his judgment that the ruins of the country were

"a sign of national infidelity and decline," by the late 1790s the "picturesque traveller" and his or

her use of the tours of Gilpin and Pennant signal their "fondness for dilapidation and gloom."[102]

In other words, in developing a taste for that which Johnson found so ugly about Scotland,

"picturesque taste had usurped his authority."[103] But eventually Gilpin's authority was, like that

of Dr. Johnson, "usurped" by his reputation for pulling the middle class into what had been the

province of the upper classes—landscape appreciation—and for establishing a trend which

created legions of middle-class amateurs conspicuously attempting to find the picturesque at

every possible stop along their domestic tours.

The concomitant popularization of the picturesque with the development of middle-class

travel complicated the principles of the aesthetic. Although Gilpin presented picturesque

principles as if they were standards of an objective aesthetic, the picturesque was believed, like

the sublime before, to provoke "individual and spontaneous feeling" as a result of the stimulation

---

[101] Clyde, 138.

[102] Murray G. H. Pittock, "Scott and the British Tourist," in *English Romanticism and the Celtic World*, eds. Gerald Carruthers and Alan Rawes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 156.

[103] Andrews, 198.

of the viewer's sensory nerves.[104] Augustan conventions of classicism and heroism were

replaced by an aesthetic program which emphasized personal experiences and authentic reactions

to one's environment.[105] Yet increasingly the definition of a site as "picturesque" was the result

of public approbation and mass popularity. As Daniel Abramson argues, the picturesque, like

the architecture of Edinburgh's Robert Adam (1728-1792), was defined by a site's judgment by

the public. In other words, in a fashion increasingly associated with democratic ideals, the

quality of the "art" of the picturesque, whether a landscape or an aquatint, was defined not solely

by who produced the piece, but by those who viewed it. The picturesque was "conceived in

relation to its audience" the way that Adam judged his success by his viability in the market.

Tradition was not as important as innovation; refined taste was not as important as access to

sensory stimulation.[106]

---

[104] Mavis Batey, "The Picturesque: An Overview," *Garden History* 22:2 The Picturesque (Winter 1994), 121-132; 121. Crawford notes that this was increasingly consistent whether one based one's understanding of the picturesque on Longinus, Burke, or Smith, because all three utilized subjective terms ("ravishment and transport," "delightful horror," and "wonder and surprise," respectively) to describe the effect of the sublime sight on the viewer. See Crawford, *Poetry*, 67-8.

[105] See S. T. Prideaux, *Aquatint Engraving: A Chapter in the History of Book Illustration. Illustrated by an Original Aquating, Two Collotype Plates and Numerous Half-Tone Plates* (Truro: D. Bradford Barton Ltd., 1967), 313-14.

[106] Abramson, 267. A second generation of writers, including Uvedale Price (1747-1829) and Richard Payne Knight (1750-1824), attempted to reclaim pastime from those who had taken Gilpin's picturesque to such democratized extremes. In his *Analytical Inquiry Into the Principles of Taste* (1805) Knight recast picturesque appreciation in terms of fine art so that those unfamiliar with the images of the Old Masters would be at a loss to truly identify or enjoy a picturesque tableau. For this author, one recognized a picturesque scene not just by the recognition of disparate "ingredients," but by the scene's resemblance to actual works of fine art. The associations necessary to recognize a picturesque tableau could "only be felt by persons who have correspondent ideas to associate; that is, by persons in a certain degree conversant with art." As he described it, a viewer's knowledge of art had to be so honed as to predispose thinking or reference-making; the association of landscape to a Claude or Poussin was to be "so spontaneous and rapid . . . that it seems to be a mechanical operation of the mind, which we cannot directly control." Those who attained the familiarity with art necessary to fulfill Knight's requirements were, as Linda Austin relates, a "cultural nobility" along the lines described by Pierre Bourdieu. Yet the irony, she points out, is that intimate knowledge of European fine art reserved for these elite the same immediate enjoyment associated with those who lacked the cultural education to relate landscape to art but those who reacted in unmediated, physical passion. (635) Richard Payne Knight, *An Analytical Inquiry in the Principles of Taste*, 4th ed. (London: T. Payne, 1808), 152; 136 , quoted in Linda M. Austin, "Aesthetic Embarrassment: The Reversion to the Picturesque in Nineteenth-Century English Tourism," *ELH* 74:3 (Fall 2007), 629-53; 634; 635. For "cultural

It is ironic but telling that the picturesque came to be accommodated by the middle-class ascendency. Just as with travel, this new class participated in the nostalgia generated by picturesque viewing as a way to integrate themselves into an older, more established generation. However, the very developments that facilitated their socio-economic ascendency were anathema to aristocratic attitudes. In fact, some cultural commentators (William Wordsworth, for example) responded defensively that the ability to react appropriately to sensory phenomena was the province of the refined classes only. Only the established classes could render judgments and direct aesthetic change. This attitude belies Wordsworth's conservative opinion that it was dangerous for anyone but the rich to be exposed to the potentially life-altering aesthetics of either picturesque or sublime beauty. Only the established were to interpret the finer aspects of art and landscape, because only they should receive the physical and philosophical benefits of such stimulation.[107]

All the while, the spectator was "viewing the country with the eyes of persons accustomed to painting," as Jane Austen's unlikely heroine, Catherine Morland, put it in *Northanger Abbey* (1817).[108] These learned principles were so prevalent in popular culture that "in the later eighteenth century it became impossible for anyone with an aesthetic interest in landscape to look at the countryside without applying them, whether he knew he was doing so or not."[109]

nobility," see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, translated by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 18.

[107] Evelyn Forget, "Evocation of Sympathy: Sympathetic Imagery in Eighteenth-Century Social Theory and Physiology," *History of Political Economy* Annual Supplement to Vol. 35 (2003), 282-308; 291.

[108] *Northanger Abbey* was written 1798-99.

[109] Barrell, *The Idea of Landscape*, 6

E. New Lanark as Model Destination

From the vantage point at the top of the Lanark hill, visitors might have noted the

landscape in which Owen's village was nestled. Davidson wrote, for example:

As nothing tends so much to beautify a country, as woods; the surrounding neighbourhood, is, in this respect, beautifully diversified. Moors and mosses are subdued, and rendered fertile, by human industry; and plantations and enclosures are daily springing up. The lands in general, are under the most perfect agriculture; and, from a state of extreme rudeness, and sterility, which prevailed under the old system, they are now, by plantations most judiciously laid out, so contrived, as to produce an extent of pleasing and interesting scenery, which is surpassed in few situations.[110]

Davidson's description takes for granted the acceptance of his reader that a "diversified"

landscape, in keeping with picturesque standards, is the most beautiful. Yet his analysis makes

reference to a particular kind of diversification: the difference between the wild "moors and

mosses" and the "plantations and enclosures" which replaced them as the land became more

heavily populated and controlled by human interaction. The "rudeness" and "sterility" of

uncultivated land has been replaced by land which is "judiciously laid out" and rendered

"pleasing and interesting." As is typical for treatments of Scotland at this time period,

Davidson's description of the Lanarkshire landscape conforms to the attitude that the land to the

north of England was a place where much-needed improvements were taking place. These

improvements, replacing the "old system," or antiquated ways of life so strongly associated with

Scotland, rendered the Scottish countryside beautiful as well as safe.

On another level, however, the landscape in Davidson's passage stands in for Owen's

New Lanark project as a whole. Just as Scotland's landscape needed "improvement," so did her

people, and Owen's project produced evidence that this progress could be actualized. This can

---

[110] Davidson, 25.

be seen in the texts which describe visitors' reactions to Owen's New Lanark. The "beautiful

Village"[111] produced by Owen was held in contrast to the communities of unhappy paupers

described in writers' descriptions of the growing poorer class. The author of the letter published

in *The Kaleidoscope* of 20 July 1819 described the mills as "hives of industry" and stated that

"not a speck of dirt or dust was to be seen, no smell of oil—the very stairs were to be admired for

their whiteness."[112] Within the manufactories, "the machinery is in excellent style,"[113] while

outside of them, the members of Owen's "well regulated colony"[114] were "well-cloathed" and

their "dwellings [were] clean and inviting"[115] In other words, Owen's village was just as

"pleasing and interesting" as the cultivated Lanarkshire landscape, because, to borrow

Davidson's vocabulary, it represented a "new system," the efficacy of which was plainly obvious

to those who stopped to observe it.

Even from afar, the neoclassically proportioned "buildings of the factory" were described

as "very large," making them out of scale, not to mention style, for the picturesque. But

according to Gilpin's rules for the practice, there was a requisite distance which should be

observed between the subject and the object of such classical proportions. In viewing

Houpetown House near Edinburgh, for example, Gilpin advised his readers to maintain a

distance so that the classical and orderly lines of the structure would remain only a detail in a

---

[111] Davidson, 160.

[112] *Kaleidoscope* of 20 July 1819.

[113] John Griscom, *A Year in Europe. Comprising a journal of observations in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Switzerland, the North of Italy, and Holland. In 1818 and 1819* (New York: Collins & Co. and E. Bliss & E. White, 1823), 383.

[114] "Philanthropist," *The Kaleidoscope* 3:145 April 1823, 327.

[115] Ibid.

larger, more irregular "picture." The creation of prospects by both the eye and ritual expectation

"were pleasurable because they excited the imagination and produced sensations."[116] On these

grounds, it is reasonable to expect that visitors approached New Lanark with a sense of

excitement, perhaps stalling at the top of the hill to reflect on the village as a whole before

descending into it. But once out of the carriage, the majesty of the buildings and their

appurtenances could not be framed by the picturesque eye. Neither were they sublime. While

Scott's Lady Staunton greets Scots "savages" with a "moment of terror and perplexity"[117] visitors

to New Lanark could not say the same thing about their exposure to Scots villagers. Owen's

reforms had rendered them decorous, clean, and more than anything, happy. The apparent

beauty and happiness of the children were important to supporters of Owen's reforms for two

reasons. First, Owen himself noticed the lack of beauty in factory-employed children at other

sites, and part of his goal was to remedy it. He wrote:

To those accustomed attentively to notice the human countenance, from infancy to age, in the
various classes and religious denominations of the British population, it is truly an instructive,
although a peculiarly melancholy employment, to observe in the countenances of the poor
children in these schools, the evident expression of mental injury derived from the well
intentioned, but most mistaken plan of their instruction.[118]

The reforms of others, "well intentioned, but most mistaken," resulted in unhappy faces which

exposed to Owen the "mental injury" to which they had been victim. He offered his "rational

system," with its concommitant ban on child labor and emphasis on infant education, in order to

transform the very countenances of the children.

---

[116] Clark, 165. Travelers often greeted with expectation the first sighting of an architectural site; see, for example, how Elizabeth Bennett and the Gardiners approach Mr. Darcy's Pemberley in *Pride and Prejudice* (London: T. Egerton, 1813), Chapter 43. See also Andrews, 211.

[117] Clayre, 52.

[118] Owen, *New View*, "Essay IV," 93.

Owen's success was noted by one writer who claimed that he could readily distinguish children new to the village "by their pale and unhealthy appearance." This, he said, "formed a wonderful contrast with the handsome countenances and athletic forms of those, who had been born within the happy walls of New Lanark." While Owen would attribute the happiness of his mill villagers with the healthy circumstances of their upbringing, this writer, however, proposed that "The phrenologist will readily trace the causes of this latter circumstance to the happiness, content and comfort of the parents." But no matter the source of the change, it was clear that something Owen was doing was affecting the physical appearance of the villagers for the better. "The young women are the handsomest that I saw in an extensive tour through Scotland," he concluded.[119]

Second, the clean, beaming faces of the children implied their moral health. As with Owen, visitors took notice of the faces of the children in order to discern their health and happiness. "I shall not attempt to give a faithful description of the beautiful fruits of the social affections," one wrote, although he said they were "displayed in the young, innocent, and fascinating countenances of these happy children and youths."[120] He continued: "I do not hesitate to declare that I never saw any population so moral, religious, well-behaved, and happy as that in the peaceful vale of Owen's Mill. The happiness of the children is distinctly expressed in their

---

[119] "Visit to New Lanark: August 1822," in *Report of the proceedings at the several public meetings held in Dublin by Robert Owen on the 18th March, 12th April, 19th April, and 3d May : preceded by an introductory statement of his opinions and arrangements at New Lanark : extracted from his "Essays on the formation of the human character,"* Dublin, 1823. *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2009, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): 98. http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U106980466&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 12 January 2009).

[120] Macnab, *New Views . . . Impartially Examined*, 137.

countenances."[121] For a society prepared not only to read character in bodily signs but also to

construct imagery in terms of beauty as well, the smiling faces of the New Lanark children were

meaningful signs of the efficacy of Owen's improvements. As such, the presence of beauty at

New Lanark even had the power to transform doubt into belief. As one person explained:

We have recently read, with attention, an Address to the Inhabitants of New Lanark, by Robert
Owen, Esq. in which he says, that 'he found the population of the place similar to that of other
manufacturing districts. It was, with some exceptions, existing in poverty, crime and misery.' . . .
Such was the state in which Mr. Owen says he found the inhabitants of New Lanark sixteen
years ago, and he rejoices now to address them in their present virtuous, healthful, and happy
condition. We read this declaration with infinite delight, and looked with earnestness through his
pamphlet, for a detail of the laudable means that he had employed to bring about this wonderful
change. As the speech, however, was addressed to the inhabitants, it does not appear to have
been necessary for him to state to them the progressive measures of which they had been eye
witnesses.[122]

In other words, seeing was necessary for a belief in Owen's project; to the "eye of penetration,"

the efficacy of Owen's plan and the truth of his claims was just as available to the visitor as he

had claimed. Another wrote to disbelievers that:

[I]f every countenance, glowing with health, and contentment, and beauty,-and if every eye,
sparkling with pleasure and delight, did not impart to [an onlooker's] bosom a portion of their
happiness, and remove his opposition and his doubt-I would be inclined to suppose that he
possessed either much more or much less than the common feelings of humanity.[123]

If this beauty was the selling point of Owen's plan, however, experiencing it at first hand was

necessary. One of the visitors quoted wrote that he could not "attempt to give a faithful

description" of what he saw. Although he attempted to illustrate his observation in text, he

ultimately just had to "declare," or state as fact, contingent on the faith of his readers, that he had

never witnessed happier people. Another writer stated that "In order to convince the most

---

[121] Ibid., 51.

[122] *Morning Chronicle* (London), 25 July 1816.

[123] "Visit to New Lanark: August 1822," 94.

sceptical of the general benefits of this system, and of the success which has attended the

exertions of the philanthropic projector, I would ask only to have him placed within the lines

when the children are collected."[124] In other words, no other kind of explanation would do;

anyone wanting to understand Owen's success would need to see it for him or herself.

F. Conclusion

In the first few pages of his autobiographical account of 1857, Robert Owen recollected

the development of his own character in a passage about an event from his childhood. He

recalled:

I used to have for breakfast a basin of flummery,—a food prepared from flour, and eaten with
milk. One morning, I ran home as usual from school, found my basin of flummery ready, and as
I supposed sufficiently cooled for eating. But on my hastily taking a spoonful of it, I found it was
quite scalding hot. From that day my stomach became incapable of digesting food, except the
most simple and in a small quantity at a time. This gave me the habit of temperance and of close
observation and of continual reflection.[125]

This narrative illustrates the literal nature of Owen's material philosophy of the body and how

impressions are made upon it: character is literally impressed upon the body by the physical

circumstances of the material being. The scalding flummery was to Owen a "circumstance" that

changed his physical body and therefore changed the habits he followed when interacting with

the world.

In keeping with the adage "you are what you eat," or, specific to Owen's case, "You are

as you have eaten," Owen took special care in the physical circumstances that structured and

---

[124] Ibid.

[125] Owen, *Life*, 4.

138

therefore stimulated the bodies of New Lanark villagers.[126] He similarly paid attention to the spectacle which awaited visitors to New Lanark. In its reincarnation under Owen's management, New Lanark was not "born to blush unseen," but thrived under the scrutiny of the visiting public. Owen offered literally "a new view": public examination.

By keeping the factory doors closed and the doors to the Institute for the Formation of Character open, Owen crafted a visitor experience which would elicit positive responses from those who traveled to see his experiment. It aided Owen that Scotland was a popular travel destination and that the very materialism on which he based his educational theory was exercised in the traveling exercises of those who came to visit the village in the crook of the Clyde. The picturesque views of the Lanarkshire countryside gave way to the quaint tableaux inside the Institute; the sublimity of Corra Linn matched the stimulating possibility that the world was, indeed, on the cusp of a new era.

---

[126] Morton equates "you are what you eat" with materialism and "you are how you feed" with idealism. (Morton Afterword in Morton 261-2. In a more basic sense, Owen's attention to food in his own narrative speaks to his understanding of how he and his ideas were created, because "[i]n cultural terms, ingestion redefines the body, and in the arts has long been thought to have direct influence on the creative imagination," as stories about alcoholic painters and vegetarian poets can attest. See Nick Groom, "William Henry Ireland: From Forgery to Fish 'n' Chips'" in *Cultures of Taste/Theories of Appetite: Eating Romanticism*, ed. Timothy Morton (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2004), 21-40; 33.

CHAPTER III: Democratizing the Quadrille: Character Education in Action

> *It is . . . probable that the greatest pleasure felt in the ball-room, is felt by those, who get into it as spectators only. These receive pleasure from the music, from the beat of the steps in unison with it, but particularly from the idea that all, who join in the dance, are happy.* -- Thomas Clarkson, *A Portraiture of Quakerism*, (1806)

A: Introduction

When the American chemist and educationalist John Griscom recalled his 1818 visit to the school at Robert Owen's New Lanark, he described his visit to "a large room above-stairs, where were fifty or sixty young people, both boys and girls, [were] attending to the lessons of a dancing-master." These young students "of the 'merry mood,'" he continued:

> were not equipped in all the gaiety of a fashionable ball-room; though there was, probably, as great a diversity of costume as would be seen in a 'belle assemblée' of Paris or Edinburgh. In fact, they were in much the same style as that in which they had left the manufactory,-some with shoes, and others barefoot. The dancing-master, too, was the painter and glazier of the village; who, after handling the brush all day, took up the fiddle in the evening, and instructed his motley group in the profound mysteries of the highland reel.[1]

Similarly, an anonymously authored account, published in the 20 July 1819 issue of *The Kaleidoscope*, describes the same scene. The author wrote:

> You may guess my surprise, at first going in, to see a parcel of these children dressed in the Highland kilt, without shoes or stockings, learning to dance, in a fine room, as large as that at the London Tavern, with a regular dancing-master and fiddles! These were succeeded by a corps of 20 urchins, some only six years old, marching round the room with the fifes playing, in perfect tune, Auld Lang Syne, and other pieces; they all played from note, six of them took the second to fourteen who played the air; these also had their

---

[1] John Griscom, *A Year in Europe. Comprising a Journal of Observations in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Switzerland, the North of Italy, and Holland. In 1818 and 1819* (New York: Collins & Co. and E. Bliss & E. White, 1823), 378.

master, who every now and then, by motions of his hand, directed them to attend properly, and when to alter the tune; they also learn singing and the military exercise.[2]

Both of these accounts are typical of those who visited New Lanark in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Many of the twenty thousand visitors who came to New Lanark in the period from 1815-1825, dates for which we have accurate numbers,[3] were shown performances of children dancing and singing whether they were there to see Owen's modern cotton spinning technologies or the school itself.[4] In addition to the large number of memoirs, diaries, and printed publications detailing visits to the New Lanark school, an image entitled "Quadrille Dancing at Owen's School" [FIGURE 10] was published in 1825 in an octavo entitled *Airy Nothings*.[5] This booklet featured twenty-three aquatinted plates, engraved by G. Hunt after the sketches of M. Egerton. Ensconced in a series of images of travel to Scotland, the stock elements of Hunt's rendering of Owen's classroom match the verbal descriptions of many of the visitors of Owen's school. The twenty-four students portray in microcosm the reported spectacle of two hundred children performing at once in the ninety-foot by forty-foot room Owen had designed especially for such performances. A gallery for spectators lined the end of

---

[2] *The Kaleidoscope* 20 July 1819.

[3] Ian Donnachie, "Historic Tourism to New Lanark and the Falls of Clyde 1795-1830," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 2:3 (2004), 145-162; 145.

[4] Ibid., 154. According to this author, Owen's fears of industrial espionage barred his giving any but the most trusted visitors tours of the factory.

[5] The full title is *Airy Nothings, or, Scraps and Naughts, and Odd-Cum-Shorts: in a Circumbendibus Hop, Step, and Jump by Olio Rigmaroll* (London, 1825). The 23 aquatint engravings were rendered by G[eorge] Hunt after the illustrations of M. Egerton. As was described in the previous chapter, this duo also recorded the image of the washerwomen on Edinburgh's Calton Hill, a sight also described by Owen in his *Autobiography*.
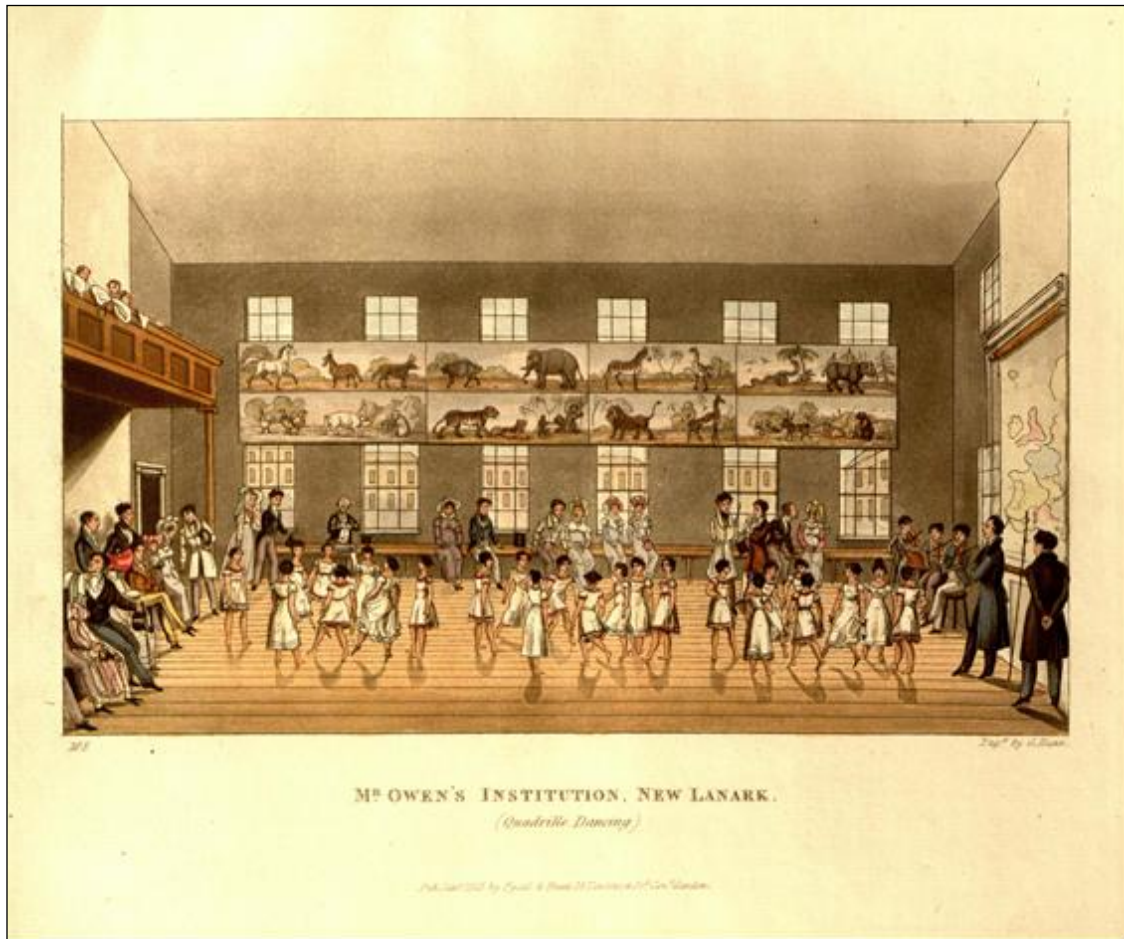
FIGURE 10 M. Egerton, and G[eorge] Hunt, "Mr. Owen's Institution, New Lanark (*Quadrille Dancing*), aquatint engraving, 1825. In *Airy Nothings, or, Scraps and Naughts, and Odd-Cum-Shorts: in a Circumbendibus Hop, Step, and Jump by Olio Rigmaroll* (London, 1825). Image courtesy of the Special Collections Department of the University of St Andrews Library, St. Andrews, Scotland, UK.

the room. Hunt's illustration also represents the large, frieze-like posters of wild and

domesticated animals that hung in the school; these, as well as "maps of the four quarters of the

world upon a large scale" and a timeline of history, all "painted by a lady of great taste and

talent,"[6] were major components of Owen's program of education by "sensible signs."[7] Two

---

[6] "Visit to New Lanark: August 1822," in Robert Owen, Report of the proceedings at the several public meetings held in Dublin by Robert Owen on the 18th March, 12th April, 19th April, and 3d May : preceded by an introductory statement of his opinions and arrangements at New Lanark : extracted from his "Essays on the formation of the human character" (Dublin, 1823) 93. *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2009, Gale, Cengage

figures at the bottom right-hand corner of the etching survey the scene, mimicking our own

voyeuristic position; the figure with his arms crossed and his back to the map is often supposed

to be Owen.

Both the written and the illustrated image of the activities in the New Lanark classroom

reveal the paradoxical nature of what was going on between the walls of Owen's school. The

image of barefoot children "in a fine room" captured the attention of viewers more accustomed

to the sophisticated scenes of life in larger cities. Like children raised in more cultured parts of

the Kingdom, these simple country folk were supplied with "a regular dancing-master" who,

along with a master of music, had rendered the "corps" capable of marching and playing in

"perfect" manner. The juxtaposition of the culturally refined "urchins" to their rural

surroundings surprised visitors, for whom exposure to the bodies of the poor was most likely to

have been in urban settings in which poverty was highly visible and dreadful. Although the

"urchins" were dressed "in much the same style as that in which they had left the manufactory,"

and therefore *looked* somewhat as expected, these children were not *acting* as expected.

Displaying a "'merry mood,'" the children presented to the visiting public a vocal performance

notable for its "perfect tune, . . . played from note." Both authors related the scene in reference

to finer parts of the country to indicate that the vision was somewhat misplaced, a juxtaposition

made manifest in the stark contrast between the clothing of the tunic-clad children and that of

their finely-clad visitors. Indeed, the scene matched Griscom's idea of one at "a 'belle

assemblée' of Paris or Edinburgh" and that the author of the *Kaleidoscope* article expected to see

at the London Tavern. In observing the dancing children of New Lanark, both visitors were treated to a spectacular vision unique to Robert Owen's experimental village and the transformations taking place there: what Owen called the regeneration of society through the creation of "[a] race of rational or superior beings."[8] Like the dancing-master who translated the "profound mysteries of the highland reel" to "instruct his motley group," Owen, for whom the dancing-master is a metonymic stand-in, presented to the public a magic show. Although some audience-members were delighted by the magical display, others greeted the experiment as a whole with suspicion.

This chapter concerns the image of children at New Lanark—not just the image provided by Egerton and Hunt of the children dancing, but all of the spectacles experienced by visitors to the Institute for the Formation of Character. The other performances of the New Lanark classroom—the geography lessons, military drills, and choral performances— are often overshadowed by the description of the dancing children because it is this image which was commemorated in visual form in Hunt's engraving. The importance of this image to our understanding, and indeed the memorialization of Owen as an important contributor to the development of infant education, is only augmented by the fact that Egerton and Hunt's image is the only contemporaneous one of Owen's school known to exist. However, it is important to take all of the spectacular events of the New Lanark classroom into account, because, as Ian Donnachie summarizes, "what most impressed the 20,000 odd visitors who came to gape at New Lanark between 1815 and 1825, was the importance of dancing, music and military exercise in the school curriculum."[9] But why?

---

[8] Ibid., 33.

[9] Donnachie, "Education in Robert Owen's New Society: The New Lanark Institute and Schools," the encyclopedia of informal education, www.infed.org/thinkers/et-owen.htm, accessed 20 Nov 2009.

The answer to this question can be found by looking at the pedagogic program of Owen's

school in its synchronic context. Most scholars have placed Owen in a diachronic timeline in

order to understand how the New Lanark school contributed to the development of public

education or to New Lanark as a nascent co-operative socialist community. These treatments fall

short, however, because of Owen's lack of transparency when it comes to his intellectual

precedents. As was noted above in Chapter I, Owen was in general not very forthcoming about

the sources of his ideas; he cites neither philosophical nor practical precedents in the description

of his theories or in the memoir penned at the end of his life. But what is available to historians

is information about Owen's acquaintances in the constellation of figures involved in public

education initiatives. Historians from a variety of viewpoints are keen to locate a connection

between Owen and Rousseau,[10] for example, yet few speak explicitly about one of the most

prevalent and popular influences of his own time, the development of the monitorial school

system by Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell. Close attention to Owen's connections to

Lancaster and his departure from the monitorial system reveals how unique Owen's pedagogic

---

[10] Although there is a basic correspondence between the attitudes of Owen and Rousseau toward children and education, close comparison of the curricula employed by Owen at his New Lanark school indicates drastic departures from Rousseau's educational recommendations. While Owen's students marched and danced, seemingly in concert with Rousseau's observation that children love to move and should be allowed freedom of movement, they also performed their geography lessons and sang airs in foreign languages, two practices against which Rousseau clearly warns. Rousseau would also have disapproved of the spectacular public displays at Owen's New Lanark school, because, as he said about similar places in his own time, "[t]he pedagogues who present . . . a showy display of the instruction they give their disciples . . . choose those sciences one appears to know when one knows their terminology; heraldry, geography, chronology, languages, etc." Instead of providing the information "which would be truly useful" to the students, these misled pedagogues provide only that which is "so far from man, and especially from the child, that it would be a wonder if anything at all in them were of use to him a single time in his life." Although an event like a public dance was crucial for the state which Rousseau wished to be created through social contract, it was not the type of activity proposed for Émile's tutelage. Historians of education place great store in the influence of Rousseau's *Émile* on subsequent generations of educational reformers, yet they fail to recall the political context of Rousseau's purported "guide." *Émile* was a speculative text which played with the idea of educating a single male human being. Émile was to become the perfect individual, not the perfect citizen. Taking this into account, it is less of a surprise to see Owen employing activities that work towards the creation of communal spirit (a la *The Social Contract*) than those activities which Rousseau proposed for the creation of a single, self-sufficient man.

goals were to his audiences. Instead of the physically ordered academic exercises of Lancaster's classroom, Owen's curriculum featured public performances of dances, like the quadrille, and Scottish and Italian songs. Songs and dances are cultural products with meanings within their contexts; Owen's use of them implies a relationship to these meanings. I argue here that Owen self-consciously crafted a public curriculum which places the New Lanark children in the center of mainstream culture in order to prove his ability to change the pauper into a fully functioning member of society. In addition, the dancing and singing of New Lanark community members alludes to the assertions of Enlightenment-era philosophers that communal participation in the arts played a role in the birth of political communities.

There is another way in which the dancing and singing in Owen's New Lanark classroom deserves to be contextualized. Owen's displays must be understood in line with contemporary rules for how the rich and poor were to look at one another and how, as separate groups within society, they were to interact in the market of moral experience. While the recitals in the Institute for the Formation of Character were entertaining visual displays, they were also spectacular in another sense: they were bound to contemporary rules of vision and social interaction. In his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Adam Smith explained that, when persons meet in society, they are at once acting out and perceiving the actions of one another. This is not to imply that persons knowingly perform for one another, or that they consciously evaluate the "performances" of others, rather that, in social situations, persons perform the roles circumscribed by normative forces like tradition and taste. Every social interaction is a spectacular moment because individuals, in their dual roles as actor and spectator, perform the accepted rituals of their particular society and perceive through these actions.

146

Smith's rules also concerned collective actors and not just individuals. Persons of means, for example, take pride in displaying themselves, while those with fewer resources are typically more modest. This modesty, David Marshall notes in his close reading of Smith's *Theory*, is not driven by humiliation over the paucity of their resources but by the fear that those who observe them may not sympathize with their distress. Even when desperate for the aid of others, it is mortifying to be observed in a state of distress when there is no promise of much-needed pity. What is more, the rich, whom Smith noted are "observed by all the world," are loathe to look at the needy, and if they do, they are repulsed by the suffering they see. Yet the attraction of our eyes to the rich, and our repulsion at the vision of the poor actually served, in Smith's view, "to establish and to maintain the distinction of ranks."[11] Put another way: the groups of people which constituted a well-organized capitalist society were organized by their roles (aristocrat; laborer) but this organization was maintained through the conventions whereby they looked at and perceived one another.

There is another sense, for Smith, in which social interactions are spectacular: he describes an ideal "Impartial Spectator," or a person who is, as it were, standing outside of the social exchanges being acted out, who is watching them, and whose moral experience can guide them to their best ends. Since few social situations actually include such a figure, Smith provides the idealization of this person in order to explain how we internalize authority. The Impartial Spectator, in other words, is the spectator we place within ourselves in order to judge our own behaviors; he is our internal moral guide. For example, a student might be tempted to disrupt a class with a prank, but if his internal guide has been previously cultivated to act in accordance with what is best for his whole community, he is likely to reconsider. Put another

---

[11] David Marshall, "Adam Smith and the Theatricality of Moral Sentiments," *Critical Inquiry* 10:4 (Jun. 1984), 592-613; 605.

way: if a person has been taught to extend sympathy to universal parameters, they will actuate that benevolence when called upon to do so in the future.

These types of spectatorship had several consequences for Owen's presentation of the poor to the wider public. If moral relationships are embedded in the very acts of seeing and evaluating the bodies and behaviors of others, the New Lanark classroom was spectacular not only in its presentation of intelligent, active children to the visiting public, but in the presentation of the public to the schoolchildren. Taking Smith's theory as our guide, we can argue that the people watching each other were also watching themselves, making for a doubly dynamic spectacle.

The status of society's "haves" and "have nots" was in a state of flux in the period under consideration, and so were their expected roles and actions. Owen took advantage of this situation to choreograph a new moral relationship between the rich and the poor. In accordance with his developing socialist ideals, Owen simply scripted the poor as persons who, despite traditional belief to the contrary, were just like the rich. They had the same bodies and literally could dance the same dances. In other words, no cultural barriers existed between the bodies of the rich and the poor in Owen's Institute, and the visiting public could leave Lanarkshire having seen a new kind of poor person: indeed, the "regenerated" pauper.

B: Schools on Display: From Monitorialism to "Universal Education"

Owen's New Lanark school was not unique in being open to curious members of the public. Under David Dale, New Lanark had been open to visitors, as were a wide variety of

eighteenth-century improvement projects. As described in Chapter II, experimental projects took

place in the public eye, in what Roy Porter called the "laboratory of polite society."[12] People

visited schools in order to study them and to evaluate the efficacy of the demonstrations taking

place in them. As Owen clearly understood, however, schools and other improvement projects

also provided entertainment.

1. Lancaster's Monitorial System

One of the schools on display at the time Owen established his management at New

Lanark was the Borough Road school in London. Under the leadership of the 22-year old Joseph

Lancaster (1778-1838), this school was supported by members of London's elite manufacturing

class, including William Allen (1770-1843), who would become one of Owen's partners at New

Lanark. When it opened in 1798 the Borough Road School was one of the first schools devoted

to providing universal schooling, in other words, free schooling to children of any

denominational background. The interest of Lancaster and his financial backers in popular

education was further stimulated by the Factory Act of 1802 which stipulated that those children

whose parents were on parish poor registries and who were subsequently signed to work in

manufactories were limited to twelve hours of labor a day. It also specified that these children

(yet not "free" children, or those who worked in the manufactories yet lived at home) must be

provided with instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic on weekdays and religious teaching

---

[12] Roy Porter, *The Enlightenment* (Houndmills, Hants: Palgrave, 2001), 16.

on Sundays.[13] In addition to this factor, Lancaster's school was open to public scrutiny due to

his use of a new method of instruction called the monitorial system.

Lancaster was one of two people, the other being Dr. Andrew Bell (1753-1832)[14] —credited with

developing the monitorial system, which became the most popular educational method of the

nineteenth century. Lancaster described his educational experiments in *Improvements in*

Education as it Respects the Industrious Classes of the Community published in 1803. In his

classroom, instructors employed a hierarchy of successful students, or monitors, to teach,

discipline, and inspect other groups of students. Working under a monitor-general, students

themselves were in charge not only of the academic curriculum, which was largely learned by

rote, but for promoting (or demoting) students through the monitorial hierarchy based on

academic and behavioral merit (or demerit). They distributed rewards, such as badges of merit,

as well as punishments, which in the Lancastrian classroom were typically acts of public

humiliation, such as labeling children with indications of their infraction, or separating them

physically from the group.[15] In sum, for little more than the cost of a large room and a few small

teaching aids, an instructor could manage the education of hundreds of children at a time.

---

[13] Nanette Whitbread, *The Evolution of the Nursery-Infant School: A History of Infant and Nursery Education in Britain, 1800-1970* (London: Routledge, 1972), 4.

[14] I focus on Lancaster's particular version of the monitorial system because it was he whom Owen supported. Nevertheless, Bell's system, the system of "mutual instruction," clearly pre-dates Lancaster's. A native of Scotland, Dr. Andrew Bell established what he called the Madras system during his ten-year stint in India as a chaplain of the Male Orphan Asylum. According to his own story, Bell witnessed some Indian children teaching one another the alphabet with sticks in the sand and subsequently established a classroom system whereby students taught one another skills they had mastered. According to Jane Blackie, Bell first mentioned his educational experiment in a letter from May 1792. His discovery became public with his *Experiment in Education Made at the Male Asylum at Madras, Suggesting a System by which a Family May Teach Itself under the Superintendance* [sic] *of the Master or Parent*, in 1797, and its further elaboration in *Analysis of an Experiment in Education* in 1805 and *Elements of Tuition* in 1808.

[15] In some extremes, Lancaster advocated hanging the child from the ceiling of the classroom in a basket (to be an object of derision for his peers), or commanding the child to walk the perimeter of the room with a large "log" yoked to his shoulders. See Lancaster, *Improvements*, in Kaestle 62-87; 80-81.
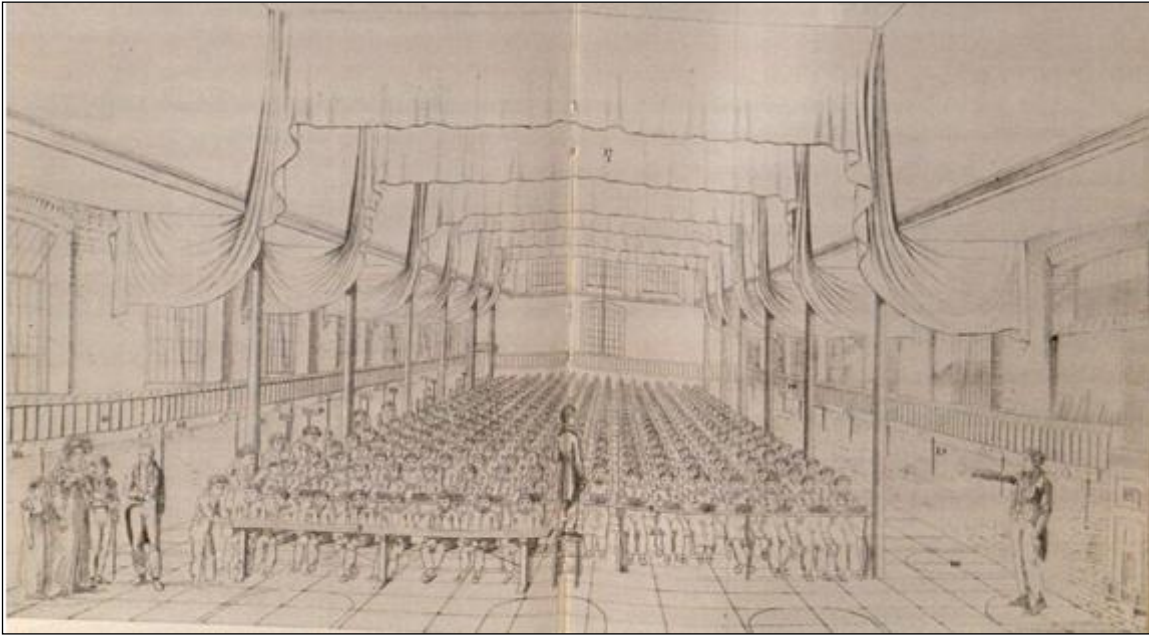
FIGURE 11 The Lancastrian classroom. From Kaestle [n.p.].
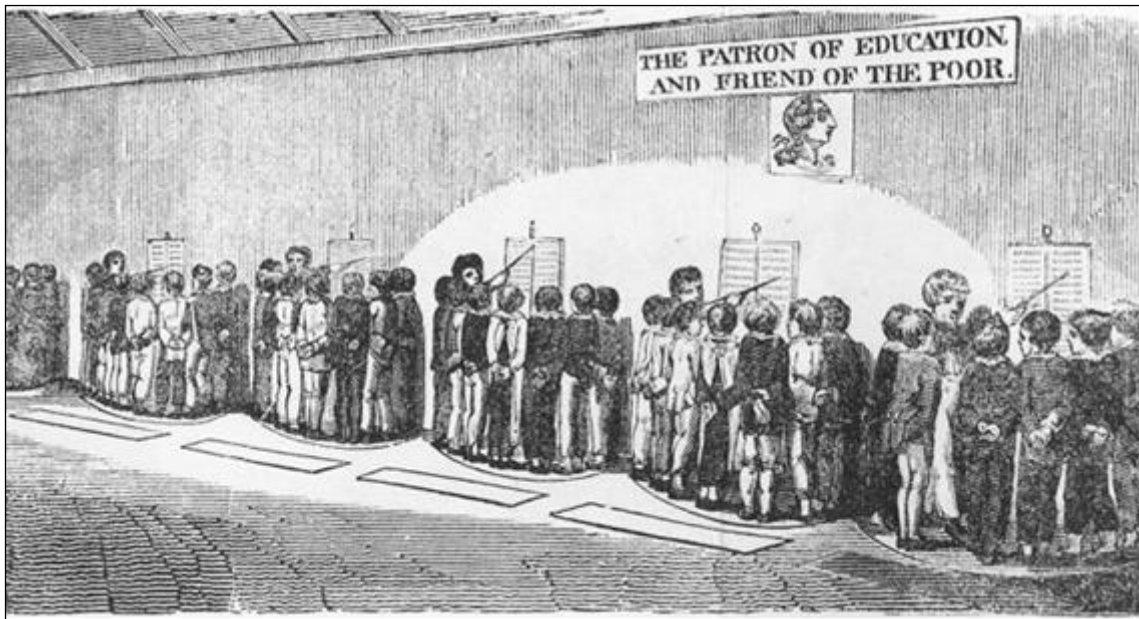
FIGURE 12 Monitors and their charges studying small aids at the classroom periphery. From Lancaster, Joseph. *The British system of education: being a complete epitome of the improvements and inventions practised at the Royal free schools.* London, 1810. *The Making of the Modern World*. Gale 2010. Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries. 24 July 2010
http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U104306345&srcht p=a&ste=14

The monitorial plan (Bell's system in particular) inspired Sir Thomas Bernard to write in an 1809 essay that "The grand principle of Dr. Bell's system is the division of labor applied to intellectual purposes. . . . The principle in schools and manufactories is the same"[16]

The Lancastrian classroom was designed specifically to aid in the process of monitorial instruction [FIGURES 11 & 12]. Each classroom featured parallel columns of tables (usually two) where the student body as a whole was instructed, as well as with their student instructors for specific lessons. In these niches monitors used flashcard-like panels on which had been pasted details of learning objectives such as vocabulary words or sums. These simple technologies helped monitors teach the subject matter, as well as maintain the attention of their charges. In these smaller groups, individual pupils competed for distinction within the group until promoted to the next cohort.

The Lancastrian classroom was designed in such a way to make its workings visible to the eye of a visitor or critic. Since all of the children were in a single room, an individual could see all of the workings of all of the monitors at once. Indeed, the regularity of the seating and the sheer numbers of students made for impressive, patterned display. Lancaster wrote that, no matter his specific contributions, "There is no part of the system more interesting to the eye of the visitor, than the pupils of a large school, in the act of obedience to general commands."[17] He was clearly aware of the dramatic impact of seeing large numbers of small persons execute coordinated movements in a display of strict obedience. In fact, he and his financial backers were so assured of the efficacy of the system and its visual impact that they established the

---

[16] *The new school; being an attempt to illustrate its principles, detail and advantages.* London, 1809. *The Making of the Modern World*. Gale 2010. Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries. 15 October 2010 <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U103075438&srchtp=a&ste=14>

[17] "The Lancastrian System of Education" [1821], in Kaestle, 88-96; 94.

Borough Road College in 1801 in order to instruct classroom managers in the efficient ways of monitorial classroom management. Necessarily, the College students visited the classroom of the Borough Road School in order to witness Lancaster's methods. But they were not alone: "Visitors of the highest rank crowded to witness the extraordinary spectacle in which one schoolmaster was teaching a thousand scholars."[18] Lancaster's first biographer, his friend William Corston, wrote that '[F]oreign princes, ambassadors, peers, commoners, ladies of distinction, bishops and archbishops, Jews and Turks, all visited the school with wonder-waiting eyes."[19]

    Lancaster's classroom must have been an impressive sight, and its appeal to scopophilic visitors was augmented by the reliance on visual communication in its pedagogic method. First, Lancaster relied on the students' habits of emulation. "The power of example," he wrote, "greatly facilitates the establishment of order. Children are imitative creatures: they enter a new school; they see all in order around them: they witness promptness and alacrity in obeying every command; they do as they see others do, under the influence of their example."[20] He corroborated this emphasis in his 1824 work *The Psychology of Monitorial Instruction*, where he states that "from the sympathy they take in each other, they learn every thing communicable by one to the other more easily and perfectly. Whatever a child has been taught, he will communicate to his companions better than a master." The Lancaster system for mass discipline

---

[18] Samuel Adams Drake, *Our Great Benefactors: Men and Woman Most Eminent in Literature, Science, Philanthropy, Art, etc*. (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1884), 284.

[19] William Corston, *Life of Joseph Lancaster* (London: Harvey, Darton, 1840) qtd. in David Salmon, British and Foreign School Society, *Joseph Lancaster* (London: Longmans, Green, 1904), 17.

[20] "The Lancastrian System of Education" [1821], in Kaestle, 93.

was structured around the imitative nature of children.[21] While emphasis has been placed on the

visual discipline in the monitorial system—indeed, Lancaster himself emphasized that "[t]he

monitor's eye is on every child"[22]—the role of emulation in self-discipline is perhaps more

important to the workings of the monitorial system. Indeed, the pressure to earn promotions and

rewards—and to avoid punishment—necessarily drove students to emulate the behaviors of

those who managed to succeed in this environment.

Lancaster's emphasis on how the children "see" and "witness" recalls, as David Hamilton

notes, Adam Smith's recognition of emulation as the partner of sympathy in an individual's

participation in society. As Hamilton writes, Smith "argued that, through an appreciation of (or

sympathy with) the achievements of the successful, the poor would be motivated to further their

own self-improvement."[23] Although Smith was thinking of the context of the rich and the poor,

Hamilton points out that the principles were equally pertinent to education, where those "poor"

in knowledge could emulate those "rich" in it.[24] In other words, what Lancaster's classroom set

in motion was, in addition to Smith's division of labor, a social economy in which vision and

imitation played a key role in searching for and maintaining happiness while avoiding

punishment. "Before the effect of novelty is worn off," he wrote, "new habits are formed; and

the happy children who are trained under the mild and generous influence of the Lancastrian

---

[21] Joseph Lancaster, *Westminster Review* 1 (Jan.1824) pages 97-99; 97.

[22] Ibid., 98.

[23] David Hamilton, "Adam Smith and the Moral Economy of the Classroom System," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 12:4 (1980), 281-298.

[24] Ibid., 289. Although not explicit in his treatment, Hamilton's argument about Smith's philosophy in the development of classrooms in the nineteenth century implies the development of the concept of knowledge as a commodity.

system of education, learn obedience with pleasure, and practice it with delight, without the employment of cos-skin or can, to bring them to order."[25]

A classroom's monitor-general necessarily relied on "the effect on the eye" to ensure the effectiveness of the disciplinary task. In order to "relieve the human voice," which could become too strained, the head of school in a Lancastrian classroom relied on a telegraph, a technology consisting of a series of square panels, each about 3-4 inches square, within a larger wooden frame. The panels "play[ed] on pivots," or were suspended from the frame in such a way that the front or back of each panel could be turned to face the students.[26] When placed at the front of the classroom, the telegraphs were used to communicate messages to the children about a particular task, usually movements concerning their slates. For example, "F" indicated that the students were to face the front of the classroom, "S.S." indicated that they were to
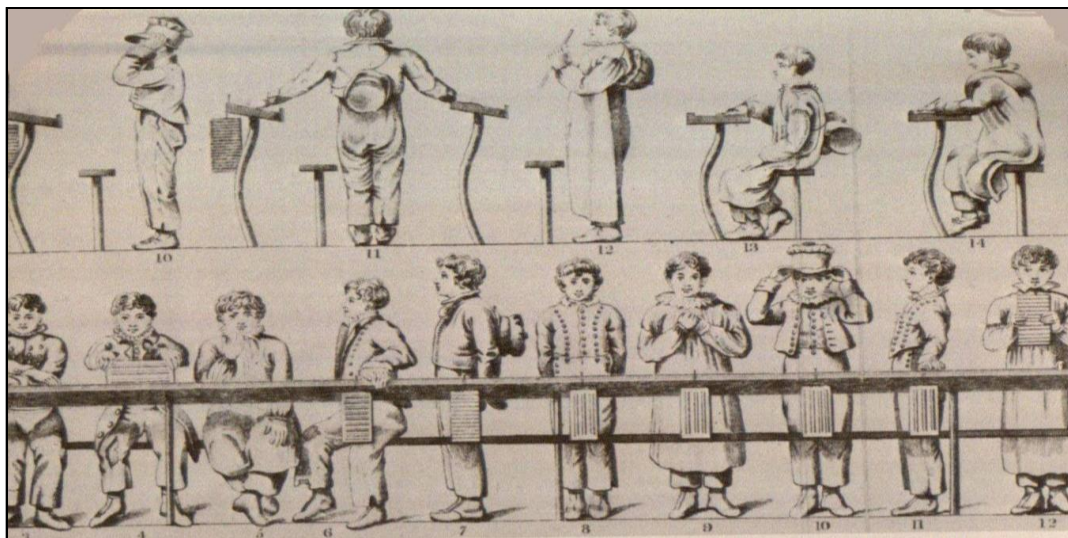

FIGURE 14 The bodily discipline of the Lancastrian classroom.
From Kaestle [n.p.].

---

25 "The Lancastrian System of Education" [1821], in Kaestle, 88-96; 93.

26 Ibid., 95.

"shew" their slates for inspection by monitors, and "S.F." indicated they were to "Show fingers."[27] This method not only made it easier to command large numbers of children at once, but implied the bodily discipline which was to accompany each task [FIGURE 14]. Each command was to be met with crisp and rigid movements which signaled the pupil's disciplinary rigor. Like a flock of birds changing direction, the children were synchronized by the swift execution of these visually perceived cues.

The use of the telegraph also served to focus the attentions of the children on a small object at the front of the room, where they were to watch for visual cues. Since "[o]bedience, with large bodies, whether of men or children, must be active and energetic," Lancaster argued, any command was to be given, whether orally or visually, in a "short" manner. Therefore, he recommended that "'Front'; 'Right' or 'Left'; must be occasionally done, whether commanded or not; without a command, they would be done at random—with it, they are done in an instant."[28] This habit would not only train the students, but would also "effectually train the monitor in the habit of giving [commands] with propriety."[29] Lancaster's inclusion of men's movements with the description of those of children was to indicate to his reader that the (male) children of the Lancastrian classroom—both students and monitors—would become effective workers in various, but perhaps specifically industrial, contexts.

Although visually exciting, the physical discipline of Lancaster's classroom was too strict for some. One of Lancaster's critics, Robert Southey, wrote that "[t]he boys march and wheel at the word of command, 'front, right or left, step forward, or step backward;" and they are trained

---

[27]The other commands included "T.S.," "Turn slates"; "C.S.," "Clean slates"' "S.S.C.," "Show slates clean"; "L.D.S.," "Lay down slates"; "S.P.," "Show pencils"; "C.," "Commence"; and "H.D.," "Hands down," Ibid.

[28] "The Lancastrian System of Education" [1821], in Kaestle, 91-92.

[29] Ibid.

to measure their steps to prevent treading on each other's heels, or pushing each other down. It is not required that the measure should be a 'regular step'—that would be too military for a Quaker."[30] While Southey indicates that the students are dissuaded from too "regular" or "military" a step, his description of the measured steps indicate a rather high level of bodily discipline. Although perhaps not crisp in its execution, the collective steps of the children were closely controlled.

Lancaster actually condemned the overuse of the telegraph by teachers who invested more than necessary in the construction of "foolish and expensive" telegraphs; in fact, he emphasized that "the tones of the voice have so powerful an effect on the human ear, that merely emphasis and manner, will often render a command so impressive, that no silent inanimate substitute can be found."[31] The description of these methods indicates that each student in the Lancastrian classroom was instructed by either aural or visual communication. These instructions, Lancaster emphasized, brought the immediate action of each child's slate (in the case of "Front," "Left," or "Right,") and, more often, their hands. In addition to the manipulation of slates and pencils, monitorial instruction included the inspection of hands and fingers for cleanliness. The implementation of this visual discipline "promot[ed] habitual cleanliness," Lancaster argued, because each student anticipated the command and thus was concerned to pass any future inspection. To Lancaster, this command was an example of the efficiency and efficacy of his method. "In a school of three hundred pupils, three thousand fingers and thumbs will be exhibited in a minute, and the effect on the eye is as singular, as the

---

[30] Robert Southey, *Bell and Lancaster's Systems of Education* (London: John Murray, 1811), 62.

[31] "The Lancastrian System of Education" [1821], in Kaestle, 94.

examination is beneficial."[32] In other words, not only was a task effected—hands were inspected

for cleanliness—but the task was executed in a visually impressive way.

2. Owen's Lancastrian Beginnings

The dispute over precedence between the Lancastrian and Madras systems is important to

the story of Robert Owen and the New Lanark School because it is the context into which his

own thoughts on education developed. Born amidst the controversy of the role of religion in

universal education, Owen's system, no matter how radical, was bound to fit more clearly into

one "camp" or the other.   More often than not, critics supported the individual whose political

and denominational identities best matched their own; as Isabel Simeral wrote, "the matter at

issue was not who first invented the monitorial system, but what party was to have control of the

education of the masses."[33] What is more, the contours of the debate were informed by ideas

about scientific experiment which would continue to exert pressure of Owen's New Lanark

project in the years to come.

Perhaps astonishingly, Lancaster and Bell maintained a cordial friendship until public

comments about their religious differences forced a wedge between their alliance. In particular,

comments by the staunch Anglican educationalist Sarah Trimmer added fuel to the debate over

the role of education in the creation of a national system of education. Author of the periodical

Guardian of Education (1802-1806), Trimmer (1741-1810) was one of the trusted voices of

---

[32] Ibid., 96.

[33] Isabel Simeral, *Reform Movements in Behalf of Children in England of the Early Nineteenth Century, and the Agents of Those Reforms*. (New York: Columbia University, 1916), 188.

conservatism. She advocated Sunday schools and other parish-based charity schooling for the

poor. Therefore, she naturally supported Bell's system, which was rooted in the educational

traditions of the Church of England. Never an outright fan of a national education system,

Trimmer argued that, if the state were to create its own widespread system, it would by necessity

have to reflect the beliefs of the national church.

Lancaster, a convert to Quakerism, wished to keep the religious curriculum of his schools

unsectarian, or basic enough to instill a "[r]everence for the sacred name of God and the

Scriptures of Truth," without promoting a particular sect. He believed that children could be

taught to love truth "without violating the sanctuary of private religious opinion,"[34] and his

supporters were typically other dissenters and Whigs who held most highly the right of each

person to his own religious conscience. In a publication entitled *A Comparative View of the New*

Plan of Education promulgated by Mr. Joseph Lancaster in his Tracts concerning the Instruction

of the Children of the Laboring Part of the Community, *and of the System of Christian Education*

Founded by Our Pious Forefathers for the Initiation of the Young Members of the Established

Church in the Principles of the Reformed Religion (1805), Trimmer called Lancaster the

"Goliath of Schismatics," believing him a person whose theatrics and popularity, combined with

the force of moneyed backers, could defeat the David-like church if unheeded.[35] Lancaster's

unsectarian approach to religion would, if established on a national scale, become the seedbed

for further national degeneration. By this reasoning, Trimmer was outraged when, in 1805,

---

[34] Lancaster, *Improvements,* 1. Southey points out that Lancaster had to argue this because if he had limited his schools to those in the Quaker sect, there would not be enough pupils, since there are few poor people in Quaker communities. Southey, 102.

[35] For more on Trimmer, see M. O. Grenby, "'A Conservative Woman Doing Radical Things': Sarah Trimmer and the *Guardian of Education*" in *Culturing the Child 1690-1914: Essays in Memory of Mitzi Myers*, ed. Donelle Ruwe (Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 137-164.

George III gave royal support to Lancaster and his system.

As early as 1808, supporters and defenders of Lancaster came together as the Royal Lancastrian Society in order to support the spread of monitorial schools. The group achieved its "Royal" status with the inclusion of the Duke of Kent (1767-1820), whose approbation was likely obtained *via* his friendship with William Allen. Allen and Joseph Fox (1775-1816), both of whom were to become partners of Owen in 1814, were among the earliest promoters and financial supporters of Lancaster's Borough Road School. In the intervening years, they would be joined in the Lancastrian Society by the likes of Robert Owen, Thomas Hodgkin, Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, Henry Brougham, and Samuel Whitbread. The latter three introduced a parliamentary bill proposing a national system of elementary schools based on Lancaster's plan.

The debate between supporters of Lancaster and Bell was at its most heated in the years 1810-1814. Southey's defense of Bell in the October 1811 Tory *Quarterly Review* was followed a month later with a similar defense of Lancaster in the rival *Edinburgh Review*. Soon thereafter, the Cambridge professor Herbert Marsh preached a sermon in which he promoted Trimmer's arguments; those in agreement quickly formed a committee within the Church of England called the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales. Because they were part of the national church, these schools came to be known as "National Schools," and with this, the era of the "voluntary" system of education began. The Royal Lancastrian Society had changed its name in 1810 to the Royal Lancastrian Institution for the Education of the Poor of Every Religious Persuasion; it regrouped in 1813 as the Institution for Promoting the British System for the Education of the Labouring and Manufacturing Classes of Society of Every Religious Persuasion and then, in 1814, as the British and Foreign Schools Society. Based on this final name, the schools

promoted by the former "Lancastrians" came to be known as "British Schools."[36]

Robert Owen's participation in the Royal Lancastrian Society (and later the British and Foreign School Society) denotes his participation in dissenting circles in Glasgow and London. In fact, association between the two figures—Lancaster and Owen—and Lancaster's reputation among factory-owners and philanthropists can be illustrated by Robert Owen's own words given at a dinner in Lancaster's honor in Glasgow in 1812. Owen promoted the Lancastrian mode of education as would be expected at such an event. Children of the poor, he argued, "must learn the habits of obedience, order, regularity, industry, and constant attention." He added that these habits are "to them of more importance than merely learning to read, write, and account, although we all know and feel the advantages which these have given to each of us."[37] This last line reveals how Owen's approach to education fell in line with that of those in his constellation of thinkers. They promoted national education for children of all denominational backgrounds, but cautioned that care should be taken to educate them in habits more than in intellectual information. Like other manufacturers, Owen approached the need for popular education with the same efficiency as he would problems in his mills. He looked on the Lancastrian system as a technology which, "when properly applied, will enable us easily, cheaply, and effectually, to accomplish [educational goals]".[38] And like other philanthropists, Owen felt that the need for

---

[36] The final change in name reflected the group's wish to distance itself from Lancaster, who was becoming known as a spendthrift. Lancaster's promotional tours were expensive, and he relied solely on the Society for living expenses. What is more, a scandal erupted in 1814 when a former student revealed that Lancaster did, in fact, punish students corporally, perhaps "for his own amusement." Despite disappointment in the movement's earliest figurehead, members of the "British and Foreign" continued to promote Lancaster's system late into the 1820s, including in the School at New Lanark.

[37] Robert Owen, "Mr. Owen's Speech at a Public Dinner at which he Presided, Given to Joseph Lancaster at Glasgow in 1812," in Selected Works of Robert Owen in 4 volumes, ed. Gregory Claeys, (London: Pickering, 1993), v1 7-10; 9.

[38] Ibid., 8.

popular education was dire and that the obstacles were great. But at the Glasgow dinner, he

argued that Lancaster's approach was the perfect technological fix: his "important improvements

and discoveries in education" were the necessary "means now in [their] power. Our friend here,"

he continued, "Joseph Lancaster, has prepared them ready to our hands."[39]

Despite the optimism with which figures like Owen approached Lancastrianism, there

was one more facet of the debate over national education which would bleed over from this

debate into later debates over Owen's system. In *The Origin, Nature, and Object, of the New

System of Education*, Southey's analysis of the debate reveals that at least some of the debate

concerned ideas about experiment, the production of factual knowledge, and the reproducibility

of Bell's results. According to Southey, it was Bell who had "discovered the new system"; at

Madras "his experiment began and was completed; the invention was perfected there." He

continues: "He never proposed to repeat it,—to re-discover his discovery. If Bolton and Watt's

steam engine succeeds at Soho in Birmingham, who ever supposed it necessary that they should

go themselves, and erect another at Soho in London, to prove its power?" Lancaster, on the

other hand, only "served the cause of education by giving the new system a notoriety which Dr.

Bell had failed to obtain."[40] In recapitulating the experiments made in Madras, Lancaster was in

keeping with Bell's hopes, verbalized in the preface to his *Experiment*, that his system be

dispersed.[41] Bell asked that "farther and similar trials may be made, and the success in every

instance ascertained by experience."[42] He added, later, that he was especially "anxious to see the

---

[39] Ibid.

[40] Southey, 38.

[41] Ibid., 38-9.

[42] Qtd Ibid., 39.

experiment made . . . with due attention to circumstances."[43] To Southey, in other words, Bell

was the sole inventor and discoverer of the system, and in emulating it, Lancaster was only

following through with Bell's wish that others might "produce a fair trial in other situations, so

that [a] comparative value may be ascertained by experiments fairly made, the only just criterion

of every theory of science."[44]

Lancaster, on the other hand, saw Bell as the theorist and himself as the demonstrator of

monitorialism, and thus, the person who proved its efficacy and "factuality." *The author of this

book"* he wrote, *"was the FIRST person who invented and demonstrated this theory*."[45] He

describes his own development of monitorialism as "experiments . . . made, not on speculation,

but as the fair result of experiments." These "experiments" were "confirmed by twenty-two

years experience, in the view of nations, and conducted under the countenance of the noble and

excellent of all ranks and classes, among the most worthy and virtuous of men."[46] In other

words, for Lancaster, "invention" did not take place with the establishment of speculative theory,

or even in the demonstration of that theory in one case, i.e. Bell's school at Madras, but in their

successful recapitulation in the Borough Road School. What is more, the London Borough Road

School was a greater accomplishment than Bell's Madras school because it was a successful

recreation. In sum, this means that to supporters of Bell, "discovery" was achieved at the first

---

[43] Ibid., 40.

[44] *Andrew Bell,* An analysis of the experiment in education, made at Egmore, near Madras : comprising a system, alike fitted to reduce the expense of tuition, abridge the labour of the master, and expedite the progress of the scholar; and suggesting a scheme for the better administration of the poor-laws, by converting schools for the lower orders of youth into schools of industry *(London : Cadell and Davies, 1797), 70.*

[45] Emphasis in original. "The Lancastrian System of Education" [1821], in Kaestle, 88-96; 88.

[46] Ibid., 88-89.

manifestation of a theory, while to Lancaster and his supporters, facts were established only upon the clear recapitulation of theoretical constructs in subsequent environments. This debate would come back to haunt Owen when his critics used the Lancastrian definition of discovery to challenge Owen's "science of circumstances." Did the theories applied at New Lanark constitute a discovery when only tried at that one location?

Those who had been following Owen's thoughts during the Lancaster-Bell debate might have started to discern his deviations from Lancastrian theory; Owen even used his speech at the dinner in Lancaster's honor in 1812 to promote some of his own teaching philosophy. Owen defined education as "the instruction, of all kinds, which we receive from our earliest infancy until our characters are generally fixed and established."[47] His emphasis on infant education set him apart from Lancaster, whose monitorial system was dependent on children who had already been trained to walk and talk. Although Lancaster argued that there should be "initiatory" schools for young children, they were never established. Instead, monitorialism was developed within the standard definition of "school age," which was then defined as from ages six to seven until ages twelve to thirteen.[48]

Close attention to the speech from the dinner for Lancaster reveals that, despite his ample praise of the guest of honor, Owen was using the opportunity to air his own opinions on education for the first time in public. He described the impressions made on pre-school-aged children as "indelible" and warned that the "sentiments and opinions" made upon the "young mind" before the age necessary to attend a Lancastrian school were "scarcely ever afterwards

---

[47] Owen, "Mr. Owen's Speech," 7.

[48] Whitbread, 8; 6.

164

wholly effaced."[49] But just as potential errors were permanent, so would be the potential power

of taking advantage of this special time for children's minds. He proposed a hypothetical

experiment: "[C]onvey a number of infants, so soon as they were born, from this country into

distant regions," he asked his audience, "[and] deliver them to the natives of those countries, and

allow them to remain among them. … they would become, one and all, like unto those natives,

whatever their characters might be."[50] He stated firmly, based on inferences from this thought

experiment, that "we can materially command these circumstances which influence character."[51]

Later the next year, when he published the first "First Essay" of *A New View*, Owen

stated of Lancaster and Bell that "Future generations will consider them as two of the most

powerful champions who have yet fought for the introduction of a rational in lieu of an irrational

system of formation of character."[52] However, his own theory was beginning to take precedence

over those of his predecessors. In fact, by the time he published the "Fourth Essay" in 1816,

deference had given way to hubris, and he criticized Lancaster's system. As with all other

previous systems, Lancaster's monitorialism "prove[d] the extreme ignorance" of all previous

educational methods.[53] Its "manner" was suspect because, although it accomplished the teaching

of skills, it ignored the development of habits. To Owen's view, the impressive displays of the

Lancastrian classroom signaled that the children could only perform those specific disciplined

---

[49] Owen, "Mr. Owen's Speech," 9.

[50] Ibid., 8.

[51] Ibid., 8.

[52] Robert Owen, "Essay First," in "A New View of Society; or Essays on the principle of the formation of the human character, and the application of the principle to practice," Robert Owen, *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2008, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): 16-17, http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U103252708&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 18 December 2008).

[53] See Owen, *New View*, "Essay IV," 90.

tasks: "shewing" slates and putting pencils down. With the exception of the inspection of fingers, which inculcated the habit for cleanliness, none of Lancaster's results meant anything to Owen, since his focus was on changing the human character. "[T]he manner of giving instruction is one thing," he argued, "the instruction itself another, and no two objects can be more distinct. The worst manner may be applied to give the best instruction, and the best manner to give the worst instruction."[54] What he admired about Lancaster's system, then, was the method, but the timing (waiting until the student was 6-7) and the content of the curriculum were detrimental. Although he allowed that "without [Lancaster's] aid, [his own plan] would have appeared so impracticable, that it would not have had a beginning,"[55] Owen made it clear in his *New View* essays that his own method was to be better.

3: The New Lanark Classroom: Departure from Lancastrianism

When Owen built the New Lanark School [FIGURE 14] the classroom was, as his son Robert Dale Owen wrote in 1824, "fitted up with desks and forms on the Lancastrian plan, having a free passage down the centre of the room." The room was intended to and in fact did serve various purposes, as "It is surrounded, except at one end where a pulpit stands, with galleries, which are convenient when this room is used, as it frequently is, either as a lecture-room or place of worship."[56] Owing to his and his partners' participation in the British and Foreign Schools Society, Owen was thoroughly embedded in Lancastrian thinking and

---

[54] Ibid., 91.

[55] Owen, "Mr. Owen's Speech," 10.

[56] Robert Dale Owen, *An outline of the system of education at New Lanark.* Glasgow, 1824. *The Making of the Modern World*. Gale 2010. Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): 29,

FIGURE 14 The Institute for the Formation of Character
today. Image in Public Domain, courtesy of R. Pollack.

practice, and the school he developed was—at least as far as his partners William Allen, Joseph

Fox, and Jeremy Bentham were concerned—to follow Lancastrian doctrine.

However, although there is no evidence that he outright abandoned the Lancastrian

classroom in his school building, visitors' recollections indicate that instruction of the children

took place in what Dale Owen described as "[t]he other and smaller apartment on the second

floor." This room:

> has the walls hung round with representations of the most striking zoological and
> mineralogical specimens, including quadrupeds, birds, fishes, reptiles, insects, shells,
> minerals etc. At one end there is a gallery, adapted for the purpose of an orchestra, and at
> the other end are hung very large representations of the two hemispheres; each
> separate country, as well as the various seas, islands etc. being differently coloured, but
> without any names attached to them. This room is used as a lecture- and ball-room, and it

http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U104580642&srchtp=a&ste=14>
(accessed 01 July 2010).

is here that the dancing and singing lessons are daily given. It is likewise occasionally used as a reading-room for some of the classes.[57]

As this description readily shows, the New Lanark classroom was far from monitorial in its structure, arrangement, technologies, and curriculum. It was impressive that hundreds of children could dance simultaneously in Owen's classroom, but that was nothing in comparison to Lancaster's thousands. But while Lancaster's classrooms often received visitors, Owen's galleries were clearly expressly built for the purpose, and their height ensured perfect observation over all the goings-on.

The learning aids in the Owenite classroom were also different from those of Lancaster's Borough Road School. While the visual aids used by Lancastrian monitors were small (Lancaster recommended simply pasting pages from printed books onto cardboard for the purpose), Owen's classroom featured oversized items that could capture the attention of all students—and the visiting public—at once. As Dale Owen described, and Hunt's engraving illustrates, the classroom featured oversized illustrations of animals, but also maps. The animal posters were custom painted, as were classroom-length timelines of history painted by Catherine Whetwell. These maps, globes, and charts captured the attention of students and visitors alike, because nothing like them had ever been seen before. More importantly, unlike the Lancastrian school in which students competed for recognition, Owen's students shared learning aids and spaces in such a way as to create different social relationships within the classroom. Pupils shared the spacious classroom when performing physical demonstrations or gathering around the outsized maps and other allotted learning aids. The resources available to the children—even the instructors—were available to everyone. These practices emphasized unity and sharing and

---

[57] Ibid.

indicate Owen's commitment to the values of kindness and encouragement instead of the antagonistic practices of the Lancastrian classroom.

An example of this practice is the way that Owen formulated geography lessons. As at least partially portrayed in Hunt's engraving, the New Lanark classroom featured "maps of the four quarters of the world upon a large scale" which, according to Owen's memoir, were "so large as almost to cover the end of the room." These "were purposely hung in the room to attract their attention," he wrote, and "[t]he children at four and above that age showed an early desire to understand the use of the maps."[58] Owen described that although the map was "delineated [in] the usual division of the best maps," the names of cities, towns and countries were omitted so that the children, "united in one large class . . . . of about one hundred and fifty, forming as large a circle as could be placed to see the map" could perform the exercise of naming the geographical locations for strangers. Using a "light white wand, sufficiently long to point to the highest part of the map by the youngest child," each student would point to the "district, place, island, city, or town" called out by another class member or the instructor. "This would be done generally many times in succession," Owen recalled:

> but when the holder of the wand was at fault, and could not point to the place asked for, he had to resign the wand to his questioner, who had to go through the same process. This by degrees became most amusing to the children, who soon learned to ask for the least thought-of districts and places, that they might puzzle the holder of the wand, and obtain it from him. This was at once a good lesson for one hundred and fifty –keeping the attention of all alive during the lesson.[59]

Owen clearly promoted history and geography lessons though his provision of timelines, maps, wands, and even audiences for the classroom. He was proud of the performance it gave to visitors, who "were as much amused, and many as much instructed, as the children, who thus at

---

[58] Owen, *Life*, 144.

[59] Ibid.

an early age became so efficient, that one of our Admirals, who had sailed round the world, said

he could not answer many of the questions which some of these children not six years old readily

replied to, giving the places most correctly."[60] The same characteristics that made the geography

lessons good entertainment were the same that made Owen's curriculum unique. The teaching

aids were large enough to serve many at a time and therefore promote a communal atmosphere.

Unlike the monitorial system in which there was constant competition, the shared items in

Owen's classroom were at the basis of social learning, as all performed in front of one another,

supported, and applauded one another. One visitor noted that in "the large room" of the Institute

"the youngest class of both sexes were being exercised with the scale of the gamut, and this they

ran over both separately and in chorus, without a single mistake, though they were questioned in

every possible way."[61] What he or she did not note, however, was any hint of competition

amongst the students.

---

[60] Ibid. Rousseau would not have been pleased with this exercise, and indeed it fails to conform to Owen's own commitment to learning through sensible signs. Although a map is a sensible sign in and of itself, the countries and geographical phenomena represented on it were more abstract. Having never visited Paris and seen it for themselves, for example, how could the children at the Institute formulate a clear understanding of the French capital? "In any study whatsoever," he wrote, unless one has the ideas of the things represented, the representative signs are nothing. However, one always limits the child to these signs [dead and other languages] without ever being able to make him understand any of the things which they represent. Thinking he is being taught a description of the earth, he learns only to know some maps. He is taught the names of cities, of countries, of rivers which he does not conceive as existing anywhere else but on the paper where he is showed them. I remember having seen somewhere a geography text which began thus: 'What is the world? It is a cardboard globe." Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile; or, On Education*. Introduction, Translation and Notes by Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, 1979), 109.

[61] "Visit to New Lanark: August 1822," in *Report of the proceedings at the several public meetings held in Dublin by Robert Owen on the 18th March, 12th April, 19th April, and 3d May : preceded by an introductory statement of his opinions and arrangements at New Lanark : extracted from his "Essays on the formation of the human character"*, Dublin, 1823. *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2009, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): 92. http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U106980466&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 12 January 2009).

3. Owen's Curricula vs. Quaker Opposition

In the autobiography written at the end of his life, Owen asserted that "Dancing, music, and the military discipline, will always be prominent surroundings in a rational system for forming character."[62] If the insistence with which he speaks about these activities at the end of his life is any indication, Owen was adamant about including them, even when doing so went against the wishes of his Quaker business partners, John Walker, Joseph Foster, and William Allen.

Quakers, or members of the Religious Society of Friends, established in the seventeenth century by George Fox (1624-1691), sought personal relationships with Christ. Anything considered an obstacle to that relationship was held in suspicion by members. Quaker prohibitions on dancing and singing were described by Thomas Clarkson in his book *A Portraiture of Quakerism, Taken from a View of the Education and Discipline, Social Manners, Civil and Political Economy, Religious Principles and Character, of the Society of Friends* in 1806. As a member of the growing abolitionist movement, Clarkson (1760–1846) was friends with many Quakers—including William Allen—and he wrote the book in order to share with a wider audience the "many excellent customs" of the sect.[63] One of his emphases is the explanation of Quaker rejection of the arts in education. According to the Friends, music and dance, although seemingly innocent, were particularly damaging elements of educational curricula.

---

[62] Owen, *Life*, 196.

[63] Clarkson (ii); Hugh Brogan, 'Clarkson, Thomas (1760–1846)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5545, accessed 3 May 2010].

"The first tendency of music," Clarkson wrote, "is to calm and tranquillize the passions. The ideas, which it excites, are of the social, benevolent, and pleasant kind. It leads occasionally to joy, to grief, to tenderness, to sympathy, but never to malevolence, ingratitude, anger, cruelty, or revenge." As a God-given use of the human faculty, music was rather innocent, but deeper examination revealed its more dangerous qualities. Public singing was an open display of pride, for example, and what is more, the lyrics which made up popular songs were potentially injurious to the mind. Instead, the cultivation of silence and "stillness of heart" was more important than the "sensual gratification" and the "vain amusements" of the auditorium.

Learning to play a musical instrument was deemed especially injurious to children. If a student were to devote him or herself (the Quakers were proponents of co-education) to hours of practice, this preparation was "of a sedentary nature," Clarkson explained, and this would ultimately contribute to bodily harm. For females in particular this led to "different disorders of hysteria" and prevented them "from becoming healthy wives, or healthy mothers, or the parents of a healthy progeny."[64] In the long term, in other words, music served no moral role for children; it could lead them down a path that was as unhealthy as it was distracting.

Dancing was no less dangerous. While popularly credited for teaching proper posture and decorum, dance was viewed by Quakers as a frivolous activity which stole an individual's attention away from more important aspects of life, namely, the development of correct Christianhood.[65] Quakers did agree that children need physical exercise to match their "lively

---

[64] Thomas Clarkson, *A Portraiture of Quakerism: Taken from a View of the Education and Discipline, Social Manners, Civil and Political Economy, Religious Principles, ...* Volume 1. New-York; ([New York]), 1806. 358pp. 3 vols. *Sabin Americana*. Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries 15 October 2010 <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY105862281&srchtp=a&ste=14>

[65] For more of Quakerism and dance, see Lynn Matluck Brooks, "Against Vain Sports and Pastime: The Theatre Dance in Philadelphia, 1724-90", *Dance Chronicle* Vol. 12, No. 2 (1989), 165-195 and "Emblem of Gaiety, Love, and Legislation: Dance in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography* 115:1 (Jan. 1991), 63-87.

and sportive" dispositions, "but as children are to become men, and men are to become moral characters, they believe that bounds should be drawn, or that an unlimited permission to follow every recreation would be hurtful." Instead, only practical means should be taken for physical exertion. Dancing was not a good choice of "accomplishment" because children can walk and carry their persons with sufficient ease and propriety without it. The same went for military drills. Because they were pacifists, the Quakers opposed military displays for their belligerent connotations. Pastimes like dance and music were God-given, but their potential to be abused was so great that it was deemed safest to refrain from them.

In an in-depth description of the ballroom, Clarkson described the vanity and pride not only of dancing itself, but also in the social interactions fueled by the increased passions experienced by the youth of both sexes when brought together in a social setting. Dancers vied for handsome partners, held pretentions to dancing at the highest rank in the set, and succumbed to gossip. Leaving behind his emphasis on particularly Quaker practice, Clarkson concludes that dancing is simply "objectionable as a Christian recreation; it cannot be doubted that it has an immediate tendency, in this case, to produce a frivolous levity, to generate vanity and pride, and to call up passions of the malevolent kind."[66]

In sum, the three primary activities which made up the public portion of Owen's curricula were not amenable to his Quaker partners; neither dancing, singing, nor military drills would have been found in the strictly Lancastrian classroom. In fact, Joseph Lancaster's Quaker pacifism would have prevented the use of military drills, although the disciplined precision with which his students were expected to complete their tasks was often compared—critically—to them. Owen, on the other hand, did not adhere to any denominational principles of pacifism, so

---

[66] Clarkson, 48.

he was free to employ drills for their use in teaching bodily discipline. Descriptions of the

martial exercises, like those of singing and dancing, only describe the joy of the children. To be

sure, the Quaker members of the British and Foreign Schools Society were not interested in

implementing a specifically Quaker curriculum in their schools, but they had invested in Owen's

school believing it to be formed on the Lancastrian system, and Lancaster's system was at least

nominally in keeping with Quaker guidelines.

4. Physical Health as Part of "Universal" Education

To Owen, the benefits of "health" and "unaffected grace to body" far outweighed any

denominational quibbles. Bodily health was at the crux of Owen's argument for improved

conditions. Owen's attention to the physical health of children was stimulated during his 1821

visits to several other manufactories. He summarized generally that the "excess of labour and

confinement" of factory work, noting how it "weakens and destroys all the functions of the

animal frame. Few constitutions," he continued, "can be preserved in heath and vigour under a

regular occupation in our manufacturers for more than ten hours per day."[67] From his

environmentalist perspective, nothing could be more harmful for children whose bodies were

still developing than to be confined by these strictures. "At that early age," he said, "many of the

children [he observed] became decrepid [sic] in body, and dwarfish in mind, from the

---

[67] Robert Owen, *An address to the master manufacturers of Great Britain, on the present existing evils in the manufacturing system*, Bolton, 1819, in *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2009, Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): 5, http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U103540793&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 3 January 2009).

overburdening of the one, and the unseasonable application of the other."[68] Therefore, Owen's

ideal state for children was a school in which their bodies would not be tasked unnecessarily and

their minds would be exercised only in the right way and at the right time. Asking the child to

perform either physical or mental tasks before they were prepared to fulfill them only damaged

their growing bodies and minds. "[J]udicious farmers," he argued, "will not prematurely put their

young beasts of burden to work; and that when they do put them to work, it is with great

moderation at first, and, we must remember too in a healthy atmosphere."[69] Similarly, Owen

planned from the First Essay of *A New View* that schools formulated in his "rational manner"

would feature both intellectual and mental exercises for children. "Co-existent with these mental

attainments," he wrote, "plans will also be devised to train children to those habits which

generally insure health, strength, and vigour of body, for the happiness of man can be erected

only on the foundations of health of body and peace of mind."[70] What is more, these activities

"[taught] obedience and order in the most imperceptible and pleasant manner, and create[d]

peace and happiness to the mind, preparing it in the best manner to make progress in all mental

acquisitions."[71] In other words, training the body had the effect of calming the mind, thus

making "progress in all mental acquisitions" dependent upon the attainment of physical exercise

and health.

　　Owen also used drills to reach the character of the child through the exercise of his or her

body. As Anne Bloomfield details in her treatment of drills and dancing in British imperial

---

[68] W. Davidson, *History of Lanark, and Guide to the Scenery; with List of Roads to the Principal Towns* (Lanark: Shepherd & Roberton, 1828), 173.

[69] Owen, *Address to the master manufacturers,* 4.

[70] Owen, *New View*, "Essay I," 20.

[71] Owen, *Life*, 141-2.

history, "[t]he object of marching was to cultivate uniformity of step, style and rhythmic movement, while maintaining good bodily carriage and discipline."[72] Like ballroom dance, drill marching was used to train the child's body to be elongated and dignified while also emphasizing the need for conformity to group movements and standards. The result was the subordination of the individual to the movements of the group, a consequence not unlike that of the commands of the Lancasterian classroom. Unlike the exercises of his counterpart, however, the drills in Owen's assembly room served to inscribe upon the child's inner character the habits of co-operative work and communal identity.

In this last sense, the performances by the New Lanark children resemble the cultural festival which greeted George IV in his trip to Edinburgh in 1822, the first visit of a reigning monarch to Scotland since the late-seventeenth century. George IV, clad in Stewart plaid, reinforced his identity as King of the Scots in a public spectacle designed largely by Sir Walter Scott and his son-in-law John Lockhart. The result of this meeting between the Hanoverian and the novelist was a cultural spectacle, a "plaided panorama,'" featuring the pseudo-ethnic paraphernalia of Lowland fantasy. The resulting presentation "presented Scotland as a picturesque, homogeneous place draped liberally in tartan."[73]

Just as the Hanoverian and his host Sir Walter Scott utilized "tartanry" and other nationalistic signifiers to establish his identity as King of the Scots in the public spectacle, Owen promoted Scottish cultural elements to mark the children of New Lanark as inheritors of the great Ossianic culture of the North. But in addition to the performances of Scottish songs and dances such as the reel, the dance most closely associated with the country, Owen's curriculum

---

[72] Anne Bloomfield, "Drill and Dancing as Symbols of Imperialism" in *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism.* J. A. Mangan, ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 74-95; 82.

[73]Clyde, 128.

included music and dances from a variety of cultures in order to challenge the expectations of his visitors.

Later in the nineteenth century, Britain would undergo a renaissance of interest in folk dancing at home while extending its political power into imperial holdings around the world. As the nation identified itself as the bedrock of a world-wide empire, it was increasingly important for native Britons to learn about and carry out the cultural activities associated with their own identities. The drills of late-Victorian and Edwardian school children were much more elaborate than those in Owen's school—they often resulted in elaborate *tableaux vivants* representing symbols of Britain such as the Union Jack or the Rose of England—but the reasoning behind them is the same. Bloomfield argues that the "[h]armony of thought and deed" provided by these exercises encouraged loyalty to the British nation while employing folk elements which connected the actors to their shared pasts. Similarly, Owen's encouragement of dancing and drilling in the New Lanark classroom served to locate the New Lanark population on a map of British culture. While some of the dances and songs served to emphasize the children's Scottish identity, the drills marked the children as citizens of Britain, ready to serve in her defense if necessary.[74]

Owen's pairing of physical exercises with the intellectual exercises of the classroom was noted by Henry Gray Macnab, the personal physician to the Duke of Kent, who visited New Lanark in 1819 in order to inform his patron of the efficacy of Owen's plan. Macnab was pleased to discover Owen's two-pronged approach to instruction, and he christened it "universal education," since it attended to the "two principle departments in the constitution of man," the body and the mind. He argued that, "being thus exercised in conformity with, and obedience to,

---

[74] Ibid., 82; 79.

177

the laws of nature, produce individually what the ancients expressed in the following strong terms – a sound mind in a sound body."[75]

Macnab's approbation rewarded Owen's educational curricula not because it matched Classical ideals, however, but because it served contemporary political ends. "Universal" education was essential because the human body was like the body politic, he wrote. Just as "each member [of the body politic] has his respective duties and relations in the political body," the parts of the human constitution "require to be duly exercised, to possess their natural health and strength."[76] Macnab's allusion to the roles of the different organs of the body politic reveal his socially conservative argument for the maintenance of class distinctions and the attitude that any educational scheme must give the student the tools to perform the duties of his or her rank. Owen anticipated that the schoolchildren would work in the New Lanark mills upon the completion of their educations; it was understandable that Macnab would see the school's "universal" program of study as in keeping with conventional social goals. In fact, Macnab emphasized the efficacy of Owen's pedagogic approach while downplaying Owen's lack of religious teaching, arguing, in concert with Owen, that children were not receptive to spiritual instruction until a later age. "Children," he wrote:

> are governed by animal principles long before they are rational beings. Activity and
> curiosity are the two distinguishing dispositions of their nature. Reason, conscience, and
> reflection, are among the latest of our powers and faculties, which acquire their natural
> strength. Bodily movement, duly directed, and the gratification of their curiosity, are the

---

[75] Henry Grey Macnab, *The new views of Mr. Owen of Lanark impartially examined, as rational means of ultimately promoting the productive industry, comfort, moral improvement, and happiness of the labouring classes of society, and of the poor; and of training up children in the way in which they should go: also observations on the New Lanark school, and on the systems of education of Mr. Owen, of the Rev. Dr. Bell, and that of the new British and foreign system of mutual instruction. London, 1819. The Making of the Modern World.* Gale 2010. Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries. 09 May 2010 <http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U103547110&srchtp=a&ste=14>, 208.

[76] Ibid., 207-208.

great objects to be constantly kept in view by parents and teachers: by attending to the movements even of infants at the breast, unprejudiced minds will find these two means of cultivation are almost constantly indicated.[77]

Macnab approved of Owen's curriculum because it served the most important ends for children—keeping their bodies active and their inquisitive minds satisfied. It concentrated on guarding them from things that they could not understand, since, as Macnab wrote, they should only be exposed to "objects or subjects which do not require acts of reasoning to be conceived as truths."[78] In other words, Owen's curriculum satisfied the "animal principles" of "activity and curiosity" but left the development of the conscience and reason until a later stage. Thus, Owen's pedagogical aims were given the nod from this politically conservative source. Alluding to contemporary controversies over the role of religious instruction in education for the poor, Macnab allowed that, whether "civil, moral, or religious," education was to follow the law of nature which bound the mind to the body. In short, he accentuated the strengths of Owen's scheme while downplaying that which was widely considered its largest weakness.

Owen's connections to Lancastrianism and his adoption of so-called "universal education" helps us to place him on the spectrum of political attitudes of his day. This task is often difficult because, despite the radical nature of his subsequent projects, Owen's New Lanark experiment is clearly an overwhelmingly paternalistic endeavor. So where on the spectrum does he sit? Owen's refusal to follow the precepts of the Lancastrian system puts him at odds with his partners in the British and Foreign Schools Society as well as those in his business partnership at New Lanark. Members of the BFSS tended to be non-sectarian Christians who, unlike Sarah Trimmer and other advocates of "National Schools," felt it wrong to include denominational

---

[77] Ibid., 214.

[78] Ibid., 208.

179

Christian education in their schools. On the other hand, the curricula of the New Lanark Institute appealed to Henry Gray Macnab who was, as stated above, a representative of the Duke of Kent. Owen's use of these activities was a direct challenge to the socially progressive goals of the British and Foreign Schools Society. Although Owen maintained the Lancastrian classroom in the Institute, there are no descriptions of the village children participating in lessons there. The evidence at hand suggests that Owen submitted the students to drastically different modes of bodily and mental discipline.

C: The Problems and Paradoxes of Performance-Based Pedagogy

With what did Owen replace the curricular content of the Lancastrian classroom? As detailed at the beginning of this chapter, the most memorable thing about a visit to Robert Owen's New Lanark Institute classroom was the performance by the children of dances, songs, and drills. As Griscom recounted, over fifty children "of the 'merry mood,'" were "attending to the lessons of a dancing-master," when he visited, and the other visitor recalled how the children "sung Highland, Scotch, and Italian airs, in chorus." [79] Especially for those visitors expecting to see a Lancastrian-style display, what greeted them inside the Institute for the Formation of Character was almost certainly surprising. In fact, when William Allen and other partners in the New Lanark firm visited from London expecting to see the brainchild of their efforts with the British and Foreign Schools Society, they were as shocked as anyone.

The performance of dances like the minuet and the quadrille and singing of songs with

---

[79] "Visit to New Lanark: August 1822," 92-3.

lyrics by poets like Robert Burns are pieces of evidence that help us place Owen's curriculum into a larger cultural context. The children at the Institute for the Formation of Character performed the same dances that were in vogue with the upper and middle classes in urban centers, despite the fact that they were laborers who resided in the country. Taken together with the historical tendency of dance to simultaneously make visible and challenge social structures,[80] Owen's visually distinct promotion of dance as part of his educational program can be seen as politically significant performances of Scottish ethnicity. The remainder of this chapter concerns the cultural context of Owen's publically-presented curricula and exposes the paradoxical nature of his uses of popular culture.

1. Uniforms

The use of uniforms in "mass schooling," or schooling for large numbers of lower-class individuals as opposed to upper-class tutoring, goes back at least as far as the 1500s. In England one of the first recorded school uniforms was that used in the teaching institutions established by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.[81] The clothing worn in SPCK schools and other charity organizations was typically blue, the color of humility; both the common forms and colors of school uniforms most likely had their origin in monastic dress. Since the moral education of the children was of greater importance than their intellectual advancement, it was appropriate to mark the children as learners, to subject them to uniformity and scrutiny. The use

---

[80] See Molly Engelhardt, "Introduction: The Natural Accidents of Dancing," in *Dancing out of Line: Ballrooms, Ballets and Mobility in Victorian Fiction and Culture* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2009), 1-23.

[81] A. Davidson, *Blazers, Badgers and Boaters: A Pictorial History of the School Uniform* (Horndean: Scope Books, 1990), 90.

of blue by David Dale for uniforms illustrates his keeping with standard coloring for the laboring classes. Since many of the children at the mills during Dale's time were from urban charity schools, the color marked them as such and signaled the submission with which they were to interact with New Lanark authorities.[82] According to typical accounts, it was not until the late nineteenth century that there was any variation or marks of interest in school uniforms[83]; with the exception of heraldic shields (which indicated the family to whom the charity case was indebted) or badges of merit, uniforms were made of modest materials and of a single color.

The tunics of the style purchased by Owen, on the other hand, have no known antecedents and were in all likelihood designed by him. Robert Dale Owen described the garments as being made of "strong white cotton cloth of the best quality which can be procured." They were "formed in the shape of a Roman tunic," he wrote, and "reache[d] in the boys' dresses to the knee, and in those of the girls to the ancle [sic]. These dresses are changed three times a week, what they may be kept perfectly clean and neat."[84]

While the image of the tunics provided by Dale Owen conforms to that illustrated by Egerton and Hunt [see FIGURE 10], other visitors recorded different uniforms. One visitor described the clothing of the male students as including a knee-length plaid jacket, while others, according to Podmore, noted the use of kilts. Whether this last element is attributable to Owen

---

[82] Inés Dussel, "School Uniforms and the Disciplining of Appearances: Towards a History of the Regulation of Bodies in Modern Educational Systems," in *Cultural History and Education: Critical Essays in Knowledge and Schooling*. Edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz, Barry M. Franklin and Miguel A. Pereyra (New York and London: Routledgefalmer, 2001), 207-243; 220. For uniforms under David Dale, see David J. McLaren, *David Dale of New Lanark: A Bright Luminary to Scotland* (Glasgow: Heatherbank Press, 1983).

[83] Phillis Cunnington and Catherine. Lucas, *Charity Costumes of Children, Scholars, Almsfolk, Pensioners* (New York : Barnes & Noble Books, 1978), 20.

[84] Robert Dale Owen, *An outline of the system of education at New Lanark*. Glasgow, 1824. *The Making of the Modern World*. Gale 2010. Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries. 09 May 2010 <http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U104580642&srchtp=a&ste=14>Pars sinen, 22.

or not is uncertain, though the children would most likely have worn clothing supplied by him. Podmore adds that the cotton garments were possibly used only during the warmer part of the year.[85]

As Inés Dussel describes in her work on the history of school uniforms, many French physicians wrote about the need for uniforms for citizenry in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Following Rousseau's instructions for garments that allowed the body to move freely, theoreticians like Dr. Bernhard-Christoph Faust (1755-1842) recommended that children wear loose-fitting smocks devoid of anything which could hinder movement, including buttons, belts, or corsets.[86] For the French, the child's freedom was an expression of the nation's newly-established emphasis on natural rights and pride in the homeland. Dussel writes that the freedom of the child to move freely and "indulge in innocent games appropriate to their tender age" was a potent demonstration of new French attitudes towards political liberty. Although ideas about the circulation of the humors and other medical attitudes informed these instructions, the rhetoric which propped up the sartorial prescriptions of physicians like Dr. Faust was political and even nationalistic.

Like his Continental counterparts, Owen developed tunics that exemplify the post-Rousseauvian trend for loose clothing. It is not recorded, but Owen's purchase of these costumes might have been a source of tension with his partners. In keeping with their development as signifiers of charity, uniforms for children were modest in design. While he maintained the standard of modesty, most noticeably in the distinctly longer length of the girls' tunics, Owen eschewed the traditional standard of using cheap, coarse materials like hessian for

---

[85] Frank Podmore, *Robert Owen: A Biography* (1906; reprint, New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1971), 142, note 1.

[86] Dussel, 230.

the clothing and opted instead for something like canvas or duck. While many reformers feared

the vanity that might ensue from sharing nice materials with the poor, Owen paid not only for

high-quality fabric but for its decoration with either red bias or tartan tape. Therefore, Owen's

purchase of uniforms of "strong white cotton cloth of the best quality which can be procured"[87]

and "trimmed with red tape"[88] indicate something likely to be thought of as an overindulgence

by his partners.

   But Owen's uniforms were yet another one of the subtle ways he managed the behaviors

of New Lanark children. Clothing makes the body readable—in this case, the tunic-style renders

the children classically primitive, and the tartan marks them as Scots—but it also has the ability,

like the body itself, to denote character, whether it be specifically the novelty, the design, the

make, or the cleanliness of the garment. A dirty article of clothing of an old style indicates lack

of care or even laziness on the part of him who wears it, for example. That the pauper children

of New Lanark were clean, orderly, and stylish in their clothing communicated to the visiting

public that their characters, too, were regenerated. Finally, making the children look alike was

one way of bringing about order in a classroom that, to many, might have seemed chaotic,

especially in comparison to the Lancastrian schoolroom. The costumes also set the students

apart from other members of the village, as well as from visitors to the Institute. Unified by their

---

[87] Dale Owen, 33.

[88] Lady Morgan, *Book of the Boudoir* (London: H. Colburn, 1829). According to the recollections of Lady (Sydney Owenson) Morgan, (bap. 1783-1859), Owen described the tunic as the "true costume of nature's dictation" (63). When she objected on the grounds of climate and "the decencies," Owen reminded her that just a few years earlier fashionable ladies like Morgan were "dressed in the adhesive draperies of antiquity"; he directed her attention to a set of tunic-clad figurines on her mantle-piece depicting Niobe attempting to save her children from Apollo. The reference to the tragic figure is provocative: Niobe boasts of her children to Leto, who then instructs her own children, Apollo and Artemis, to kill Niobe's offspring. This narrative juxtaposes Owen's attempt to save the lives of children being sacrificed to industry. Owen convinces Lady Morgan to display the "little model dress of future perfectibility" for that evening's party, hanging it (ironically) below a bust of Apollo. Lady Morgan ends the narrative by relating that "the little tunic . . . had a great success" (65).

dress, New Lanark students symbolized the social renewal that Owen so enthusiastically advertised.[89]

2. Popular Music in the Rural Classroom

Perhaps the most unique characteristic of the curriculum of the New Lanark classroom was that Owen's instructors introduced the children to the songs and dances concurrently popular in the assembly rooms and ballrooms of London and other urban centers. Owen's use of "Highland, Scotch, and Italian airs," for example, indicate that he was not keeping the villagers of New Lanark cut off from the latest trends in music.

Scottish music first became popular in a commercial sense in the 1720s when Edinburgh urbanites began anthologizing "traditional" music of the Scots.[90] One figure, Allan Ramsay, collected lyrics in a series of four volumes titled *The Tea Table Miscellany*. As the title implies, the audience for these books was the upper and ascending middle classes whose interest in

---

[89] Owen was devoted to social reform through sartorial change. When he traveled to the United States to visit the then-Rappite village of Harmonie in 1824, he took with him tartan uniforms to introduce to the community or to fellow supporters. He also introduced a tunic, to be worn with trousers, to women at New Harmony. Owen intended for men and women to dress alike in order to support their equality before the community, but as Gayle V. Fischer describes in her treatment of dress reform in nineteenth-century America, "[w]earing the new costume did not grant equality to Harmonite women" (37). In fact, Fischer describes how the clothing for "Harmonites" of both sexes resembled contemporary clothing for children, a fact which reflected either Owen's wish for simplicity or subservience (40). Gayle V. Fischer, *Pantaloons and Power: Nineteenth-Century Dress Reform in the United States* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2001), 33-45.

[90] The "authentic" pieces promoted in the early eighteenth and later in the early nineteenth centuries were to replace the genre entitled "Scotch songs" which date to 1680s London. These pieces often included comedic, raunchy lyrics about "Jockey" or "Jenny," two wanton "Scotch" characters of low morals. See David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 131-2.

"traditional" music brought it into the mainstream. Music publishing got off to a start in the mid-1720s, and demand for sheet music increased regularly over the next sixty years.[91]

The method by which Ramsay and later anthologists collected the material probably included oral tradition but certainly was not limited to it. The lyrics in *The Tea Table Miscellany* were at best a marriage between the lyrics of commonly-known folksongs and music reflecting modern standards. While typically Scots songs were delivered without harmony and in an "undemonstrative deadpan manner,"[92] eighteenth-century compilers abandoned the monadic style in favor of the more "polished" sound of classical harmony, which was introduced to Scotland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The reformations also included inclusion of nationalist themes so important to Scots in the decades after Union. In 1745, British forces defeated Jacobite rebels at Culloden in what would become, yet evidently already seemed to be, the final clash between Scottish and English armies. Maintaining Scottish folk traditions was one way to maintain traditional identity while forging a new one within the confines of Union. David Daiches calls music "one of the principle ways in which eighteenth-century Scotland registered its national feeling."[93] By the early 1740s, Ramsay's *Tea Table Miscellany* was a firmly established reference for Edinburgh sophisticates devoted to the project of national identity. [94]

---

[91] Ibid., 122.

[92] Johnson, 94.

[93] David Daiches, *A Companion to Scottish Culture* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982), 28-33.

[94] Johnson, 141.

However, the vogue for "Scottish" music was eclipsed in the 1750s by a new craze for "foreign, particularly Italian, music, and the current fashion for Italianizing Scottish airs."[95] Combined with criticism by antiquarians over the authenticity of collections of "Scottish" music, the shift culminated in Robert Ferguson's *Elegy on the Death of Scots Music* in the 1770s. Ferguson mourned the loss of a generation of music-makers who ignored Continental compositions such as Mozart and Haydn in favor of native traditions.[96] Yet this hiccup only spurred yet another few decades of publications of "genuine" Scottish music, notably with the Reverend Patrick MacDonald's collection of *Highland Vocal Airs* (1784) and Simon Fraser's *Airs and Melodies Peculiar to the Highlands of Scotland* (1816). As Ramsay had done before, these authors sought to preserve cultural data, but they also changed elements of the music they preserved in order to fit it for publication. For example, Fraser "added baselines to the airs and probably regularized their rhythms,"[97] but these and other edits coordinated the pieces with popular tastes.

The second wave of popularity for Scottish music culminated with the publication of lyrics by Robert Burns (1759-1796) and a second decade—the 1810s—of mass popularity of Scottish music. Burns was hired to compose words for popular airs, and like others before him, he openly "[d]igest[ed] and assimilat[ed]"[98] the lyrical content of traditional pieces, manipulating

---

[95] Daiches, 33.

[96] John Purser, Scotland's Music: *A History of the Traditional and Classical Music of Scotland from Early Times to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2007), 231.

[97] Ibid., 229; 231.

[98] Johnson, 147.

what he called "the shatter'd wrecks of . . . venerable old compositions"[99] in order to produce pieces appealing to the modern ear. Extremely prolific, Burns contributed approximately one third of the six hundred pieces included in James Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* (1787-1803) and many of those "collected" by George Thompson for his *Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs* (1793 to 1818). Among his most famous songs—"Auld Lang Syne," "My Love is like a Red, Red Rose," "This is nae my ain lassie," "Scots Wha Hae," "Comin' Thro the Rye," "Ye Banks and Braes of Bonnie Doon," and "Green Grow the Rashes, O"—are three, "Auld Lang Syne," "This is nae my ain lassie," and "Green Grow the Rashes, O," listed by visitors as repertoire of the children of New Lanark.[100] In the same decade that these songs were at their peak of popularity in cosmopolitan centers like Edinburgh, they were a key component of the curriculum of Owen's rural New Lanark.

An August 1822 visitor to New Lanark mentioned the song "This is nae my ain lassie," a lyric by Robert Burns set to a popular Jacobite song "This Is No My Ain House." Although Owen's students were, by the visitor's account, using the newer lyrics of Burns, a listener familiar with Scottish popular song would recognize the reference to the original song, which appeared in Ramsey's *Tea Table* collection the century before. The original version is about a woman's shift from living in her father's home to that of her new husband. While she looks forward to a home in which she can be in charge, the lyrics are tinged with nostalgia for a home she knows. "This is no mine ain house, I ken by the riggin o't." The "rigging," or the

---

[99] Letter to William Tytler, August 1787, qtd. in Purser, 230. Although Burns considered it "sacrilege" [sic] to "add anything of [his] own" to old pieces, Purser argues that this is in fact what Burns did.

[100] Burns's "Green Grow the Rashes, O," is not to be confused with the folk tune "Green Grow the Rushes, O," (also known as the Welsh "Dilly Song"), a song which uses the numbers one through twelve in verses one through twelve to recount the number of particular items and figures in the Christian doctrine, i.e., the Ten Commandments and the Four Gospels. "Green Grow the Rashes, O," on the other hand, is Burns's version of a Scottish folk ballad leisure and "the lasses." See Frederick Woods, ed. *The Oxford Book of English Traditional Verse* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 232.

crossbeams of the home,[101] remind her, perhaps when she lies in the bed and contemplates her new station, that "this is not her own house." Similarly, the "rigging" of the Union with England made their own country unfamiliar to the Scots, yet with resignation they moved forward, hoping to figure out ways to manage their new identity. Like the new husband Robbie, England "kindly treat[ed]" Scotland, and in return, the Lowland Scots like Ramsey felt, like the new wife, that it would be best to avoid conflict by being "a prudent spouse."

Had the students been singing these original lyrics, references to a "new home" might have been understood to be allusions to the sweeping changes Owen planned to make to domestic arrangements in the village, but, provided the visitor supplied the correct title, the students sang the newer words penned by Robert Burns. In this version of the lyric, a male narrator describes changes in his lassie. She looks and acts the same, yet the narrator speaks to the skills of the "watching lover" and his ability to judge "The kind love that's in her eye." Although "It may escape the learned clerks," he sings, he knows there's been a change in his lover's affection, and the woman before him "is nae [his] ain."

Another song mentioned, "Auld Robin Gray," carries similar denotations. "Auld Robin Gray" was written in 1771 by a Scotswoman, Lady Anne Lindsay Barnard (1750-1825). Although published anonymously in David Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, &c.* (1776) and later in R. H. Cromek's Select Scottish Songs, Ancient and Modern (1810), the definitive version was published in 1825 by Sir Walter Scott, to whom Lady Barnard

---

[101] Charles Mackay, *A Dictionary of Lowland Scotch: With an Introductory Chapter on the Poetry , Humour, and Literary History of the Scottish Language, and an Appendix of Scottish Proverbs* (Boston: Ticknor and Co, 1838), 166.

confessed authorship before her death.[102] In this song, a woman is courted by Robin Gray the week after a series of unlucky events, including the death of her lover, Jamie. Because of her family's need for income, she marries Robin Gray, only to find out that Jamie still lives. She stays with Gray, however, because she says "I daurna think on Jamie, for that wad be a sin;/ But I'll do my best a gude wife aye to be,/ For auld Robin Gray he is kind unto me."[103] Like the nostalgic "This Is No My Ain Lassie," the narrator of "Auld Robin Gray" longs nostalgically for a lost love. Similarly, the voice of "This Is No My Ain House" spoke wistfully for an old home. However, the narrators of both "Auld Robin Gray" and the Jacobite "No My Ain House" accept the terms of their new lives. Was it implied that village inhabitants missed their former ways of life, before Owen took over management at New Lanark? Or did Owen sympathize with his Scottish employees and expose their children to nostalgic Jacobitism through this music? What is more likely is that Owen, intent on attracting witnesses to his social experiment, involved the children of the Institute for the Formation of Character in a popular trend, considered innocent by all but his Quaker partners. But as the next example will show, immersion in the performing arts was not without its implications.

3. Dancing and the Social Dynamics of the New Lanark Classroom

---

[102] A. B. Grosart, "Barnard , Lady Anne (1750–1825)," rev. Stanley Trapido, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1447 (accessed March 14, 2010).

[103] Arthur Quiller-Couch, *The Oxford Book of English Verse: 1250–1900* (London: Oxford University Press, 1919).

As with singing, the inclusion of dancing in the curricula at the Institute for the Formation of Character shows that Owen was building on the status of dance in popular culture. The Church of Scotland had forbidden public dancing in the seventeenth century, but by the early part of the next century, dancing became popular through the development of a middle class population and the proliferation of clubs in Edinburgh and other urban centers.[104] After John Weaver's translation from the French of Raoul Auger Feuillet's 1700 tract on dance notation, *Chorégraphie* in 1706, the communication of dance styles gained a print as well as social basis.[105] Indeed, Weaver's *Orchesography, Or the Art of Dancing* was joined over the course of the century by increased numbers of publications about dancing, which provided instruction to all those who wished to participate in the trend considered appealing to persons of all classes. The remarkable interest in dancing following the Napoleonic Wars is illustrated by the larger numbers of publications like Thomas Wilson's *Analysis of Country Dancing* (1811), *Treatise on Quadrille Dancing* (1818), and Payne's *Six Sets of Quadrilles* (1820).

For dance accompaniment, the solo fiddle increasingly replaced the border bagpipe, a small bagpipe that sounds like the Northumbrian pipes, over the course of the eighteenth century. The change in instrumentation signals a shift from rural folk dancing to urban contexts in which varieties of sources influenced the music and dances chosen.[106] The fiddle was not indigenous to Scotland but was established in Britain after the importation and copying of Italian violins in the late seventeenth century. If accompanied by a fiddler, as indicated by the engraving by G.

---

[104] Johnson, 120.

[105] According to Molly Engelhardt, Weaver also translated the terms of Pierre Beauchamp, whose five dancing positions became the bedrock of ballet pedagogy and practice to this day. Engelhardt describes Weaver as one of several English dance masters who maintained ties with Paris, where ballet was developing the most rapidly from its roots in courtly dances. Engelhardt, 30.

[106] Johnson, 121.

Hunt, the children were exposed to someone who was very likely educated, literate, and had years of training in both violin-playing and dance.[107]

Dancing lessons were relatively inexpensive,[108] but hiring one to teach social graces to one's children was not without its risks. The dance master was first perceived as suspect because of his connections to the theatre and to the less-than-upstanding morals embodied by those who made their living upon the stage. Men in particular were increasingly viewed as effeminate if they performed; as Molly Engelhardt describes, the female dancer became the central figure of balletic stage performances after the turn of the century, and the male dancer, who had once been in the spotlight of the profession, was demoted to lesser roles or, ideally, into the audience.[109] The dancing master at New Lanark, who is perhaps the lower right-hand figure in brown in Hunt's engraving, was likely a local individual who lacked the cosmopolitan connections associated with dancing masters, but for the visiting public those, associations might have remained.

As with the performance of Scottish songs and Italian airs, the quadrille was a newly popular dance, and if, as Hunt indicated, the children were dancing the quadrille, they were participating in a dance that had been in vogue only a few years. The quadrille was the last remaining "square" dance in the period in which "longways" dances, or figures danced by parallel lines of male and female dancers, gained mass popularity. Like the earlier minuets, gavottes, and courantes, the quadrille's square-eight formation developed to fit in the square salons of the French court, although they could still be danced in the long, public assembly

---

[107] Ibid., 95.

[108] Ibid., 121; 95.

[109] Engelhardt, 33-4.

rooms made necessary by the rage for longways dances. The trend for columnar dances was

established in early eighteenth-century France, where members of the court emulated English

Country dances—dances not related to rural origins, as the name might suggest, but to an earlier

French manifestation in which they were termed "contredanses" for signifying the relative

("contre," or "across from") positions of male and female partners. Typically, dancers strung

together their own figures, or strings of moves, but by the time the dance was introduced into

English Society by Lady Jersey and her friends at Almacks Assembly Rooms, or social club, in

1816, the dance was relatively codified. It typically included five figures—*Le Pantelon, l'Ete,*

La Poule, La Pastourelle (or sometimes *La Trénis*), and a *Finale*—even when the music varied.

Despite adherence to the basic forms of these figures, the format still allowed for the addition of

local steps and dances in order to make the dance unique.[110] Because of its malleable form and

massive popularity, the quadrille, despite being "one of the oldest dances that retains its position

in the ball-room," one commentator noted, was constantly "so materially and essentially altered,

that those who practiced it even fifteen years ago, would be compelled to learn it anew."[111] If it

was enjoying a new vogue as a recently reworked style, the quadrille was the dance to know.

The performance of the trendy quadrille at New Lanark in the decade after its

introduction to the British Isles indicates the level of sophistication Owen and his dance master

wished to present to the public. Despite their distance from urbane centers such as Edinburgh,

not to mention their rural character, the people of New Lanark participated in the very latest in

---

[110] The vogue for the quadrille would eventually balloon with the performance of "Monster Quadrilles," or annual, large-scale concerts in London's Drury Lane held from December of 1842 until 1859. Introduced by the Frenchman Louis Antoine Jullien (1812-1860), these "Monster" stage events included not only dances like the increasingly popular polka and waltz, but also quadrilles (the "Grand Quadrille of all Nationals" and the "British Army Quadrille") and various ballroom games. See Engelhardt.

[111] Edward Ferrero, "The Art of Dancing," in *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, ed. Elizabeth Aldrich, 146 (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991).

popular culture. Owen used performance-based curriculum to defy the expectations of the bourgeois visitors, whom he knew expected the bodies of the poor to be unruly. Describing a dance performance, Owen wrote that "Many well-intentioned individuals unaccustomed to witness the conduct of those among the lower orders who have been rationally treated and trained, may fancy such assemblage will necessarily become a scene of confusion and disorder." But the performance provided instead a scene of "uniform propriety . . . highly favourable to the health, spirits, and dispositions of the individuals who engage in them."[112] The execution of this popular dance indicated to visitors that the villagers could conform to the bodily standards required by polite society. As J. Davidson noted, "Music and Dancing are graceful and pleasing exercises, and in this the youths have not yet been outrivaled [sic], by any of their own age: the rude and clumsy movements have long given place to the more fashionable and elegant dances of the day."[113] Davidson referred to the bodily deportment of the "youths" as having been "rude and clumsy" before their exposure to dancing; although it is unclear if he actually observed the children at this time, it would have been a safe assumption, given their rustic backgrounds. As Griscom noted, the sight of barefoot children "in a fine room" was cause for comment; the image of poor people rendering perfected artistic accomplishments was a paradoxical spectacle. This was no less conspicuous because emphasis on strict timing to the rhythm of music mimicked the organized movements of the cotton-spinning machines housed next door. No doubt, these exercises taught the children the importance of acting within temporal restrictions, especially as it affected group work and interdependence.[114]

---

[112] Owen, *New View*, "Essay III," 19-20.

[113] Davidson, *History of Lanark*, 179.

[114] For the effects of changing labor and employment practices on the working class's concepts of time (and vis versa,) see E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism" *Past and Present* 38 (Dec. 1967),

Perhaps most important, the performance of such dances by rural children (and adults in the evening classes) challenged the social rules of the ballroom as well as society at large. For both Country dances and for the Quadrille, each figure, or set of danced motions, is performed by couples designated by their position in the room. The couple at the "top" of a formation, for example, leads the execution of a figure with the bottom couple, after which the "side" couples repeat it. In the case of Country dances, the "top" couple was "often based on class rank, such that the titled participants were placed at the 'top' of the set, with the remaining dancers following in a more loosely determined hierarchical order."[115] But in the context of Owen's classroom and village, where there were no ranks, there was probably no distinction of a "top" couple, and even if there were, it would have been artificially designated since all of the persons in New Lanark were of the same lowly class. This was further corroborated by the fact that the children were dancing at all: Owen's focus on dance signaled to visitors his rejection of the social relationships dictated by the Lancastrian system. As with the geography lessons, Owen did not permit his instructors to divide the children into competing groups, but encouraged, through the use of the oversized teaching aids, communal pedagogical exercises. It was the same with dancing: even when divided into sets of four couples for the performance of the quadrille, all of the children were working on the same kinetic and visual project and were, therefore, on the same "team." The dances functioned to inculcate the ideals of teamwork into the physical practices of the children, not to mention the mental habits, since dancing in patterned sets requires intellectual work as well. In sum, dancing literally embodied Owen's social perspective because all students were equal on the dance floor. More specifically, Owen rendered the

---

56-97. Thompson notes that cotton manufacturing was one of the industries in which an understanding of strict timing was key (85).

[115] Engelhardt, 16.

quadrille an act of equality; as children of mill workers, Owen's students were already of the same class, but in having children of equal rank dance all the parts of the set, Owen was in essence democratizing the quadrille itself.

The children's execution of the minuet might have been the most challenging for visitors to understand. A slow, formal dance derived from seventeenth century court dancing, the minuet remained a mainstay in the early nineteenth-century ballroom because it was easily danced to folk-tune versions of popular opera tunes. Yet the dance's connection to earlier courtly behavior was not forgotten, and the exercise was associated with the development of fine manners. For some, mastery of the minuet was the building-block of all dancing and bodily and social grace in general. As one commentator from the time noted, "In the study of the Minuet, one acquires that perpendicularity, and command of balancing, so requisite in good dancing." He continued, noting that "without [the minuet] one can never arrive at any degree of perfections," yet, he added, "to excell [sic] requires a particular talent."[116] In this passage, the dance floor is a microcosm of society, where particular bodily practices indicate to others the imperative achievement of rank or "perpendicularity."[117] But that achievement is limited to those with "talent," or an inborn quality, and the implication is that not everyone can achieve the "upstanding" or respected status represented metaphorically by the minuet. Were the children of New Lanark being prepared to step outside of their given stations in being trained to dance the minuet and the quadrille?

---

[116] Alexander Strathy, "Elements of the Art of Dancing," in *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, ed. Elizabeth Aldrich, (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991), 138.

[117] For more on the development of a concept of upright posture, see Georges Vigarello, "The Upward Training of the Body from the Age of Chivalry to Courtly Civility," in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body, Part 2*, ed. Michael Feher with Ramona Naddaff and Nadia Tazi (New York: Zone Books, 1989), 149-199.

The dangers of trespassing one's correct sphere of ambition had been illustrated by the literary career of Ann Yearsley, the poet who, discovered by the philanthropist Hannah More, was renamed "Lactilla" in reference to her humble origins as a milkmaid. More collected subscriptions to sponsor the publication of Yearsley's 1785 "Poems, on Several Occasions," although the relationship became strained when, unable to access her £600 earnings, Yearsley accused More of cheating her. Yearsley was eventually able to find another patron (Frederick Augustus Hervey, the fourth Earl of Bristol), but was widely regarded in popular circles as unappreciative, both for her indictments against More as well as her displeasure at being considered a "charity case." What is more, Yearsley's ambitions were seen as inappropriate for someone of her background; although people like More felt a responsibility to aid the needy, they were unwilling and even fearful of aiding them to the extent that they had a chance of actually moving beyond their meager circumstances. Yearsley's infamous rejection of More's "help" cast her as a person of bad character.

As Mona Scheurmann demonstrates in her treatment of British philanthropy, *In Praise of Poverty*, the cautious, limited generosity demonstrated by More and her co-sponsors was typical of benevolence in the late eighteenth century. It was out of a sense of sympathy for the poor that More and other members of the "responsible rich" sought to help, but not to dramatically change, the lives of those in need. More and those in her circle believed, as Malthus would describe further in his writings at the end of the decade, that poverty was the spring of their virtue. To take away the pressure of need would be to take away that which prodded their industry and ultimately their merit.[118] Thus, Scheurmann summarizes that Yearsley "should never be anything but a milkwoman who happens to write poetry; for More, she [could never be] a poet

---

[118] Mona Scheurmann, *In Praise of Poverty: Hannah More Counters Thomas Paine and the Radical Threat* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2002), 97.

first."[119] In other words, and as Scheurmann finds epitomized in the stories More provided for laboring-class readers in her series of *Cheap Repository Tracts*, "[t]he poor must never aspire to any significant change in their lifestyle or their work. A poor person who wishes to change his station, or a rich person who wants to help the poor to change, is misguided and dangerous."[120] This is evident not only in More's treatment of Yearsley and her finances, but in how More and other patrons received Lactilla's work. Horace Walpole criticized her use of blank verse[121] and More her use of sublime tropes.[122] They wanted to see Yearsley as, in the words of Mary Waldron, "a primitive, rural poet with a special, mysterious gift only bestowed on persons without conventional education."[123] She was a novelty, a "freak of nature," to use Scheurmann's words, and she was not to exceed the limits of her unsophisticated talent. If she were to produce refined blank verse (which Walpole felt was limited to the highly educated) and sublime imagery (which More felt should be limited to the writings of men), Yearsley would be exhibiting talent reserved only for highly-educated, male poets. Walpole questioned openly if their sponsorship of the former milkmaid served the best social ends because her increasing popularity severely limited her time at home caring for her family. Yearsley was only a worthy cause for patronage as long as she accepted readily the charitable aid, used it as her benefactors had intended, and produced only material that was appropriate to someone of her gender and background.

---

[119] Ibid., 75.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid., 95;

[122] Lucinda Cole and Richard G. Swartz, "'Why Should I wish for Words?': Literacy, Articulation, and the Borders of Literary Culture," in *At the Limits of Romanticism: Essays in Cultural, Feminist, and Materialist Criticism*, edited by Mary A. Favret and Nicola J. Watson, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 143-69.

[123] Mary Waldron, 'Yearsley, Ann (bap. 1753, d. 1806)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, accessed 12 Aug 2009.

Owen's quadrille-dancing children bear meaning in the light of this and other cases of the

delicate negotiations between philanthropists and their beneficiaries. Despite his approval of

Owen's attention to the children's physical health, Henry Gray Macnab, for example, described

reasons why onlookers might disapprove. The dancing "is seldom continued longer than 15 or

20 minutes, and therefore, the health of the pupils is not likely to suffer in the slightest degree,"

he wrote, but "[t]here are many persons who would object to this sort of amusement, and,

unfortunately, the objection seems to be a valid one." These were the same objections at the

basis of the problem between More and Yearsley: the appropriateness of certain artistic activities

for persons of particular social rank. "No one can doubt the simplicity of the Swiss country

dances, and the rural festivities with which that innocent and happy people conclude the labours

of the day," Macnab wrote. Explaining, he continued:

> [I]f we take into account the difference of national manners between Switzerland and
> Ireland, or Scotland, for instance, and the danger to which a good singer or dancer, in
> humble life, is exposed-and the almost invariable truth, that either his morals or his
> principles are always injured, the impartial observer, whilst he laments the weakness of
> human nature, must be prepared, where the morality of mankind is at stake, to sacrifice
> his own peculiar prejudices to the voice of experience, and deposit the flowers of fancy
> and of feeling on the altar of immutable truth.[124]

Put plainly, Macnab reminded his readers that it was fanciful to think only of entertainment when

dancing might actually be morally dangerous for the pauper children undergoing reform. The

reason is that, as some had complained, Owen's curriculum was "calculated to raise the ideas of

the children above that sphere in which they are destined to move, and perhaps, render them

dissatisfied with their condition." Macnab states that "such has not been the effect produced on

---

[124] "Visit to New Lanark: August 1822," 95. Macnab's example of the Swiss recalls Rousseau's description of the spontaneous dancing of peasants in Saint-Gervais, which he relates to d'Alembert in their debate over the appropriateness of theatre. To Rousseau, the peasant dancing epitomized true feeling and passion, the necessary basis of just legislation and government. See *Politics and the Arts: Letter to d'Alembert on the Theatre, Translated with Notes and an Introduction by Allan Bloom* (Ithaca, NY: Free Press, 1968), 135.

the minds of those who have been educated in the establishment, but, [that] on the contrary, perfect contentment reigns."[125] Even though his own testimony is that the children of New Lanark seem no less content in their social position than any other pauper child,[126] he still alludes to the openly acknowledged potential dangers. The debate recalls the reaction of the upper classes to middle class appropriation of the picturesque. In the idiom of sympathy, the body was vulnerable to sensation. If the bodies of the poor were subjected to sensation, could the established classes still monitor and manage any potential excitements and the political developments they may cause?

Dancing had one more connection to the contested topic of "society." In their conjectures about the development of human social groups, Enlightenment-era moral philosophers considered seriously the role of dance and music in helping people maintain sympathetic bonds. In his *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* (published posthumously, in 1795), Adam Smith called dancing the "first and earliest pleasures of [man's] own invention." This distinction—that dance was invented by, and not natural to, human groups—represented an early attempt by human groups to reinforcie and expandi upon natural social ties. For this reason, dance was one of the hallmarks of humanity; Smith wrote that "no nation has yet been discovered so uncivilised as to be altogether without [dance and music]." His judgment was reiterated in the entry on dance in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* of 1768-71: "Dance," it read, is "an agreeable motion of the body, adjusted by art to the measures or tune of instruments, or of the voice . Dancing is usually an effect and indication of joy. It has been in use among all

---

[125] "Visit to New Lanark: August 1822," 95.

[126] The passage continues: "[A] few days before I was there, one of the boys, who had been lately placed in the manufactory, being asked if he would wish to return to his former manner of living and amusements, immediately answered that he would not." Ibid.

nations, civilised and barbarous, sometimes made an act of religion."[127] For Smith, the rhythmic

nature of both activities served to bond persons together; the harmony of movements signified

the harmony of thought and action.[128]

Owen clearly agreed with Smith on the salutary effects of dance for a nascent

community. In his *Autobiography* written at the end of his life, Owen relates few details about

his New Lanark school not introduced in earlier publications, but he does recall very proudly that

the children danced "with so little direction from [a] master."[129] In other words,

performances of mental and physical activity were intended to be empirical

proof of the efficacy of applying scientific rigor to community-building.

The graceful and effortless dancing was proof that Owen's science worked: even the most

uncivilized citizens of the British state could be educated to govern themselves.

D. The Critics

Unlike Macnab, who described Owen's school with guarded praise, several visitors

publicized their doubts about the efficacy of Owen's reform program. "There is a concert once a

---

[127] Quoted in Lange, Roderyk, *The Nature of Dance: An Anthropological Perspective* (New York: International Publications Service, 1976), 10.

[128] "Of the affinity between Music, Dancing, and Poetry," in Smith, Adam. *Essays on philosophical subjects. By the late Adam Smith, LL. D. Fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh, &c. &c. To which is prefixed, An account of the life and writings of the author; by Dugald Stewart, F. R. S. E.* Dublin, 1795. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Gale. University of Oklahoma Library. 10 Oct. 2009 <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW118108817&source=gale&userGroupName=norm94900&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE >.

[129] Robert Owen, *Life of Robert Owen Written by Himself*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf., 1929), 198.

week at the institution," one visitor recalled, and "[a]ll the [dancing] lessons . . . are accompanied by music, which, no doubt, is calculated to please and elevate the minds of children; and under this idea it is made the constant companion of the dance."[130] The author of this passage indicates that lessons are "calculated" by Owen to various ends, and although he posits that dancing to music is included to "elevate the minds of children," he seems unaware of how its inclusion was "calculated" to inspire him. Owen used performative curriculum in order to engage the children of New Lanark with a wider community, in front of the "laboratory of polite society"[131] of which much of late-Enlightenment science was made to perform. The result was not just a regenerated pauper in the form of the dancing child, but a new visitor as well.

Not all visitors to the Institute felt these "emotions of delight," however; to some, the public exhibits demonstrated only Owen's ability to manipulate human action. After his 1819 visit to New Lanark, the poet Robert Southey wrote of the dancing children that he "could not but think that these puppet-like motions might, with a little ingenuity have been produced by the great water wheel, which is the *primum mobile* of the whole Cotton-Mills." Far from being the effect of genteel training, the movements of the children were mechanical, he implies, as if stemming from some will other than their own. This criticism was mirrored in the work of a Mr. William M'Gavin, who protested in *The Fundamental Principles of New Lanark Exposed* (1824) that Owen's educational experiment proved Owen's exploitation of human nature and even of its freedom of will. Echoing Southey's metaphor, M'Gavin accused Owen of treating humans "as mere machines . . . possessing no more of an immortal spirit than your great water wheel."[132] He

---

[130] "Visit to New Lanark: August 1822," 97.

[131] Roy Porter, *The Enlightenment* (Houndmills: Hamp.: Palgrave, 2001), 16.

[132] William M'Gavin, *The fundamental principles of the New Lanark system exposed, in a series of letters to Robert Owen, Esq*. Glasgow, 1824. *The Making of the Modern World*. Gale 2010. Gale, Cengage Learning. University of

continued, accusingly: "You think you can regulate their movements as easily as you can do those of your great and small gear." The actions of the children indicated to M'Gavin not that individuals had been exposed to and had learned social graces, but that each had been converted into "a spoke to one of [Owen's] wheels."[133] M'Gavin's use of a mechanical metaphor illustrates that, to this commentator, Owen's reforms smacked of French materialism, a worrisome sign to Britons fearful of a recapitulation of their neighbor's Revolution.[134]

The children's performances lasted long after the dancing was over, Southey explained. The "glorious noise" of the classroom gave way to another exhibition when Owen entered the room. "It was really delightful," Southey wrote,

> to see how the little creatures crowded about Owen to make their bows and their curtesies [sic], looking up and smiling in his face; and the genuine benignity and pleasure with which he noticed them, laying his hand on the head of one, shaking hands with another, and bestowing kind looks and kind words upon all. . . . There was too much of all this, but the children seemed to like it.[135]

Though he treated Owen with more sympathy than his counterpart, Southey still characterized the children of the New Lanark school as machines, puppets, and "little creatures," metaphoric and metonymic characterizations that reveal his implication that the children are both inhuman and wild.[136] Similarly, M'Gavin argued that Owen went so far as to manipulate even those actions which would typically indicate freedom and opinion, like affection. The children of New

---

Oklahoma Libraries – Norman (accessed 09 May 2010), 12.
<http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U104580359&srchtp=a&ste=14>

[133] Ibid., 19

[134] Forget, 303.

[135] Robert Southey, *Journal of a Tour in Scotland in 1819, with an introduction and notes by C. H. Herford* (London: John Murray, 1929), 262-3.

[136] For the history wild children and of the idea of the child as wild, see Adriana S. Benzaquén, *Encounters with Wild Children: Temptation and Disappointment in the Study of Human Nature* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006).

Lanark, he argued, were "taught to run about kissing and hugging each other, when strangers visit them, in order to make it appear, that such are the pure dictates of nature!"[137] In other words, while Owen claimed that the training of the children of New Lanark produced people whose human natures were at their most transparent and natural, Southey, and to an even greater extent, M'Gavin, saw only wildly uneducated beings whose natures had been artificially manipulated. He was critical, in other words, of the performative nature of Owen's pedagogy. Can learning be faked? What constitutes proof of mental and social growth? M'Gavin's critique of Owen's project compared the people of New Lanark to "dead frogs under a galvanic battery," indicating his displeasure with the use of a community for "mere experiment" and the loss of freedom of its members."[138] This image also implied that the villagers were manipulated by Owen at the expense of their own lives. Similarly, Southey concluded that Owen's "mak[ing] these human machines as he calls them (and too literally he believes them to be) as happy as he can, and to make a display of their happiness" resulted only in his "jump[ing] . . . to the monstrous conclusion that because he can do this with 2,210 persons, who are totally dependent on him all mankind might be governed with the same facility."[139] In other words, the "results" of Owen's social experiment were spurious at best, and it was risky (and vain, Southey argued) for Owen to suppose that the result achieved at New Lanark was a valid basis for further experimentation.

The statements of commentators like Southey and M'Gavin illustrate the ambiguity of Owen's project: while Owen felt that cultural accomplishments like singing and dancing were

---

[137] M'Gavin, *Observations,* 2.

[138] M'Gavin, 17.

[139] Southey, *Journal*, 263.

signs that the children had responded positively to education, to some it only magnified the materialist character of his project. What evidence, after all, was the performance of a dance? Just as Jane Austen's Mr. Darcy responds to the sanguine Sir William Lucas that "every savage can dance,"[140] so did one contemporary critic say of reels and strathspeys, that "[t]he taste for the country dance" comes not from its "elegance," but from "the agreeable party," or, as another commentator put it, the "character of . . . merriment" with which it was performed.[141] The country dance was "so simple, that the most illiterate are in some measure able to perform it."[142] When opening the doors of his Institute to the visiting public Owen believed himself to be exposing the efficacy of his project to the world, but he also exposed his project to scathing criticism from those who did not share his faith in the signs of culture.

There were many reasons for his withdrawal from management of New Lanark in 1828, but his disagreements with William Allen and his other Quaker partners definitely played a role. We can posit that if dance education had not been important to Owen and his philosophy, he might have discontinued its use in order to satisfy his associates. Owen's insistence on physical education and public performance up until his financial withdrawal signals his commitment to the physical and social components of character-formation and his awareness that he had to market images of his successful "social science" to the British public.

---

[140] Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, Ch. VI.

[141] "The Mirror of the Graces, By a Lady of Distinction," in *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, ed. Elizabeth Aldrich, 139 (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991).

[142] "Saltator," "A Treatise on Dancing," in *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, edited by Elizabeth Aldrich, 139-140 (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991) (reprint Boston: 1802), 139.

Until his withdrawal, however, Owen used the performances of the New Lanark schoolchildren to stage his political ideas: harmony, cooperation, and happiness. These exhibitions made the habits and products of cooperation, like obedience and order, appear natural to onlooker and participant alike. His work corroborated claims by Scottish Enlightenment philosophers that man is a social animal, that "[m]an is not born human, but becomes human by virtue of his societal life."[143] These "little creatures" were not the subjects of child study— indeed Owen had already figured out human nature—but were the objects of it; educated to impart a lesson Owen wanted others to see. Owen's New Lanark dancers illustrate the clever ways Owen took advantage of the intersection of romantic tourism and scientific spectacle to prove that his "New View" of human nature was, indeed, the correct one.

E. Conclusions

By the time W. Davidson wrote about New Lanark in *History of Lanark, and Guide to the Scenery; with List of Roads to the Principal Towns* in 1828, Robert Owen was gone from the village. Owen's disagreements with his Quaker partners escalated until he made his withdrawal from the firm permanent. However, Davidson's descriptive analysis of the village and its environs indicates how Owen's mark was retained upon the landscape. As described in the previous chapter, the neatness of the village contrasted the extended scenery in which it was nestled, indicating both its visual and philosophical departure from the "old system" seen elsewhere in the Scottish countryside. The beauty of New Lanark in particular provided the

---

[143] Gladys Bryson, *Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945), 146.

viewer—and thus, he or she who traveled with Davidson via his text—with "fine relief," as

"after the eye has been so long tired with contemplating the works of nature, dashed out in some

of her wildest freaks . . . the mind turns with gladness to the busy works of Art."[144]

Like those of the surrounding countryside, the displays inside Owen's Institute for the

Formation of Character were spectacular. Although the display of new pedagogical methods

predates the late nineteenth-, early twentieth-century popularity of the "human zoo," or the

display of human subjects in the museum setting, Owen's New Lanark schoolroom was an

example of the early "specularization of culture" which, Nick Stanley notes, owes much of its

existence to the development of modern popular culture and entertainment.[145] But while the

displays and demonstrations typical of anthropological zoos were intended to show what was

normative for a culture, the demonstrations provided by Lancaster and Owen were open to public

viewing in order to show what *could be*. They were speculative and were constructed in order to

demonstrate the efficacy of curricular methods and systems. However compelling the

mechanical movements of Lancastrian students, onlookers seemed particularly compelled by the

beauty of the faces of the children at New Lanark and the happiness they implied. If, as Guy

DuBord defined it, a spectacle "is not a collection of images, but an acting out of social relations

between persons, mediated by images,"[146] the spectacle of dancing children at New Lanark and

its repetition in public discussion about the school is indicative of a constellation of social

relationships which were in a state of flux. DuBord's definition is, therefore, compatible with

Smith's analysis of the dynamic mechanisms undergirding any social gathering. Participating in

---

144 Davidson, *History of Lanark*, 160-161.

145 *Being Ourselves for You: The Global Display of Cultures* (London: Middlesex University Press, 1998).

146 Guy DuBord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans Ken Knabb (London, Rebel Press, 1983), 7.

"laboratory of polite society"[147] leant itself to the increasingly scopophilic society which did not want to just read about scientific experiments, but wanted to view them. Even for those less interested in experimentation—in this case, the manipulation of social categories—the displays inside new-fangled classrooms were simply entertaining.

But critics of Owen's system also mined the cultural connotations of the entertaining performances of the New Lanark schoolchildren in order to disclose their complaints. No matter how amusing the spectacle—no matter the "tricks" played by Owen on "travellers"— the goings-on inside New Lanark's gray walls were the stuff of "Art," or the manipulation of nature. The fact that visitors disagreed about the morality of Owen's regenerative activities is implied by the language that Davidson used to describe Owen's New Lanark project; although his text retains a relatively neutral stance on the village-based project (its being published after the fact), Davidson's use of the word "Art" reveals several possible attitudes one might have taken towards this attempt to redevelop society. On one hand, and in a now-obsolete sense of the word still widely used in the early nineteenth century, "Art" was the opposite of "Nature," a use which emphasizes human workmanship in general and in particular Owen's manipulation of human nature in the production of a new "race" of persons. Reference to Owen's project as "Art" could also imply craftiness and cunning or the malevolent use of human or artificial agency to bring about aberrant results.

The next chapter concerns the actual structural and regulatory changes Owen made upon taking over the management of New Lanark, but it also concerns the amendments that he either planned to make to New Lanark or envisioned for his Villages of Unity and Mutual Cooperation. The differences between what Owen was doing at New Lanark and what he proposed to do in the

---

[147] Porter, 16.

future were often difficult for the reading and visiting public to grasp. Analogous to this discrepancy was the fact that there were seen and unseen parts of New Lanark, both publically-displayed spectacles, like the open-air playground at the Institute for the Formation of Character, and unseen goings-on, like most of the activity in the mills. Both inconsistencies caused tension for those who were charged with evaluating Owen's project. While some people regarded the New Lanark experiment as a success, others were suspicious of what, if any, hidden agenda Owen might have.

CHAPTER IV: "One Family": The Arts and Sciences of Familial Reform

A. Introduction: Owen's Playground

Robert Owen established his Institution for the Formation of Character in the center of the community. Visible from almost every perspective in the landscape, including the entrance from the road from Lanark, the Institute, with its porticoed columns, provided a somewhat formidable sight. But any such sight was likely softened by the appearance of scores of children playing in the playground out front.

First described in the Third Essay of *A New View*, Owen's playground was intended to accept the "children of the villages, from the time they can walk alone until they enter the school." There they would be "superintended by a person instructed to take charge of them" while their parents worked in the factory nearby. The playground was to provide an outdoor equivalent to the classroom; when children were "tired of play in their play-ground, they should be taken within the school room, and amused by the teacher."[1] The playground was also "a place of meeting for the children from five to ten years of age, previous to and after school-hours, and to serve for a drill ground, . . . And where local circumstances admit, a shade should be formed, under which, in stormy weather, the children might retire for shelter."[2] But the open-air qualities

---

[1] Robert Owen, *Life of Robert Owen Written by Himself, with Selections from his Writings and Correspondence* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1858; reprint, New York: A.M. Kelley, 1967)*,* 175.

[2] Owen, *A New View of Society; or, Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character, and the Application of the Principle to Practice,* (London: Cadell and Davies, [1813]), *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2008, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U103252708&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 18 December 2008), "Essay III," 16.

were just as important, as Owen instructed that children "should be out of doors in good air at play, as much as the weather and their strength will admit."[3] One visitor described the "large enclosed area" as a place where "the children are allowed to amuse themselves, in order to invigorate their constitutions, by a great deal of exercise in the open air."[4]

The development of a playground at New Lanark is often considered one of Owen's more quaint improvements. Estimated to be the first playground in Europe,[5] it was, for Owen, more than a place for the children of the village to spend their time, avoid inclement weather, and get physical exercise. It was even more than just a charming, sentimental sight for visitors. Owen's playground represents one of Owen's divergences from typical middle class reform because it was one of the new institutions with which he was able to do away with the old: the Institute for the Formation of Character (the school) and the playground were the places that made possible a drastic change in the social structure of the village. In short, Owen proposed a new concept of the family as a collective, community-wide unit. But in order to make radical "federated" family come about, he made a series of seemingly innocuous and heartily-welcomed reforms which provided the necessary spaces in which new social relationships could be formed. At its core, Owen's technique was to create new family structures by creating physical arrangements which would separate some persons from one another, and cause others to be brought into closer proximity.

---

[3] Owen, *Life,* 175.

[4] W. Davidson, *History of Lanark, and Guide to the Scenery; with List of Roads to the Principal Towns* (Lanark: Shepherd & Roberton, 1828), 175-176.

[5] David McLaren, "Parish, Town & Factory Community: The Place of the New Lanark Schools in the Scottish Educational Tradition." A paper presented at New Lanark, 9 May 2003.

While most reformers emphasized the traditional family structure as a basis of a stable society, Owen proposed a new concept of the family as a collective unit, formed by the community as a whole, its economic production, and the co-operative methods upon which it operated. Owen emphasized activities that would strengthen the bonds between persons of the same generation. The playground, for instance, brought children of similar ages together, but also served to keep them away from their parents and other village adults. Similarly, the communal kitchen brought adults together into a shared workspace in order to discourage the individualization of families from one another. Owen structured the "circumstances" of New Lanark to stimulate both cooperative feelings and shared work, and he proposed new arrangements for the future Villages of Unity and Mutual Cooperation, where not only work, but the products of work would be communal in nature.

This chapter treats how Owen's reforms served to "establish those habits and sentiments which tend to the welfare of the individual and of the community."[6] While most reformers were happy to promote industry, prudence, and traditional family structures, Owen manipulated the conventional structure of the family itself, the unit at which most people believed character to be inculcated. Meanwhile, contemporaries like Thomas Chalmers, whose experiment in Edinburgh's St. John's Parish is roughly contemporaneous with Owen's tenure at New Lanark, sought to improve the lot of the poor by supporting the bourgeois family structure. In many ways, Chalmers's St. John's Parish experiment and Owen's New Lanark experiment are similar. But a comparison of the two projects reveals the radical nature of Owen's claim and helps delineate Owen's attitude towards the mainstream Poor Law debate. Furthermore, analysis of the criticism Owen received when he presented his ideas at the Dublin Rotunda in 1822

---

[6] Owen, *New View*, "Essay III," 28.

illustrates the frightening nature of his reforms. In sum, Owen's materialist vision about the effect of circumstances on persons within social groups proved threatening to thinkers from more conservative perspectives.

B. Remaking the Family

Owen's earliest critiques of the family structure of the mill village are detailed in his narration of his management of New Lanark in *A New View*. From an early point Owen discontinued Dale's practice of bringing in pauper children from cities like Edinburgh and Glasgow to work in the mills. Instead, he encouraged "large families" to join the village workforce.[7] "The system of receiving apprentices from public charities was abolished," he wrote, and "permanent settlers with large families were encouraged in lieu of them, and comfortable houses were built for their accommodation."[8]

However, once family units were incorporated into the village and factory social structure, Owen made a series of changes which reinforced his emphasis on "large families." First, he declared that children would no longer be employees at the New Lanark mills. "The practice of employing children in the mills, of six, seven, and eight years of age," he wrote in *A New View*, "was prevented, and their parents advised to allow them to acquire health and education until they were ten years old."[9] The "education" required in this last statement

---

[7] Ibid., "Essay II," 24.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid., 24.

included both the playground for the youngest villagers and the schoolroom for the youth. Finally, Owen made a series of reforms to the domestic arrangements of his employees, including the manner in which they prepared their food. Taken together, these modifications to village lifestyle constituted a radical reform which would not come to full fruition at New Lanark, but would continue to be a goal of Owen's: the creation of a new family unit, the "federated" family.

1. Discontinuation of Child Labor and the Provision of Schools and Playgrounds

About the time he wrote his *New View* essays in the mid-1810s, Owen began drafting a piece of legislation for the restriction of child labor. The Health and Morals of Apprentices Act of 1802 only regulated the mills in which pauper apprentices were working, but much to the ire of his fellow "Cotton Lords," Owen proposed limiting child labor in all of Britain's manufactories. He argued that managers should do as he had done at New Lanark and limit employment of children to those aged twelve and above. He also proposed that young employees be limited to a ten-and-a-half-hour work day. This would not only allow them rest from heavy labor, but would allow them time for other pursuits, like education. Owen wrote that even after going to work in the factories children should be exposed to reading, writing, and arithmetic lessons. He promoted his bill to a Parliamentary committee in a series of protracted testimonies in 1816.[10]

---

[10] See House of Commons, Parliament of Great Britain, "Report of the Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Select Committee on the State of the Children Employed in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom, 25 April-11 June, 1816, *Sessional Papers*, XVI.

When the Factory Act eventually passed in 1819 it bore little resemblance to Owen's original draft. The age of employment was set at nine years, while hours of employment were limited to twelve. The bill regulated the labor of youth until the age of 16, but even more worrisome was the fact that it failed to include any mode of enforcement. Nevertheless, Owen remained associated with the parts of the Factory Act protecting children from harsh conditions.

Owen's contributions to national control of child labor are important, but seen in the context of New Lanark they are part of a different story. In "Essay Three" of *A New View,* Owen explained the reasoning behind keeping children out of the factories not in terms of their health, as he had argued before, but in the following language: "First," he wrote, "the child will be removed, so far as it is at present practicable, from the erroneous treatment of the yet untrained and untaught parents."[11] Owen implied that the leading factor in the need for child labor was the poor judgment of cash-starved parents who sacrificed their own children to the mills. But more importantly, Owen's "removal" of the child was to begin at an earlier age than would later be required by the Factory Act, with children invited to the community playground "from the time they can walk alone."[12] In other words, Owen's plans for New Lanark children included not only their restriction from the factory at a young age, but restriction from their own parents and any attendant servants.[13]

After the first decade-and-a-half of management at New Lanark he established the Institute for the Formation of Character, and the classroom and the playground at the Institute became the mechanism whereby children were separated from their parents. Employment did

---

[11] Owen, *New View,* "Essay III," 15-16.

[12] Owen, *Life,* 175.

[13] Like Locke and Rousseau, Owen maintained that contact with servants in the home was damaging for children. See *New View,* "Essay III," 35.

not provide for children the best circumstances for their upbringing, and without the proper education, the children of New Lanark would become like their parents. Therefore, "The child will be placed in a situation of safety," Owen wrote, "where, with his future schoolfellows and companions, he will acquire the best habits and principles, while at meal times and at night he will return to the caresses of his parents; and the affections of each are likely to be increased by the separation."[14] In sum, Owen advocated the removal of children from their familial circumstances as soon as possible. He asserted that it was important for children to "escape" the influences of previous generations and crucial that they form bonds within their age cohort rather than to their ancestors. Davidson summarized: "the first step towards the formation of New Society" was that "[c]hildren were to be taken from their parents, at two and three years of age, and kept as much as possible, aloof from their contaminating habits, and pernicious example."[15] This was as true for any orphan children as it was for those whose families worked in the village. One visitor to New Lanark noted "the separation of the orphan children, in the Workhouse, from the contaminating influence arising from too close a contact with the adult population, and the introduction of a system of moral culture suitable to their future prospects in life."[16]

The New Lanark school and its attendant playground had several benefits for the adult population of the village. Owen wrote that, due to these arrangements, "parents will be relieved from the loss of time, and from the care and anxiety which are now occasioned by attendance on their children from the period when they can go alone to that at which they enter the school."[17]

---

[14] Owen, *New View*, "Essay III," 15-16.

[15] Davidson, *History of Lanark*, 176-177.

[16] *Leeds Mercury*, 12 February 1820.

[17] Owen, *New View,* "Essay III," 15-16.

Put plainly, the removal of infants from parental care at New Lanark freed up those parents to work uninterrupted in the mills. The "care and anxiety" to which Owen referred was worry about finances which undoubtedly developed when, after a woman's confinement, the infant prevented her from attending work and receiving wages. The age of walking ("when they can go alone") customarily coincides with weaning, a detail which indicates Owen's acceptance that a mother might continue to stay at home while nursing.[18] But beyond an infant's second year, she was expected to return to the mills, since infant care was provided for her without charge.

2. Relocating Moral Education: Owen in Context

Owen's intervention into the family life of his employees struck at the heart of contemporary ideas about character formation. Received wisdom dictated that children received their character traits from within the family matrix, and particularly from interaction with their parents.[19] The traditional Christian attitude held that an individual is the creator of his or her own character;[20] therefore, the examples held in front of the child, in the form of the parents and

---

[18] If mothers at New Lanark nursed their children until they could "go alone," they were likely afforded the contraceptive benefits of prolonged breastfeeding. Although doctors recognized that the method was not failsafe, it was none-the-less recommended well into the nineteenth century. See Angus McLaren, *Birth Control in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, Croom Helm, 1978), 125.

[19] Steven Mintz, *A Prison of Expectations: The Family in Victorian Culture* (New York: New York University, 1983), 31-3.

[20] Christian thinkers had long credited original sin as the foundation of human imperfection and unhappiness, stating that it was the will of the individual to counteract this sinful nature through adherence to the church's teachings. Renaissance-era elaboration on Aristotle's idea of the three-part soul promoted the dominance of reason over the passions as well as sensory experience. The reasonable soul was made up of reason as well as judgment and the will; the sensible soul, shared with animals, included not only the five senses but the common sense, the imagination and the memory, and appetites and the passions. Finally, the vegetable soul was the completely non-thinking part of the soul which was shared with all other living things. See Kallistos Ware, "The Soul in Greek Christianity," in James Crabbe, ed., *From Soul to Self* (London: Routledge, 1999), 49-69.

servants, were of utmost importance. Without good examples, a child would mimic bad behavior, remain in its "fallen" state and, in adulthood, lead a sinful life.

Enlightenment-era philosophers began to conceive of the infant mind and soul as a *tabula rasa*, or a blank state free of sin or knowledge. This convention was established by John Locke (1632-1704) in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689) in which the philosopher refuted the Platonic (and subsequently Cartesian) notion of innate ideas. Seeking a mechanical explanation for how persons learn, Locke rooted knowledge in experience and in the sensations created by a person's interaction with the physical world. According to this theory, called associationism, the mind converted sensations into ideas, and the association of these ideas with one another—like the association of 'red' with 'sweet'—comes from the way the sensations (in this case, the sensations of eating an apple), are linked. Locke's emphasis on sensory stimuli and individual human experience reoriented these divisions, connecting the material basis of the sensible soul to reason. Later, Hume would argue that only the passions, and not the will or reason, provided the motivation to action. In his *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* of 1748, David Hume (1711-1776) further elaborated these links, exploring the way that similarities or links are forged through Resemblance, Contiguity (in time and space), and Cause and Effect. Like Locke, Hume allowed for the presence of inward reflection, or thinking which occurs before and outside of sensory experience.[21]

---

[21] Despite their interest in elaborating a mechanist view of knowledge, both Locke and Hume both avoided explaining the physical basis of how sensations lead to ideas. In *Observations on Man: His Frame, His Duty, and His Expectations* (1749), the philosopher David Hartley (1705-1757) argued for the physiological basis of association in the nervous system. Spurred by Newton's hypothetical reference to "vibrating corpuscular matter and forces of attraction and repulsion" in the last paragraph of the *Principia* (1678), Hartley saw in the human nervous system the expression of attraction and repulsion to sensation as a manifestation of divine design. Although the mechanisms of "Habit, Custom, Example Education, Authority, Party-prejudice, the Manner of learning the manual and liberal arts, &c.," Hartley wrote, sensations became associated not only mentally, but, ultimately, physiologically in the very bodies of those who sensed them. This was in keeping with his dualistic view of the human frame, and his philosophy posited the mechanism whereby the mind was tethered to the body. The nervous system, as described by Hartley, was made up of solid strands of matter that transmitted vibrations from the site of

For Locke, then, an individual's character was neither a natural outgrowth of his or her human nature nor connected to a family's specific beliefs. Instead, it was related to the mental habits gleaned from watching others.[22] The child's mind was figured to be a place of moral neutrality; the role of the educator, therefore, was to create the conditions for goodness to be cultivated while staving off harmful influences. For the majority of associationists, the theory provided an explanation of the malleability of the human mind and the potential for new structures for human knowledge and organization. If the mind was an "empty cabinet," as Locke proposed, it logically follows that education, or the stocking of the cabinet with knowledge, is of fundamental importance. In *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, Locke described how children must be exposed to experiences that promote positive associations and protected from those which gave rise to negative ones. Locke stressed the importance of early education since the first associations formed in the mind exerted the most influence over the course of the individual's life.

Therefore while a child might have learned reading and other skills outside the home, the family household was the space in which he or she developed character. Steven Mintz argues that this was because the moral capacity was believed to be connected to the inward capacity for sympathy, not the senses. While tutors and other instructors developed the child's sensory abilities, "moral faculties were more effectively trained by parents' love and the influence of a beneficent environment than by rigorous religious or intellectual instruction."[23] This attitude

---

sensory discovery (the hand, or the eye, for example). This theory was more popular in England than that of the Dutch physician Hermann Boerhaave (1668-1738), who described the nerves as hollow tubes through which fluids traveled according to the laws of hydrodynamics. See David Hartley, O*bservations on Man* [1749], I, 65.

[22] L.C. Deighton, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Education*, Vol. 6 (New York: Macmillan, 1971), 21.

[23] Mintz , 29.

was supported in the work of Scottish moral philosophers such as Francis Hutcheson and Thomas Reid who argued that morality was innate. In short, the home was the place that afforded the intimacy necessary to elicit from the child his or her best moral character.

In Locke's ideal home parents were still under the obligation to model good behavior for the child. They were also charged by Locke with the responsibility of thinking about the child's moral education from the moment it comes into the world. He recommended that if one can "Follow a child from its birth, and observe the alterations that time makes, [he or she] shall find, as the mind by the senses comes more and more to be furnished with ideas, it comes to be more and more awake."[24] In other words, the best parents study their children to learn their particular dispositions.[25]

Armed with knowledge, parents were to guide the development of their unique child into an adult with a socially satisfactory character. Although the home was becoming more private,[26]

---

[24] John Locke, *Of Human Understanding*, Book 2, §22, 63.

[25] *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, §101-2, 75-6.

[26] Locke's description of a cocoon-like home where negative influences were barred from entry was matched by the increasing prevalence of single-family homes. Where once "homes" and "families" were made up of a nuclear, parent-offspring unit plus servants, apprentices, and assistants of various types, the single-family home developed as commercial-class persons conformed to the new "middle class" mold. In a survey of households in the years before 1821, for example, over 50% of people in a survey of 100 communities lived in this type of extended family, and those members of the household who were not "blood kin" were considered, as Mintz explains, "quasi-kin" (15). Over the course of the nineteenth century the family was increasingly "inward-turning, self-contained," (Mintz, 14), and focused on the conjugal component of mother and father; it was a private entity whose relationship with the larger, public world was "only on the basis of economic self-interest and voluntary consent." In other words, for the middle class at least, the "collateral" family was a thing of the past.
    Historians attribute the increasing importance on family and the home in this time period to the relative weakening of other social institutions, such as the church, which were becoming less important in people's day-to-day lives. Howard M. Wach identifies the trio of home, church, and civic institutions as the foundation of domestic values; without them, the public sphere cannot operate. Likewise, in her analysis of Victorian discipline, for example, Pamela Gilbert emphasizes the placement of the political and social education of the body in the home and safely within the confines of the family. Since these behaviors were deemed "natural" their cultivation in the bodies and behaviors of people was to be instilled in the private, or domestic, and not the public, sphere. Although her treatment is for the years after those under scrutiny here, many of the same interests are at work: the moral and physical health of individual citizen-bodies are important to the country as a whole if liberal structures, then under rapid development, were to be maintained. Put another way, in a country with increasingly active markets and a developing sense of national identity, "civil life," as Lauren Goodlad characterizes it, was increasingly seen "as an

the effects of character education were no less important to public life. The product of moral

education—character—is privately formed yet publicly expressed. A person's character is

personal to him or her, yet the behavior which expresses it is carried out in the social, or public,

sphere.[27] For this reason, moral education was important not just for becoming a useful person

in local communities but for being a responsible citizen. For Locke and his French

contemporaries Etienne Bonnot de Condillac and Baron d'Holbach, the notion of a malleable

mind held promise for the development of legitimate, contract-based governments. For others,

like the Genevan philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), the impressionability of the

human mind was the root of political problems to begin with. If the mind had not been so

susceptible to accepting the status quo, political and social systems might not have developed

which perpetuated inequality. [28] For this reason, moral development was ultimately more

extension of one's own homely realm—in other words, as personal" (595.) Therefore, the home was the source of character not only for an individual's personal interactions but for the nation as a whole. It was in the home that a family could cultivate the child's individuality but could also work to temper that individuality with concern for larger-scale groups of which the child was just a part. If a balanced concern for self and others was not achieved, "the pursuit of individual self-interest would lead to social disruption unless such aspirations were counterbalanced by self-restraints internalized in the depths of individual personality" (Mintz, 28). For the sources of change in family structure, see Lauren M. E. Goodlad "'Making the Working Man Like Me': Charity, Pastorship, and Middle-Class Identity in Nineteenth-Century Britain; Thomas Chalmers and Dr. James Phillips Kay." *Victorian Studies* 43.4 (2001) 591-617; and Mintz, 14-28; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969); and Leonore Davidoff, *The Family Story: Blood, Contract, and Intimacy, 1830-1960* (London: Longman, 1999). For trends relating particularly to the changing role of women, see. A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, *Women, Work, and Family* (New York: Methuen 1978). See also Howard M. Wach, "Civil Society, Moral Identity and the Liberal Public Sphere: Manchester and Boston, 1810-1840" *Social History* 21: 3 (Oct 1996) 281-303; and Gilbert, 3. Like Wach, Gilbert follows Jürgen Habermas, whose *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962) charted the development, from the eighteenth century forward, of a public sphere in which bourgeois individuals increasingly participated in critical discussion of issues of the state such as liberty and sovereignty. Gilbert tracks how management of the body as a unit of political meaning became incorporated into the social and private domains. In particular, Gilbert's argument concerns how Chartist demands, parliamentary reform and increasing enfranchisement in the 1830s-50s were dependent on ideas about the healthy body. For the role of Protestantism in the development of the British public sphere, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 1994).

[27] Ivor Pritchard, "Character Education: Research Prospects and Problems, *American Journal of Education*, Vol. 96, No. 4 (Aug., 1988), 469-495; 489.

[28] Alessandro Ferrara, *Modernity and authenticity: a study in the social and ethical thought of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (*Albany: State University of New York, 1993), 70.

important than any other kind of learning. "Reading and writing and learning I allow to be necessary," Locke wrote, "but yet not the chief business [of education]. I imagine you would think him a very foolish fellow, that should not value a virtuous or a wise man infinitely before a great scholar."[29] Therefore, character is the crux at which politics and the economy meet personal behavior. Neither the liberal state as envisioned by Locke nor the commercial society imagined by Smith were possible without the participation of persons of reliable character.

In sum, the best environment for character education was the family and in particular the paternalist family structure. Locke (and later Rousseau) warned against the child's exposure to servants and others who, wishing to make friends with the child, either purposefully or inadvertently weakened or eroded the discipline provided by the parents.[30] In other words, Locke's theory did not challenge the importance of the family in the development of a child's moral character, only the mechanism whereby that character was made.

Seen in this light, Owen's commitment to the moral education of New Lanark's youngest inhabitants was a radical one. His take-over of infant education flew in the face of both received Christian tradition and the newest intellectual trends. Perhaps most vexing, Owen's proposal for public care of children signaled his agreement with educationalists that infancy is an especially vulnerable time. But the factors that threatened that vulnerability, according to Owen, were not what people thought. It was parents who were dangerous, not "society."

Interestingly, parents in the village responded positively to Owen's measures. In 1820 several New Lanark families cosigned a letter to Owen in which they shared their gratitude for Owen's infant school—not only for the education it provided, but for the "[relief] also from

---

[29] Locke, *Thoughts Concerning Education,* §147.

[30] Ibid., 68.

much of that anxiety, which a parent continually engaged in watching over a young family must

naturally feel."[31] Although they concluded that they were "happy it has been demonstrated to us

that even in infancy [children] may be trained to regular habits, and that a child can hardly be too

young to learn," the focus of the letter remains the statement concerning relief that individual

families were no longer responsible not only for the child's education but for his or her daily care

when work calls.[32] However, it should be noted that the authors of this text, Alexander Innes and

George Meudell, mimicked Owen's own vocabulary in the wording of their letter of praise.

Phrases like "trained to regular habits" and repetition of the word "anxiety" are telling

duplications of Owen's rhetoric. Whether this implies that Innes and Meudell were guided by

Owen in their letter-writing or had simply imbibed his rhetoric is unclear.

3. The Domestic Arrangements of Owen's "One Family"

When he formally opened the Institute on New Year's Day 1816, Owen announced

openly to the inhabitants of New Lanark the reasoning behind the new establishment: "[B]elieve

me, my friends, you are yet very deficient with regard to the best modes of training your

children, or of arranging your domestic concerns."[33] By the time he presented his ideas at the

---

[31] Robert Owen, Address on opening the Institution for the Formation of Character at New Lanark, delivered on the 1st of January 1816 : being the first public announcement of the discovery of the infant school system, London, 1841. *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2009, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): 10,
http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U106108656&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 12 January 2009).

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

Rotunda in Dublin in 1822, Owen's plans were more fully developed. Beyond the typical

complaints, he argued more specifically that the character of the individual was best formed

through the development of communal, or federated, families. As it was, the individual family

was divisive in its insularity. "Each family," he wrote, "has now its own peculiar ideas, habits

and feelings, and these differ more or less from the ideas, habits and feelings, which are received

and acquired by other families; and in so far as this difference exists, it creates a little circle in

opposition to all the other circles with which it comes into communication."[34] In order to

prevent such "little circles" from forming, the manager of the mill village needed to cultivate

social and physical circumstances in which all community members, as with the children of the

New Lanark school, receive "the same general circumstances and training, that they may be

formed really to become children of one family, and truly, and indeed, to love one another as

brethren."[35]

One of the ways that Owen sought to cultivate family federations was to reorganize

domestic spaces. "Attention was given to the domestic arrangements of the community" as soon

as Owen made his residence in the village; as he describes in Essay Second of *A New View*:

> Their houses were rendered comfortable, their streets were improved, the best provisions
> were purchased, and sold to them at low rates, yet covering the original expense; and
> under such regulations as taught them how to proportion their expenditure to their
> income. Fuel and clothes were obtained for them in the same manner; no advantage was
> ever attempted to be taken of them, or means used to deceive them.[36]

---

[34] *Report of the proceedings at the several public meetings held in Dublin*, 62.

[35] Ibid., 72-3.

[36] Owen, *New View*, "Essay 2," 26.

As early as 1816 he was formulating plans to make changes to the situation of rooms and their fitness in terms of ventilation.[37] But Owen increasingly planned beyond renovating existing buildings, thinking ahead to new kinds of spaces that would render their occupants more unified. In particular, a design for a communal kitchen appeared as early as 1809 on the plans for the Institute for the Formation of Character, a building which was not fully constructed until 1816, although the interior was completed even later. When the mills were listed for sale in December of 1813, an advertisement in the *Glasgow Herald* described what came to be known as the Institute as a building "145 ft long by 45 ft broad 'at present unoccupied'" which was constructed "to admit of an extensive Store Cellar, a Public Kitchen, Eating and Exercise Room, a School, Lecture Room and Church."[38] While the two galleried schoolrooms took up the first, or main floor, the ground floor was clearly devoted to communal rooms for shared domestic activities.

In his description of his visit to New Lanark from 1818, John Griscom described the structure as "nearly completed," stating that "At present, every family cooks its own provision, but a building is nearly completed which is designed as a kitchen for the whole village; and a refectory in which about one-fourth of them may take their meals at a time."[39] Evidently the structure was finished by the next year, when the 1819 entry on "New Lanark" in *Brewster's Encyclopedia* noted a "building lately erected for a public kitchen." This construction, "being about 150 feet in length, by 45 broad, and three stories in height," was to include two separate kitchens, "a bakehouse, store-rooms, and superintendant's apartments," all on the ground floor of

---

[37] Leonardo Benovolo, *The Origins of Modern Town Planning* (London: Routledge, 1967), 42.

[38] Donnachie, I. (2003) 'Education in Robert Owen's New Society: The New Lanark Institute and Schools', the encyclopedia of informal education, www.infed.org/thinkers/et-owen.htm.

[39] John Griscom, *A Year in Europe. Comprising a Journal of Observations in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Switzerland, the North of Italy, and Holland. In 1818 and 1819* (New York: Collins & Co. and E. Bliss & E. White, 1823), 254.

the Institute for the Formation of Character.[40] As part of their educations, female students at

Owen's school were to visit the kitchen "in rotation . . . in order to acquire some knowledge of

domestic economy."[41] The author continued: "The obvious effect of such an establishment,

besides many accompanying advantages, is to diminish the expense, while it multiplies the

comforts of living to the inhabitants in general, by the economy of fuel and attendance, and by

the cheaper and more nutritious preparation of food which may be thus attained."[42] As Griscom

had described, "Owen believes, that from four to five thousand pounds a year will be saved by

this arrangement, besides the superior training and improved habits it will produce."[43]

Owen described the kitchen himself in his meetings in Dublin a few years later, giving

evidence for the future of the project. "Should any prefer to take their meals in their private

apartments," he wrote,

> they will of course do so, but it is very unlikely that such a choice will be made by any of
> the rising generation, who will be trained from infancy in the new habits. They will
> consider themselves truly as members of one family, and will enjoy the society of friends
> at meals, more than we now do, feasting, in private parties, at the expense of much
> trouble, time and money.[44]

---

[40] Brewster, "Edinburgh Encyclopedia," in The New Views of Mr. Owen of Lanark Impartially Examined, as
Rational Means of Ultimately Promoting the Productive Industry, Comfort, Moral Improvement, and Happiness of
the labouring Classes of Society, and of the Poor; and of Training up Children in the Way in which they should go:
Also Observations on the New Lanark School, and on the Systems of Education of Mr. Owen, of the Rev. Dr. Bell,
and that of the New British and Foreign System of mutual Instruction, by Henry Grey Macnab (London: J. Hatchard
and Son, 1819): 69.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid., 70.

[43] Griscom, 384.

[44] *Report of the proceedings at the several public meetings held in Dublin by Robert Owen on the 18th March, 12th
April, 19th April, and 3d May: preceded by an introductory statement of his opinions and arrangements at New
Lanark : extracted from his "Essays on the formation of the human character"*, Dublin, 1823. *The Making of the
Modern World* (Gale 2009, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): 69-70.
http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U106980466&srchtp=a&ste=14
(accessed 12 January 2009)

In other words, the kitchen was, like the classroom, a place where "the new habits" of communal life were to be formed. An anonymous visitor of 1822 attached to these structures an "[i]ncreased happiness and attachment of [husband's] wives and children."[45]

Close physical proximity between visitors to New Lanark and the schoolchildren was a major part of his experiment, because it afforded the visiting public a chance to witness the total "regeneration" of persons under Owen's care. It also brought the well-to-do and the pauper/reformed pauper into close contact with one another in a way that necessitated their reframing their attitudes of one another.

C. Plans for the future

Owen presented another reason for the development of this "co-operative system" of domestic arrangement. Unlike the "single family system," the "co-operative system," ensured that villagers "properly instructed in the application of mechanical and chemical power" will be able to complete "with ease and pleasure" the work "twenty menial miserable servants can do at present."[46] In other words, communal living led to communal—and therefore, more productive—work. The new physical arrangements at New Lanark were not simply for aesthetic purposes but for the accumulation of the abilities and efforts of the community members.

In this line, Owen perceived of the community as a machine; and he introduced the parallelogram, his structure for the most efficient and productive community. When he spoke in

---

[45] "Visit to New Lanark: August 1822," 96.

[46] Owen, *Report of the proceedings at the several public meetings held in Dublin,* 64.

Dublin Owen displayed a painting, based on Stedman Whitwell's illustration of the future

Village of Unity and Mutual Co-operation, to illustrate his plans. "[Y]ou will notice," he said to

his audience, that the village's "principal feature is a square, or parallelogram, which is general

form of the village in which the associated families are to reside, and which includes all their

domestic arrangements."[47] These communal "inventions" will "multiply the physical and mental

powers of the whole society to an incalculable extent, without injuring any one by its

introduction or its most rapid diffusion."[48] No one family could avail itself of the powers of a

whole community. For no single family, he wrote:

> contain[s] within itself the variety of talent and disposition requisite to bring forth the
> various capacities, and the good and amiable qualities of the individuals who compose
> it,—or to afford the diversity of amusement and instruction which may be so easily
> obtained when greater numbers are associated together, without any jarring interests
> intervening to excite contests and opposition.[49]

He offered the parallelogramatic structure as an alternative to the more linear status quo;

"The practice of the world for ages past has been to prefer a square to a street, lane, court, or

alley; and at this day, in London, Dublin, Edinburgh, and other large cities and towns, the

squares, whether regular or irregular in their sides."[50] But the parallelogram, he argued, was

more secure, comfortable, and desirable for communities because, instead of leading in a linear

fashion into more wealthy neighborhoods, would be surrounded by:

> pleasure gardens, and beyond these, a demesne belonging to each village, of from 500 to
> 4000 acres, under a garden cultivation,—every advantage being taken of inequality of
> surface, and of wood and water, to render the whole together a scene as varied and
> beautiful as it can be made, consistently with use and proper economy.

---

[47] Ibid., 67-68.

[48] Qtd in Benovolo, 49.

[49] Owen, *Report of the proceedings at the several public meetings held in Dublin*, 63.

[50] Ibid., 67-68.

Instead of being surrounded by the temptations of the wealth of more affluent neighbors, Owen's geometrical community was enclosed by "objects . . . congenial to the nature of man, [and] such varied enjoyments, to conduce to health and permanent happiness? [51] Owen argued that "it is of essential importance that there be abundance of space within the line of the private dwellings, the parallelogram, in all cases, . . . should be of large dimensions."[52] The New Society could not be formed unless the family was reformed. "The circumstances, in which all single families must exist," Owen wrote:

> are, in truth, incompatible with the arrangements that are necessary to train children in the best habits and dispositions, and to convey to them, in the shortest time, the greatest amount of useful knowledge. Public seminaries, well arranged and conducted, are much better adapted for the training of children, particularly of boys, than the system of private tuition, as it is termed; but the scope of all such institutions is limited, and the means employed are more or less defective and injudicious. To form the character of the human being, male and female, as it ought to be formed, requires arrangements far different from any which have yet been combined for this purpose. And a long experience leads me to conclude that education, in its enlarged and proper sense, may now be easily applied to make devils or angels of all mankind, yet that no two devils or angels can be made alike, under any system that human beings, with their present knowledge, are competent to devise.[53]

In his 1822 lectures in Dublin, Owen revealed his proposal that, in the Villages of Unity and Mutual Cooperation of the future, older children would be sent to live in dormitories "in which cleanliness and health will be particularly attended to." Owen explained that parents would not be barred from seeing their children—that, indeed, they would not be separated from their children any more than they were by present circumstances necessitated by factory labor.[54]

---

[51] Ibid. Owen also took the opportunity at Dublin to answer the "little witticisms on the world parallelogram" by the critical witlings in the urban newspapers. He asked "the persons who have indulged in them" to propose "a more convenient and agreeable disposition of arrangements for social life."

[52] Benovolo, 48-9.

[53] Owen, *Report of the proceedings at the several public meetings held in Dublin,* [63.]

[54] Ibid., 73.

Owen reiterated his contention that the seclusion of children in schools and dormitories would prevent the children from being "surrounded by ignorance and inferior habits."[55] But to this Owen added more details. Owen wanted to separate children from their families because the private and isolated nature of the individual family took allegiance away from that owed to the community. This was his federated family, the family of the future.

D. Comparison: Thomas Chalmers's St. John's Parish

For the purpose of comparison, consider a similar project taking place not thirty miles away in Glasgow. In 1819 Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847), an evangelical Scottish minister, restructured the Glasgow parish of St. John's to reflect his own ideas about how pauper communities should be structured. Chalmers's parish consisted of 10,000 individuals divided into divisions of 60-100 families. Schoolhouses and Sunday schools were provided for the approximately 700 children in the parish, but most importantly, parish leaders were assigned divisions in which to visit the homes of the families.[56] The domestic spaces of parish families were inspected for cleanliness and adherence to rules of morality, as well as inspected for the appropriateness of parish aid.[57] Although on occasion aid was given, Chalmers was most interested in reforming the pauper to redirect attentions to his or her own needs. Chalmers argued

---

[55] Ibid., 64.

[56] Isabel Simeral, *Reform Movements in Behalf of Children in England of the Early Nineteenth Century, and the Agents of those Reforms* (New York: Columbia University, 1916). 47.

[57] For arguments that Chalmers's method in the St. John's Parish was the basis for modern-day social work, see Kathleen Woodroofe, *From Charity to Social Work in England and the United States* (London: 1962) 45 ff and A. F. Young and E. T. Ashton, *British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century* (London: 1956), 77-8.

that the mandatory collection of poor rates from area landowners led to a sense of entitlement on the part of the pauper; the poor should be accustomed to look for help from local sources, as well as from their own relatives, and not from the anonymous coffers of the church. Most importantly, the poor should develop sympathy for one another and seek to help those in need themselves.[58] Sometimes this led to situations which, to the modern eye, read like abandonment: John F. McCaffrey cites a case in which a family stricken with typhus was neglected by visiting deacons until their neighbors aided them first. Chalmers wrote that such situations were "beautiful" because they illustrated the ability of persons to care for one another, and any attempt by the parish government to interfere would prevent the occurrence of beautiful and "natural" outpourings of brotherly sympathy.[59] Although he hoped the rich would once again develop sympathy for the poor, he believed that the urban conditions of manufacturing neighborhoods required first the development of paupers' sympathies for one another. McCaffrey argues that "Chalmers' popularised views simply provided a rationale with which to bolster their prejudices against the pretensions of the poor; it gave them a theory which justified their conviction that the misfortunes of the poor were due to some inherent individual moral weakness in the poor themselves."[60]

While this latter explanation may be true, Chalmers's program can be interpreted in a broader way, one which reveals its similarities Owen's project. First, Thomas Chalmers's St. John's parish was a typical middle-class led, church-approved project. Like Owen, Chalmers saw first-hand the effects of social collapse as manufacturing communities ballooned with

---

[58] Simeral, 49.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid., 52.

itinerant labor. Also like Owen, Chalmers disliked the Poor Law and sought alternative

structures to serve the needs of the poor. Again, like Owen, Chalmers reorganized a discrete

population and provided oversight and advice to the population there. Finally, like the

"Philanthropist of the North,"[61] Chalmers considered his work to be an experiment and the

results of which to be a reflection of a universal law that would operate in any similarly

constituted situation.

On a more fundamental level, the projects of Owen and Chalmers were similar in that

both men were seeking ways to create loving communities. They justified and promoted their

projects by relying on reasoning that their plans were "natural" and "beautiful." However Owen

and Chalmers started with fundamentally different ideas about human nature and its capacity to

help or hinder social sympathy.

E. Family Values

Owen's speeches at the Dublin Rotunda in the Spring of 1822 are a good case study for

understanding public response to his ideas on the family. Unlike his other speeches, these were

published with transcripts of the criticism received from audience members. The Irish audience

was in all likelihood less familiar than the English reading public with Owen's ideas, though his

speeches do not reflect any real sensitivity to spectators unprepared to hear his plans. Even

though Owen's comments on the new "federated" family are buried within long, drawn-out

oratory, responses reveal that however unprepared the listeners for Owen's ideas, these struck

---

[61] Macnab, *New Views . . . Impartially Examined*, 190.

them as the most radical and worthy of comment. In particular, a Mr. Dunne and a Mr. Singer voiced complaints concerning Owen's reorganization of New Lanark social life and the similarities that they sensed between Owen's plans and those of another, even more dangerously radical, champion of change.

Having never seen New Lanark, Mr. Dunne and Mr. Singer did not speak of the beauty or happiness described by those who saw it for themselves. Instead, these commentators related Owen's "new view" to materialistic claims about the nature of being, even upon hearing Owen's plans, perhaps for the first time. These claims put Owen dangerously close to those who had overthrown France during and after the Revolution. It also allied Owen with atheist factions who denounced the role of God in people's day-to-day lives. In asserting that "Man . . . is a creature whose character is formed for him," Owen was declaring "that the dagger is equally culpable with the hand of the assassin." This "fatalism" would "deprive man of virtue, and God of justice." The result was the removal of "responsibility from the actions of man." Mr. Singer concluded that this would result in fewer philanthropists like Mr. Owen and more prisoners. The system, he concluded, was "unnatural."

Neither was it new. Mr. Singer stated that the same plans had been tried by Lycurgus in Sparta and more recent reformers since. Nevertheless, the claim was false in every case because historical examples disproved it. "He" (Mr. Singer,) "would ask, if there were not to be found in the same family, subject to the same discipline, characters differing materially in genius and morality? [I]t should be recollected," he added, "that of Adam's two children, one was Cain, and one was Abel." Owen's materialist connections (in the mind of Mr. Singer, connections to Helvétius) were even the subject of jest. "One of those philosophers," Singer said "who represents man as a machine, says, that a tree is but a machine; and this writer goes on to say,

233

that he would have no objection to become a tree.-(Laughter.) For his own part, he (Mr. Singer)

would rather live here in the hope of a better life hereafter, than become the machine of Mr.

Owen, or the tree of Helvetius. (Applause.).”

Dunne and Singer were more specific than just accusing Owen of materialism, however.

In particular they were offended by Owen’s plans for the family. Reduced to “trees” and

“machines,” by Owen’s system, Dunne and Singer argued, “man would be little better than

living in a savage state.” Villagers in Owen’s communities of Unity and Mutual Cooperation,

living “without money or traffic; . . .[would] be looked on as Hottentots, or as beasts of the field,

who herd together from mere instinct.”[62] These “herds” in which Owen’s villagers gathered

were large groups which no longer resembled the traditional family. Most emphatically, Mr.

Dunne argued that “[t]he system recommended by Mr. Owen would go to cut the sacred tie

between landlord and tenant, and dissolve the distinctions between rich and poor. The Gentleman

must be but little acquainted with human nature, or the sacred sympathies of the word ‘home,’

when he recommended that system.”[63] Although it is true that Owen wanted to “dissolve”

economic distinctions, Dunne attributed to Owen changes (eroding landlord-tenant relationships)

which were already underway. But in his anger, Dunne associated Owen with the “tendency in

the present day” (he said), “live in a high style; the common artisan lived like a Gentleman, and

the farmer like a Prince.”[64]

But more importantly, Dunne’s extended comment most distinctly reveals the opinion

that Owen’s program would undermine the family unit and the home, the place of “sacred

---

[62] Ibid, 37.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

sympathies." Dunne was recorded as having commented that he "would much rather see the poor peasant mending the thatch of his cottage with straw, than see him roaming through the wide and stuccoed apartment of Mr. Owen's work-house, or partaking of a common meal in a common hall." The imagery served to portray the peasant as a hard worker, and Owen's apartment-dweller as idle ("roaming") and greedy with resources ("partaking of a common meal" that the speaker does not indicate that the diner had any part in making). Mr. Singer reiterated Mr. Dunne's points. He stated that he "would rather see, as the Rev. Gentleman had said, the peasant in his little hut, or by his fire-side, than the modelled being of this moral mechanical system."[65] To these men, it was not only the domestic arrangements of New Lanark that had been "modelled," or refitted, but the very "beings" of the village. In other words, Owen's system, structured as it was on mechanical principles, treated people like inanimate objects, manipulating them as Owen saw fit. Mr. Dunne accused Owen of thinking of people "as so many blocks, until, hammered into different shapes by this machine, they became useful, virtuous, and happy citizens."[66] Even though the outcome ("useful, virtuous, and happy citizens") might have sounded desirable, the means Owen took to render New Lanark villagers thus was unacceptable.

Mr. Singer, Mr. Dunne, and others repeatedly referred to the contrasting images of the cottage, or hut, and the "stuccoed apartment" or barracks. The images corresponded directly to the traditional, financially independent paterfamilias versus Owen's "federated" family. In defense of the cottage, Mr. Dunne asked that "it should be recollected, that crimes . . . invariably

---

[65] Ibid., 39.

[66] Ibid., 37.

increased, where persons have been congregated."[67] The imagery also calls to mind the newly

popular renderings of the happy peasant preferred patrons of Romantic landscape paintings.

The image of the barracks reminded the Irish audience members of Napoleon. The idea

of dormitory living for the young rendered the reformer too much "like him of France," and they

feared he "might go round from barrack to barrack, and give his orders for the men to turn out,

and see that the walls were white-washed.[68] Comparing Owen to Napoleon, especially in terms

of public health initiatives like whitewashing of walls, indicates the level of fear with which Mr.

Dunne and Mr. Singer approached Owen's interest in the domestic spaces of New Lanark

villagers.

In summary, Mr. Dunne and Mr. Singer criticized what Dunne called the "forced and

unnatural"[69] aspects of Owen's New Lanark community. In particular, the reactions in Dublin

focus intently on what they call Owen's "moral mechanical system" and the parts of Owen's

"science of circumstances" based on materialist claims. To them, his planned villages

"render[ed] the Christian Religion nugatory." Dunne added: "Perhaps [Owen] might allow a

church to ornament one of the wings of his building, unless he conceived a Mahomedan Temple

more picturesque."[70]

F. Conclusion

---

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid., 37-38.

[69] Ibid., 37.

[70] *Report of the proceedings at the several public meetings held in Dublin,* 37-38.

Owen's ideal family reflected ideas of Adam Smith and the other Scottish moral philosophers who theorized about social bonds. On one hand, Smith feared the divisive actions of small factions and thus that of insular family units. In *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* he wrote that "Men, though naturally sympathetic, feel . . . little for another, with whom they have no particular connexion, in comparison with what they feel for themselves."[71] If society was held together by sympathetic bonds, and those bonds were reinforced by proximity, it stood to reason that the best societies were those in which the most people felt sympathy for one another. It was for this same reason that some theorists argued that society functions best when families and communities are small. Francis Hutcheson advocated small families with the reasoning that one could only know and extend care to so many people.

On the other hand, Smith and other commentators wondered about the limits of sympathy, especially the possibility of that universal benevolence, or love for all of humanity. If proximity reinforced bonds, universal benevolence was impossible, Hume posited. Building on Hutcheson, he argued that it was not likely that people would be able to love those with whom they are not closely connected.[72]

Owen's focus on village arrangements that reinforced the bonds of generational cohorts reflects his attention to the problem of universal benevolence. Owen wanted to cultivate personal connections between a large number of inhabitants at New Lanark so that they would care for one another. The best way to do this was to change the idea of what constituted a family, or one's innermost circle of society.

---

[71] Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Part II Section II Chapter III.

[72] Evan Radcliffe, "Revolutionary Writing, Moral Philosophy, and Universal Benevolence in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 54:2 (Apr. 1993), 221-240.

This goal was best epitomized at the playground, where "the precept . . . was given to the child of two years old, on coming into the play-ground, 'that he must endeavour to make his companions happy.'"[73]   To elaborate, Owen added that children were told "never to injure [their] playfellows, but on the contrary . . . to contribute all in [their] power to make them happy."[74] The rule was "to be renewed enforced on his entrance into the school, and the first duty of the Schoolmaster will be to train his pupils to acquire the practice of always acting on this principle."[75] He continued:

> It is a simple rule, the plain and obvious reasons for which, children, at an early age, may be readily taught to comprehend: as they advance in years, become familiarised with its practice, and experience the beneficial effects to themselves, they will better feel and understand all its important consequences to society.[76]

In one sense, Owen's "simple rule" is nothing short of the crux of Rousseau's argument for how society should be: in order for a community to develop a sovereign general will, individuals must give up their natural feelings of self-preservation and replace them with compassionate and cooperative feelings. In another sense, Owen's playground was the first of the several structures designed to habituate the child to the voice of his or her Impartial Spectator. Owen's dictum provided the voice to guide the children in the ways of enlightened self-interest—their own happiness was fashioned from making others happy. Taken in the widest context, however, Owen's "simple rule" was the first tenet of a plan by which he planned to teach the world the feasibility universal benevolence.

---

[73] Owen, *New View* Essay III, 28-29.

[74] Ibid., 13-14.

[75] Ibid., 28-29.

[76] Ibid.

By establishing the child's social experience in this setting and with this one stipulation, Owen sought to form a cohort of individuals whose identities were defined by their role in the New Lanark community. He also hoped to inculcate this law and no other so that the child, internalizing the moral authority of "Do unto others" would grow comfortably into an adulthood of serving others. Established on Owen's views about human nature and its role in political life, his establishment of this special playground at New Lanark epitomizes his reform efforts in the early years of his career and also provides a basis from which to view his later endeavors.

CONCLUSION

New Lanark Yesterday and Today

A visit to New Lanark today is quite different from that experienced by travelers two hundred years ago, but it is still a tourist destination. The hills nestling the little village still evoke picturesque imagery where the Clyde crooks its elbow around the stone manufactories, although it is unlikely that visitors perch atop the hill on their way from Lanark to take in the prospect. More likely, visitors careen down the hill in air-conditioned tour buses. As of 2000 visitors numbered 4050,000 a year, a figure which dwarfs the 1800-2000 annual visitors in the period from 1815-1825.[1] Yet the popularity of the site—now a world-class museum facility— indicates that Lanarkshire is still identified as a tourist destination.

When Robert Owen left the New Lanark partnership in 1825 the mills came under the management of Charles and Henry Walker, sons of Owen's partner John Walker. Under the Walkers the factories underwent a series of technological improvements, culminating in the installation of steam power in 1873.[2] A firmly established tourist destination, New Lanark continued to draw visitors well into the tenure of the village's next owner, Henry Birkmyre. Head of the Gourock Ropework Company, Birkmyre bought New Lanark from the Walker family in

---

[1] Scott, Hamish. "Scotland's model citizens." *Daily Telegraph*, 15 July 2000. For the historical figure, see Ian Donnachie, "Historic Tourism to New Lanark and the Falls of Clyde 1795-1830," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 2:3 (2004)*,* 45-162, 4.

[2] Ian Donnachie and George Hewitt, *Historic New Lanark* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 157.

1881 and the mills expanded production to include weaving of fabric, rope, and fishing nets. The mills remained productive until the late 1960s when the Gourock Company found it financially unfeasible to improve the workers' tenements to comply with modern standards.

The village remained nearly abandoned until 1974 when a group of forward-thinking local persons recognized the extraordinary history and potential future of the historic site. This group eventually became the New Lanark Conservation Trust (NLCT). Under the leadership of manager Jim Arnold, the NLCT initiated restoration of the village residences and soon residents returned. The efforts to refurbish the mills was delayed until the Trust was awarded, through legislation, a Compulsory Purchase Order which forced the sale of the Mills and the Institute building to the New Lanark Housing Association/NLCT in 1983. A visitor's centre was opened to the public in 1990 and in December 2001 the village was named a United Stations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Site. New Lanark's selection for this prestigious honor places it in the company of such sites as ancient Egypt's pyramids at Giza, the Acropolis in Athens, and Auschwitz-Birkenau in Poland as sites important to the heritage common to all humanity.

Today, Mill #1 is a luxury hotel and spa, and the residences of Wee Row have been converted into a Youth Hostel. The Institute for the Formation of Character is now a visitor's centre, where a refurbished version of Owen's classroom, as well as a meeting room and a cafeteria, are open to the public. In Mills #2, #3, and the former Engine House, visitors can inspect replicas of textile machinery as well as the rope-drives and steam engines which ran the mills when they were productive. Mill #2 also features a store called "Owen's Warehouse," though it is actually a branch of the ubiquitous Edinburgh Woolen Mills, a chain of stores that

sells tartan scarves and other clan-specific souvenirs to tourists all over the country.

Although guests are welcomed to tour the facilities on their own, two specific tours, "The Annie McLeod Experience" and "The New Millennium Experience," provide overviews of Owen's story both in his own day and into the future, respectively. The tour begins when visitors, suspended in one of several monorail "pods," [FIGURE 15] travel through the darkened former mill where a holographic projection of Annie, a fictionalized persona of "Annie McLeod," a ten-year old child of the mills, and other villagers detail what life was like for mill employees in the year 1820. Described on the New Lanark website as an "exciting dark ride" and "a mesmerizing journey of discovery," the tour ends with Annie's supplication: "'We are the past….but we are part of the future, too…remember us, remember us.'"[3]

During the "New Millennium Experience" visitors are guided through Owen's basic ideas by Harmony, a girl from the year 2200. As with Harmony's foil, Annie McLeod, visitors "[e]nter the spirit world" in order to engage with Owen's philosophy, an ironic situation given Owen's interest in spiritualism at the end of his life. Though described as "exciting" and "stunning" by two scholars,[4] the experience of modern-day New Lanark is more aptly described as "essentially a theme park."[5] Nowhere in my own visits to New Lanark did I come across anything negative to be said about Owen, only the generalized narrative of his basic enterprise, his school-based experiment, and the development of his utopian scheme in the cradle of the Clyde. Literature for the visitor, like the NLCT's booklet "The Story of New Lanark – World

---

[3] www.Newlanark.org, accessed 17 March 2010.

[4] Donnachie and Hewitt, *Historic New Lanark*, 205.

[5] Scott, 1.

Heritage Site" focuses reader attention on Owen's utopian visions and only once on his socialist leanings, introducing him thus: "Robert Owen, the Socialist. This is how he is described in library catalogues, but the reality is far more complicated."[6] Despite its clear explanation of Owen's socio-political thought during his New Lanark years, the booklet hardly works to separate this image from that presented: Owen as a utopian dreamer whose ideas were, as is often repeated in literature about him, "ahead of his time." Despite his own claims to the contrary, Owen did not "commence de novo"[7] but established his first reforms in keeping with the practices which defined what reform was. In particular he promoted his reform as "experiment," a similar cultural practice which indicates his adherence to delineated standards of the nascent social sciences, as well as late-Enlightenment-era expectations about the need to improve society.

As I have endeavored to show in this study, Owen was distinctly *of his time*, and a dense contextual study is necessary in order to anchor him to it. Otherwise, as is often the case with figures admired by their historians, he tends to float like a balloon into the ethereal space inhabited by our own wishes for what a moment in time foretold, not for what it actually signified to those who lived within it. Indeed, to qualify someone as "ahead" or "behind" the times relies on the assumption promoted by the Enlightenment-era philosophers who believed so firmly in the unidirectional progress of human

---

[6] New Lanark Conservation Trust, "The Story of New Lanark – World Heritage Site," 10.

[7] Robert Owen, *Life of Robert Owen Written by Himself, with Selections from his Writings and Correspondence* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1858; reprint, New York: A.M. Kelley, 1967), 79.
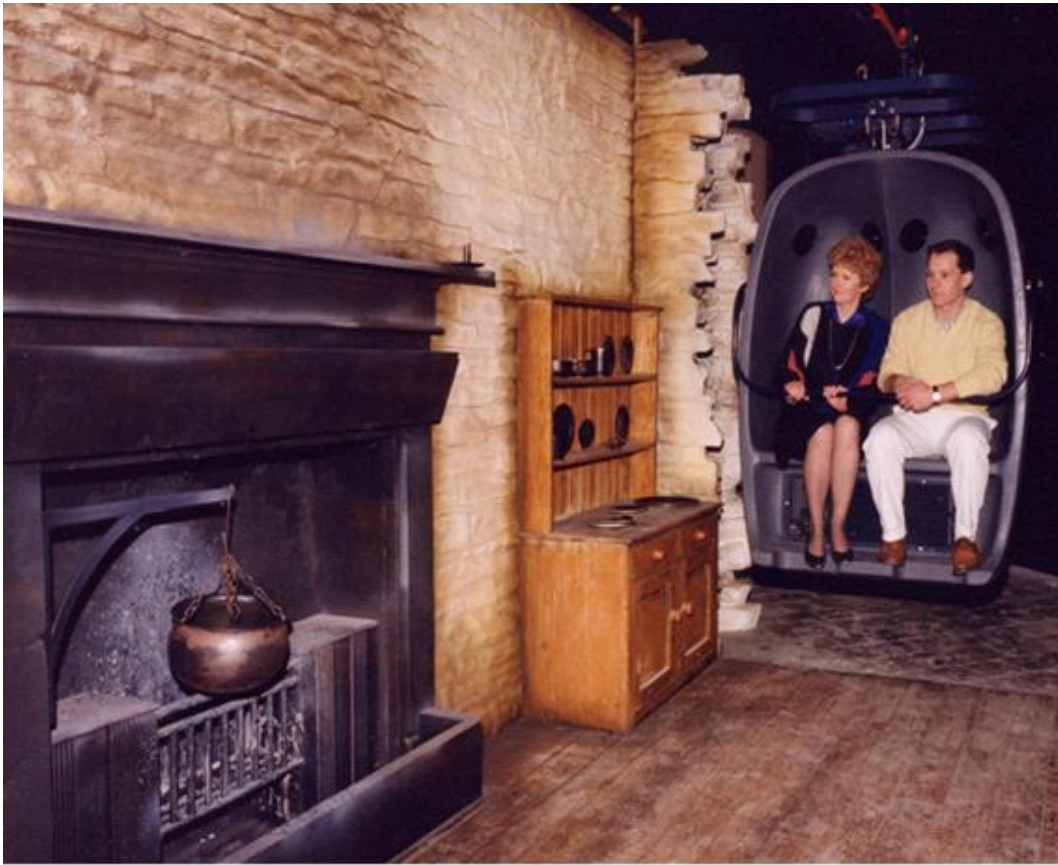
FIGURE 15 New Lanark Visitors Today

civilization over time. Although this attitude is appropriate for framing political goals—through

modern, liberal political action we seek always to improve, not destroy our ways of life—it is not

necessarily the best framework for historical analysis.

Were he to visit New Lanark today, Owen would certainly recognize his former home

due to the meticulous restoration of the New Lanark Conservation Trust, and he might also

acknowledge the steps taken to attract visitors to the special locale. Owen would feel right at

home at modern-day New Lanark because the visitor's experience was as crucial to his

experiment. While he might not have stated it explicitly in his Essays in A New View, or in

subsequent writings, Owen's experiment depended upon its presentation to the public. In fact, the public eye amounted to an important variable in the unique social equation he formulated at New Lanark.

I have argued in this dissertation that we cannot interpret Owen's New Lanark reforms without taking into consideration the site's concomitant status as a tourist destination. Owen crafted the New Lanark experience in keeping with the established tradition of opening mills and other "improvements" to the observation—and scrutiny—of the public. Indeed, the essays which made up his first lengthy publication on his beliefs about human character were titled *A New View*. This referred not only to what he believed was a new perspective on the challenge of cultural reproduction, but literally to the new sights available to those who visited New Lanark. At this site, the poor exhibited traits not typically associated with them: they were clean and they maintained clean homes. They worked diligently without punishment from mill management. Their children were happy and well-behaved. In short, the bodies of the "poor" at New Lanark demonstrated their ability to participate in a society forged and maintained by sympathetic bonds. Owen deemed the schoolroom the most important spectacle of his experiment because it best displayed the results of his "science of character."

In Chapter II, I argued that contemporary rules about vision, in particular rules about how to view landscape, are essential to understanding how visitors to New Lanark interpreted Owen's experiment. New Lanark was not the only attraction in Lanarkshire; visitors most likely visited the famous waterfalls of the area in addition to touring Owen's village. While in the area they might also have viewed castle ruins in order to create picturesque tableaux for their sketchbooks, or visited places made famous by their inclusion in the mythic stories of Ossian. They were

drawn to visually-stimulating sights for their ability to elicit emotion and to have a dramatic and even physical effect upon the viewer. Cora Linn, for example, was a particularly storied location; for many years tourists had experienced sublime thrills in its mists. Visiting the Institute for the Formation of Character, the centerpiece of the tour of the village crafted by Owen, was no less stimulating. Scientific wonders produced effects similar to those elicited by nature's sublime sites; if travellers believed in the power of physical experience to alter their very natures, they would find convencing Owen's experiment based on the same mechanism. Owen extrapolated that specialized physical spaces and activities would alter the natures of New Lanark villagers—and visitors.

To be sure, long-standing cultural beliefs about the "lower orders" would have prevented members of the rising middle class from believing that the poor could be anything but poor. Activities like viewing picturesque scenes were considered not only inappropriate for persons of the "lower orders," but literally impossible for them. The bodies of the poor were hardened to the delicate sensations upon which aesthetic appreciation was grounded. Therefore they were also immune to the delicate exchanges of sympathy believed necessary for political participation. But the "new view" of the poor afforded visitors to New Lanark a more nuanced understanding of the malleability of human character and thus the behavior of the nation's lower orders. In sum, a visitor to New Lanark might have been more willing to accept Owen's experiment as successful because of their recent experiences at the sentiment-churning Cora Linn. Scotland in general, and Lanarkshire in particular, was a site of romantic possibility; because they were built in simiar ways, the experiences of the New Lanark classroom and the Lanarksire countryside reinforced the messages of one another: humans—all humans—are malleable creatures.

In Chapter III I provided a thick description of the curriculum utilized by Owen at New Lanark in order to demonstrate not only its radical nature, but also its emphasis on performative pedagogy. Visitors' descriptions are necessarily focused on those lessons demonstrated to them, but the vast number of visitors, and our knowledge that Owen opened the school to these visitors of a regular basis, indicates that the performed curriculum of the Institute was the typical program of study.

Although he was a supporter of Joseph Lancaster early in his career and even built a Lancastrian-style classroom at his Institute, Owen took issue with the competitive nature of Lancaster's classroom management. Owen did away with both punishments and rewards in the Institute classroom and replaced monitorial instruction of small groups with whole-class instruction. While Owen's motivation might have been pedagogical, he could not have been ignorant of the fact that single-group instruction was more entertaining and compelling to watch.

Finally, Chapter IV concerns a final aspect of Owen's plan for the regeneration of character. While many thinkers considered the home the most appropriate place for character education and the parents the child's best instructors, Owen created a new system for character education in which children were removed from the family home at the end of their infancy. Character formation was to take place in the community's Institute, a school which was open to the public but effectively closed off from the participation of parents. On the surface, it is easy to dismiss Owen's system of education as a form of day care; to be sure, Owen's experiment in infant education afforded mothers in particular the ability to return to work as soon as their infants were weaned. It is important to take into account, however, the critical shift symbolized by Owen's moving character education out of the home and into the schoolroom. Unlike figures

such as Thomas Chalmers whose charity-work bolstered home-based character education, Owen argued that parents of the "lower orders" were the least capable of teaching their children the habits of duty and respect. Parents would only train their children in their dissolute manners. Trained instructors at infant schools, on the other hand, would create the environments and lead the activities necessary to create obedient and happy children. When these children became adults, they would not advance socially, but would happily and dutifully perform the tasks associated with their social level. Thus, Owen believed, the problem of the unruly lower orders was solved.

The case I make about Owen's moving character education from the home to the schoolroom is significant in light of the previous chapters. New Lanark was known as a destination for the curious, and the doors of the Institute schoolroom were open to the public. The dancing children of the village classroom distracted from some of Owen's more radical reforms. In the years after his departure from New Lanark, Owen would become more vocal about the reforms to the family that he only began to implement at New Lanark. Yet aside from the open display of the infant school, Owen maintained a level of secrecy about other parts of the village.

The fact that there were parts of the New Lanark unseen by visitors proves the point about the importance of observation to the parts Owen deemed "experimental." Travellers saw what Owen wanted them to see. Henry Gray Macnab implored his readers to visit, saying "I cannot do better than present the invitation of Mr. Owen to all those inimical to his benevolent

plans, namely – Come and see."[8] This directive must have been one of Owen's catchphrases, because as late as 1836 at least one of his disciples is repeating it. In a letter dated August 2nd to "Father" Owen, early Cooperator and "Faithful Son" Joseph Smith wrote that the existence of a "pracicle [sic] community will do wonders in forwarding our <u>great </u>cause" because, he argued, "until we can say, Come and see, we shall be called <u>visionaries</u> and enthusiasts." He summarized" "[T]herefore we must do all we can at this time to establish a community to enable us to say <u>Come & see, Come & see</u> our clear demonstration as a strong argument and proof against sophistry and false reason."[9]

Conclusions

Several conclusions can be drawn from my analysis. First, I hope to have made clear that, though he did not use the word "sympathy" in his writings, Owen crafted an experience for visitors at New Lanark, the interpretation of which depended upon their assumptions about the tried-and-true notion of sympathy. As described in the Introduction above, Evelyn Forget describes why the term fell out of fashion in both science and socio-political theory in the early

---

[8] Henry Grey Macnab, *The new views of Mr. Owen of Lanark impartially examined, as rational means of ultimately promoting the productive industry, comfort, moral improvement, and happiness of the labouring classes of society, and of the poor; and of training up children in the way in which they should go: also observations on the New Lanark school, and on the systems of education of Mr. Owen, of the Rev. Dr. Bell, and that of the new British and foreign system of mutual instruction. London, 1819. The Making of the Modern World*. Gale 2010. Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries. 09 May 2010 <http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U103547110&srchtp=a&ste=14>, 138.

[9] Letter ROC 808, Correspondence, Robert Owen Collection, National Co-Operative Archive, Manchester, UK.

nineteenth century. Yet she also explains that it was its use by persons at the margins of acceptable scientific practice that caused its association with overly materialist, and intellectually unreliable endeavors. Clearly Owen was one of these persons. Just as the idea of visiting a sublime natural wonder was tied to the idea of sensations acting upon the body, so was the notion of visiting an improvement project tied to the idea that the bonds of social sympathy were at work in the creation and maintenance of social groups. The dancing children of New Lanark—nothing more than a piece of trivia to most historians—can be properly understood only in light of the social role of dance in late Georgian society and its marked absence from other educational programs, such as that of Joseph Lancaster. Owen's teaching the quadrille and other popular dances to pauper children constituted a radical reformulation of the social meaning of the dance because it was a demonstration that poor children could perform the social rituals of their betters. This meant that the mechanism of social sympathy, once the reserve of the polite class, could be enacted in their bodies as well. Owen's claims of regeneration were understood to be successful precisely because of these demonstrations. Finally, the creation of school, instead of the family home, as the site of character education, challenged the notion that the family unit was the only site for intimate sympathies to be formed. Taken together, these observations reveal that Owen's New Lanark experiment was radical not because it incorporated new political beliefs, but because it used older and accepted notions in new ways. If my argument is correct, then the traditional histories of Robert Owen and New Lanark have left out a contemporary cultural notion necessary to understanding the New Lanark project.

Just as it is tempting to look for the roots of socialism in Owen's New Lanark project, it is also tempting to fret over the historical roots of Owen's beliefs about the human character.

250

Though I have described these ideas in great detail in this treatment, I have provided neither an intellectual pedigree nor an analysis of their accuracy. In the first case, there is insufficient evidence to conclude what books Owen read or what specific thinkers he learned about, either in his participation in the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society or in conversations with other thinkers. Reliance on either of these understandings of his education is based on the assumption that Owen both understood what he read and, in agreeing with it, applied it to his own thinking. Owen seems rather to have been the type of person who would have remembered best that which elicited dramatic response from him—either positive or negative—and to elide ideas into general categories for ease of memory and argument. Owen's contemporary, the journalist Harriet Martineau wrote that he was "not the man to think differently of a book for having read it; and this from no want of candour, but simply from more than the usual human inability to see any thing but what he has made up his mind to see."[10] Although I feel it is probable that he was aware of the ideas of Rousseau and Helvétius, for example, there is no proof that he read their works himself, that the translations were reliable, or that he simply picked up aspects of their thought from conversations with friends. Intellectual history purports to connect thinkers over time in dot-to-dot fashion yet fails to admit the common shortcomings which plague human communication, whether it takes place during conversation or in print. In any communicative act there can be misunderstood concepts, impatient or careless reading, bad writing, misappropriation, or even unconscious wholesale appropriation of ideas.

---

[10] *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography*, 2 vols, ed Maria Weston Chapman (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co, 1877), 176.

Cultural history seeks to remedy at least some of this by asking less about where ideas come from than what ideas and objects mean at any given point. Put another way: while some scholars attempt to make a film to capture the changes and transmission of ideas over time, I have attempted in this cultural approach to take a photograph, a single frame of a moment in time (here, the decade from 1816-1826) in order to identify not so much what things had been or would become, but what *was*, at that moment, true and meaningful for the persons who visited New Lanark. I cannot make the claim that Owen read Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, for example. What I can do is demonstrate the preponderant influence of this text on debates concerning issues at the core of New Lanark as it was manifest in the experience of the typical visitor. For my approach, it does not matter where Owen's thoughts came from, but that he had them, and he communicated them through the presentation of New Lanark to visitors who also had their own particular amalgam of ideas about education, human perfectibility, and the appropriate social roles of the poor.

Finally, readers probably notice that, although my analysis features the issues of visual regimes and bodily discipline, I have neither cited nor discussed the scholarship of Michel Foucault, whose works were key to bringing these issues into the academic forum. In disregarding Foucault, I am following Chris Otter who, in his treatment of the interconnections of light, vision, and power in nineteenth-century Britain in his book *The Victorian Eye*, points out that not all visual regimes fit neatly into the constructions described by Foucault.[11] Most post-modern discussions of vision and power rely on Foucault's analysis of Jeremy Bentham's

---

[11] Otter, *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800-1910* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

panopticon in *Discipline and Punish*.[12] Jeremy Bentham conceived of the panopticon as the

state's remedy to the need to watch and control the behaviors of its citizenry. Circular in shape,

the panopticon was an architectural structure which allowed for the regulation of a large number

of prisoners by a smaller number of penal employees. With their placement at the radial center

of the structure, and prisoners in the spoke-like rooms surrounding it, authority figures

participated in what Otter calls the "asymmetry of vision," or the uni-directional observation

whereby the prisoner cannot see those who see him. Yet he (or she) responds to cues sent to the

cell via light and shadow; the silhouette of an authority figure against a lit background signals to

a prisoner the presence of an observer, even if one is not really there. Bentham noted that this

would permit jail-keepers to step away from their posts without fearing bad behavior from the

prisoner. Even without an observer, the inmate feels permanently watched and conforms to the

disciplinary regime expected of him or her. Foucault used this as his model for authority in the

modern period, noting various cases of power structures structured by asymmetrical surveillance.

Because Jeremy Bentham was one of the partners in ownership of the New Lanark mills

in the period from 1814 onwards, I fully expected to find traces of omniscience and other

similarly radical uses of visionary power operating in Owen's experimental village. While

scholars have made clear the connections between the work of William Godwin and Robert

Owen, for example, I pursued Owen's gleanings from the Utilitarians. But after several

afternoons in the British Library, reading the utterly mundane letters Owen wrote to Bentham in

---

[12] Otter also treats the pervasive use of the *flâneur*, "the image of an obsessive" described by Charles Baudelaire and Walter Benjamin. Like the panopticon, this images is used to represent the "fantasy of omniscience" inherent in modern political systems. See Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, and Georg Simmel, *The Metropolis and Mental Life*. For a feminist perspective, see Janey Wolff, "The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity," *Theory, Culture and Society* 2 (1985).

his mad-dash hand, I began to ask myself if I were not on the wrong track. It seemed to me, and here I have argued, that the visionary regimes in use at New Lanark were closer in their structure to something pre-panoptic. As a public experiment, the village as a whole was on display like a scientific instrument set in motion, yet a village was made of people, not springs and levers. Human actors can perform and thus participate in the expression of messages in ways that inanimate objects and Bentham's prisoner cannot. What I had noted, in short, was the *dynamic* nature of communication and power at work at New Lanark.

Instead of the jail-keeper's single and omniscient gaze, the people of New Lanark were subjected to the gazes of many. But while the children in the ersatz ballroom of the Institute for the Formation of Character were watched by visitors, the visitors were also under the scrutiny of Owen. The success of his experiment lay in his ability to convince a large number of people that what he proposed actually worked. I have argued that the relationships between the various spectators in the New Lanark assembly room functioned in the method described in Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Unlike Foucault's understanding of visual power structures, Smith's description allowed for vision to operate in a variety of directions. This is not to say it did not function as part of the display or expression of power, but to argue that the nexus of powers in the New Lanark classroom were more complicated than that provided by Foucault's analytical structure.

There is one potential exception, however. As is recounted in most texts, but especially those about his contributions to business and management, Owen employed a device he called the "silent monitor" in the mills at New Lanark. Each "monitor" was a cube of wood about 4 inches in height, with its four vertical sides painted white, yellow, blue, and black. The monitors

were strung by a hook over the work-stations of individual employees. Supervisors evaluating

the work of each worker turned the monitor so that the color representing his or her output (white

was the highest rank; black the lowest) would face the part of the room where Owen, or any

other manager, could stand and, after quickly scanning the room, ascertain which workers were

performing up to standard. The silent monitor transformed the New Lanark workspace into a

panoptic structure because, though workers could, theoretically, look in the direction of the

person who managed his production, the employee could not ascertain the same type of

information about the manager. In other words, the communication allowed by the silent

monitor was one-way, flowing from worker to manager but not back again.

　　Yet my analysis is incomplete if I wholeheartedly embrace the silent monitor as a

panoptic device because, in his use of the term "monitor," Owen implies something which

substantiates my claims about the types of power, visually grounded and not, employed at New

Lanark. Whereas Joseph Lancaster's use of the term to describe classroom aids is clearly that of

"a person who advises or monitors,"[13] Owen relied on a different definition: "Something which

provides guidance as to conduct," as in Thomas Jefferson's use in a letter dated 11 December

1783 describing the conscience as an "internal Monitor."[14] Put another way: the sense in which

Owen used the term "monitor" for his device renders it a metonymic stand-in for Smith's

Impartial Spectator. And it functioned as such. The silent monitor provided information not

only to Owen or the supervisory manager in the mill, but to the employee as well. A worker

---

[13] The definition used by Lancaster, "A person who advises or monitors," dates to the mid-sixteenth century, with many of the examples of usage—yet all after the year 1800—concerning classroom or student management.
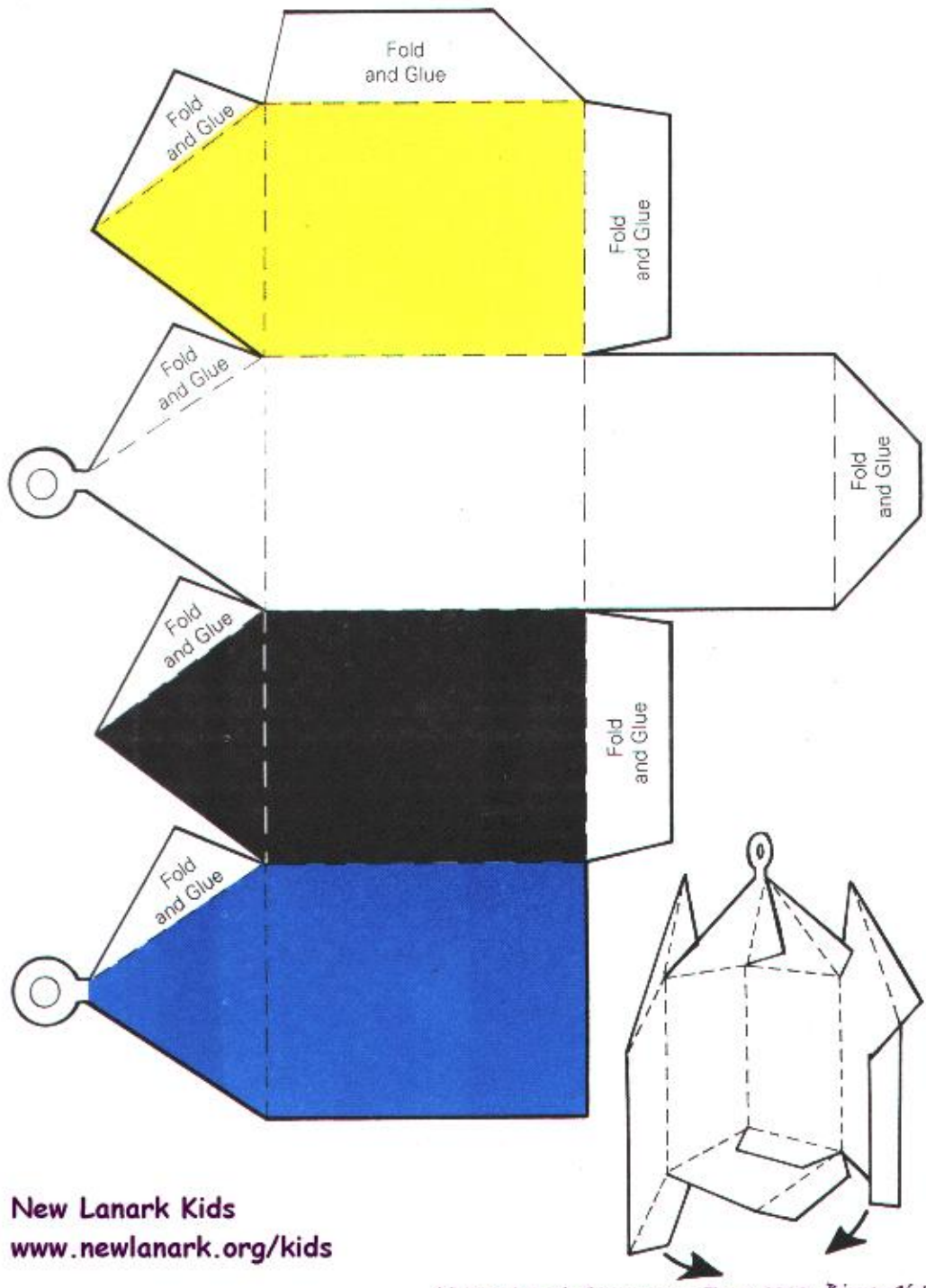
[14] *Let.* 11 Dec. in *Papers* (1952) Another definition most in line with Owen's usage—"Something which monitors or displays performance, output, etc., esp. of a system"—is the seventh listed, and uses start with an example from 1931 of a film projectionist listening for sounds from a monitor. Oxford English Dictionary VI. 380

could adjust his or her output in order to receive a better evaluation—to change the color of the monitor from blue to white, for example. Therefore, the silent monitor served not only as a communication device but as an "internal Monitor," or conscience, which spoke directly to the worker. Any worker could look up, see the given grade, and improve his or her output if desired. While Lancaster's monitors steered the conduct of their charges by creating fear of punishment and promise of reward, Owen's monitors, perhaps because they were inanimate, served to place the ultimate responsibility for good conduct with the individual being evaluated. In this structure, good behavior was motivated not through the fiction of being observed but by the reality of it; not by the fear of punishment but by the faith that good conduct could prevent punishment. Certainly we can draw a variety of conclusions about how the silent monitor worked, but for all the reasons above, I cannot ascribe to the little wooden cube the status of "panoptic power device."

Perhaps ironically, wooden replicas of Owen's silent monitor are available for purchase at the gift shop at New Lanark, and do-it-yourself paper models are free to download from the internet [see FIGURE 16]. On one hand, Owen's surveillance extends into the twenty-first century as children—the museum is extremely child-friendly—purchase and take home reminders that their behaviors are observed and evaluated. On the other hand, the souvenir monitors are like Owen himself; easily transported from his historical habitat and made to represent widely diverse meanings in places which would probably be foreign to him. I hang my monitor on my Christmas tree.

As a whole, this dissertation challenges typical assessments of Robert Owen's New Lanark experiment not by contextualizing it into the whole of his lifetime experiences, but by

256

concentrating fully on New Lanark as a site of cultural expression. Owen did not create, nor did the public visit, New Lanark in a vacuum. Rather, New Lanark was an expression of its time period, and even seemingly insignificant details concerning it as both an experiment and a tourist site help contextualize Owen's claims as well as responses to his reforms. The culture these facts reveal, however, also calls into question the power of aesthetic pleasure to captivate and convince, if not distract, the public from the implications of scientific study.

Fold and Glue

Fold and Glue

Fold and Glue

Fold and Glue

Fold and Glue

Fold and Glue

Fold and Glue

FIGURE 16 The Silent Monitor as Toy.
Reproduced with kind permission from the New Lanark Conservation Trust

258

REFERENCES

Adams, William Y. *The Philosophical Roots of Anthropology*. Stanford: Center for the Study of Language and Information Publications, 1998.

Aldrich, Elizabeth, ed. *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991.

Allan, David. *Virtue, Learning, and the Scottish Enlightenment*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993.

_____. *Scotland in the Eighteenth Century: Union and Enlightenment*. London: Longman, 2002.

_____. *Making British Culture: English Readers and the Scottish Enlightenment.* New York: Routledge, 2008.

Allen, *Virtue, Learning, and the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993).

Allen, Robert C. and Cormac Ó Gráda. "On the Road Again with Arthur Young: English, Irish, and French Agriculture during the Industrial Revolution." *Journal of Economic History* 48 (1988): 93-116.

Altfest, Karen C. *Robert Owen as Educator.* Boston: Twayne Publishers 1977.

Anderson, Robert. "Misery Made Me a Fiend': Social Reproduction in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* and Robert Owen's Early Writings." *Nineteenth Century Contexts* 24:4 (Dec. 2002): 417-438.

Andrew, Donna T. *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in The Eighteenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Andrews, Malcolm. *In Search of the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800.* London: Aldershot, 1989.

Anonymous. "Visit to New Lanark: August 1822." In *Report of the proceedings at the several public meetings held in Dublin by Robert Owen on the 18th March, 12th April, 19th April, and 3d May : preceded by an introductory statement of his opinions and arrangements at New Lanark : extracted from his "Essays on the formation of the human character"*, Dublin, 1823. *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2009, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman). http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U106980466&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 12 January 2009).

Aristotle. *Nicomachean Ethics*. Translated and edited by Roger Crisp. Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Armitage, David. "Making the Empire British: Scotland in the Atlantic World 1542-1707." *Past and Present* no. 155 (May 1997): 34-63. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/651126> (accessed 12 April 2008).

Ashcraft, Richard. "Lockean ideas, poverty, and the development of liberal political theory." In *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, edited by John Brewer and Susan Staves. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Augstein, H. F. *James Cowles Prichard's Anthropology: Remaking the Science of Man in Early Nineteenth Century Britain*. Clio Medica 52. Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999.

Austen, Jane. *Pride and Prejudice.* London: T. Egerton, 1813.

_____. *Mansfield Park.* London, T. Egerton, 1814.

_____. *Northanger Abb*ey. London: John Murray, 1816.

Austin, Linda M. "Aesthetic Embarrassment: The Reversion to the Picturesque in Nineteenth-Century English Tourism." *English Literary History* 74:3 (2007): 629-53.

Austin, Linda Marilyn. "Aesthetic Embarrassment: The Reversion to the Picturesque in Nineteenth-Century English Tourism."
English Literary History 74:3 (2007): 629-653.

Bagwell, Philip S. *The Transport Revolution from 1770*. New York: Harper & Row, 1974.

Baier, Annette. *Death and Character: Further Reflections on Hume*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008.

Bailey, Peter. "Conspiracies of Meaning: Music-Hall and the Knowingness of Popular Culture." *Past and Present* 144 (1994): 138-170.

Bailyn, Bernard. *Strangers Within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.

Baines, Edward, Sir. *Mr. Owen's establishment at New Lanark, a failure!! : as proved by Edward Baines, Esq. M.P. and other gentlemen deputed with him by the parishioners of Leeds to visit and inspect that establishment and report thereon.* Leeds, 1838. *The Making of the Modern World*. Gale 2010. Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries. 09 May 2010 <http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U10564 8829&srchtp=a&ste=14>

Baker, Keith M. "The Early History of the Early History of Term 'Social Science,'" *Annals of Science* 20 (1964): 211-264.

Baldensperger, Fernand. "1793-1794: Climacteric Times for 'Romantic' Tendencies in English Ideology." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 5:1 (January 1944): 3-20. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-5037%28194401%295%3A1%3C3%3A1CTF%22T%3E2.0.CO%3B2-I> (accessed 2 February 2002).

Barker-Benfield, G. J. *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-century Britain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Barrell, John. *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place 1730-1840: An Approach to the Poetry of John Clare*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Barrell, John. *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting 1730-1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Barry, Johnathan. "The Making of the Middle Class?" *Past and Present* 145 (1994): 194-208.

Bartle, G. F. 'Lancaster, Joseph (1778–1838)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15963, accessed 16 Dec 2009]

Batey, Mavis. "The Picturesque: An Overview," *Garden History* 22:2: The Picturesque (Winter 1994): 121-132.

Beatson, Jaspar. *An examination of Mr. Owen's plans for relieving distress, removing discontent, and "recreating the character of man" : showing that they are directly calculated to root out all the virtuous affections of the human mind and to destroy all that is valuable in the institutions, the manners, and the laws, of human society*. Glasgow, 1823. *The Making of the Modern World*. Gale 2010. Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries. 09 May 2010 <http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U106980049&srchtp=a&ste=14>

Becker, Marvin B. *The Emergence of Civil Science in the Eighteenth Century: A Privileged Moment in the History of England, Scotland, and France*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994.

Bell, Andrew. *An analysis of the experiment in education, made at Egmore, near Madras : comprising a system, alike fitted to reduce the expense of tuition, abridge the labour of the master, and expedite the progress of the scholar; and suggesting a scheme for the better administration of the poor-laws, by converting schools for the lower orders of youth into schools of industry*. London: Cadell and Davies, 1797.

Bender, John. *Imagining the Penitentiary: Fiction and the Architecture of Mind in Eighteenth-Century England*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Benjamin, Walter. *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*. Translated by Harry Zohn. New York: Verso, 1997.

Benovolo, Leonardo. *The Origins of Modern Town Planning*. London: Routledge, 1967.

Benzaquén, Adriana S. *Encounters with Wild Children: Temptation and Disappointment in the Study of Human Nature*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006.

Benzaquén, Adriana Silvia. "'Follow a Child from its Birth…': John Locke's Children and the Origins of the Sciences of Childhood." A paper presented at the annual meeting of CHEIRON, The International Society for the History of the Behavioral and Social Sciences, Toronto, Canada, 27 June 2008.

Berg, Maxine. *The Age of Manufacturers 1700-1820: Industry, Innovation and Work in Britain*, 2nd Ed. London: Routledge, 1994.

Bermingham, Ann. "The Cottage Ornée: Sense, Sensibility, and the Picturesque." In *Historical Boundaries, Narrative Forms* ..., edited by Clymer and Mayer, 215-224. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007.

Bernard, Thomas. 1797. "Preliminary Address to the Public", 27 April 1797, *Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor*, Quoted in Harrison, J. F. C. *Quest for the New Moral World: Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1969.

Berry, Christopher J. *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997.

Bickham, Troy O. *Savages within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005.

Bickle, Richard and Molly Scott Cato, eds. *New Views of Society: Robert Owen for the 21st Century*. Biggar, MidLothian: Scottish Left Review Press, 2008.

Bivona, Dan and Roger B. Henkel. *The Imagination of Class: Masculinity and the Victorian Urban Poor*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2006.

Blackie, Jane. "Bell, Andrew (1753–1832)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1995, accessed 30 June 2010.

Bloch, Jean H. "Rousseau's Reputation as an Authority on Childcare and Physical Education in France before the Revolution." *Paedagogica Historica* 14 (1974): 5-33.

Bloomfield, Anne. "Drill and Dancing as Symbols of Imperialism." In *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism.* J. A. Mangan, ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press, (1990), 74-95.

Bohls, Elizabeth. *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Bohstedt, John. "The Moral Economy and the Discipline of Historical Context" *Journal of Social History* 26:2 (Winter 1992), 265-284.

Boner, Harold A. *Hungry Generations: The Nineteenth-Century Case Against Malthusianism*. New York: King's Crown Press/ Columbia University, 1955.

Boswell, James. *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson L.L.D.* London: Henry Baldwin, 1785.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.

Boyer, George R. *An Economic History of the English Poor Law, 1750-1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Brickham, Troy O. *Savages within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth-Century Britain.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005, 176-182.

British and Foreign Philanthropic Society. *Summary of Mr. Owen's Plan, for the Permanent Relief of the Working Classes*. London: 1822.

British Traveler, A. *The Colonial Policy of Great Britain, Considered with Relation to her North American Provinces, and West India Possessions; Wherein the Dangerous Tendency of American Competition is Developed, and the Necessity of Recommencing a Colonial System on a Vigorous and Extensive Scale, Exhibited and Defended, with Plans for the Promotion of Emigration, and Strictures on the Treaty of Ghent.* London: Baldwin, Craddock and Joy, 1816.

Broadie, Alexander. *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Historical Age of the Historical Nation*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1991.

_____. "Sympathy and the Impartial Spectator" In *The Cambridge Companion to Adam Smith*, ed. Knud Haakonssen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006 pages 158-188.

Brogan, Hugh. "Clarkson, Thomas (1760–1846)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online ed. May 2009, accessed May 3, 2010, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5545.

Broglio, Ron. *Technologies of the Picturesque: British Art, Poetry, and Instruments, 1750-1830*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2008.

Bromwich, David. "The Sublime Before Aesthetics and Politics." *Raritan* 16:4 (Spring 1997):30-52.

Brooks, Lynn Matluck. "Against Vain Sports and Pastime: The Theatre Dance in Philadelphia, 1724-90." *Dance Chronicle* Vol. 12, No. 2 (1989): 165-195.

Brooks, Lynn Matluck. "Emblem of Gaiety, Love, and Legislation: Dance in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography* 115:1 (Jan. 1991): 63-87.

Brown, Callum G. *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730.* London and New York: Methuen, 1987.

Brown, John. *Remarks on the plans and publications of Robert Owen, Esq. of New Lanark.* Edinburgh, 1817. *The Making of the Modern World*. Gale 2010. Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries. 09 May 2010 <http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U1078547 27&srchtp=a&ste=14>

Bryson, Gladys, "The Emergence of the Social Sciences from Moral Philosophy," *International Journal of Ethics* 42:3 (April 1932): 304-323.

_____. *Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945.

Burdett, F. "New View of Society." *Liverpool Mercury*, August 29, 1817.

Burgelin, Pierre. "Rousseau et le problème de l'éducation." *Bulletin de le Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 124 (October-December 1978): 479-500.

Burke, Edmund. "A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful," 2nd ed, 1759, in Burke: *Pre-Revolutionary Writings*, ed. Ian Harris. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 63-64.

Burns, Arthur and Joanna Innes, editors. *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain 1780-1850.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Burns, J. H. "J. S. Mill and the Term 'Social Science,'" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 20 (1959): 431-432.

Burns, Robert. Letter to William Tytler, August 1787. In Purser, John. *Scotland's Music: A History of the Traditional and Classical Music of Scotland from Early Times to the Present Day.* Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2007, 230.

Burrow, J. W. *Evolution and Society: A Study in Victorian Social Theory.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.

Bury, J. B. *The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into its Growth and Origin.* New York: Dover, 1932.

Bush, M. L., ed. *Social Orders and Social Classes in Europe Since 1500: Studies in Social Stratification*. New York: Longmans, 1992.

Bushnell, Rebecca. *A Culture of Teaching: Early Modern Humanism in Theory and Practice.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Butler, Marilyn. *Peacock Displayed: A Satirist in his Context*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979.

Butt, John, ed., *Robert Owen: Prince of the Cotton Spinners*: *A Symposium*. Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1971.

Buzard, James. *The Beaten Track: European Tourists, Literature, and the Ways of Culture, 1800-1918*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

_____. "Translator and Tourist: Scott's Waverley and the Rendering of a Culture." *Yale Journal of Criticism* 8:2 (1995): 31-59.

C., A. *The Examiner*, September 1, 1816.Cage, R. A. "Debate: The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law." *Past & Present* 69 (1975): 113-118.

Caledonian Mercury, "Dinner to Mr. Owen." March 11, 1820.

Caledonian Mercury, "Private Correspondence." 3 October 1822.

Cannon, Susan Faye. *Science in Culture: The Early Victorian Period*, New York: Science History Publications, 1978.'

Carlson, Helen L. "Care and Education of Young Children of Pauper and Working Classes: New Lanark, Scotland, 1790-1825. *Paedogogica Historica* 28:1 (1992): 9-34.

Carlton, Frank T. "Robert Owen, Educator." *The School Review* 18:3 (March 1910): 186-191.

Carrithers, David. "The Enlightenment Science of Society." In Christopher Fox, Roy Porter and Robert Wokler, eds., *Inventing Human Science: Eighteenth-Century Domains*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995, 232–70.

Carruthers, Gerald and Alan Rawes, eds. *English Romanticism and the Celtic World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Cervelli, Kenneth R. *Dorothy Wordsworth's Ecology*. London: Routledge, 2007.

Chambers, J. D. "Enclosure & Labour Supply in the Industrial Revolution" *Economic History Review* (1953): 319-343.

Chanover, Pierre. "Rousseau: A Pedagogical Bibliography." *The French Review* 46, no. 6 (May 1973): 1148-1158. http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0016-111X%28197305%2946%3A6%3C1148%3ARAPB%3E2.0.CO%3B2-R (accessed 24 January 2005).

Chard, Chloe. *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography 1600-1830*. Manchester, Manchester University Press 1999.

Christianus. *Mr. Owen's proposed Villages for the Poor shown to be highly favourable to Christianity. . . .* (London 1819).

Christie, J. R.R. "The Rise and Fall of Scottish Sciences." In *The Emergence of Science in Western Europe,* edited by M. Crosland, 111-26. London: MacMillan, 1975.

Claeys, Gregory, "Utopianism" in *The Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age, British Culture 1776-1832*, General Editor Iain McCalman. Oxford University Press. 1999 pages 82-89.

_____. "Four Letters Between Thomas Spence and Charles Hall," *Notes and Queries* 28 (1981): 317-321.

_____. 1986. "Individualism," "Socialism," and "Social Science": Further Notes on a Process of Conceptual Formation, 1800-1850. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 47:1, (1986): 81-93.

_____. "Four Letters Between Thomas Spence and Charles Hall," Notes and Queries 28 (1981), 317-321.

Clark, H. F. "Eighteenth-Century Elysiums: The Role of 'Association' in the Landscape Movement." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 6 (1943): 165-189).

Clarkson, Thomas. *A portraiture of Quakerism : taken from a view of the education and discipline, social manners, civil and political economy, religious principles,* Volume 1. New-York; ([New York]), 1806. 358pp. 3 vols. *Sabin Americana*. Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries
 22 October 2010
<http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY1058622 81&srchtp=a&ste=14>

Clayre, Alasdair. *Nature and Industrialization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Clyde, Robert. *From Rebel to Hero: The Image of the Highlander 1745-1830*. East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1998.

Cole, G. D. H., *The Life of Robert Owen*. London: Frank Cass & Co., 1966.

Cole, Lucinda and Richard G. Swartz. "'Why Should I wish for Words?': Literacy, Articulation, and the Borders of Literary Culture." In *At the Limits of Romanticism: Essays in Cultural, Feminist, and Materialist Criticism*, edited by Mary A. Favret and Nicola J. Watson, pp. 143-69. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.

Cole, Margaret. *Robert Owen of New Lanark*. London: The Batchworth Press, 1953.

Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. London: Pimlico, 1994.

_____. "Britishness and Otherness: An Argument." *The Journal of British Studies* 31, no. 4 (October 1992): 309-329. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/175883> (accessed 10 April 2008).

Comitini, Patricia. *Vocational Philanthropy and British Women's Writing, 1790-1810: Wollstonecraft, F, Edgeworth, Wordsworth*. London: Ashgate, 2005.

Compayré, Gabriel. *Jean Jacques Rousseau and Education from Nature.* Translated by R. P. Jago. Honolulu: University Press of the Pacific. 2002. (1908)

Cooke, A.J. "Richard Arkwright and the Scottish cotton industry." *Textile History* 10 (1979): 196–202.

Cooter, Roger. *The Cultural Meaning of Popular Science: Phrenology and the Organization of Consent in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Cosgrove, Dennis. *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*. New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1984.

Crandell, Gina. *Nature Pictorialized: 'The View' In Landscape History*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

Crary, Jonathan. *Technologies of the Observer*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1990.

_____. "Spectacle, Attention, Counter-Memory." In *October: The Second Decade, 1989-1996,* edited by Rosalind Krauss, et al. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997.

Crawford, Patricia. *Poetry, Enclosure, and the Vernacular Landscape 1700-1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Crouzet, François. "The Second Hundred Years War: Some Reflections." *French History* 10 (1996): 432–450.

Cullen, Alexander. 1972. *Adventures in Socialism: New Lanark Establishment and Orbiston Community*, 1910. Clifton, New Jersey: A. M. Kelley.

Cunningham, Hugh and Joanna Innes, editors. *Charity, Philanthropy and Reform: From the 1690s to 1850*. London: Macmillan, 1998.

Cunningham, Phyllis and Catherine Lucas. *Charity Costumes of Children, Scholars, Almsfolk, Pensioners.* New York : Barnes & Noble Books, 1978.

Daiches, David. *A Companion to Scottish Culture*. New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982.

_____. *The Paradox of Scottish Culture: The Eighteenth-Century Experience. The Whidden Lectures for 1964*. London: Oxford University Press, 1964. \ Dale, David. 1796. "Letter to the Manchester Board of Health, 1796." Quoted in Podmore, Frank. *Robert Owen*: *A Biography*. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1906; reprint New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1971, 73.

Dale, David. 1796. "Letter to the Manchester Board of Health, 1796." Quoted in Podmore,

Frank. *Robert Owen*: *A Biography*. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1906; reprint New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1971, 73.

Daniel, Glyn. *The Idea of Prehistory*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1962.

Davidoff, Leonore and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Davidoff, Leonore. *The Family Story: Blood, Contract, and Intimacy, 1830-1960*. London: Longman, 1999.

Davidson, Alexander. *Blazers, Badgers and Boaters: A Pictorial History of the School Uniform*. Horndean: Scope Books, 1990.

Davidson, Lorna. *Personal Communication.* September 2008.

Davidson, W. *History of Lanark, and Guide to the Scenery; with List of Roads to the Principal Towns*. Lanark: Shepherd & Roberton, 1828.

Dean, Mitchell. *The Constitution of Poverty: Toward a Geneaology of Liberal Governance.* London and New York: Routledge, 1991.

de Giustino, David. *Conquest of Mind: Phrenology and Victorian Social Thought*. London: Croom Helm, 1975.

Debord, Guy. *Society of the Spectacle.* Detroit: Red and Black, 1970.

Deighton, L.C., editor. *The Encyclopedia of Education, volume 6.* New York: The Macmillan Company and the Free Press. 1971.

Derby Mercury, "Political Economy," 1 August 1818.

Devine, T. M. "The English Connection and Irish and Scottish Development in the Eighteenth Century." In *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development*, edited by T. M. Devine and David Dickson, 12-29. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, LTD., 1983.

_____. *The Great Highland Famine: Hunger, Emigration and the Scottish Highlands in the Nineteenth Century*. Edinburgh: J. Donald, 1988.

De Vries, Jan. *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Diggle, Elizabeth. 1788. "Letter." Quoted Andrews, Malcolm. *In Search of the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*. London: Aldershot, 1989, 201.

Dodgshon, Robert A. "Agricultural Change and its Social Consequences in the Southern Uplands of Scotland, 1600-1780." In *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in*

Economic and Social Development, edited by T. M. Devine and David Dickson, 46-57. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, LTD., 1983.

Dodworth, Allen. "Dancing and Its Relations to … Social Life" [New York, 1885]. In *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, edited by Elizabeth Aldrich, 138. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991.

Donnachie, Ian, "Robert Owen's Welsh Childhood: Kin, Culture and Environment 1771-c.1781," *Montgomeryshire Collections* 86 (1998), 81-96.

_____. *Robert Owen: Owen of New Lanark and New Harmony*. Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press, 2000.

_____. *Robert Owen, Social Visionary*. East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2000.

_____. "Historic Tourism to New Lanark and the Falls of Clyde 1795-1830. The Evidence of Contemporary Visiting Books and Related Sources." *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 2:3 (2004): 160.

_____. "Education in Robert Owen's New Society: The New Lanark Institute and Schools," the encyclopedia of informal education, accessed Nov 20, 2009, www.infed.org/thinkers/et-owen.htm.

Donnachie, Ian L. and George Hewitt. *Historic New Lanark: the Dale and Owen Industrial Community since 1785*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993.

Douglas, Catherine. "Enclosures in Scotland: Evidence from the Old Statistical Account," Masters Thesis , August 2000 University of British Columbia. Available at http://hdl.handle.net/2429/10601 UBC Retrospective Theses Digitization Project [http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/retro_theses/]

Drake, Samuel Adams. *Our Great Benefactors: Men and Woman Most Eminent in Literature, Science, Philanthropy, Art, etc*. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1884.

Dugger, Julie Marie. "Historic Possibilities: The Rhetoric of British Utopia, 1815-1848." Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago (1998). In *Dissertations & Theses: Full Text* [database on-line]; available from http://www.proquest.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/pqdweb?did=732950301 &sid=2&Fmt=2&clientId=41954-&RQT=309&VName=PQD (publication number AAT 9910862; accessed 24 December 2008).

Dun, Barclay. "A Translation of … Fashionable Quadrilles" [Edinburgh, 1818]. In *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, edited by Elizabeth Aldrich, 141-142. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991.

Dunbar, James. *Essays on the History of Mankind in Rude and Cultivated Ages* (London, 1781)

Dunkley, Peter. "The Landed Interest and the New Poor Law: A Critical Note." *International Review of Social History* 24:3 (1979): 371-97.

Dupuis, Serge. "Utopian Socialism and Revolution: Robert Owen." *Cahiers victoriens & edouardiens* 48 (Oct. 1998): 89-104.

Dussel, Inés. "School Uniforms and the Disciplining of Appearances: Towards a History of the Regulation of Bodies in Modern Educational Systems." In *Cultural History and Education: Critical Essays in Knowledge and Schooling,* edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz, Barry M. Franklin and Miguel A. Pereyra, 207-243. New York and London: Routledgefalmer, 2001.

Dywer, John. *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland.* Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1987.

_____. *Age of the Passions: An Interpretation of Adam Smith and Scottish Enlightenment Culture.* Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press, 1997.

Ellis, M. B. *Julie or La Nouvelle Héloïse: A Synthesis of Rousseau's Thought (1749-1759).* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1949.

Emerson, Roger L. "The Scottish Enlightenment and the End of the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh." *The British Journal for the History of Science* 21 (1988): 33-66.

Engelhardt, Molly. "Introduction: The Natural Accidents of Dancing." In *Dancing out of Line: Ballrooms, Ballets and Mobility in Victorian Fiction and Culture.* Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2009, 1-23.

Evans, Eric J. *Britain before the Reform Act: Politics and Society 1815-1832.* New York: Longman, 1989.

Fairchild, Hoxie Neale. *The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1928.

Farnie, Douglas A. "The Role of Merchants as Prime Movers in the Expansion of the Cotton Industry, 1760-1990." In *The Fibre that Changed the World: The Cotton Industry in International Perspective, 1600-1900's,* edited by Douglas A. Farnie and David J. Jeremy, 15-55. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Ferguson, Frances. *Solitude and the Sublime: Romanticism and the Aesthetics of Individuation.* London: Routledge, 1992.

_____. "The Afterlife of the Romantic Child: Rousseau and Kant Meet Deleuze and Guattari." *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 102, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 215-230.

Ferguson, William. "James Macpherson and 'The Invention of Ossian.'" In *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998; 227-249.

Ferguson, William. *The Identity of the Scottish Nation.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998.

Fermon, Nicole. "Domesticating Women, Civilizing Men: Rousseau's Political Program." *The Sociological Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (August 1994): 431-442, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4121219> (accessed 17 December 2008).

Ferrara, Alessandro. *Modernity and Authenticity: A Study in the Social and Ethical Thought of Jean-Jacques Rousseau.* Albany: State University of New York, 1993.

Ferrero, Edward. "The Art of Dancing" [New York, 1859]. In *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, edited by Elizabeth Aldrich, 146. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991.

Fielden, Kenneth, "Samuel Smiles and Self-Help." *Victorian Studies* 12:2 (Dec. 1968): 155-76.

Finkelstein, Joanne. *The Fashioned Self*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.

Fischer, Gayle V. *Pantaloons and Power: Nineteenth-Century Dress Reform in the United States*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2001.

Fitton, R.S. *The Arkwrights: Spinners of Fortune*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989.

Fitzpatrick, Martin. "Enlightenment" in *The Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age, British Culture 1776-1832*, General Editor Iain McCalman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, 299-311.

Forget, Evelyn. "Evocation of Sympathy: Sympathetic Imagery in Eighteenth-Century Social Theory and Physiology." *History of Political Economy* Annual Supplement to Vol. 35 (2003): 282-308; 291.

France, Peter. "Primitivism and Enlightenment: Rousseau and the Scots." *The Yearbook of English Studies* 15 (1985): 64-79, <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0306-2473%281985%2915%3C64%3APAERAT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-V> (accessed 6 September 2007).

Frank, Judith. *Common Ground: Eighteenth-Century English Satiric Fiction and the Poor*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Frasca-Spada, Marina. "The Science and Conversation of Human Nature. In *The Sciences in Enlightened Europe,* edited by William Clark, Jan Golinsky, and Simon Schaffer, 218-245. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Fulcher, Jonathan. "Gender, Politics and Class in the Early Nineteenth-century English Reform Movement." *Historical Research* 67 (1994): 57-74.

271

Furniss, Edgar S. *Position of the Laborer in a System of Nationalism: A Study in the Labor Theories of the Later English Mercantilists.* Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920.

G., V. "Elements … of the Art of Dancing" [Philadelphia, 1817]. In *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, edited by Elizabeth Aldrich, 132. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991.

Garnett, R. G. "Robert Owen and the Community Experiments." In *Robert Owen: Prophet of the poor, Essays in Honour of the Two-Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth,* edited by Sidney Pollard and John Salt, 39-64. London: Macmillan, 1971.

Garrard, Graeme. "Rousseau, Maistre, and the Counter-Enlightenment." *History of Political Thought* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 97-120.Gaskill, Howard, ed. *Ossian Revisited.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991.

Geremek, Bronislaw. *Poverty: A History*. Translated by Agnieszka Kolakowska. Cambridge MA: Blackwell, 1994.

Gibbons, Luke. *Edmund Burke and Ireland: Aesthetics, Politics, and the Colonial Sublime.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Gilbert, Pamela K. *The Citizen's Body: Desire, Healthy, and the Social in Victorian England.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2007.

Gillis, Christina Marsden. "Garden, Sermon, and Novel in 'Mansfield Park:' Exercises in Legibility." *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction* 18, no. 2 (Winter, 1985): 117-125. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1345771> (accessed 11 January 2009).

Gilpin, William. *An Essay on Prints: containing Remarks Upon the Principles of Picturesque Beauty, the Different Kinds of Prints, and the Characters of the Most Noted Masters, illustrated by Criticisms upon Particular Pieces to which are Added some Cautions that may be Useful in Collecting Prints*. London: J. Robson, 1768.

Gilroy, Amanda. Introduction in *Romantic Geographies: Discourses of Travel, 1775-1844,* edited by Amanda Gilroy, 1-18;2. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.

Glasgow Herald, "Mr. Owen of New Lanark," November 9, 1821.

Glendening, John. *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland, and Literature, 1720-1820.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

Gold, John R and Margaret M. Gold. *Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism Since 1750*. Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1995.

Goodlad, Lauren M. E. "'Making the Working Man Like Me': Charity, Pastorship, and Middle-Class Identity in Nineteenth-Century Britain; Thomas Chalmers and Dr. James Phillips Kay." *Victorian Studies* 43.4 (2001): 591-617.

Goodlad, Lauren M. E. *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State: Character and Governance in a Liberal Society.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Gracchus. "Untitled." *Glasgow Chronicle*, 9 March 1815.

Graham, Peter W. *Jane Austen & Charles Darwin: Naturalists and Novelists*. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008.

Grant, A. Cameron. "New Light on an Old View." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 29:2 (April-June 1968), 293-301.

Gray, B. Kirkman. *History of English Philanthropy, From the Dissolution of the Monasteries to the Taking of the First Census*. London: P. S. King and Son, 1905.

Gray, Malcolm. "Migration in the Rural Lowlands of Scotland, 1750-1850." In *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development*, edited by T.

Grenby, M. O. "'A Conservative Woman Doing Radical Things': Sarah Trimmer and the Guardian of Education." In *Culturing the Child 1690-1914: Essays in Memory of Mitzi Myers*, edited by Donelle Ruwe, 137-164. Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2005.

Griscom, John. *A Year in Europe. Comprising a journal of observations in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Switzerland, the North of Italy, and Holland. In 1818 and 1819.* New York: Collins & Co. and E. Bliss & E. White, 1823.

Groom, Nick. "William Henry Ireland: From Forgery to Fish 'n' Chips." In *Cultures of Taste/Theories of Appetite: Eating Romanticism*, edited by Timothy Morton, 21-40;33. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2004.

Grosart, A. B. "Barnard , Lady Anne (1750–1825)." Rev. Stanley Trapido. In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1447 (accessed March 14, 2010).

Haakonssen, Knud. *The Science of a Legislator: The Natural Jurisprudence of David Hume and Adam Smith.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

_____. "James Mill and Scottish Moral Philosophy." *Political Studies* 33:4 (1985): 628–641.

Hall, Charles. *Effects of Civilization on the People in European States*. (London 1805)

Hamilton, David. "Adam Smith and the Moral Economy of the Classroom System." *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 12:4 (1980), 281-298.

Hanley, Ryan Patrick. *Adam Smith and the Character of Virtue.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Harris, Henry. "Manchester's Board of Health in 1796," *Isis* 28:1 (February 1938): 26-37, accessed June 27, 2008, **http://www.jstor.org/stable/225803.**

Harris, Wendell V. *The Omnipresent Debate: Empiricism and Transcendentalism in Nineteenth-Century English Prose*. De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1981.

Harrison, Gary. *Wordsworth's Vagrant Muse: Poetry, Poverty, and Power*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994.

Harrison, J. F. C. "The Owenite Socialist Movement in Britain and the United States: A Comparative Study." *Labor History* 9:3 (Autumn) 1968, 323-337.

_____. *Quest for the New Moral World: Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1969.

_____. *The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism, 1780-1850*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1979.

Hartley, David. *Observations on Man: His Frame, His Duty, and His Expectations*. London: 1749

Hartley, Lucy. *Physiognomy and the Meaning of Expression in Nineteenth-Century Culture.* Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture 29. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Hazani, Moshe. 'Behold That Victim!': Robert Owen and the Sinner-Redeemer Syndrome." *Biography* 15:4 (Fall 1992): 331-347.

Hecks, Peter. "Myth, History and Theory." *History and Theory* 33:1 (1994): 1-19.

Heinzelman, Kurt, "The Uneducated Imagination: Romantic Representations of Labor," In Mary A. Favret and Nicola J. Watson, eds., *At the Limits of Romanticism: Essays in Cultural, Feminist, and Materialist Criticism*. Bloomington and Indianapolis Indiana University Press, 101-124.

Helvétius, Claude Adrien, *De l'esprit or, Essays on the Mind, and Its Several Faculties*, London: 1759.

"Heroes | Nineteenth-Century Self-Help Role Models," National Galleries of Scotland, accessed Nov 20, 2009. **http://www.nationalgalleries.org/whatson/exhibition/5:368/4805.**

Hewish, John. "From Cromford to Chancery Lane: New Light on the Arkwright Patent Trials." *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (January 1987): 80–86.

Hickey, Alison. "'Extensive Views' in Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*," *Studies in English Literature*, 1500-1900, Vol. 32, No. 3, Restoration and Eighteenth Century (Summer, 1992), pp. 537-553.

Hirsch, Edward. "The Imaginary Irish Peasant." *PMLA* 106, no. 5 (October 1991): 1116-1133, <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0030-8129%28199110%29106%3A5%3C1116%3ATIIP%3E2.0.CO%3B2-C> (accessed 17 July 2007).

Holyoake, G. J. *Robert Owen Co-operative Memorial at Newtown. The Unveiling Ceremony On July 12th, 1902; Address . . . By Mr. G. J. Holyoake.* Manchester: The Co-operative Union Limited, 1902.

Hont, Istvan and Michael Ignatieff, 'Needs and Justice in the Wealth of Nations: An Introductory Essay," in *Wealth and Virtue*: *The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

_____. *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Hopfl, H. M. "From Savage to Scotsman: Conjectural History in the Scottish Enlightenment" *Journal of British Studies* 17, 1978, 19-40.

Horn, Pamela. *The Rural World 1780-1850 Social Change in the English Countryside.* London: Hutchinson 1980.

Horsman, Reginald. "Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism in Great Britain before 1850." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 37, no. 3 (July – September 1976): 387-410. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=002-0537%28197607%2F09%2937%3A3%3C387%3AOORAIG%3E2.0.CO%3B2-K> (accessed 5 February 2007).

House of Commons, Parliament of Great Britain. "Report of the Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Select Committee on the State of the Children Employed in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom" Sessional Papers, XVI, 25 April-11 June, 1816.

Hume, David. *A Treatise of Human Nature, Introduction by A. D. Lindsay In 2 Volumes.* London: J. J. Dent and Sona Ltd., 1940, Vol. 2, 115-16.

Hundert, E. J. *The Enlightenment's Fable: Bernard Mandeville and the Discovery of Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Hunt, John Dixon. *The Figure in the Landscape: Poetry, Painting, and Gardening during the Nineteenth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.

Hurt, J. S. "Drill, Discipline and the Elementary School Ethos." In *Popular Education and Socialization in the Nineteenth Century*. Ed. Phillip McCann London: Methuen 1977, 167-192.

Husk, William H. "Horn, Karl Friedrich." Vol. 1, *A Dictionary of Music & Musicians: (A.D. 1450-1889) By Eminent Writers, English and Foreign. With Illustrations and Woodcuts, ed.* George Grove. London: Macmillan & Co., 1890, 752-3.

Hutchins, B. L. *Robert Owen, Social Reformer* Fabian Tract No. 166 London The Fabian Society 1912 Third Reprint July 1928.

Huzel, James P. *The Popularization of Malthus in Early Nineteenth-Century England: Martineau, Cobbett and the Pauper Press*. Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2006.

Iggers, Georg G. "Further Remarks About Early Uses of the Term 'Social Science,'" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 20 (1959), 433-436,

Innes, Alexander and George Meudell. "To Robert Owen, Esq." *Caledonian Mercury*, 23 March 1820, PAGE.

Ipswitch Journal, "Untitled." August 30, 1823.

Ipswitch Journal, "Untitled." July 13, 1819.

Jackson, Noel. *Science and Sensation in Romantic Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Jarvis, Adrian. *Samuel Smiles and the Construction of Victorian Values* Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1997.

Jeffrey, M. V. G. "Robert Owen." In *Pioneers of English Education: A Course of Lectures given at King's College,* edited by A. V. Judges. London: Faber and Faber, 1952.

Johnson, David. *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century.* London: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Jones, E. L. *Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1974.

Jones, E. V. *Robert Owen*. Newtown: Severn Press, 1970.

Jones, Greta. "Alfred Russel Wallace, Robert Owen and the theory of Natural Selection. *British Journal for the History of Science* 35 (2002), 73-96.

Jones, S. R. H. "The Origins of the Factory System in Great Britain: Technology, Transaction Costs or Exploitation." In Kirby, Maurice W. and Mary B. Rose, eds. *Business Enterprise in Modern Britain: From the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994, pages 32-60.

Jordan, Sarah. "From Grotesque Bodies to Useful Hands: Idleness, Industry, and the Laboring Class." *Eighteenth-Century Life* 25: 3 (Fall 2001), 62-79.

Jordan, Sarah. *The Anxieties of Idleness: Idleness in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture.* Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2003.

Jordanova, L. J"Naturalizing the Family: Literature and the Bio-Medical Sciences in the Late Eighteenth Century." In *Languages of Nature: Critical Essays on Science and Literature,* by L. J. Jordanova. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986.

Kaestle, Carl F. *Joseph Lancaster and the Monitorial School Movement: a Documentary History*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1973.

Kaleidoscope, "Mr. Owen's Proposed Villages," May 6, 1823.

Kalim, Siddiq. "Robert Owen and Shelley." *Explorations* 1:1 (1969), 40-67.

Kallistos Ware, "The Soul in Greek Christianity," in James C/ Crabbe, ed., *From Soul to Self* (London: Routledge, 1999), 49-69.

Kelly, Gary. "'The Romance of Real Life': Autobiography in Rousseau and William Godwin." In *Man and Nature. Proceedings of the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, Vol. I*, edited by Roger K. Emerson, Gilles Girard, and Roseanne Runte, 93-102. London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario, 1982.

Kidd, Colin *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity*, *1689-c.1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

_____. "Enlightened Reconstructions: The Routes of James Macpherson and Gilbert Stuart." In *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689-c. 1830*, 219-247. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

_____. "Gaelic Antiquity and National Identity in Enlightenment Ireland and Scotland." *The English Historical Review* 103, no. 434 (November 1994): 1197-1214. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/573872> (accessed 15 April 2008).

_____. *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600-1800.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Kilminster, Richard. *The Sociological Revolution: From the Age of Enlightenment to the Global Age*. London and New York: Routledge, 1990.

Knight, Richard Payne. *An Analytical Inquiry in the Principles of Taste*, 4th ed. London: T. Payne, 1808.

Konigsberg, Ira. *Narrative Technique in the English Novel: Defoe to Austen*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1985.

Kuklick Henrika. *The Savage Within: The Social History of British Anthropology, 1885-1945*

Kuper, Adam. *The Invention of Primitive Society: Transformations of an Illusion.* London: Routledge, 1988.

Labbe, Jacqueline M. "A species of knowledge both useful and ornamental': Priscilla Wakefield's Family Tour Through the British Empire." In *Romantic Geographies: Discourses of Travel, 1775-1844,* edited by Amanda Gilroy, 1-18; 2. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.

Lancaster, Joseph. *Westminster Review* 1 (Jan. 1824): 97-99; 97.

Lambert, F. J. "Treatise on Dancing" [Norwich, 1820]. In *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, edited by Elizabeth Aldrich, 140. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991.

Lefebvre, Henri. *Critique of Everyday Life.* New York: Verso, 1991.

Leeds Mercury, "Mr. Owen of Lanark, Scotland," August 23, 1817.

Leeds Mercury, "Untitled." February 12, 1820.

LeMahieu, D. L. "Malthus and the Theology of Scarcity." *Journal for the History of Ideas* 40 (1979): 467-74.

Leneman, L. "The Effects of Ossian on Lowland Scotland," in J. J. Carter and J. G. H. Pittock, eds, *Aberdeen and the Enlightenment*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987, 357-362.

Leneman, Leah. "Ossian and the Enlightenment," *Scotia* XI 1987 13-29.

Lenman, Bruce P. *Integration and Enlightenment: Scotland 1746-1832*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981.

Liebersohn, Harry. "Anthropology before Anthropology." In *A New History of Anthropology*, edited by Henrika Kuklick, 17-31. London: Blackwell, 2008.

Liverpool Mercury, "Mr. Owen's Plans," August 8, 1823.

Liverpool Mercury, "Untitled." August 8, 1823.

Locke, John. *The Second Treatise of Government,* ed. with an Introduction by Thomas P. Peardon, Library of Liberal Arts. Indianapolis: Bobbs Merril, 1952.

Lomawaima, K. Tsianina. "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority over Mind and Body," pages 197-218 in *Deviant Bodies*. Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline Urla, eds. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995.

"Lover of Truth," *Observations on the Critique Contained in the Edinburgh Review for October 1819, of Mr. Owen's Plans, for Relieving the National Distress*. Edinburgh: Peter Hill & Company, 1819.

Lynch, Deirdre Shauna. *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture, and the Business of Inner Meaning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Mackay, Charles. *A Dictionary of Lowland Scotch: With an Introductory Chapter on the Poetry , Humour, and Literary History of the Scottish Language, and an Appendix of Scottish Proverbs*. Boston: Ticknor and Co, 1838.

Mackenzie, Henry. *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland Appointed to Inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian*. Edinburgh: Constable & Co., 1805.

Mannella, Maria Amelia. *Owen e Rousseau*. Lucca: M. Pacina Fazzi, 1993.

Manning, Susan. "Ossian, Scott, and Nineteenth-Century Scottish Literary nationalism." *Studies in Scottish Literature* 17 (1982): 39-54.

Marquise de Condorcet, Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas de Caritat. *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain. Paris:* 1795.

M'Gavin, William. *The fundamental principles of the New Lanark system exposed, in a series of letters to Robert Owen, Esq.* Glasgow, 1824. *The Making of the Modern World*. Gale 2010. Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries. 09 May 2010 <http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U104580359&srchtp=a&ste=14>

Macnab, Henry Grey. *The new views of Mr. Owen of Lanark impartially examined, as rational means of ultimately promoting the productive industry, comfort, moral improvement, and happiness of the labouring classes of society, and of the poor; and of training up children in the way in which they should go: also observations on the New Lanark school, and on the systems of education of Mr. Owen, of the Rev. Dr. Bell, and that of the new British and foreign system of mutual instruction.* London, 1819. *The Making of the Modern World*. Gale 2010. Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries. 09 May 2010 <http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U103547110&srchtp=a&ste=14>

Marcet, Jane. *John Hopkins's Notions on Political Economy*. (London, 1833)

Marshall, David. "Adam Smith and the Theatricality of Moral Sentiments." *Critical Inquiry* 10:4 (1984): 592-613.

_____. "The Problem of the Picturesque." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35:3 (2002): 413-37.

Martin, Maureen M. *The Mighty Scot: Nation, Gender, and the Nineteenth-Century Mystique of Scottish Masculinity*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2009.

Martineau, Harriet. *Harriet Martineau¹s Autobiography*, 2 vols, edited by Maria Weston Chapman. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co, 1877.

McCann, Phillip. "Popular Education, Socialization and Social Control: Spitalifields 1812-1824." In *Popular Education and Socialization in the Nineteenth Century*. Ed. Phillip McCann London: Methuen 1977, 1-40.

McLaren, Angus. *Birth Control in Nineteenth Century England*. London: Croom Helm, 1978.

McLaren, David J. *David Dale of New Lanark: A Bright Luminary to Scotland* . Glasgow: Heatherbank Press, 1983.

_____. "Parish, Town & Factory Community: The Place of the New Lanark Schools in the Scottish Educational Tradition." Paper presented at New Lanark, 9 May 2003.

McNeil, Kenneth. *Scotland, Britain, Empire: Writing the Highlands, 1760-1860*. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2007.

Meek, Ronald L. "A Scottish Contribution to Marxist Sociology." In *Economics and Ideology and Other Essays* by Ronald L. Meek, 34-50 London: Chapman & Hall, 1967.

_____. *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Mellor, Anne K. *Romanticism and Gender*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Michasiw, Kim Ian. "Nine Revisionist Theses on the Picturesque," *Representations* 38 (1992).

Michie, Michael. *An Enlightenment Tory in Victorian Scotland: The Career of Sir Archibald Alison*. East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1997.

Miliband, Ralph, "The Politics of Robert Owen." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 15:2 (April 1954): 233-245.

Mingay, G. E. , *The Agricultural Revolution: Changes in Agriculture, 1650-1880*. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1977.

Mintz, Steven. *A Prison of Expectations: The Family in Victorian Culture.* New York: New York University Press, 1983.

Mitchison, Rosalind. The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law." *Past & Present* 63 (May-

_____. "Who Were the Poor in Scotland, 1690-1830?," in Rosalind. Mitchison and Peter Roebuck, Economy *and Society in Scotland and Ireland, 1500-1939*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1988, 140-148.

_____. *The Old Scottish Poor Law In Scotland: The Experience of Poverty, 1574-1845*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000.

Morgan, Lady [Sydney Owenson Morgan]. *The Book of the Boudoir*. London: H. Colburn, 1829.

Morning Chronicle, "Mr. Owen's Return to New Lanark," October 10, 1817.

Morning Chronicle, "Untitled." July 25, 1816.

Morning Chronicle, "Untitled." July 26, 1816.

Morning Chronicle, "Untitled." June 27, 1821.

Morrell, Jack. "Brains of Britain." *Social Studies of Science* 16, no. 4 (1986): 735-745. http://www.jstor.org/stable/285062 (accessed 29 November 2008).

Morris, R. J. "Samuel Smiles and the Genesis of Self-Help: the Retreat to a Petit Bourgeois Utopia," *The Historical Journal,* 24:1 (Mar. 1981): 89-109.

Mulkey, Young Jay. "The History of Character Education," *The Journal of Physical Education*, *Recreation & Dance*, 68: 1997 n.p.

Mullan, John. *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.

Mulkey, Young Jay. "The History of Character Education," *The Journal of Physical Education, Recreation & Dance*, 68 (1997).

Mulvihill, James D. "Thomas Love Peacock's *Crotchet Castle*: Reconciling the Spirits of the Age." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 38, no. 3 (1983): 253-270. http://www.jstor.org/ (accessed 7 October 2006).

Murray, Sarah Scott. *Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland.* London, 1799.

Nayar, Pramod K. *English Writing and India, 1600-1920: Colonizing Aesthetics.* London: Routledge, 2007.

Nenadic, Stana. (1988) "The Rise of the Urban Middle Class." In *People and Society in Scotland, Volume I: 1760-1830*, edited by T.M. Devine and R. Mitchison, 109-126. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988.

New Lanark Trust, "The Story of New Lanark," 1997.

Newlyn, Lucy, "'The noble living and the noble dead': Community in 'The Prelude'" in Stephen Gill, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Wordsworth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003, 55-69.

Newlyn, Lucy. "'The noble living and the noble dead': Community in 'The Prelude.'" In *The Cambridge Companion to Wordsworth*, edited by Stephen Gill. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003.

Newman, Gerald. *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History 1740-1830*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

Newman, Simon P. *Embodied History: The Lives of the Poor in Early Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Nicholls, David. "The English Middle Class and the Ideological Significance of Radicalism, 1760-1886." *Journal of British Studies* 24 (1985): 415-433.

Nicolson, Margaret and Ian Donnachie, "The New Lanark Highlanders: Migration, Community, and Language 1785-c.1850." *Family & Community History*, Vol. 6: 1 May 2003 19-31.

O'Connor, Laura. *Haunted English: The Celtic Fringe, the British Empire, and De-Anglicization*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.

Oliver, W. H. "Owen in 1817: The Millennialist Moment. In *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor, Essays in Honour of the Two-Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth,* edited by Sidney Pollard and John Salt, 166-187. London: Macmillan, 1971.

O'Neal, John C. *The Authority of Experience: Sensationist Theory in the French Enlightenment*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996.

O'Quinn, Daniel. *Staging Governance: Theatrical Imperialism in London, 1770-1800*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

Orestano, Francesca. "The Rev'd William Gilpin and the Picturesque: Or, Who's Afraid of Doctor Syntax?" *Garden History* 31, no. 2 (Winter, 2003): 163-179. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1587293> (accessed 11 January 2009).

Otter, Chris. *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800-1910*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Owen, Robert. *A Statement Regarding the New Lanark Establishment*. Edinburgh: John Moir, 1812.

_____. "Mr. Owen's Speech at a Public Dinner at which he Presided, Given to Joseph Lancaster at Glasgow in 1812," in *Selected Works of Robert Owen* in 4 volumes, ed. Gregory Claeys, 9 (London: Pickering, 1993.

Owen, *A New View of Society; or, Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character, and the Application of the Principle to Practice,* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1813), The Making of the Modern World (Gale 2008, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U103252708&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 18 December 2008).

_____. *Observations on the effect of the manufacturing system: with hints for the improvement of those parts of the system which are most injurious to health and morals*. London, 1815. *The Making of the Modern World*. Gale 2008. Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries - Norman. 24 December 2008 http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U103306385

_____. Address on opening the Institution for the Formation of Character at New Lanark, delivered on the 1st of January 1816 : being the first public announcement of the discovery of the infant school system, London, 1841. *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2009, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): 10, http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U1061086 56&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 12 January 2009).

_____. "Owen's Report to the Committee of the Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and Labouring Poor (1817), in *Selected Works of Robert Owen in 4 volumes*, ed. Gregory Claeys, 143-5.

_____. "Two Memorials on Behalf of the Working Classes" [Lanark: 1818]. In *Selected Works of Robert Owen in 4 volumes*, ed. Gregory Claeys. London: Pickering, 1993.

_____. "Farther Address of the Committee on Mr. Owen's Plan for Providing Employment for the Poor (1819)" in *The Selected Works of Robert Owen*, 4 vols., Gregory Claeys, ed. (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1993) v.2 13-21.

_____. *An address to the master manufacturers of Great Britain, on the present existing evils in the manufacturing system*. Bolton, 1819. *The Making of the Modern World*. Gale 2009. Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries - Norman. 03 January 2009 http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN& ae=U103540793&srchtp=a&ste=14>.

_____. *Permanent relief for the British agricultural and manufacturing labourers and the Irish peasantry*, London, [1822?]. *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2009, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman): 5, http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U1044833 87&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 12 January 2009).

_____. *An explanation of the cause of the distress which pervades the civilized parts of the world and of the means whereby it may be removed*, London, 1823. *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2009, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman). http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U1069804 51&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 12 January 2009).

_____. *Report of the proceedings at the several public meetings held in Dublin by Robert Owen on the 18th March, 12th April, 19th April, and 3d May : preceded by an introductory statement of his opinions and arrangements at New Lanark : extracted from his "Essays on the formation of the human character"*, Dublin, 1823. *The Making of the Modern World* (Gale 2009, Gale, Cengage Learning, University of Oklahoma Libraries – Norman). http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U1069804 66&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed 12 January 2009)

_____. "A New and Infallible Religion." *Caledonian Mercury*, 17 March 1823.

_____. *Life of Robert Owen Written by Himself, with Selections from his Writings and Correspondence*. London: Effingham Wilson, 1858; reprint, New York: A.M. Kelley, 1967.

Owen, Robert Dale. *An outline of the system of education at New Lanark*. Glasgow, 1824. *The Making of the Modern World*. Gale 2010. Gale, Cengage Learning. University of Oklahoma Libraries. 09 May 2010 <http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/servlet/MOME?af=RN&ae=U1045806 42&srchtp=a&ste=14>Parssinen, T. M. "Thomas Spence and the Origins of English Land Nationalization," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 34:1 (Jan. 1973), 135-141.

_____. *Twenty-seven Years of Autobiography. Threading My Way*. New York: G. W. Carleton, 1874.

Payne, Christiana, *Toil and Plenty: Images of the Agricultural Landscape in England, 1780-1890* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

Peacock, Francis. "Sketches Relative to … Dancing" [Aberdeen, 1805]. In *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, edited by Elizabeth Aldrich, 137. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991.

Pearl, Sharonna. *About Faces: Physiognomy in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Perkins, Harold. *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969.

Perelman, Michael. *The Invention of Capitalism: Classical Political Economy and the Secret History of Primitive Accumulation*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000.

"Phrenology, Morals and Metaphysics," *Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany*, October 1819, 299-304.

Pickering, Paul A. and Alex Tyrrell. "Introduction: The Public Memorial of Reform: Commemoration and Contestation." In *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain,* by Michael T. Davies, Nicholas Mansfield, and James Walvin, 1-24. London: Ashgate, 2004

Pittock, Murray G. H. *Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

_____. "Scott and the British Tourist." In Gerald Carruthers and Alan Rawes, eds., *English Romanticism and the Celtic World*. 151-166. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Pitts, Jennifer. "Progress and Empire: Enlightened histories, 'backwardness,' and colonial rule." A Paper presented at the 2004 International meeting of the Conference for the Study of Political Thought, Colonialism and its Legacies.

Plotz, Judith Ann. *Romanticism and the Vocation of Childhood*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Pocock, J. G. A. "Adam Smith and History." In *The Cambridge Companion to Adam Smith*, edited by Knud Haakonssen, 270-87. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Podmore, Frank. *Robert Owen*: *A Biography*. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1906; reprint New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1971.

Polhemus, Ted. "Dance, Gender and Culture." In *Dance, Gender, and Culture*, edited by Helen Thomas, 3-15. New York: St. Martin's, 1993.

Pollard, Sidney, and John Salt. *Robert Owen, Prophet of the Poor. Essays in Honour of the Two-Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth*. London: Macmillan, 1971.

Pollard, Sidney. *The Genesis of Modern Management: A Study of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1965.

Porcher, Richard Dwight and Sarah Fick. *The Story of Sea Island Cotton.* Charleston: Wyrick & Co., 2005.

Porter, Roy. "Science, Provincial Culture, and Public Opinion." *The British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 3 (1980) 20-46.

_____. *The Enlightenment.* Houndmills: Hampshire.: Palgrave, 2001.

Porter, Ted. "The Social Sciences." In *From National Philosophy to the Sciences: Historiography of Nineteenth-Century Science,* 254-299. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Poynter, J. R. *Society and Pauperism: English Ideas on Poor Relief, 1795-1834*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969.

Prideaux, S. T. *Aquatint Engraving: A Chapter in the History of Book Illustration. Illustrated by an Original Aquatint, Two Collotype Plates and Numerous Half-Tone Plates.* London: Duckworth & Co., 1909.

Pritchard, Ivor. "Character Education: Research Prospects and Problems," *American Journal of Education* 96:4 (Aug., 1988), 469-495.

Purser, John. *Scotland's Music: A History of the Traditional and Classical Music of Scotland from Early Times to the Present Day*. Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2007.

Quiller-Couch, Arthur. *The Oxford Book of English Verse: 1250–1900*. London: Oxford University Press, 1919.

R., H. P. "The Vicar of Boldre 1724-1804," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 46:264 (Jun. 1948), 36-39.

Radcliffe, Evan. "Revolutionary Writing, Moral Philosophy, and Universal Benevolence in the Eighteenth Century." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 54:2 (Apr. 1993): 221-240.

Raistrick, Arthur, ed. *The Hatchett Diary: A Tour through the counties of England and Scotland in 1796 visiting their mines and manufactories*. Truro: D. Bradford Barton Ltd, 1967.

Redfield, Marc. *The Politics of Aesthetics: Nationalism, Gender, Romanticism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.

Reginald. "Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism in Great Britain before 1850." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 37, no. 3 (July – September 1976): 387-410. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=002-0537%28197607%2F09%2937%3A3%3C387%3AOORAIG%3E2.0.CO%3B2-K> (accessed 5 February 2007).

Richards, Eric. *A History of the Highland Clearances: Agrarian Transformation and the Evictions, 1746-1886.* London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1982.

Ritchie, Lionel Alexander. 'M'Gavin, William (1773–1832)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17503, accessed 18 Feb 2010]

"Robert Owen Early Years Centre," The School Index, accessed Nov 20, 2009, **http://archive.co-op.ac.uk/background.htm.**

Robert Owen Memorial Plaque," Public Monument and Sculpture Association, accessed Nov 20, 2009. http://pmsa.cch.kcl.ac.uk/AH/POWYS063.htm.

Roberts, F. David. *The Social Conscience of the Early Victorians*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002.

Robertson, A. J. "Robert Owen, Cotton Spinner: New Lanark, 1800-25," in Sidney Pollard and John Salt, *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor, Essays in Honour of the Two-Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth* (London: Macmillan, 1971)

Robertson, Fiona. *Legitimate Histories: Scott, Gothic, and the Authorities of Fiction*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

Rogers, Nicholas. "Introduction: Making of the English Middle Class." *Journal of British Studies* 32 (1994): 299-304.

Rogers, Nicholas. (1994). "The Middling Sort in Eighteenth-Century Politics." In *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society, and Politics in England, 1550-1800*, edited by Jonathan Barry and C. W. Brooks, 159-180. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

Rosaldo, Renato. "Imperialist Nostalgia." *Representations* no. 26 (Spring 1989): 107-122. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2928525> (accessed 12 April 2008).

Rose, Michael E. "Culture, Philanthropy and the Manchester Middle Classes." In *City, Class, and Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Manchester*, edited by Alan J. Kidd and Kenneth W. Roberts, 103-117. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985.

Rosenthal "The Rough and the Smooth: Rural Subjects in Later-Eighteenth-Century Art," ." In *Prospects for the Nation: Recent Essays in British Landscape, 1750-1880*, Michael Rosenthal, Christiana Payne, and Scott Wilcox, eds. Studies in British Art 4. New Haven and London: Yale University Press (1997), 37-59.

Rousseau, G. S. "The Anthropology of mind and body in the Enlightenment," in *Enlightenment Crossings: Pre-and Post-Modern Discourses, Anthropological.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques *Émile; or, On Education*. Introduction Translation and Notes by Allan Bloom. New York: Basic Books, 1979.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Politics and the Arts: Letter to d'Alembert on the Theatre*. Translated with Notes and an Introduction by Allan Bloom. Ithaca, NY: Free Press, 1968,135.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. Rousseau to Jacob Vernes. 18 February 1758. Quoted in Garrard, Graeme. "Rousseau, Maistre, and the Counter-Enlightenment." *History of Political Thought* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 97-120.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Discourse on Political Economy*. Quoted in Cole, G. D. H., trans. *The Social Contract and the Discourses*. London: 1973, p. 218 (*OC*, III, p. 254). Quoted in Garrard, Graeme. "Rousseau, Maistre, and the Counter-Enlightenment." *History of Political Thought* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 97-120.

Rowlandson, Thomas. "The tours of Dr Syntax." *Poetical Magazine*, 1809.

Ryan, Vanessa L. "The Physiological Sublime: Burke's Critique of Reason." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62.2 (2001): 265-279.

Sakamoto, T. *The Rise of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment*, Routledge Studies in the History of Economics, 56. London: Routledge, 2003.

Saltator. "A Treatise on Dancing" [Boston, 1802]. In *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, edited by Elizabeth Aldrich, 139-140. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991.

Schabas, Margaret. *The Natural Origins of Economics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Scheurmann, Mona. *In Praise of Poverty: Hannah More Counters Thomas Paine and the Radical Threat*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2002.

Schiffer, Michael Brian. "Some Thoughts on the Archeological Study of Social Organization." In *Archaeological Anthropology: Perspectives on Method and Theory*, edited by James M. Skibo, Michael W. Graves, and Miriam T. Stark, 57-71. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2007.

Schliesser, Eric. "The Self-Interest of a Benevolent Philosopher: Adam Smith's Conception of Philosophy." In *New Voices on Adam Smith*, Edited by NAME Montes & Eric Schliesser (London: Routledge, 2006), 328-357.

Scott, H. M. "The Second 'Hundred Years War' 1689–1815." *The Historical Journal* 35 (1992), pp. 443–469.

Scott, Hamish. "Scotland's model citizens," *Daily Telegraph*, 15 July 2000.

Scott, Joan W. "The Evidence of Experience," in James Chandler, Arnold I. Davidson, and Harry Harootunian, eds., *Questions of Evidence: Proof, Practice, and Persuasion across the Disciplines*, pages 363-387.

Seed, John. "From "Middling Sort" to Middle Class in Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-century England." In M. L. Bush, ed. *Social Orders and Social Classes in Europe since 1500*. London: Longman, 1992.

Senn, Peter R. "The Earliest Use of the Term 'Social Science,'" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 19 (1958), 568-570,

Sher, Richard B. "'Those Scotch Imposters and their Cabal': Ossian and the Scottish Enlightenment." In *Man and Nature. Proceedings of the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, Vol. I*, edited by Roger K. Emerson, Gilles Girard, and Roseanne Runte, 55-64. London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario, 1982.

Shesgreen, Sean. *Images of the Outcast: The Urban Poor in the Cries of London*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2002.

Silver, Harold. "Owen's Reputation as an Educationist." In, *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor, Essays in Honour of the Two-Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth,* edited by Sidney Pollard and John Salt, 65-83. London: Macmillan, 1971.

Simeral, Isabel. *Reform Movements in Behalf of Children in England of the Early Nineteenth Century, and the Agents of those Reforms*. New York: Columbia University, 1916.

Simmel, Georg. *Die Grosstädte und das Geistesleben*. Dresden: Petermann, 1903.

Simpson, Kenneth. *The Protean Scot: The Crisis of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Scottish Literature*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen Univ. Press, 1988.

Sinclair, Sir John, *Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1825, reprinted 1970).*The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-99 edited by Sir John Sinclair*, D.J. Withrington and I.R. Grant, eds., 20 vols. (reprinted Wakefield, 1973-83).

288

Siraj-Blatchford, John. *Robert Owen: Schooling the Innocents*. Bramcote Hills, Nottingham: Educational Heretics Press, 1997.

Sjölin, Walter. "New Light on Robert Owen: Poetic Vein in the Reformer's Personality." *Co-Operative Review* 29, no. 2 (February 1955): 38-41.

Skinner, Andrew. "Economics and History: The Scottish Enlightenment." *Scottish Journal of Political Economy 12* (1965): 1-22.

Skinner, Andrew. "Natural History in the Age of Adam Smith." *Political Studies* 15:1 (1967): 32-48.

Smiles, Sam. "Dressed to Till: Representational Strategies in the Depiction of Rural Labor, c. 1790-1830." In *Prospects for the Nation: Recent Essays in British Landscape, 1750-1880*, Michael Rosenthal, Christiana Payne, and Scott Wilcox, eds. Studies in British Art 4. New Haven and London: Yale University Press (1997), 79-97.

Smith, Adam. 1755. "A Letter to the Authors of the Edinburgh Review." Quoted in in J. R. Lindgren, ed. *The Early Writing of Adam Smith* (New York: Augustus Felley, 1967), 23-28.

Smith, Adam. "Report of 1766." In *Lectures on Jurisprudence,* Vol. 5. In *The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence,* edited by R. L. Meek, D. D. Raphael, and P. G. Stein. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Smith, Roger. *The Norton History of the Human Sciences*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1997.

Smout, T. C. "Where Had the Scottish Economy Got to by the Third Quarter of the Eighteenth Century? In Hont, Istvan and Michael Ignatieff, eds *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986; 45-72.

Smout, T. C. and Fenton, A. 'Scottish Agriculture before the Improvers – An Exploration.' *Agricultural History Review* 13 (1965): 73-94.

Snell, K. D. M. *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity, and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Sorensen, Janet. *The Grammar of Empire in Eighteenth-Century British Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000.

_____. "Internal Colonialism and the British Novel." *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 15, no. 1 (Oct. 2002): 53-58.

Sorley, W. R. *A History of British Philosophy to 1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920 [1965].

Southey, Robert. *Bell and Lancaster's Systems of Education*. London: John Murray, 1811.

_____. *Journal of a Tour in Scotland in 1819, with an introduction and notes by C. H. Herford*. London: John Murray, 1929.

Stack, David. *Queen Victoria's Skull: George Combe and the Mid-Victorian Mind.* London: Hambledon Continuum, 2008.

Stafford, Fiona J. *The Sublime Savage: A Study of James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988.

Stanley, Nick. *Being Ourselves for You: the Global Display of Cultures*. London: Middlesex University Press, 1998.

Stearns, Peter N. "The Middle Class: Towards a Precise Definition." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 21 (1979): 377-396.

Stephens, S. G. "The Origin of Sea Island Cotton." *Agricultural History,* Vol. 50, No. 2 (April 1976): 391-399.

Strathy, Alexander. "Elements of the Art of Dancing." In *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance,* edited by Elizabeth Aldrich*,* 138. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991.

Stevenson, Burton. *The Macmillan Book of Proverbs, Maxims, and Famous Phrases.* New York: Macmillan, 1948 [1987].

Stewart-Robertson, J. C., "The Well-Principled Savage, Or the Child of the Scottish Enlightenment," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 42:3 (Jul.-Sep. 1981), 503-525,

Stocking, George. *Victorian Anthropology.* New York: Free Press, 1987.

Stovel, Nora Foster. "'Every Savage Can Dance,' Choreographing Courtship," *Persuasions* 23 (2001) 29-49.

Strathy, Alexander. "Elements of the Art of Dancing"][Edinbirgh, 1822]. In *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, edited by Elizabeth Aldrich, 138. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991.

Taylor, Anne. *Visions of Harmony: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Millenarianism.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.

Taylor, Barbara. *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1983

Taylor, Charles. *Modern Social Imaginaries.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

Temperley, Nicholas. "Ballroom and Drawing Room Music," in Nicholas Temperley, ed, *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age 1800-1914*. London: The Athlone Press, 1981. pages 109-134.

Thackray, Arnold. "Natural Knowledge in Cultural Context." *The American Historical Review* 79:3 (June 1974): 672-709.

The Examiner, "Untitled." September 1, 1816.

"The Mirror of the Graces, By a Lady of Distinction." In *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance,* edited by Elizabeth Aldrich, 139. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991.

The Morning Chronicle, "Untitled." April 20, 1824.

Thomas, Helen, ed. *Dance, Gender and Culture*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

Thompson, Carl. *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007.

Thompson, E. P. "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism" *Past and Present* 38 (Dec. 1967), 56-97.

Thompson, Noel W. *The People's Science: The Popular Political Economy of Exploitation and Crisis 1816-34*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

_____ *The Real Rights of Man: Political Economies for the Working Class 1775-1850*. London, Pluto Press, 1998.

Tilly, Louise and Joan W. Scott. *Women, Work, and Family*. New York: Menthuen, 1978.

Tobin, Beth Fowkes. *Superintending the Poor: Charitable Lades and Paternal Landlords in British Fiction, 1770-1860*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993

Tomlinson, Stephen. *Head Masters: Phrenology, Secular Education, and Nineteenth-Century Social Thought*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2005.

Travers, T. H. E. *Samuel Smiles and the Victorian Work Ethic*. New York: Garland, 1987.

Treble, James H. "The Social and Economic Thought of Robert Owen." In Butt, John, ed., *Robert Owen: Prince of the Cotton Spinners*: *A Symposium*. Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1971, 20-51.

Trevor-Roper, Hugh. "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland." In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, 15-41.

Trumpener, Katie. *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Tsuzuki, Chushiki. "Robert Owen and Revolutionary Politics." In *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor, Essays in Honour of the Two-Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth,* edited by Sidney Pollard and John Salt, 13-38. London: Macmillan, 1971.

Turner, II, S. "Collapsing the Interior Exterior Distinction: Surveillance, Spectacle, and Suspense in Popular Cinema." *Wide Angle* 20:4 (1998): 93-123.

Turner, Victor. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Chicago: Aldine, 1969.

Vigarello, Georges. "The Upward Training of the Body from the Age of Chivalry to Courtly Civility." In *Fragments for a History of the Human Body, part 2,* edited by Michael Feher with Ramona Naddaff and Nadia Tazi, 149-199. New York: Zone Books, 1989.

Volkmann, Laurenz. "Mandeville's Beehive and Smith's Invisible Hand: Conflicting Voices of Ethics and Economics in Early Industrialism." In *Talking Forward, Talking Back: Critical Dialogues with the Enlightenment*, edited by Kevin L. Cope and Rüdiger Ahrens, 13-42. New York: AMS Press, 2002.

Von Vacano, Diego A. *The Art of Power: Machiavelli, Nietsche, and the Making of Aesthetic Political Theory*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007.

Voth, Hans-Joachim. "Work and the Sirens of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century London." In *The Active Consumer, Novelty and Surprise in Consumer Choice,* edited by M. Bianchi, 143-173. London: Routledge, 1998.

Wach, Howard M. "Civil Society, Moral Identity and the Liberal Public Sphere: Manchester and Boston, 1810-1840." *Social History* 21: 3 (Oct 1996) 281-303.

Wahrman, Dror. *Imaging the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c.1780-1840*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Waldron, Mary. 'Yearsley , Ann (*bap.* 1753, *d.* 1806)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30206, accessed 21 Oct 2010]

Ware, Kallistos. "The Soul in Greek Christianity." In *From Soul to Self,* edited by James Crabbe, 49-69. London: Routledge, 1999.

Waterston, Charles D. "Late Enlightenment Science and Generalism: The Case of Sir George Steuart Mackenzie of Coul, 1780-1848," In Withers, Charles W. J. and Paul Wood *Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment*. East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2002, pages 301-326.

Wertz, S. K. "Hume, History, and Human Nature." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 36:3 (Jul-Sep 1975), 481-496.

Whitbread, Nanette. *The Evolution of the Nursery-Infant School: A History of Infant and Nursery Education in Britain, 1800-1970*. London: Routledge, 1972.

White, R. J. *Political Tracts of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Shelley*. Edited with an introduction by R. J. White. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953.

Whyte, Ian. *Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth Century Scotland*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1970.

Wickman, Matthew. *The Ruins of Experience: Scotland's "Romantick" Highlands and the Birth of the Modern Witness*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

Williams, A. Susan. *The Rich Man and the Diseased Poor in Early Victorian Literature*. London: Macmillan Press, 1987.

Williamson, Arthur H. "Scots, Indians and Empire: The Scottish Politics of Civilization 1519-1609." *Past and Present* no. 150 (February, 1996): 46-83. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/651237> (accessed 12 April 2008).

Wilson, Thomas. "A Companion to the Ball Room." In *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, edited by Elizabeth Aldrich, 131. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1991. (London 1816)

Winch, Donald. *Riches and Poverty: An Intellectual History of Political Economy in Britain, 1750-1834*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Winch, Donald and A. M. C. Waterman. "Reappraisal of 'Malthus the Economist.'" *History of Political Economy* 1998 30:2 :293-334.

Withers, Charles W. J. and Paul Wood. "Afterward: New Directions?" In Withers, Charles W. J. and Paul Wood *Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment,* 327-36. East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2002.

Withers, Charles W. J. *Geography, Science and National Identity: Scotland since 1520*. Series: Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography 33, eds. Alan R. H. Baker, Richard Dennis, and Deryck Holdsworth. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Wokler, Robert. 1995. "Anthropology and Conjectural History in the Enlightenment." In *Inventing Human Science: Eighteenth-Century Domains*, ed. Christopher Fox, Roy Porter and Robert Wokler, 31-52. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wolff, Janet. "The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity." *Theory, Culture and Society* 2 (1985): 37-46.

Womack, Peter. *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* .Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1989.

Woods, Frederick, ed. *The Oxford Book of English Traditional Verse*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Woodroofe, Kathleen, *From Charity to Social Work in England and the United States* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962.

van Wyhe, John. "Was Phrenology a Reform Science*?* Towards a New Generalization for Phrenology" *History of Science* xlii (2004) 313-331.

Wren, Daniel. *History of Management Thought*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley and Sons, 2005.

Yeo, Eileen. "Robert Owen and Radical Culture." In *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor, Essays in Honour of the Two-Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth,* edited by Sidney Pollard and John Salt, 84-114. London: Macmillan, 1971.

Young, A. F. and E. T. Ashton. *British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century.* London 1956, 77-8.

Youngson, A. J. *After the Forty-Five: The Economic Impact on the Scottish Highlands*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973.

Yousef, Nancy. "Savage or Solitary?: The Wild Child and Rousseau's Man of Nature." *Journal of the History of Ideas* (2001): 245-263.

Yulish, Stephen M. *The Search for a Civic Religion: a History of the Character Education Movement in America, 1890-1935.* Latham, MD: University Press of America, 1980.

Z. "Untitled." *The Examiner*, 1 September 1816.