mating more and more closely to a period of the world which is to shed a brighter and more refulgent light on the destinies of man, and to impart to their minds a greater and nobler degree of true and lasting happiness.

We all profess to believe that the Christian dispensation was bestowed on men as a gift of inestimable value, and that it was intended not only to lead them to the bliss of heaven, but to the true enjoyment and relish of the present world. But we have lamentable proof, in every page of history, that their selfishness and cupidity soon corruptbd its purest precepts and its plainest intentions. It is wonderful to reflect on the rapid decline which its simplest and holiest doctrines underwent in a comparatively short period of time, and how greatly men were at fault in carrying out the practical truths of Christianity. A substitution of mere outward and formal worship for the true worship of the heart—a stupid and tiresome round of unmeaning ceremonies, a superstitious reverence for the supposed relics of martyrs, an insane infliction and endurance of the severest mortification and penance as something believed to be grateful and pleasing to the Divine Being; these were supposed to constitute the religion of the Gospel, and were the appointed means of carrying out its holy requirements. Nor were these the worst features in a perverted system emanating from the pride and folly of men. Ambition was not slow in taking advantage of this weak state of the church, in order to gratify her own selfish and unholy purposes.—Designing and cunning individuals; base and hypocritical impostors were everywhere found to encourage and cherish the superstition and bigotry of their brethren, in order that they might erect thereon a stupendous fabric of power, having for their object no less than an entire control both of the temporal and spiritual interests of men.

Here then was a perversion of truth, a departure from the order of heaven, which could, not but bring with it all the concomitant evils of ignorance, infidelity, and despair. The baleful influence springing from this source extended to all classes and conditions of men. Every department of society was affected by the disorders which had been introduced into the church. Philosophy degenerated into a system of absurd metaphysics. Literature was swallowed up in polemical divinity, the arts and sciences were neglected and forgotten, and government itself was only used as an engine, a fierce and relentless engine, to torture and afflict those for whose good it was originally designed.

Nor, my friends, would it be just to suppose that this state of things, or something like it, existed only during that period of history, which has been called the middle or benighted ages, and that the human mind soon emerged from the darkness and ignorance in which it seems to have been enshrouded. Nations and communities, in this respect, are like individuals. The deeper they are steeped in absurdity and error, the more widely they depart from reason and the laws of order, the more stupid and obstinate they become in their degradation, and the more difficult it is to bring them back to the love of rectitude and simplicity.—The dark shadows which rested on the church and the world, floated long and wide in the Christian atmosphere, nor would I by any means say, that these shadows have as yet entirely disappeared, or that their influence is not even now felt in every part of Christendom.

But, however this may be, I have made these remarks in order that you may see the contrast between society at the present period of the world, and what it was some three or four centuries ago. If we still continue our course in darkness, it is at least not that Egyptian darkness which once surrounded men, and which without impropriety may be said to have been visible and tangible to the human senses. If we are still wandering bewildered and confused through labyrynths of doubt and error, we have at least some light to cheer and guide us in our onward progress, and may distinctly see the opening of a clearer effulgence in the receding distance over which we have yet to travel.

This light, as I have already intimated, has increased with wonderful rapidity during the last fifty years. It requires but an ordinary understanding, and an ordinary degree of observation to perceive that a remarkable change and improvement are taking place in every thing in which man is most deeply interested, and are laying a deeper and broader foundation of human wisdom and happiness. It is not here and there only that we discover these blessed promises and anticipations of future glory and felicity; it is not in one department of life alone that we have the certain assurance of amelioration and improvement, it is not this or that art, or that discovery, or that science, which is giving a new impulse to human enjoyment, or imparting new vigor to human intelligence. But it is the concentrated mingling of these in one; the simultaneous renovation as it were of all human knowledge, the almost sudden awakening of every human energy, which seems to cast its broad sheet of light over this reviving world, and to gild all its objects with new warmth, and life and beauty.

Let your mental vision go abroad into the world for a moment; and ask what institution, either divine or human, what art, either polite or useful, what branch of human study and contemplation has not advanced in perfection and improvement for the convenience and happiness of man. Look at religion, for instance, that institution of divine appointment, which is of more importance than all the rest put together. Have not men begun to exchange their senseless and obscure dogmas for the blessed charity and simplicity of the Gospel.—Is it not evident that they are becoming ashamed of wearing her outward garb merely, and that they are beginning to see the necessity of building their hopes on something more substantial than her mere forms and ceremonies. Are they not discarding the creeds and confessions and formularies of a doubtful orthodoxy, for the more rational and more scriptural requirements of love to God and love to man. Are they not building their hopes of heaven on acquiring new affections and a new taste for spiritual improvement, rather than on starting new points of unprofitable controversy. And if so, what a mighty change may we expect soon to be produced in the religious feelings and affections of men.

But extend your observations a little farther. Go into our schools and seminaries of learning, and mark the change which has taken place not only in the art of teaching, not only in regard to the persons to be taught, not only in reference to the members to be benefited, and the time to be devoted to the acquisition of knowledge, but in relation to the very knowledge itself which is to be imparted to the human understanding. Open the books which are now used in our seminaries of learning, and more especially on the elementary books which are first put into the hands of children, and on which their progress in learning afterwards so greatly depends, and you will see at once, both in regard to their number and character, that they possess immense advantages over those which were made use of during the period of our own juvenile years. Judicious, benevolent and highly enlightened individuals are every where engaged in compiling systems of instruction for the human mind, and the nutriment thus prepared for the mental appetite is so fully and freely imparted to the rising generation, at home and abroad, in the parlour as well as in the school-room, on the Sabbath-day as well as during the week, that no one can doubt of the extraordinary benefits which must necessarily follow.

Nor is this all—the higher branches of learning have undergone changes equally important and remarkable, and have advanced with a rapidity which is truly astonishing. Chymistry, geology, botany, and many of the kindred sciences, have assumed a fame and a character of late, which render them subservient to some of the most useful purposes of life, although most, if not all of them, are considered as being yet in their infancy. And if the harvest of good derived from these is so abundant already, who can tell what is to be the incalculable increase of their fruits in centuries to come?

But some of the most remarkable peculiarities of the present era will be found in the numberless wonderful improvements and discoveries which are connected with the mechanical arts, and the multiplied powers which have been brought into operation for the comfort and convenience of man. In relation to some of these, it may with propriety be said, perhaps, that although they could not change man's nature, they have in some degree changed the face of society—although they have not altered his tastes and affections, they have materially modified and altered his pursuits and employments. Look at the Rail-road for instance, a contrivance so simple, that it would appear wonderful, almost, that it should have been so long overlooked, and yet a contrivance which in a great measure annihilates space and time, and draws communities and individuals in close proximity to each other. Look at the powerful effects of steam, wafting the lofty vessel with indescribable despatch and certainty over the wide and extended ocean, and making a voyage to Europe an enterprise of little greater moment than taking a ride into the country. Look at the ten thousand improvements made in the manufacture and production of the ordinary articles necessary for domestic convenience, and mark the contrast between the mode of operation now and what it was twenty years ago. All these are multiplying the comforts, extending the knowledge, and increasing the happiness of mankind.

But, fellow citizens, if those outward helps to the proper enjoyment of life are extending thus rapidly around us—if these circumscribed forms of order and convenience are in the Providence of God rendering our existence more comfortable and happy—if individual benefit is consulted in the limited operations of the artist and mechanic—may we not reasonably hope that more efficient schemes of usefulness—that plans embracing the regulation and comfort of whole communities,—that systems affecting the moral and spiritual interests of men—may in the same order of Providence likewise develope themselves for the good of the world. I know of but one objection that can be urged against a hope and a wish like this, and that is the perversity and wickedness of man's own heart. But however serious and discouraging such an objection may be, I for one am not inclined to acknowledge its entire validity, since I am unwilling to admit that the perversity and wickedness of man's heart must necessarily at all times and under all circumstances remain the same. Man is blessed with good by his maker just in proportion as he is able to receive it. And who will say that some at least may not be able to receive it now, or that if they are unprepared for it at present, they may not be able to receive it hereafter?

There seems to be a general expectation in the world that some remarkable event is about to take place which in an extraordinary manner is to affect the interests and destinies of mankind. The minds of men would appear to be disturbed and uneasy, and to be perplexed not only with changes which are palpable and visible to our senses, but with others which are conjectural and undefined, and for which it is difficult to assign a habitation and a name. But this state of feeling, perhaps, ought to affect us no further than as it is a convincing proof that there is an extraordinary influx of light beaming into the minds of men, which is gradually preparing them for more permanent and extended forms of truth and good, and consequently for a salutary change in their principles and affections. In other words, we have reason to believe that the time is not far distant when men will be led to a greater degree of spiritual elevation of character, and consequently a greater degree of happiness both in this life and the life to come.

If such, then, fellow citizens, is the state of the world around us, is it at all extraordinary that you should be here to-day, impressed with the same feelings, and impelled by the same sympathies, and when you tell us that the foundations of society are wrongly constituted; that there are radical defects in its present organization—and that a new social system might be formed on principles better calculated to impart to its members security, independence and happiness—you are perhaps only uttering the same sentiments in one form which are proclaimed and reiterated by the rest of mankind in another. Whatever men may pretend to the contrary, all would seem to be restless and dissatisfied, and to hope for something brighter and better.

Before I proceed to consider the justness of your complaints against the present forms of society, permit me to make a passing remark:

When you say the systems of association which exist in this and other countries are radically defective, and that they are not adapted to the wants and exigencies of mankind, let it not be forgotton that the constitutionof society will, perhaps, always be found to correspond to the state and condition of its members. It is not so much that the character of society is formed from its social organization as that its social organization is a necessary consequence of the character of those who have entered into the compact. I am willing to admit that there may be a reciprocity of action here, and that they may mutually operate on and influence each other. But I have already intimated as my own belief that a benevolent Providence always dispenses his gifts in accordance with the state of those who are to receive them and that consequently the outward forms which surround men will in most instances be found to conform to their inward states. And even where there is a perfect and beautiful theory of government, as in our own country, yet if the people themselves are at fault, the government will for the most part be badly administered, and their rights and interests will be but partially protected. I thought it only proper to make these remarks, because it has appeared to me that for want of recognizing this principle, many experiments have been made which it might have been easy to force we could end in mischief and disaster.

And now, fellow citizens, permit me to speak to you for a moment on the subject of your principles of association, and on the blessings which you expect to realize from carrying these principles into practice.—Should we happen, in the discussion of this subject, to differ in regard to any important particulars, I hope that a free and familiar exposition of our views will tend mutually to instruct and enlighten each other.

That we live in a state of society not at all favorable to individual enterprise, I suppose no one will have the hardihood to gainsay. Whatever may be said in our books on political economy of the comparative advantages of labor, skill and capital, a few moments' reflection must convince us that the capitalist alone has the advantage of every other class of men in society. No matter how brilliant may be the genius, how extraordinary the talents, how indefatigable the industry of the man who is placed in the world, poor and destitute, ten chances to one but that he spends half his life time in neglect and obscurity, and should he eventually rise above his original condition, and acquire for himself honor and affluence, it will be found that he had to contend with difficulties which, during the struggle which it cost him to surmount, were truly discouraging and unpleasant.

But how few are there in life who are ever able to surmount these difficulties, how long, constant and uniform is the pressure which they feel from want and embarrassment, from dependance and servility, and how melancholy and dispiriting is that "hope deferred which maketh the heart sick." The laborer looks at his wife and children to-day with scarcely more than half a supply of necessaries of life, and with an entire uncertainty of being able to acquire even as much to-morrow. The mechanic seeks for employment which he is unable to obtain, or if he finds it, he is but scantily rewarded for his labor, and when one of his contracts is completed he is by no means sure that he will have an opportunity of entering into another. The agriculturist, in many instances, commences the world unfriended and unassisted, and for want of the necessary means which his utmost efforts and industry will not always put into his power, he too is little better off than a day laborer, or if more comfortable, he is scarcely more independent. And even the merchant and professional man are very often exposed to hardships and difficulties which are quite oppressive and embarrassing, for without the advantages of wealth, or the influence of friends, the reluctant sympathies of the world are as little felt for this class of men as for any other. But this is not all. Even supposing that each of these classes of individuals could be constantly employed, and that an appropriate sphere of action, I mean such as is consistent with the customs and forms of society around them, could be assigned to them severally, yet how many sources of extreme suffering and mortification are they exposed from the selfishness, the cupidity and the injustice of the world. Pride affects to treat them with contumely and contempt, and not unfrequently withhold from them the common courtesies and civilities of life. Avarice cheats them out of the poor pittance which was promised to them as a reward for their labor, and only regards them in the light of convenient instruments to administer to her unsatiable greediness. Competition robs them of half their profits, which before were too limited to afford them a comfortable subsistence. At every step they take, they find themselves perplexed, deceived and disheartened, and the history of their lives is a history of conflicts from within, and struggle from without—of hope to-day and disappointment to-morrow.

But, my friends, on tracing up the causes of these evils, let us beware lest we attribute them to a source to which they do not belong, or place them to an improper account. We are too apt to suppose that the difficulties which one class of men have to endure, are exclusively attributable to another, or in other words, that the one half of society is preyed upon and oppressed by the other half. Thus it is too often the case that to array the rich against the poor, or the poor against the rich, which is assuming a purpose quite as inconsiderate and irrational as it is inflammatory and pernicious. My own opinion is, that the evils we endure are distinctly assignable to no particular class or department of society, that we all contribute our share towards the general confusion, and although some are undoubtedly more culpable than others, yet no one can say that he does not sometimes inflict unnecessary pain on his neighbor, or even fall into errors which have a decided tendency to lead to a more general dorangement and disorder. Let us not, therefore, suppose that it is fortune, or wealth or office, that is doing all the mischief to society. If the man of authority is proud and insolent, the man of lower rank will too often be found to be treacherous and deceitful If the rich man is cruel and ungenerous, the poor man is perhaps as often stupid and ungrateful. If the one accumulates his wealth by meanness and cupidity, the other scatters the little he has with profuse extravagance and prodigality.

From whatever source they may emanate, certain it is, however that the evils which I have enumerated exist in society, and your great object is to find a remedy for these evils. But such a remedy, it may readily be supposed, ought not to be wholly sought for in the ordinary means resorted to for the improvement and amelioration of man's temporal condition. Political reformations have been tried, as in our own country, but without producing the desired effect. A general diffusion of knowledge has been tried, but so far as we can see, it can only be expected to prove partially successful. Religious bigotry and fanaticism have in some instances been resorted to, but these have rendered men more disorderly than they were before. Even infidelity and licentiousness have been appealed to, but the horrors and misery which have followed in the train of the experiment, have given melancholy proof of the infernal spirit in which the suggestion had its origin. If all expedients, therefore, which have hitherto been tried have failed, it is hardly to be wondered at that mankind should hope for the discovery of some new remedy, and be willing to try the success of some new experiment.

When I say, however, that the means which have hitherto been tried to improve the social condition of men have failed, let it not be supposed that those means have in no instance produced a salutary change in the condition of society. If all our expectations have not been realised, we have at least occasionally seen some good springing from our well meant endeavors, and principles of right and of justice have been established which have become the standard maxims of social and political happiness. And this consideration should be a consolation to the reformer under all his difficulties and discouragements. His noble efforts may indeed not be crowned with success—his highest and best aspirations may be regarded as weak and visionary—but in his conflict with the vices and passions, with the ignorance and prejudices of men, there may nevertheless be elicited scintillations of wisdom, sparks of true etherial fire, which will impart a life and vigor and warmth to society, even after his efforts in the cause of humanity shall be pronounced by the world to have been a complete failure.

I am not sure, fellow-citizens, that I exactly comprehend all those principles of association which are to influence and animate the system on which you are desirous of founding a connected and harmonious community. But it is only necessary here that I should notice its broad and leading feature, which seems to be to accomplish that by union and concentrated effort, which it is impossible to bring about by individual and independent action. Or, in other words, you are aiming at the foundation of a new social order; to be impelled and animated in all its parts by one harmonious impulse, guaranteeing to each individual member mutual protection and assistance, and pledging a union of hearts and hands in the attainment, as far as possible, of virtue, intelligence and happiness. To enter into all the details of this system would consume more time than we have to spare on the present occasion. I shall only speak of its general purpose.

The author of this system was himself a practical man, accustomed to all the forms of business, and no doubt acutely observant of the causes of success and failure in the diversified occupations and pursuits of life. It required no great depth of understanding nor of observation either to discover that the combined efforts of individuals were uniformly more successful in accomplishing useful purposes than the confined operations of a single projector, and that even relatively the confederate mass could accomplish greatly more than a single and isolated undertaker. Hence it is, that so many advantages are possessed by legalized corporations, joint stock companies and other similar associations, which are a powerful means of effecting certain purposes by their united action which could not be effected by the individual operations of all the members. These institutions are frequently stigmatized by the name of monopolies, more perhaps, from a jealousy of their success and prosperity, than from any real danger that results from them to society.

But the author to whom I have alluded no doubt carried his observations still further. He saw how difficult it was for all the parts of any great project to be attended to by one person, and yet how easy the task became when it was divided among a number of individuals, who could attend to the several parts according to the respective possession of wealth, talents, or industry. It would be exceedingly inconvenient, for instance, that a watch should be made by a single individual. It would necessarily require that his attention should be directed to too many objects at once—the different operations would demand a multiplicity of machinery which could not be readily brought together in one place, and while the workman would be attending to one part of his labor, another part would be suffering from inaction and disuse. And so it would be if one individual should undertake to build a house and manufacture all the materials of which it is composed at the same time. He could not effect his object without great loss of time, labor and capital, whereas, if it were parcelled out amongst a variety of individuals, who are respectively competent to attend to its different parts, the whole would be put together on principles of greater economy, and become vastly superior both in style and workmanship.

And there is still another view which may be taken of this part of our subject. It will not only be found on reflection that the joint purposes of men are able to effect more, when properly directed, than could be effected by the individual endeavors of precisely the same number of operators, and that more may be accomplished by assigning to each person his respective department of skill and labor, than by confining the whole work to be performed to a single individual, but that much labor and expense may be saved to the aggregate number by dedicating the use of a particular instrument or establishment to the whole mass at once rather than to the members of the body distinctly and separately. Thus it is easy to be comprehended that if one house could be so constructed as conveniently to accommodate a great number of families or individuals together, it would not possibly cost as much either in labor or materials as if separate houses were built for the same purpose. So if one kitchen could be made to serve for the culinary purposes of a score of families together, or one workshop could be fitted up so as to accommodate a great number of persons of the same craft in their mechanical operations, or one vast field could be cultivated without the expense of building fences, or other means of division and separation, their establishments would be much cheaper than if separate ones were formed for the accommodation of each individual or family. And the same remarks might be carried to an almost indefinite extent, and would be found to be applicable to a great variety of vessels, instruments, and ingenious inventions, which are now almost uniformly used for individual purposes alone.

Observations like these, I have no doubt, suggested to the fertile mind of Fourier his principles of association, and led him to mature a system which is now receiving your attention and the attention of the world.

But it may possibly be asked by those who have not thought on this subject, what advantages are to be derived from establishing new communities which are only to carry out principles which have long been familiarly known, and which it is admitted are the same which are every where carried out under the present structure of society. A moment's reflection, however, will convince us, that although there may be an identity in these principles when abstractedly considered, yet that the mode and manner of considering and applying them in the two cases may be widely different. It is readily granted that the present state of society recognizes what is called a division of labor, that men attend to a diversity of employments and pursuits and that each one contributes his proportion of industry, or skill, or capital in making up the sum total of the whole that is gained or required. But the relation in which the members of society, as at present constituted, stand towards each other, is very different from that relation which is contemplated by the system of Fourier and his followers. According to the present system they are entirely independent of each other, or only dependent so far as they may choose to consider their interest, or convenience, or prejudices, involved in the question.—The blacksmith considers himself under no obligation to the tailor, nor the tailor to the blacksmith, except so far as each may *accidentally* stand in need of the services of the other. The merchant reads of the starving mechanic, and the mechanic hears of the failing condition of the merchant, without either of them bestowing a thought about the situation of the other, except so far as there may be a possibility that one or both may be injured by their respective turns of fortune. The brick-maker prepares his bricks without the slightest connexion or understanding with the builder; the lumber merchant prepares his lumber without consulting or caring for the carpenter, and the Cabinet Maker manufactures his table or bedstead without knowing to whom or how he is to dispose of it. It is thus that all these members of the community hang so loosely about each other that every one is permitted to pursue his own course, cold, selfish, and solitary himself, and suffering all the evils of coldness, selfishness and solitariness in his neighbor. There is no controlling power to regulate them, no bonds of sympathy to draw them together, no unanimity of feeling to render them one; all experience the evils of the system, and each one is compelled to shift for himself the best way he can.

Such are some of the considerations (and many others may be supplied by my hearers) which would seem to render it certain, that the system of Fourier, if practically carried out and adhered to, would at least have an important effect on the external condition of men, and materially advance the prosperity and happiness of society. But there are other considerations, which have reference to their mental and spiritual wants, and which ought by no means to be lost sight of in discussing the subject before us.

It would seem to be the order of Providence that man's sensual principle, by which I mean all that pertains to the outward growth and condition of his bodily frame, should first be sustained and taken care of before there can be a development of that finer structure of the mind which distinguishes him as a spiritual and immortal being. The infant is born into the world more helpless and more dependent than any other animal, and does not even possess the common instinct of selecting or refusing its own appropriate food and nourishment. All his wants are merely bodily and sensual, and many years usually elapse before he either desires himself, or learns from others, to supply that which is essential to the proper growth of the mind. The consequence unhappily is, that in the present perverted state of man's will and understanding, and under the present social organization of society, even after the period has arrived when our mental aspirations should assume their appropriate direction, the sensual principle is too often regarded as claiming our first, if not our entire attention, and all our energies are exerted for the sustentition and comfort of the outward man merely. "What shall we eat, and what shall we drink, and wherewithal shall we be clothed," seems to be the almost universal language of the men of our own day.—Nor does the present social structure of society promise any remedy for the evils of which we complain. The feelings of selfishness and exclusiveness which actuate communities as well as individuals must always prove an effectual preventive against any such remedy, or at most can but partially supply the remedy which is needed. Even our systems of common school education form but an imperfect helps to the moral and spiritual elevation of man. They are political regulations merely, from which indeed an incalculable amount of good has resulted, but they want the warm sympathies of the whole community as one man, they want the anxious and united concern of the whole body politic, the fostering care and protection of one unanimous purpose, before they can expand into that light and knowledge and spiritual elevation which are their ostensible and legitimate objects.

But in a social community such as you contemplate, there may be hope at least that the grand problem of man's moral and spiritual elevation of character would be more readily solved, not indeed at once, or in a few days, or a few years, but progressively and by degrees. The immense distance at which we now are from that point of elevation to which we may rise hereafter it is impossible to measure or describe. But our onward progress and our onward improvement must be desired by all. And who will blame us for making a sincere, diligent and anxious inquiry about the best means of commencing and of continuing our journey? Who will say that your system, animated by one common feeling, aiming at one common object, glowing and mingling in one common sympathy, may not at least aid us in advancing, if not in accomplishing our noble design? If you should be successful in establishing principles of external order—if by a unanimity of purpose and action you should arrive at a more than usual measure of temporal prosperity—if you should find all your outward wants to be supplied, and your social happiness to increase—who will say that you may not burst the shackles which now bind men exclusively to the grosser pursuits of life, and rise to a sphere of more intelligence, more purity, and more happiness? It is only because men are so profoundly steeped in the mire of sensuality that they would dare to find fault with you for entertaining such intentions.

And how often, fellow citizens, have you and I, when tracing the dark shades which now deform and distract society—when weeping perhaps tears of bitter regret on account of the selfishness and inhumanity of men—when mourning over the ten thousand evils which have their origin in this cause alone—how often have we pictured to ourselves a state of the world which would form a perfect contrast to the disorder and misery which every where surround us? And how often too have we thought that it only required that men should divest themselves of their selfishness—that they should live together as brothers—that they should endeavor to secure the happiness of others as well as their own in order that this state of the world should be realized in all its beauty and simplicity, in all its splendor and happiness? For who does not see that if that fundamental principle of the Gospel was observed, that we should love the Lord with all our heart and our neighbor as ourselves—if man were in a nearer approximation to the temper and disposition of angels, in making his happiness consist chiefly in doing good to others, rather than in gratifying his own selfishness, that the world would be converted into a Paradise, and our social happiness would resemble the happiness of Heaven. Sickness and pain there would still be, but there we should have the friendly heart to feel, and the kind voice to soothe, and the benevolent hand to administer comfort and consolation under every trial and difficulty. Ignorance and infirmity might still require the helping care of the intelligent and wise, but that assistance would be as freely and promptly extended as it would be kindly welcomed and received. The aged and the young would descend into the grave as they now descend into the silent tomb, but there faith and hope would be stronger and brighter, and the dark valley of the shadow of death would be illumined by a light that would unerringly point to another and a better world.

And if it be possible that such a state of society should exist in the world, then let us hope for it, let us pray for it, let us contend for it. I do not say, fellow citizens, that you will realize it in attempting to carry out the new principles of which you are the advocates and admirers. Years and centuries may yet elapse before this desirable end can be accomplished. But you may at least move in that direction; possibly you may make one step forwards. And if so, you will have done something to benefit yourselves and the world. My sincere belief is, that the progress of truth and good is onward, and he who assists in the onward progress even in a very small degree, ought to be regarded as a friend and benefactor of the human race.

I am well aware that such remarks as I have just been making, may be regarded by many as enthusiastic and visionary, and may be said to be gratuitous and uncalled for. But let me ask such persons whether we have not reason to be dissatisfied with things as they at present exist in society, and to look forward for something better. Tell me, ye that are content to grope your way through the darkness of ignorance, and to feed on the husks of a confused and distracted world—tell me wherein ye have hope, or encouragement, or satisfaction? Do you look to government for protection and happiness? Alas! what is government, or rather what is the character of the men who administer it? For the most part they are the senseless and selfish leaders of a party or faction, whose disgraceful motto is "to the victors belong the spoils," and who trample on the rights and interests of the people in the hallowed names of eternal truth and justice. Do you look to religion for peace, and consolation, and brotherly kindness? She has heaped together a mountain of forms, and ceremonies, and doctrines of belief, and while she stands angry and inflamed, and quarrelling about the adjustment of these, the blessed spirit of love and charity has deserted her sanctuaries, and is weeping tears of blood at the blindness and infatuation of a perverted church. Do you look to an intercourse with the men of the world—to the kindness and friendship of the noble and generous—for enjoyment and satisfaction? Who are these, and where are they to be found? Those who know them best will tell that you have mistaken their characters, and that while you are trusting to their friendship, there is great danger that you may be wounded by their deceit and treachery. But if this be really the state of the world around us, does it necessarily follow that the same state of things must continue forever? If man has receded from his primeval integrity and happiness, is it utterly impossible that he should retrace his steps, and be restored again to the image and happiness of his Creator? For my part I believe that it is not impossible. I have the pledge of God for it that it is not impossible. Reason and Scripture both assure me that it is not impossible. And as long as I am possessed of this assurance I shall feel myself constrained to stand up in defiance of the inherent dignity of man's nature, low and miserably although he may have fallen, and look forward to a period when by a merciful dispensation of Providence he shall rise again to his original virtue and happiness.

And now, fellow-citizens, it is time that I should bring these remarks to a close. The peculiarity of your system consists in an effort to unite into one body the several and disjointed members of society who now stand aloof and apart from each other—to infuse into this body one heart and one soul, impelling its blood as it were from the centre, and causing it to flow through its appropriate channels to all its members, so that each may receive life and warmth and strength from the universal circulation which is common to the whole mass. You acknowledge, as a general maxim, which is partially adhered to even under the present forms of society, that "in union there is strength." But you feel constrained to carry this principle still farther, and to pronounce it not only effectual in imparting strength, but as potent and powerful under your scheme of aggregation, in conferring wisdom, prosperity and happiness. I have said enough to convince you that I do not disapprove of your reasoning, and that my most ardent wish and desire is that your best hopes and expectations may be realized.

But I have, at the same time, hinted that there are difficulties, and dangers, and delays which may beset your path, and obstruct your onward course. And these difficulties and dangers, permit me to say, exist nowhere in such potency as within your own bosoms. From this single source you have more to apprehend than from any thing else. Indeed, it may be a matter of great and serious question whether the world is yet in a state even to begin to carry out your principles, much less to carry them out fairly and fully. Remember what I have already told you, that man's outward state will be generally found to correspond with his state within. If there be peace and order and tranquility there, we may expect to find peace and order and tranquility around him But if his heart be the seat of perplexity, confusion and disturbance, we may reasonably look to see the effect of these evils visibly impressed on everything with which he is connected. Now apply these remarks to yourselves. The Bible tells us, in language that cannot be misunderstood, that our wills and affections have become disordered and perverted, and that for the purpose of restoring these to their original purity and integrity. it is necessary that we should be born again. But how few of us undergo this important change, and what danger is there of strife and collision, of murmuring and discontent, so long as our selfish principles retain the ascendancy, and our native fierceness remains struggling and unsubdued.—It may not be difficult for you, my friends, to enter into association, and to found a community on the principles which we have been considering in this address. But are you sure that your members will hold together?—Will there be no envy, or jealousy, or contention among you? Will you be able to avoid the evils which deface the old forms of society, and mutually exercise the virtues of meekness, forbearance and self-denial? Will you move in harmony after the same objects, having one will and one purpose, and, as a general rule, only desiring the welfare and happiness of the whole community? If you are good men, you may be able to do this, but if you are bad men, there is danger, great and imminent danger, that all the parts of your association will fall asunder, even before they are fairly brought together.

But let us hope for the best. A system like yours may even be founded in selfishness, and yet possibly survive to bless and benefit mankind. Or it may proceed from interested motives at first, having its origin in the mere desire and intention on the part of each of its votaries, to secure for himself ease, or honor, or fortune, and yet it may end in becoming a general boon and blessing to the whole human family. At least the experiment is worthy of trial, and may well command the best energies and resources of your minds and understandings. It is possible, indeed, that you may be in advance of the age in which you live—the world may stand aloof from all your efforts, and only look on with incredulous curiosity, or even with contempt and derision. But what of that? If you fail, then like thousands who have been engaged in similar enterprises, you may console yourselves with the consciousness of your good intentions, and with a reasonable assurance that your labors and endeavors will be successfully carried out by those who are to come after you. But if you succeed, as I hope and trust you may, (and I see nothing but your own bad passions to prevent your success,) then will you have assisted in accomplishing a revolution in society which may be felt for ages of ages; and while you yourselves will be reaping the benefits of a system so wise and enlightened, so charitable and beneficent, the effects of that system will hereafter be felt by unborn millions, and will flow in streams clear, copious and lasting, to bless, adorn and regenerate the families of mankind.

FOR PRESIDENT,

# JAS. BUCHANAN,

Subject to the decision of

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION.


# The Daily Morning Post.

PHILLIPS & SMITH, EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS.

PITTSBURGH, TUESDAY, AUGUST 29, 1843.


THE DELEGATE MEETINGS.—The meetings on Saturday evening, were more numerously attended than they ever before were in Allegheny county. The election was as warmly contested as if it were the final struggle for good fat offices, and there never was more anxiety evinced to hear from Potter and M'Kean, than was felt to learn the results from the townships; and it is evident, from the returns, that our country friends had as warm a contest as we of the city, though we scarcely think there was as much pipe-laying, or double voting with them, as, we are told, was practised in some of the wards of the city.

It is very short-sighted policy for any candidates at the delegate meetings, to resort to tricky or dishonest means to secure the delegates. If, by such means, they succeed at the primary meetings, retribution is sure to overtake them at the election, and *then* they feel the effect of the disgust excited in the public mind, by the use of such fraudulent means to obtain a nomination. Such conduct has not been common to our party, and we hope it never will be; but on Saturday evening, the business, in some of the wards, was conducted in such a manner as to give ground for the belief that a fair expression of the wishes of the *citizens of the ward*, was far from the desire of some who were present. Such conduct is highly censurable, and must, in the end, be injurious to those who practice it.

But we hope, that in the Convention that is to assemble to-morrow, no ill-feeling will be permitted to enter, and that, in selecting a ticket, the delegates will throw aside all personal considerations, and strive only to select such a ticket as will be acceptable to the people, and invulnerable to the base machinations that will, no doubt, be resorted to by the opposition, after our ticket is in the field. Give us a good ticket, fairly chosen, and we can easily overthrow both factions of the enemy.

☞ Our whig and blue nose friends displayed a feeling of great kindness on Saturday evening, by attending the delegate meetings and evincing a willingness to take part in the proceedings. We saw some of them who have grown as gray as rats in opposing the democratic party, push themselves forward to the voting stand, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the officers of the meeting could prevent them from voting. We do not suppose that any portion of the democratic party desire the aid of these men, if they come to our meetings and behave themselves properly, they are welcome to look on, but if they attempt to interfere they must not be surprised if they should get an invitation—and perhaps a rough one—to leave the room. If democrats attend a whig gathering, they behave themselves quietly, and never attempt to control the proceedings of the meeting, and we have a right to expect the same courteous conduct on the part of the whigs when they obtrude themselves on our party assemblages.

We have heard of the impudent conduct of several whigs and antimasons at the meetings on Saturday evening, and it may, perhaps, be necessary yet to bring their names and conduct before the public in a more specific manner.

DEFAULTERS LOOK OUT.—The Age makes a demonstration of enquiring into the cases of several delinquent Tax Collectors, who have not "balanced" their duplicates properly. The county is paying interest on $108,346, borrowed money, while a large portion of the taxes collected from the citizens, running back for many years, remains unpaid to the Treasury by the collectors. On this subject, we think there would not be much difference of opinion among the people, and that all parties would desire the Commissioners to have these matters settled up as soon as possible. The Collectors themselves, we think, will only require to be informed that the people would like to have there accounts settled up to induce them to pay into the Treasury all the arrearages that are charged against them. They are too honest and too patriotic to withhold from the people such a large amount of their money; but at all events, whether they are willing or not, there is a way to have the money collected, and we think the tax payers generally would desire to hear that it was in the Treasury as soon as practicable.

MR. CLINE'S ADDRESS.—We have surrendered the principal part of our paper to-day to the Address of Mr. Cline, at the Fourier Pic Nic, on the 23d inst. As the subject of Industrial Association occupies much of the attention of the public, our readers will, without doubt, be willing to forego the usual variety in our paper, to obtain information on a matter of such deep interest.

Mr. Cline has treated the question with much ability and his production bears the evident impress of talent and deep research. We commend the Address to our readers, and assure them that the time spent in its perusal will be well bestowed.

THEATRE.—The splendid spectacle of the FORTY THIEVES, was played last night at the Theatre, to a large and fashionable audience. The manager has spared neither pains nor expenses to make the representation and entertaining, and his people have successfully seconded his efforts. The piece will be repeated this evening, when a full house may be expected.

Miss Clarenden made a brilliant first appearance—she will doubtless soon become popular with our playgoers.

CONCERT.—The pupils of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Blind will give a concert this evening in Allegheny, at the Methodist Church. As their object is the benevolent one of arousing public attention to the situation of the unfortunate blind, and their capacity for improvement and enlarged comfort, when properly instructed, we hope their Concert may be well attended.

HIGHWAY ROBBERY.—The New Orleans papers of the 17th, give an account of the robbery on the highway, of a young man named S. C. Converse, a clerk in the house of W. J. Bryan. He was decoyed by a letter, purporting to come from a person on a business matter, into an unfrequented place, and there dragged from his horse, his clothes almost torn from him, robbed and tied to a tree, where he remained all day in the heat of the sun, without a hat on. A search was made after him, which was unsuccessful, but he returned to his house in the evening with his hands tied, in a delirious state, unable to tell any intelligible tale.

☞ A Sacred concert of vocal and instrumental music will be given by the pupils from the Pennsylvania Institution for the instruction of the blind, this evening, at the South Common Methodist Church in Allegheny city. The method of instruction will be shown, and the little blind Chinese girl, Fanny Gutzlaff, will read the Bible. To-morrow evening they will give a musical entertainment in Concert Hall, in this city, and Fanny will again read the Bible It

## Port of Pittsburgh.

*Reported by Skeble and Mitchell, General Steam Boat Agents, Water street.*

TWENTY-THREE INCHES WATER IN THE CHANNEL.

According to Copper Mark, at the Wood street Sewer.

ARRIVED.

Richard Clayton Hough, Cincinnati.

DEPARTED.

Clarion, Hutchinson, Cincinnati.
Keel Boat, John.
do do Spry.


UNIONTOWN AND PITTSBURGH TURNPIKE ROAD.—Notice is hereby given that by an act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, passed the 5th day of April, 1843, the subscribers are named as Commissioners in Allegheny county, with authority to open books at such time and places as may be deemed expedient by them, for the purpose of receiving subscribtions of stock, for the construction of a turnpike road from Uniontown to Pittsburgh. In pursuance of which authority the subscribers will proceed to open books for the purpose of receiving subscriptions of stock, payable to "The President, Managers and Company of the Uniontown and Pittsburgh Turnpike Road Company," according to the terms of the act of incorporation. Such books to be opened on Monday, the second day of October, at 10 o'clock, A. M., at the Monongahela House, in the city of Pittsburgh, and at the store of Samuel Walker, in the borough of Elizabeth.

CHARLES SHALER,
THOS. BAKEWELL,
JOSIAH KING,
SAMUEL WALKER,
*Commissioners for All. Co.*

aug 29—d1m. (Advocate and American copy.)

JUST RECEIVED and for sale on consignment,
7 hhds bacon,
7 hhds sugar,
Can be seen at the store of Jacob Painter & Co.
aug 29 J. K. MOORHEAD & CO.

STRAY HOG.—Came to the premises of the subscriber, living in Pitt township, on Saturday, 26th inst., a large spotted hog; a crop off the left ear, no other marks perceivable. The owner is desired to come forward, prove property, pay charges and take it away, or it will be disposed of according to law.
aug 29-3t* WM. BLACK.

NEW FASHIONABLE
**Hat and Cap Manufactory.**
*No. 93 Wood street, 3 doors below Diamond Alley.*

THE subscriber will keep constantly on hand every variety of the most fashionable HATS and CAPS, wholesale and retail, at reduced prices.
Persons wishing to purchase will find it to their interest to give him a call. S. MOORE.
Pittsburgh, aug. 29, 1843.

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