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EUROPEAN COLONIZATION

IN

TEXAS:

An Address to the American People.

BY

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European Colonization in Texas.

In Monarchies, humble supplications are addressed to the king. In a Republic, we may speak freely to the people. If I decide to avail myself of this privilege, it is not because I wish to attach a useless notoriety to my name, but in obedience to the serious interests with which I am charged.

Proscribed by the political reaction in France, for my honest devotion to the cause whose banner is now sustained only by America, I flatter myself that my voice may challenge some sympathy in this country and be graciously listened to for a few moments.

I am now in the United States, for the second time within three years. I return for the purpose of founding a colony of European emigrants. A few words on the antecedents of the present enterprise are demanded by the occasion.

Landing at New York towards the close of 1852, I arrived at Preston, on the Red River, Texas, on the 27th of the following May, having previously visited several other States of the Union, and passed through the Indian Territory.

The purpose of this tour, on which I was accompanied by my friend Mr. Albert Brisbane, was to ascertain what part of the country offered the greatest advantages for the establishment of a European-American colony, the members of which were to be furnished

principally by France, Switzerland, Belgium, &c, with representatives both from the northern and southern portions of the United States.

In Texas, we visited different counties, especially Grayson, Cook, Tarrant, and Dallas, in pursuance of information which had been kindly afforded to us by Capt. Marcy, a distinguished officer in the United States Army.

The rapid examination which we made of Texas more than confirmed our most sanguine hopes. Nothing could be more favorable to the important object which we had in view. I was convinced that, with so advantageous a locality and climate, and such economical conditions, it would be possible to combine in Europe all the elements essential to the successful formation of a colony. Under these circumstances, I had to choose between two plans; namely, either to apply immediately to the government of Texas, submitting to it a programme of our scheme, and requesting a charter, with which I could return to Europe and negotiate with the friends of the undertaking; or to return directly to Europe, and, laying before them the condition of things, collect the elements of a large colony, and then apply to the Texan government in behalf of a Company already organized, and propose arrangements favorable to an enterprise in the development of which, in every point of view, the country would have no small interest. Between these two plans there was no room for hesitation. I was not ignorant that in America, as elsewhere, speculators were often to be met with, who though entirely destitute of means, would boldly apply to government, presenting their plans, seeking and sometimes even obtaining grants of land and other advantages, for which they gave no other guarantee than the promise to settle the country with people that were often entirely imaginary. I did not wish to proceed in this manner. I knew, to be sure, that in case of an advantageous arrangement with Texas, I had the means of fulfilling my engagements. But, although my name was sufficiently well known in Europe, and it was also well known that I was not there without influence with a considerable number of men of property, I could not hope for the same thing in Texas. I was bound, accordingly, not to expose myself to the suspicion of being one of those speculating adventurers, of whom I have just spoken, or to lose my time in fruitless attempts.

The second plan appeared to me the only sound and honorable one. Consequently, I returned to Europe. I wrote a book on Texas, giving to my friends a just and impartial account of the state of things in that country, and reproducing the information which I had obtained on the journey. In fine, I proposed to them to emigrate to Texas *en masse*, with their property and their families; and, combining our capital, our industry, and our resources of every kind, to form a colony on a large scale, where we might find what was denied us in Europe—liberty, peace, and prosperity, in return for labor, order, and productive activity judiciously organized and conducted.

Although, as I have already said, I abstained from any negotiation with the government of the State, relying upon my knowledge of the true interest of the country, I had no doubt that such an enterprise would be favorably received in Texas, and, once started, would find all the aid and enjoy all the privileges which I had declined asking for it before giving it a body and a tangible existence.

And at this moment, although, at the close of sixteen or seventeen months passed in Europe, I find the state of affairs in Texas materially changed, I do not believe that I was deceived in my anticipations. My confidence is founded partly on the knowledge of what our people are, and of the advantages of every kind which our immigration will confer upon the country in which it is settled; and partly on the intelligence and the open and hospitable character of the inhabitants of a State, which has the greatest interest in attracting foreign capital to its expanded territory, as well as a peaceful, honest, and industrious population. The cordial reception and warm support, moreover, which our first overtures have met with from many eminent persons in Washington—senators or representatives from Texas, former governors, &c., with whom I have had recently the honor to converse, tended to strengthen me in my confidence.

Still, it is proper to explain more fully the changes in Texas to which I have alluded; and also to say a few words on those which I have perceived in the state of public opinion throughout the Union. On account of its general character, I will commence with the second point.

I. CHANGES IN THE STATE OF PUBLIC OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES, OR THE DEVELOPMENT OF KNOW-NOTHINGISM.

I by no means intend to criticise or to approve this political movement, or to pass judgment upon it in any manner whatever. God forbid that I should follow the example of those new comers who, having scarcely set foot in a great country where they find hospitality, freedom, and an immense field open to their activity, hasten to take part in its internal affairs, mixing themselves up in questions of which they cannot yet understand the first elements, speaking, judging, and deciding, right or wrong, on all sorts of subjects, which demand long study and profound knowledge of things in order to be comprehended.

No! my friends and myself, I am authorized to say, are men of common sense. We do not come to America in order to enlist in parties, of which we know neither the principles, the traditions, nor the exciting causes.

It is undoubtedly our earnest desire to attain, as soon as possible, the dignity of American citizens. But we will patiently wait the time when the law shall accord to us this title of nobility (whatever delay it may prescribe us to-day, or establish to-morrow). We hold this title in high esteem, sufficiently to understand that the law, before conferring it on foreigners, should require them to become worthy of the privilege; and for ourselves, we do not pretend to see farther than the Americans, into their own affairs. So far from aspiring to give them lessons of political conduct, we know that on all questions of this nature they are our superiors and masters, and it is our part to place ourselves on the seat of instruction. We feel ourselves far more urgently called to cultivate the earth, to erect buildings, and to establish various branches of industry, workshops, and schools, than to swell the ranks of any political party, to deposit our votes in the ballot-box, or to place ourselves in either scale of the political balance in the United States. Know-Nothingism and Anti-Know-Nothingism, American Democracy Whiggism, Abolitionism, Pro-Slaveryism, with all the other *isms* of the same nature, are as yet to us only words expressing ideas, interests, and principles on which we are not ashamed to confess our ignorance, and to declare our perfect incompetence. All these questions, we think, are essentially American, concerning

Americans alone, and in which no foreigner can reasonably take part until after he has been thoroughly Americanized ; and,—this is not the work of a day.

After such a profession of faith, which I shall be pardoned for making so complete and explicit, I may be permitted I trust, without incurring the charge of fickleness or an obtrusive disposition, to say a few words on Know-Nothingism, in immediate reference to our own affairs.

One of my first questions on arriving in this country, related to this new party, which had scarcely begun to be known in Europe even by name. I was answered, "Know-Nothingism is a party hostile to foreigners, to European emigration, and, consequently, to the enterprise in which you are engaged in the United States."

This answer was by no means encouraging. It did not, however, discourage me, but led to a train of reflection like the following. The United States, I said to myself, is essentially a country of immigration. It is by immigration, more or less recent, that the American people has been formed, constituted, and developed. Besides, so far from having attained what political economists call an "excess of population," the immense territory of the Union can yet receive and give prosperity to hundreds of millions of inhabitants, to the greatest advantage of the country, of its general progress, of its wealth, its power, its greatness, and the preponderance which it is called to exercise in the modern history of the world.

Now, as the human mind never shows itself absolutely illogical, even in the greatest errors, it is impossible, I said to myself, that in an enlightened country, in the midst of an intelligent population, a great party should be formed in absolute contradiction to the origin, the character, and the destiny of the country itself.

I considered, then, that if Know-Nothingism should rapidly increase in America, it must be something else than a simple proscription of the foreigner because he is a foreigner ; that there must be some reasons for its existence ; and that the definition of it which had been given to me was too laconic and too rigid for completeness or perfect accuracy.

I accordingly continued to inquire, I conversed on the subject read some newspaper articles, and was not long in discovering that in fact Know-Nothingism was not, as I had been informed, a party

of barbarians wishing in the nineteenth century to transform America into a modern China, barricaded against foreigners; that it was by no means intended to close the doors of the United States upon humanity, and say to all Europeans in a body, "Depart! You are nothing to us—we are not your brothers—and henceforth we will not hear of your placing your feet on our shores." I soon perceived that the question was merely one of a longer or a shorter space of time for conferring political rights upon foreigners, that is, for a direct and legal participation in the general affairs of state.

I was greatly reassured by this discovery; for, it may easily be inferred from what I have before said, that the question of our active participation in the struggle of political parties was for us of altogether inferior importance. The concession of *civil* rights was not called in question. This seemed to be a sufficient guarantee, and for the moment, we did not feel the need of obtaining any other.

It now remained to know, whether, besides its specific object,—the extension of the time for the political naturalization of foreigners,—Know-Nothingism did not conceal under these generalities, a less favorable disposition. This, for my own part and *à priori*, I was unwilling to believe. Now, if my information and my own reflections have not deceived me, this incredulity was perfectly well-founded. It appeared to me as clear as day, that in fact, Know-Nothingism (whatever opinion may be formed of its end and of its measures as a political party, which I do not propose to discuss) cannot be regarded, without injustice, as inspired with a blind hatred towards the foreigner, merely as such.

If I have rightly comprehended the reasons for the existence of this party, it appears directed against the abuses of emigration rather than against emigration itself. I should describe the salient point of the movement, by saying that it is not the wave of European emigration which it would repel, but only the scum with which this wave is too often loaded.

Pursuing this investigation still farther, and seeking the causes which furnish this new party with its chief strength, I should state the principal of them as follows:

1. A number of worthy citizens are alarmed for the public safety, by the accumulation in certain great cities, and chiefly on the sea-coast, of needy inhabitants, whose means of subsistence become more

and more precarious in proportion as European emigration adds new waves of misery to a misery already formidable.

2. A number of artisans, mechanics, and men inspired by a generous and democratic sentiment, calculate the economical effect of these swarms of indigent emigrants on the price of labor, and having had already, as it would seem, numerous practical confirmations of their fears, cannot see without alarm the great industrial centers of the country threatened with the depreciation of wages which pauperism always produces in Europe, and which, by an inevitable vicious circle, soon becomes in its turn one of the most fearful causes of the extension of the scourge to which it owes its own birth.

3. Others are struck with the difficulties which the presence of such a mass of destitute persons, in the enjoyment of political rights but deprived of labor and of bread, may occasion in the regular and legitimate exercise of the institutions of the country,—the facility with which they may be made the tools of parties in election struggles.

4. Others, finally, believe that of these masses the most destitute and the most ignorant, brought by the annual wave of European emigration, belong for the most part to the Roman Catholic element; and they fear, not without reason, the tendency which Catholicism everywhere exhibits to transform itself into a political instrument for illiberal and retrograde domination. The constitution of American society, which has the Protestant principles of liberty for its basis, appears to them to be thus threatened in its very essence. They think that it is time to provide for its protection against what seems to them a dangerous aggression and against a serious modification of principle, and corruption of the national character, which such an aggression threatens to produce. They thus arrive at Know-Nothingism through a reaction against the political encroachments and the usurpations of Catholicism, upon the very foundation of the social constitution of America.

That Know-Nothingism should still find recruits from the world for other and not so good reasons, is altogether probable; but I do not hesitate to consider the facts just stated as the logical grounds of this party. And if this is really the case, I am warranted in the conclusion, that nothing, absolutely nothing, in the Know-Nothing

movement is antagonistic to the European emigration which my friends and myself have undertaken to introduce into this country.

This naturally leads us to one of the most important points which I propose to treat in this pamphlet. The country and the government to which we address ourselves have the right to demand of us, in the first place, Who are you? and it is our duty to anticipate the question by a prompt reply. We will give it with a truly republican frankness and sincerity.

WHO WE ARE.

We are Europeans who believe that Europe is in a state of decline, who can no longer endure its corruption, anarchy, and despotism,—and who have faith in America for the regeneration of the world, and the political and social salvation of entire humanity. We are not, like so many of our unhappy brothers of the old world, driven from Europe by misery; and we might, many of us, live at our ease in your country, a certain number in affluence; and the least favored of fortune are men of worth, accustomed to agricultural and mechanical labor, and capable of supporting themselves, wherever the industry of man is remunerated, by their callings and their intellectual or manual activity.

We belong to the great party of the future, and of progress. Republicans, democrats, socialists, animated by the spirit of peace and charity, which the Word of Christ breathed over the earth eighteen centuries ago, we have struggled in Europe for the triumph of the ideas which, more fortunate than ourselves, you have already realized many years since, in part at least, in the political and social institutions of your country.

Soldiers of this great cause of peace, of labor, of reason, and of enlightenment, we have been vanquished by brute force, by despotism, ignorance, and darkness. The saber and the cassock have triumphed over intellect in the old world, and have there crushed the power of speech. The priest and the soldier of our day, in Europe, as in Judea eighteen hundred years ago, have crucified and buried the WORD of humanity.

But if we are vanquished for the moment, we are not discouraged. If the WORD has been placed in the sepulcher by the sol-

diers, the chief priests, and the pharisees, we know that it will rise again. We do not despair either of liberty or of the future of humanity, nor even of the modern regeneration of age-stricken Europe. But we comprehend the significance of that simple but sublime expression of Scripture, "The field is the world." We know that humanity is but one great family; we find our real country wherever we can most effectually serve the cause of universal good; and we recognise the fact, that the American continent at this day is the land where every thing leads us to believe that the sovereign question of the destinies of collective humanity will obtain its solution.

Instead, then, of continuing to submit to silence, oppression, and crushing, in this antiquated Europe—invariably doomed for a time to struggles between anarchy and despotism, to revolutions, to reactions, and to internal wars—and which must be crumbled to dust before it can be prepared for a decisive renovation, it appeared to us certain that the best thing we could do, even for the dearest and most important of European interests, was to transport ourselves to America, with our resources, our capital, our families, and our ideas, and by our example to show our brothers in Europe what can be accomplished under free and democratic institutions, by labor, by peace, and by the practice of sound economical and industrial principles,—of which we have for a long time studied and promulgated the science in Europe, but without having been able to apply them in that great Occidental China, which seems at the present day to possess no force, but to violently arrest ideas, and to treat progress as a malefactor.

The existence of republican institutions in America, forms, in this age, the funded capital of republican ideas throughout the world. If a republic had not been established in America towards the close of the last century, and had not created a great people, two or three hundred years more would, perhaps, have been necessary for Europe to awake to the idea of a republic, and begin to perceive the possibility of its own democratic federation. America, the child and heir of the most advanced political ideas of Europe in the last century, has become in her turn, and for the practice of these ideas, the teacher of her parent.

Now, we anticipate that she will henceforth be the asylum of all

the other great social improvements which modern humanity is yet to accomplish. It may be said, we think, in the full comprehension of the expression, and without fear of venturing a rash judgment, that America, at the present day, is for the human race the land of great historical initiations, the country of progress, the fruitful mother of the future. In laboring for its own development, she labors also, though unconsciously on the part of many of her children, for that of the whole human race. She is the arm of God, which distributes and labors for the world. She sows the seeds, and the whole world will reap with her a glorious harvest. It is for this reason, that we have sought to be adopted by her—that we wish to become also her children.

In Europe, we have already felt that we were citizens of the world, by the aspirations of the soul and the exercise of thought. We felt that we should become such, practically and effectively, by meriting and obtaining the dignity of American citizens.

You may thus see for what causes, with what sentiments, and in view of what end, we have departed from Egypt, like the children of Israel of old, and have come to seek a place in the promised land. It is ever the old history of progress, which too often finds a step-mother instead of a mother in the land of its birth, and is condemned to seek its country afar off, under the broad sky, and across land and sea.

We do not, then, present ourselves in America either as mendicants, nor yet as petitioners. In saying this, we do not wish to cast the slightest reflection on any honest unfortunate; but such, in truth, is not our position.

Our position, with the difference of over 200 years, is that of your Pilgrim Fathers, who settled New England.

A political writer, well known in the United States, has thus summed up the history of that enterprise:—

“The emigrants, who came to establish themselves on the shores of New England, generally belonged to the classes in easy circumstances in the mother country. Their mission on the American soil, from the beginning, presented the remarkable phenomenon of a society in which there were neither lords nor subjects, and, so to speak, neither rich nor poor. There was, comparatively, a greater mass of intelligence among these persons, than in the bosom of any

European nation of our own day. All, without excepting perhaps a single one, had received an education, and many of them were celebrated in Europe for their talents and their knowledge. But what distinguished them beyond any thing else, was the object of their enterprise. It was not necessity which had led them to abandon their country; they left there an enviable social position, and secure means of subsistence; nor did they emigrate to the New World in order to meliorate their condition and increase their wealth; they obeyed a purely intellectual end—they wished to achieve the triumph of an idea.

“They belonged to that sect in England which, by the austerity of its principles, had obtained the name of Puritan. Persecuted by the government of the country wounded in their principles by the prevailing habits of the society in which they lived, the Puritans turned their attention to a country so neglected, that they might be permitted to live in it in their own way, and to worship God in freedom. * * * A Democracy, such as antiquity had not dared to dream of, escaped, full-grown and completely equipped, from the bosom of the old feudal society. The general principles which form the basis of modern constitutions, and which were comprehended by few Europeans of the seventeenth century, are all recognized and embodied in the laws of New England; the participation of the people in political affairs, taxation by voluntary levy, the responsibility of the officers of government, personal liberty, and trial by jury, were all established in them without discussion. These general principles thus received an application and a development which no European nation has dared to give them, even to this day.”

After referring to these words in connection with my proposal to my friends to emigrate in a body to America, I had a right to add, in speaking of ourselves:—

“The middle of the nineteenth century is not the commencement of the seventeenth; the most advanced theories of the epoch are not mixed up, in our minds, with any kind of fanaticism; but there is such a striking analogy between the state of things, at a distance of two hundred and fifty years, that any comments on the above lines would be superfluous.”

We come, then, without apology, freely raising our heads and

offering to our adopted country, not a new wave of misery, of ignorance, and fanaticism, but, on the contrary, a collection of men industrious, enlightened, of moral culture and of character for integrity unquestionably superior to the average of European populations, and—we do not hesitate to say, because this is the case—to the average even of the American population.

In innumerable respects, America is superior to Europe. Europe is declining, is rotten, and must soon fall. Her institutions, her political forms, her social arrangements, must perish, before she can be resuscitated in a new form. America has for herself a space without limits, a future without shackles, the impulses and irresistible energy of an athletic and brilliant youth. This is incontestable; and I have myself placed it at the head of this exposition, not to flatter American self-love, but to render homage to truth. And if I do not intend to flatter any one, not even those whose hospitality we invoke, accordingly I do not fear to say in the face of our American brothers, that they have much to learn and to receive, in many important respects, from European civilization. In spite of all the advancement which you have made, a long list might be drawn up of the points in which you are deficient. No; the United States is not yet a paradise, nor are all the Americans angels. This, I suppose, may be said in a country which professes to love frankness. You have your abilities and your virtues—but you have also your defects, your imperfections, and your faults, as we have noticed. Let us mutually communicate the benefits of our good qualities, and as far as possible cure each other of our deficiencies. This, I think, would be an admirable procedure for both sides.

But to return to our enterprise, I remark that our emigration is composed of a select population, representing all the elements of social life, from the field laborer, the artisan, the mechanic, to engineers, men of science, and artists. We propose not only to cultivate the land, more or less thoroughly, and to raise numerous flocks and herds; but we wish, as far as our resources will permit, to develop an improved agriculture, to create gardens and nurseries which shall introduce into the country all the fruits and vegetables of foreign origin that can be acclimated, to establish manufactures, and exhibit all branches of industry. We propose to labor for the

development of the interior communication, for the improvement of rivers and roads, and to take our share in the construction of the railroads which are one day to cover the country. In short, as soon as we shall have securely laid our foundations, commenced our agricultural labors, and provided for things of absolute necessity, we shall not confine ourselves to opening primary schools for children, but we intend to organize a University, where English and French literature, the arts, the physical, mechanical, and other sciences, shall be taught by men of approved ability in every branch of instruction.

In all respects, it will be in our power to furnish Texas, if we decide to establish ourselves in that State, with elements of prosperity, of progress, and of social development, for which all new countries must usually wait for years. I may add that the personal abilities at our disposal for the establishment of high schools, are of such a character, that we shall have no reason to fear the complete eclipse of our institutions by those which now do honor to the most advanced States of the East and North.

I will conclude, then, and sum up with the remark, that we belong to the great party of the future and of progress, which in Europe has sought the conquest of political and social institutions in the way which America has had the good fortune and the honor of being the first to enter; that, as a portion of the party, we have ever sought to be remarked for disinterestedness, love of reason and of tolerance, predilection for pacific measures, and antipathy to every form of violence; that, vanquished by the reaction, proscribed and scattered, and deprived even of liberty of speech, we are crushed in Europe; that Europe, moreover, appears to us destined for a long time to revolutions, to reactions, to tempests of brute force, and closed to the regular work of pacific progress; that we have believed, on the contrary, that in America, men, good, honest, respecting the rights of others, obedient to the laws of the country, and free from all fanaticism, were secure of the protection of the laws which they respected, and of the public favor which they deserved; and that such are, in fine, the motives, for which, leaving Europe, we have come to demand an asylum and a field of labor in the New World, which is henceforth called to take the place of the old

Europe, at the head of humanity, and as a guide towards glorious destinies.

If having thus summed up, I should boldly conclude that a great party had been formed here, disposed to repel from the American soil an emigration such as that of which I have described the composition and the character, it would be a gloomy symptom, denoting not only a considerable defect of intelligence, but the absence of the primary sentiments of humanity, especially of that benevolence with which all civilized nations make it their glory to receive into their bosom the honorable victims of devotion to a just cause. Such a disposition would be a flagrant outrage on the traditional sentiments of the American people; it would be contrary, moreover, to the interest of a great country, called to enrich itself with all the good elements of an advanced civilization, which the agitated and insupportable state of Europe will henceforth bear towards it more abundantly; and, without any kind of doubt in my mind, to ascribe it to the Know-Nothing party would be a strange calumny. For my part, should our admission to this free soil depend on the decision of an assembly of Know-Nothings, I should feel certain that instead of rudely sending us back to Europe they would, on the contrary, cordially extend to us a fraternal hand. I have, indeed, already met with more than one Know-Nothing, and they have all fully confirmed me in the opinion which I have just expressed.

Strong in this conviction, I have now only to consider the second question, that of the changes which have occurred in Texas during the last fifteen or sixteen months, changes which, if the government of this State does not feel obliged to correct in our favor the less encouraging features of the present state of affairs, would operate to make us seek another locality, either in Kansas or in some still more distant region, for the basis of our establishment and the center of our enterprise.

II. CHANGES IN THE STATE OF THINGS IN TEXAS.

I have already said, that on my return to Europe in the autumn of 1853, I laid before my friends the result of my explorations in a Report entitled "To Texas."

This pamphlet consisted of two leading parts. The first gave a description of Texas, the natural productions and climate of this beautiful country and its economical position. The second presented the general plan of colonization, which I proposed to my friends to undertake.

The paramount importance of the first part of this little work, in regard to the economy of the whole enterprise, is easily perceived. In fact, the state of things in Texas in 1853 appeared eminently favorable to the development of a noble and extensive scheme of colonization; and I recommended to my friends the selection of this country. The general features I had there met with, that is to say, the fertility of the soil, the beauty and salubrity of the climate, on the one hand, and the facility offered to the emigration for procuring lands on the other, as well as the earnest desire which was everywhere expressed to see new and good elements of population brought in, were the reasons which decided my choice, and formed the essential basis of the project which I proposed, and of the operations which it involved. Now unhappily, although the soil remains as fertile and the climate as beautiful and salubrious as in 1853, a great change has taken place in the question concerning lands.

I told my friends, when explaining the different modes of acquiring lands in Texas: 1st, that the "head-rights" were still at the average price of 20 cents an acre; 2d, that the law of Texas made a gratuitous concession of a half-section (of 320 acres) to the emigrant who came to settle in the country; 3d, that the opinion of all persons with whom I had had occasion to converse in Texas was, that the State would not hesitate to favor by liberal grants, the development of an enterprise which would present substantial guarantees of superior utility and of prosperity for the country.

These data permitted us to appropriate but a small amount of capital to the acquisition of the land on which we were to make our first attempts, and consequently left us free to devote the greater part of our available funds from the beginning to industrial operations of every kind, which would be no less useful to the country than to ourselves.

This is not all. I ought to add that in our journey across Texas, we found no region more favorable to the commencement of our operations, than Cook county. The land was generally unoccupied,

and seemed as though it would remain, for a long time yet, free from the encroachments of isolated settlers and speculators. We accordingly thought that, considering what I have just said, we should easily be able to establish ourselves there, and immediately employ our capital in agricultural and industrial erections of all kinds, in improving the means of communication, &c. &c.

I now learn, on arriving here for the second time, from the account of our friends who have preceded us to Texas, and who have already been several months on the spot, that the greater part of the lands in Cook county and the adjoining region have been appropriated during the last fifteen months; that a considerable reserve has been made for the railroad, from the 32d degree; and that we can no longer think of carrying the bulk of our emigration to the territory contained between the Red River and the Brazos, or even far to the West above the 33d degree, although our pioneer colonists have already taken that direction. On the other hand, not only the price of "head rights" had risen, but the grant made by law to the immigrant—a grant which was originally 640 acres, and which was still 320 acres in 1853—has been abolished.

Such rapid changes in the state of things—changes to which the Americans are accustomed, and which they receive perhaps merely with a "never mind"—are not of a nature, I am but too certain, to produce so slight an effect on Europeans, especially those who hear of them at the distance of six thousand miles.

I feel obliged to confess that the fine movement of colonization, commenced in Europe, and which promised (I carry with me the proofs of this, and will furnish them to any one who has a right to demand them) to Texas a wave of foreign capital—of every kind of property—may be sensibly paralyzed by the above intelligence.

It is certain that the advantages which I have enumerated to my friends as inducements to a revolution so important as that of an emigration, with goods and chattels, capital, industry, and family, which was to lead them over two thousand leagues across land and sea, from the foot of the Alps and the banks of the Seine to those of the Red River,—it is certain, I say, that these advantages will appear to them essentially reduced by the actual state of affairs, compared with that of 1853.

Now, in the degree that a movement like this naturally assumes magnificent proportions, with great rapidity, if it meets with encouragement and success on its practical commencement,—so also it may be reduced, diminished, and even paralyzed, if its first steps lead to a deception.

So that it is not merely the loss of the advantages afforded by the state of things in 1853, in themselves, which we have to regret, but, what is a thousand times worse, the bad moral effect of this loss.

Still, in spite of these circumstances, my confidence in the success of the enterprise is by no means diminished, and I do not hesitate to make the avowal. Why? Let me explain the reason.

The state of things in Texas, in an economical point of view, has changed, it is true. A great extent of land, that was unoccupied eighteen months ago, has been appropriated. The grants made by law to the immigrant have been reduced or abolished. This is also true. But as the excellence of the climate and the fertility of the soil remain unchanged, so also the great interests of the country are evidently the same, and the intelligence of the persons charged with the care of those interests has certainly not been affected.

Now, these interests of the country, and the intelligence of her public men, have always, to my mind, been the real and substantial foundation on which to build our basis of success.

Why, indeed, have we preferred Texas as the seat of a colonization; and why did my friends readily accept the proposal which I made to them of quitting Europe, and establishing themselves in that country? Because the population of Texas, still limited in comparison with the extent and the fertility of her territory, has always induced the State to offer conditions eminently favorable to the prosperity of all new populations, coming into the country with capital and resources of all kinds.

It is plain, in fact, that the first interest of Texas—the most pressing interest of the country, and of all its present inhabitants from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico to the Indian territory—is that the State should be peopled as rapidly as possible, and especially that it should be peopled by skillful workmen; that foreign capital should be brought in abundantly; that different branches of

industry should be established ; that aid should be afforded to railroads ; that agriculture, commerce, the means of locomotion, the arts and sciences, and all the better elements of an improved social life, should receive a powerful development.

If this is the case—and who will question a fact as clear as day—it is impossible that the population of Texas should not ardently desire this increase of prosperity, and should not, moreover, realize the conditions by which this increase may be promoted, and carried to the greatest possible extent.

I have, accordingly, not doubted, that whatever new circumstances may have occurred in the details of affairs, we shall still find the government, the legislature of the State, disposed to do every thing for us that should be dictated by the serious interests intrusted to their care.

Now, if it has been the custom in Texas, to allow grants of land to all classes of emigrants, even to those without any means of their own, and who were the least able to contribute toward the advancement of public prosperity, how could I hesitate to suppose that the same principle—even though it had been modified, or entirely set aside in ordinary cases—would not be largely and liberally applied in favor of a colonization that presented guaranties as substantial, and prospects as important, as those of which I bring from Europe the elements and the foundations ?

Texas, in fact, possesses an immense amount of lands, often very fertile, but of which the greater part is still uncultivated and unproductive. What does she need, in order to commence an unexampled prosperity, and to overtake, in her career of progress and of public wealth, the States which have preceded her by many years ?

What Texas needs is population, which is now numerically deficient. What she also needs is capital, industry, roads, railroads, enterprises of all kinds. It is her interest, therefore, to draw to herself laborious arms ; peaceful, honest and intelligent workmen, provided with resources ; skillful artisans, engineers, physicians, professors, men of science, artists,—all the elements, in short, of which new countries are usually so long destitute, which States already old are far from presenting in sufficient quantities, and which an emigration organized in Europe—an emigration, which, perhaps, it would have been impossible to combine there, and draw away from

the old world, in any other circumstances than those which followed the defeat of the republican revolution of 1848—has the sole power to furnish in abundance.

Such an emigration is precisely that which we are able to conduct to Texas, and which only requires for its establishment there, that that young State should extend to it a friendly and favorable hand.

It is my hope that this will be the case. And, I repeat it, I have already found the most decided encouragement among the honorable members of Congress from Texas, whom I have had the honor to meet with lately at Washington. One of them, who has been Governor of Texas, replied in the following terms to my expression of opinion, in regard to the changes which have taken place in the state of things during my visit in Europe.

“Cherish no fears,” said he, “if you find affairs in a different situation from that you met with in 1853. But there is nothing in this to surprise you, in a country where things move on by steam-power. Do not be discouraged. The lands you had in view are occupied.—Very well. The law providing for grants to immigrants is no longer the same.—Very well, again. But, I am sufficiently well acquainted with the practice of the government, the interests of the country, and the disposition of its legislators, not to be afraid to say to you that you will be received by them as well as you could wish. We have the greatest interest in attracting towards us the elements of wealth, which you can bring here, directly and indirectly, in great abundance. What do you want? Lands? We still have, by millions of acres, fertile lands; the country will certainly concede some of them to you. If you cannot establish yourselves where you have thought of going, you will not fail of as good localities as any you had in view at first. Do not fear. You will receive a helping hand, I am sure, and find such liberal terms that you and your friends will be encouraged to sell your property in Europe, and transfer the avails to our magnificent country.”

I am happy to add that the encouragement thus given was not contradicted by the other eminent citizens of Texas, whom I have thus far had the honor to meet with, and that all of them have spoken to me in the most favorable terms.

I may, then, sum up the opinions on this question, which appear to be reasonable, as follows :

What Texas demands is the elements of wealth, of labor, and of advanced civilization, with which we are able to furnish it. What we demand is a field of activity for those elements. There are certain portions of land unoccupied, which Texas possesses in great abundance, and which it is for her interest to see speedily covered with population, culture, industry, and establishments of every kind. Never, therefore, has a "marriage of convenience" combined so many conveniences on both sides ; and it is sufficient to read what I have written in Europe concerning Texas, and to see with what ardor my friends espoused my proposals, to be convinced that, on our side at least, this "marriage of convenience" was already a marriage of love."

It would be superfluous to enlarge at greater length on the question of the general interests of the country. I may labor under a mistake, but it seems to me clear as the light of day.

Still it may be well to add a few words in regard to certain more special interests, of considerable importance, and to examine their bearing on our enterprise. These may be classified as follows :
1. Means of communication, including railroads ; 2. Interests of land-holders and speculators ; 3. Agricultural and commercial interests.

I will go right to the heart of each of these questions, in order to dispatch them more quickly.

I. INTERESTS OF RAILROAD COMPANIES.

Let us suppose that persons interested in these companies reason as follows :

"Here are men who wish to establish themselves in Texas. Our charter makes us proprietors of an amount of land in proportion to the completion of our lines. The lands we shall have to sell. It is, therefore, for our interest that lands should not be gratuitously accorded to those immigrants, so that they may be obliged to purchase of us."

This reasoning appears to be sound, and, at first blush, without a flaw. It is true, nevertheless, that there is a defect in its foundation.

Let us admit that we do not find in Texas the facilities for which we hoped, in obtaining the lands necessary to commencing our establishments; one of two things will follow.

Either, we shall listen to the propositions that have been made to us to go to other States or Territories of the Union, or to Central America.

Or, we shall persist in our desire to settle in Texas.

In the former case, which is far the most probable—the Railroad Companies will not sell us a foot of ground. They will lose, besides, the unquestionable advantages which would have accrued to them from our resources, our capital, and the emigration of our population into the country.

In the second case, the loss is no less certain. The development of our enterprise will depend, in fact, on the success of its first steps. A movement like this naturally advances rapidly, and attains to more and more considerable proportions, if it has a fortunate commencement—if the enterprise at once enters upon a prosperous career, and if the accounts sent by the first colonists to Switzerland, France, Belgium, and Germany, are of a character to encourage the emigration of their brothers, their relations, their friends, and neighbors, in a word, of all who have accompanied them with their good wishes, and who wait only for the assurance of the prosperity of the pioneers to follow in their path.

If, on the contrary, the commencement should be attended with difficulties, if the reality does not fulfill the promises of hope, if disappointment is experienced from the first step,—then every thing is compromised. Ardor is extinguished, hope disappears, and, although in reality much may be gained by departing for America, no one is willing to leave his European home.

This is because America is indeed far distant, and worthy families belonging to all classes of society require the strongest reasons, the most attractive motives, to induce them to dispose of their property, to convert their capital into available funds, and to traverse two thousand leagues in search of a new country in the prairies and deserts of the Great West.

Everybody knows the history of a certain goose which laid a golden egg for her owner every morning. The simpleton killed her, supposing he should find a treasure in the stomach of the poor ani-

mal. But he found nothing at all of value, and was well cheated for his pains.

The Railroad companies which should reason in the manner I have described above, would make just the same speculation as that worthy. These companies, I do not hesitate to say, will find it more for their interests than any one else, that we should be treated in a manner which will attract a large number of our friends with capital into the country. Let the Legislature of Texas grant us favorable conditions, enabling us to present to our friends and to the public an announcement of our first definite success, so as to secure the basis of our colonization, and it will not be by hundreds of thousands, but by millions, that we shall bring dollars into Texas.

And the funds which we have not been obliged to absorb in the original purchase of a domain, will be employed in industrial erections of great importance to the prosperity of the Railroads; we shall employ capital in those enterprises, we shall furnish them not only with cash, but also with passengers, with freight, with merchandise, and what is more, with hands to construct them, with artisans, superintendents of labor, engineers, and in short, whatever the companies can desire in promotion of their most decided and clearest interests.

But I will say no more on this subject. There is no need of giving new light to the sun; and the Americans, besides, are not like so many of our Europeans, so rude and dull in intellect as to be unable even to comprehend and calculate their own interests. Enough said, therefore, on this chapter.

INTERESTS OF LANDLORDS AND SPECULATORS IN LAND.

I shall have little to say on this class of interests. The reasoning just presented applies to them as well.

What, in fact, is the greatest interest of the land-holders, and of the speculators, who buy to sell again? It is that population should increase rapidly in the country, that wealth and capital should flow into it in full channels, that new branches of industry should be established, and the old ones developed and improved.

Are not these the principal causes which produce a rapid advance in the price of land? And would it not be the worst of

reasoning, in the very precarious hope of selling to us, at the outset, fragments of land, to desire to oppose the conditions which would permit us to contribute so effectually to the rapid increase of all the values which they now hold in their hands ?

I say it frankly, to limit us in space, to cramp the way before us, to shut the door in our faces,—this would be again most foolishly to kill the goose with the golden eggs.

But I say more. I say that if we receive a grant of land, at the commencement of our operations, of an extent proportioned to the population which we will engage to bring into the country, and which asks only to come if this is done, in less than three years we shall ourselves have purchased of the present proprietors more land than, without such a grant, we should have purchased of them in ten, if, indeed, in the latter case we should have purchased at all.

It is perfectly clear, indeed, that we shall purchase no lands except with the capital we can dispose of, and that we can dispose of twenty times, fifty times, a hundred times the amount of capital, if our enterprise is developed on as large a scale as it is capable of, instead of being cut short in the beginning by causes which I have faithfully explained in this pamphlet.

Proprietors and speculators ! who have lands to sell, and who naturally wish to sell them as dear as possible, it is for your interest to insist at the outset, on a liberal grant to our emigration. Make us successful at first, secure our first steps, and you will increase ten fold or a hundred fold the amount of capital which we can bring from without, and especially from Europe.

And then, give yourselves no anxiety ; our emigration will buy lands of you, and you will sell in far greater amount and at a much higher price than would have been possible in the contrary case.

The interest of land-holders and speculators is to draw in a body into the country our persons, our industry, and our capital. This is evident, and whoever wishes the ends wishes the means.

INTEREST OF AGRICULTURISTS, FARMERS, SETTLERS, AND TRADERS.

I begin to be quite ashamed of what I have written, for it seems to me as if I was almost in the condition of a man who should undertake to prove to another that the sun shines, and that it is

noon; it is in fact only the love of completeness that induces me to submit this last chapter.

The planters, the farmers, the settlers—do they need an explanation of the interest they have in the increase of the population around them, in the diffusion of general prosperity, in which they will be the first to share? The people of Texas, I must say, certainly did not appear to me more foolish than elsewhere, and I will not insult them by bringing any proofs of this. They well know that wherever our establishments shall be located, our lines of communication with the coast, the rivers, and the railroads, will become more or less frequented roads, arteries through which new resources will incessantly flow, and which will nourish, like blood, the regions they traverse. They know all this perfectly well, as they are able to appreciate fully all the other advantages of our immigration that have been previously stated.

Certainly, I should never finish if I attempted to detail all the advantages which the accomplishment of our plans will confer upon the present agricultural population of Texas, and that in proportion to our own developments, in the prosperity of which that population is evidently no less interested than ourselves.

As to the trade of the country, it would be obviously absurd to suppose it necessary to point out the benefits which would accrue to it from the accession of a new population, in easy circumstances and even wealthy, and from the constant increase of all branches of business, which would be the unavoidable result.

There is yet an important point, on which it may be proper here to say a few words.

Texas, if I am correctly informed, and I believe I am, has scarcely yet formed any direct relations with Europe, except with Germany—and these relations are owing entirely to the existence of the small German colony which has been established to the west of Austin. If the commerce of the State, and the State itself, has already had cause for congratulation in these relations, they can neither of them be indifferent to the prospect of new relations of a similar kind—and on a far more extensive scale—with France, Switzerland, Belgium, Algeria, and even with Italy and England. Now, the composition of our colony, which will draw its materials from the population and the wealth of the above-named countries, is eminently adapted to create direct commercial communication between them

and Texas, to the great advantage of both parties. Hence, Texan commerce, and the State as well, have an interest of the highest order, in that necessary consequence of our success.

Here I will stop. A good cause has no need of long pleadings in its behalf. Nor can I deem it useful to exhaust all the arguments that can be brought in favor of the present undertaking. Strong in our good intentions, conscious of our intellectual and moral worth, able to exhibit our resources and reckon our capital, certain that so far from being a burden to the country which shall receive us, we shall be a decided and obvious benefit to it; resolved, moreover, to compose our emigration only of select individuals, and having sure means to effect this selection,—we present ourselves with confidence to the new country, from which we demand welcome and adoption.

We have never been, in Europe, the abettors of disturbance, or the creators of disorder. We have there been diligent laborers in the good cause, the devoted soldiers of the interests of humanity. America! Free and Republican! was it a crime in us to have wished for Liberty and a Republic for Europe? And would it not be monstrous, should she repel us because we have been, at home, the martyrs of the very cause of which she bears the glorious banner in the face of the world?

No! Whatever may be the division of parties here, in which we must be permitted to take no share, whatever may be the fears which certain classes of monarchical emigration from Europe may awaken in thoughtful minds, whatever may be the ardor of the political struggle on these difficult and exciting subjects,—we shall not be regarded as malefactors, as elements of disorder, or even as blinded legions of ignorant and fanatical wretches. And when the American people shall correctly know who we are, when they shall learn that those who have vanquished and proscribed us in Europe cannot themselves avoid honoring us, that they would more willingly confide to us, than to many of their own friends, their purses and their dearest interests,—we are confident that they will receive us with the kindness due to the martyrs of a holy cause. Certainly, we have come to shores inhabited by Christians, republicans, free and enlightened men, and not by pagans and barbarians! The sympathy with America which we have so long cherished at home, which we inherit from our fathers, who aided you in the attainment of your independence, which, as democrats, we have imbibed with

our mothers' milk,—this sympathy cannot here prove a deception. Americans! We have faith, that in coming among you we shall find friends and brothers; and, in spite of those who calumniate your disposition, we are sure that our hands will be cordially grasped in yours.

This reception, which we feel that we have met with from all men of heart in the Union, we shall certainly find also in the young State where we have more especially thought of establishing ourselves. I have already become personally acquainted, though by a too short journey, with the character of the men of the South. I have found them frank, hospitable, open, prompt, and generous; perhaps even our French natures, which have an affinity with the Southern races of Europe, are more congenial with the Southern character than with the graver and more reserved temperament of the people of the East and North; and this affinity might secure us a warmer reception at the South.

I have already sufficiently illustrated the interest of Texas in our establishment on her soil; and we ought to rely no less on such numerous, grave, and powerful interests, and on the intelligence of the people and the government to comprehend them, than on the cordial feelings which we are confident of receiving because, in all truth and sincerity, we believe that we deserve them.

To sum up, in bringing this document to a close, I will only stop to add a word or two in regard to a historical phenomenon, which I deem worthy to attract the serious attention of the statesmen of the Union in general, and of Texas in particular. I allude to the fact, that the terrible crisis of social dissolution in which Europe is now irremediably involved, tends more and more strongly to drive away from the old continent,—

1. The capital, which is constantly threatened by the instability of affairs, and alarmed by the prospect of the inevitable and more and more serious convulsions of the future;

2. Men of talent, industry, and peaceful dispositions, who are perplexed and discouraged by the prevailing instability;

3. Mechanics and agricultural laborers, whose condition is made more and more precarious by the existing state of things;

4. Men of free thought and aspirations, who can live only in the expansive atmosphere of liberty, and who are stifled under the monstrous weight with which the triple alliance of the Pharisees of the Bourse, of the Jesuits, and of the Sword, has covered the European

continent from one end to the other—which at the present day is nothing but an immense, cold and dismal catacomb, both for the intellect and the heart ;

5. Finally, the progressive ideas, which, perceiving the impossibility of attaining their end amidst the disturbances, the revolutions, and the wars, that are incessantly renewed, feel the need of seeking elsewhere a tranquil and congenial field, which shall permit them to pass from the abstract sphere of science, into the living domains of practical reality, for an instructive example to Europe herself and to humanity at large.

Now, compare the energy, the riches, and the fruitfulness of these four elements of which I have spoken, and which now require only a little encouragement and agitation to be induced to leave Europe,—compare these with the poverty of former emigrations—from which, notwithstanding, America has succeeded in deriving abundant sources of public prosperity—and you will be wholly astonished at the mass of new resources, of active energies, and of wealth of every kind, which an emigration of this character would introduce upon this continent. It would be no mere infusion of diseased and impoverished European blood, which ought not to be mingled with the young and vigorous current in American veins, without being purified and regenerated. No. It will be an invasion of the best elements of a high civilization, coming to expand and fructify on the boundless prairies of the West.

Men of America! I tell you, of a truth, if you wish to hasten the decisive preponderance of your continent over Europe and the world (a preponderance in which we Europeans are anxious in view of the best interests of Europe and of the world), it is not by the conflict of arms, by war and violence, that you will attain that end ; warlike measures, moreover, are happily repugnant to your antecedents, to your traditions, to the character of your social state and of your institutions. How, then, must America redeem that preponderance? Only by the power of attraction. This is her true instrument, her true force.

The best elements of the old world ask only to leave it ; let America afford them a little aid ; nothing more is required, for them at once to join forces with her. Europe is now driving from her bosom whatever is good ; let America give it a home with herself. This policy, which may be described in two words, would be of more

benefit to her than all the victories of Alexander, of Cæsar, and of Napoleon put together.

As to the people and the government of Texas, to whom this document is more especially addressed, it is certain that it now depends only on them to make a beginning of the great movement which I have just described.

Let Texas only encourage our first steps; let her give us a reception in accordance with the hope and the faith which I have been so happy as to inspire among my friends in different parts of Europe, by describing this noble country; let her consent to give us a position not inferior to that which the state of things in 1853 authorized me to present to our adherents as the basis of our colonizing operations—a basis, in fact, on which our first decisions were founded. Let her do this—and she will at once receive a tide of useful energies, of valuable resources, of new industries, of laborious population, and of large capital, crossing the ocean and coming to take an active part in the cultivation of her prairies, the improvement of her rich valleys, the construction of railroads, and the opening, in short, of the immeasurable sources of prosperity which lie concealed in the bosom of her magnificent territory.

For ourselves, we shall have the good fortune and the honor of having given the first impulse to the vast movement of which I have spoken, which will contribute so effectually to the advantage of the future and of all humanity, by changing the center of the political and social gravitation of the world.

VICTOR CONSIDERANT,

Graduate of the Polytechnic School, former Captain of Engineers in the French Army, Editor in chief of the *Democratia Pacifique*, Ex-member of the Municipal Council of Paris, of the General Council of the Department of the Seine, of the Constituent Assembly, and of the Legislative Assembly; condemned in 1849 by the reactionary Court of Versailles for the affair of Rome; and now founder of the Company for European American Colonization in Texas, and a candidate for the rank of American Citizen.*

NEW YORK, April 2, 1855.

* The author must beg pardon of the American public for designating titles according to a custom still prevalent in Europe; he does so because he cannot flatter himself that he is known to those whom he has addressed. It is perhaps his duty, consequently, to briefly indicate his past life and his present situation.

POSTSCRIPT.—REPLY TO SOME TEXAN NEWSPAPERS.

I had completed this document, when my attention was directed to certain articles in some Texan newspapers concerning our projected establishment in that country. I here present one of those articles, containing a most severe attack:—

We are always pleased to have industrious immigrants come among us. Plenty of work can be found by mechanics and laborers, and there is room in all our towns for more enterprising merchants and business men. There is one class, however, that we are opposed to, and have no disposition to hold out to them inducements to settle among us. This class is of that Propagandist school which in France and in parts of the United States has and is seeking to sap the foundations of society. The socialist desires to destroy individual rights in property; and, if he is not a very intelligent and moral man—a rare thing,—we may have in him a neighbor who will rob and plunder us whenever he can get the chance; for he holds it as a primary principle in his creed, that no individual has a right to accumulate property for himself, and all above what is necessary to sustain him belongs to the rest of society. Again, the socialist is an *abolitionist* everywhere. He would not be less opposed to slavery by living in Texas than in France or in Ohio. It is part of his creed. Now, we are told that John Allen, of Ohio, and Mons. Victor Considerant, propose bringing out from France to western Texas a colony of socialists. This move, for the purpose of building up a sect opposed to our political institutions, may well be regarded with jealousy, and the founders may rely upon it that they will not be suffered to tamper with our institutions. The whole principle of colonization, where men of a peculiar caste in religion or politics seek to array themselves together in particular sections of the country, both as landholders and factionists, is at war with all the elements of society, and cannot be carried on without creating bitter and unrelenting prejudices and animosities among our native citizens. We note this advent of socialism in Texas as foreboding us no good; and we wish them to have a fair understanding before they reach our soil, that as a political sect our whole people are against them.

Who could have thought us worthy of such amenities? Why are we so precipitately attacked by persons to whom we are entirely unknown, and who have been informed of our projects only by vague rumors? In regard to this, I must confess my ignorance.

I am only certain that I by no means anticipated such an expres-

sion; it was not in this tone that I supposed the Texan newspapers, which ought to represent the interests of the country, would celebrate our arrival.

The mystery may be explained on different suppositions. I will consider only two.

First: Is it a crusade of private interests (the nature of which I cannot comprehend; for it seems to me that our establishment in Texas must be favourable to every class of persons whatever) organized to excite public opinion in Texas against us? and will it succeed in the attempt?

In that case, our course is clear. We do not leave the theater of European struggles, to seek a theater for other struggles in Texas. We come into this country, because we expect to find in it liberty and peace; and so far from wishing to call forth any opposition, by meddling with the questions which are agitated in the Union, we could have wished a remote and uncultivated locality for our establishment, which should enable us to devote ourselves entirely to the internal concerns—peaceable and inoffensive in their character—of our colonization.

If, then, we must encounter opposition in Texas,—if we cannot be even received with a fraternal welcome,—our course is already decided; we shall go elsewhere.

Yet, to hear the "Austin Gazette," would it not seem as if we intended to make an assault on Texas? But let it not be alarmed. We have neither the desire nor the power to do this. It utters a cry of alarm, as if the State were threatened with an invasion of barbarians. Nevertheless I trust I shall give no offense by the remark—for it is true—that if a comparison were instituted, between the mass of the present population of Texas and the average of our emigration, in point of civilization, of refinement of ideas and manners, of respect for the rights of others, the advantage, I doubt not, would be found decidedly with the latter. But, however this may be, the civilized population of Texas should not regard us as a horde of barbarians, nor tremble for their property as if we were about to trespass on it, or for the very foundation of their society, which we have no wish to overthrow. We are too mild barbarians to wish to disturb any body, and too little enamored of strife and controversy to seek for occasion of quarrel on the soil of Texas.

If then, the inhabitants of Texas, led away by absurd fears or impelled by secret interests, shall look upon us with an evil eye, we ask only for one thing, namely, that the question shall be promptly decided, so that we may be able as promptly to betake ourselves elsewhere. We shall not fail of a suitable locality or a kind reception, either in North America or in Central America. We should greatly regret to give up the idea of Texas, whose name had already become for us the name of our country; but we are not the persons to supplicate admission at the door, or to enter a dwelling against the will of its owner.

Second: Is the unfriendly reception which the Austin journal, and some others, have attempted to force upon us, merely the result of an error?

I strongly incline to this supposition; and in that case, as an old French journalist, I implore my Texan brothers to permit me to enlighten them. Paper may be written on, in America as in Europe; but I have always thought it the duty of an honest press, when ink has flowed in behalf of error to make it flow in behalf of truth. Let us see, then:

You say, in the first place, that we are the enemies of the right of property, because we are Socialists; and hence you conclude, that the people among whom we settle will have thieves for their neighbors.

Here are two errors— one of fact, the other of logic.

Error of fact. Suppose that you read in a newspaper the following lines: "A considerable importation of beasts from Europe into Texas is announced. Texans! be on your guard. These European beasts will devour you, if you permit them to enter your territory."

You would, doubtless, reply, "We had better know before arming ourselves, what these beasts of Europe are. There are beasts in every country—but everywhere some are good, as well as some bad. Oxen, sheep, horses, &c., are beasts, as well as lions, tigers, and rattlesnakes." This is what you might justly say to your compatriot.

I reply to you with equal justice, that precisely as there are different kinds of beasts in Europe, there are also on that continent different kinds of Socialists. There are, especially, Socialists who

deny the right of property, and those who recognize it as honestly as you can do yourselves.

Now, it is the fact, that the Socialists whom you attack in us, are precisely of the class which has always recognized the right of individual property, and who have even maintained long controversies both orally and by the pen, against the Socialists who deny this right, in order to prove to the latter that they were in the wrong.

So far then, from being, as you assert, enemies of the right of property, we are not only the friends of that right, but we have been and still are its defenders and champions. I have thus clearly pointed out the error of fact, which you have committed, through ignorance (very excusable, doubtless, in Texas) of the history, and the diversities of doctrine, of the European Socialists. In saying of us in Austin, "They are Socialists, therefore they are enemies of the right of property," you reason exactly as if a Paris journal should say of the inhabitants of Louisiana and Texas, "They are Americans; therefore they are Abolitionists." You would smile at this. Permit us, then, to smile for the same reason.

Error of Logic. You say in substance, "The Socialists do not allow to the individual the right of possessing and accumulating property; hence, except in cases of very rare morality, their principles must lead them to rob and pillage their neighbors whenever they have the chance."

Thus, from the fact that a man does not believe in the right of individual property, you conclude that he must necessarily vindicate that right for himself at the expense of others—seizing the property of his neighbors even by the most outrageous means, robbery and pillage. This is thoroughly false—as is proved by the case of the Communists, who are precisely the sect of Socialists that deny the right of property, but who are yet, to say the least, as honest men as most of the world.

Does the French colony established at Nauvoo inspire their neighbors with fear? Are its members regarded in the country as thieves and robbers? Every one will tell you, that although Communists, as a general thing they are the most honest men in the world? The Communists, among themselves, put their property in

common. This is their right. If they please to do this, it is no concern of ours. In the United States, there are ten other Communist establishments. Among them, are found German Communists, American Communists, Shakers, Rappites, Perfectionists, &c. These men are nowhere regarded as thieves. The Communists preach community of goods, and freely practice it with each other. They do not preach that they have a right to the property of those who are not Communists, and they respect this as scrupulously as anybody.

But enough on this point. I believe that I have satisfactorily shown, 1. That the Socialists who condemn individual property—which was the opinion of the early Christians—are not necessarily thieves; 2. That the Socialists of the Phalansterian School, so far from rejecting the right of an individual to possess and accumulate property, have always defended that right, inherent in man, as the principle of individual liberty and of social progress, against those Socialists by whom it is rejected.

I can, with most perfect sincerity, assure the "Austin Gazette," that if we establish ourselves in Texas, we shall demand but a single thing, namely, that our property and rights be as scrupulously regarded by our neighbors as theirs will be respected by ourselves.

You apply to us the epithet Abolitionists, because we are Socialists; I will even say that you hurl this word at us like a cannon-ball. Knowing the offensive and irritating character of this appellation at the South, the use you hasten to make of it against us, before knowing us, is hardly charitable; but have you not perhaps committed as great an error in applying to us the name of Abolitionists, as in metamorphosing us into the adversaries of property, nay, even into thieves? Let us look into this.

If we had now to explain to you for the first time our principles in regard to Abolitionism, you might suppose (not knowing that we are men of veracity) that we disguise our opinion in order to conciliate the favor of the Southern people.

But this is not the case. Although with a less degree of excitement than in America, and for obvious reasons, yet the question of Abolition has been agitated in France. It was discussed in the time of Louis Philippe. On the one side were the colonies, slave countries; on the other, the ideas of enfranchisement current in Paris

not only in the bosom of the most advanced parties, but even in the conservative and governmental party itself.

Well then, although we belonged to the party of progress, and had every thing to gain, as regards our popularity, by loudly demanding the abolition of slavery, and using all the fine phrases that were suitable to the subject, we had no fear of compromising our reputation, not only by refusing to join in the chorus of our Abolitionists, but by showing, in a hundred articles which we wrote on the question, that the Abolitionists were in the wrong path.

In pursuing this course we were not only disinterested, but we even acted contrary to our interests. And why do you think that we took this side? Because we are men of sense and reason; because we do not belong to that family of theorists who cry out "Perish society rather than a principle;" because if abstract principles have their rights in the human mind, social facts also have their rights in the practice of life; and because we think it better to make an abstract principle wait at the door of the practical, than to throw open the door at the risk of a great catastrophe.

This discretion of judgment, this prudence, this spirit of conciliation between the demands of pure reason and the grave necessities of fact, is so characteristic of our school, that Fourier (whose pregnant discoveries we have undertaken to develop, without denying his liability to error) did not regard emancipation as a social good unless it proceeded from the will of the masters, and condemned nothing with more vehemence in the philosophers and political Abolitionists of the first French Revolution than their conduct toward St. Domingo, and the terrible massacres which it occasioned.

And certainly, if the emancipation demanded by the Abolitionists could be realized in the smaller colonies, as Martinique and Guadeloupe, without leading to consequences as fatal as in St. Domingo, we think that in a field so vast as that of the Southern States, the same question assumes formidable proportions. For my own part, I do not hesitate to say, that I should regard any great measures of Abolition in the present state of American Society (even if they could be introduced without dissolution of the Union, and the most dreadful civil war) as the greatest calamity which could now fall upon the United States.

I am here forced, in spite of myself, to do that from which I had

wished to abstain for reasons stated in my Address, I mean the speaking on a question purely American. I have friends both among the Abolitionists and among the Slaveholders. If they are at war on the question of Slavery, I am no more accountable for it, than America is accountable for the introduction of Slavery—this introduction having been effected contrary to the will of the Americans, by the will of the mother-country. My friends of the North, then, will permit me not to join them in a league against those of the South; and those of the South will excuse me from taking sides against my friends of the North. I am perfectly aware, that in itself, Slavery is a great evil. Every thinking man, as well at the South as at the North, sees in it a dangerous stumbling-block to the Union and a sore spot in the social institutions of America. But there are many other evils and many other sore spots besides Slavery, in civilized society. For my part, I have found, in more respects than one, the condition of the free black at the North,—and everywhere I may say in Europe, and even in America, that of the white who is free only in pretense, but really the slave of ignorance, of degradation, of wretchedness, and vice,—more deplorable, more painful, more completely at war with the abstract principles of pure human right, than that of the black slave at the South; and I have often contended in Europe against our Abolitionist philanthropists who show so much anxiety for the fate of the black race, and so little for that of the pariahs of white civilization, who die of hunger in the streets of our great industrial cities, and even in the country also.

I am of opinion that, with the scientific and peaceful progress of the age, with the development of the social relations of humanity, America may expect the improvement of her social institutions; but I do not think that she ought to demand this by violent, sudden, and revolutionary measures; in fine, I believe it desirable, for the interests of the colored race and of its future, that the evil of Slavery should not be increased by an addition of peculiar gravity and danger—that of a war excited by this question between the North and the South.

This war, for our part, we do not intend in any way to promote, whether we establish ourselves at the North or the South. Such are the feelings which we cherish. If such feelings are dangerous to the tranquillity of Texas, and threatening to her constitution, we

ought undoubtedly to abandon our purpose of settling in that country. But they never were regarded by us in that light—otherwise, we should never have thought of taking up our residence in a State where Slavery is sanctioned by law.

I still hope, that intelligent and reasonable men (of whom, I wish to believe that there is a great majority in Texas, and among whom we must reckon the journalists, whose function it is to diffuse light and truth in the community) will take the same view of the subject which we have taken ourselves. We cheerfully appeal, therefore, from the rash judgments of the Austin writers and of their friends, to public opinion at large, and to the more correct information of those writers themselves.

V. CONSIDERANT.

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