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NEW-YORK TRIBUNE.

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NEW-YORK TRIBUNE.

THE NEW-YORK TRIBUNE

For California, Oregon and Sandwich Islands.

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We shall publish in season for the steamship *Ohio*, which sails from this port November 13, the 11th number of the *New-York Tribune* for circulation on the Pacific Coast. It will be prepared with special reference to the wants of residents in that region, or persons emigrating thither, and will contain, in addition to a complete summary of the Foreign and Domestic News up to the latest dates, a list of all the passengers that have sailed from all our ports since our last issue; a synopsis of Political news, and a number of Editorial articles on subjects interesting to residents on the Pacific.

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TO ADVERTISERS.

The Publishers have concluded to admit a limited number of Advertisements into the columns of this paper. Those Merchants, Inventors, &c. who have articles specially adapted to the wants of the inhabitants of California, Oregon and other parts on the Pacific, will do well to avail themselves of the opportunity here offered of making their wares known in that quarter of the globe.

MICHIGAN ELECTION.—The *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* has a dispatch, dated "Detroit, Nov. 7, 9 P. M." stating that the probability is that Hon. John S. Barry of Constantine, St. Joseph Co. has been elected Governor over Hon. FLAVIUS J. LITTLEJOHN of Allegan, the Whig and Free Soil nominee. Barry has served two terms in the Gubernatorial Chair already. The vote must be very close, as the dispatch to the *Advertiser* says that the Whigs consider the result doubtful.—Nothing has yet been received as to the complexion of the Legislature. The Free Soil strength will be greater than at the last Session.

Boston Festival of the Sons of N. Hampshire.

The great event, the preparations for which late claimed the attention of every son of New Hampshire in Boston and its vicinity for the last month, came off on Wednesday, in the spacious hall over the Fitchburg Railroad Depot. Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER presided on the occasion, assisted by a large number of Vice-Presidents.

Among the invited guests present on the right and left of the Chair, were Hon. Levi Woodbury, Charles G. Atherton, John P. Hale, Charles H. Peaslee, Henry Hubbard, Amos Tuck, James Wilson, Joel Parker, Anthony Colby, Judge Gilchrist, Benjamin M. Farley, Joel Eastman, James Bell, L. Chamberlain, P. Henderson, T. M. Edwards, Salma Hale, Edward Parker, C. W. Cutter, W. W. Stickney, and John P. Bigelow.

The assembly was first addressed in a speech of thirty minutes' length by Mr. Webster, who, among other pleasing reminiscences of the early days of the Granite State, made the following allusion to Gen. Stark: As an example of the men of that age, said Mr. W. I will refer to Gen. Stark. He was a neighbor and friend of my father. They had seen much military service together against the common enemy. It was in the beginning of the Revolutionary War. When I knew the General he was an old man; and at that period his memory turned back to the scenes of his youth with vivid force of recollection. He would talk of the war, but it was the Old War—the War with the Indians and French, and not that of the Revolution.

The last time I saw the worthy old man he was at an advanced period of life. He always greeted me with kindness. He said he thought my *complexion* was something like that of my father—which was such as to make the General unable to say *whether it was covered with powder or not*. The conversation when in the General's house happened to turn upon property. Said the old man—"Well I never was any one's property but once, when I was taken prisoner by the French and Indians; I was sold for forty pounds then; and as people generally know the value of what they purchase, I suppose I sold for what I was actually worth!"

After the regular toasts and several addresses, Mr. Webster rose and took leave of the assembly in the following impressive and eloquent manner:

MR. WEBSTER'S SECOND SPEECH.

[Phonographic report by Dr. Stone.]

The regular toasts have now been gone through—I have occupied this chair as long as it seemed to be consistent, and with a few parting words I now propose to resign it to another.

Gentlemen, departing from the character of particular States, leaving for the present and as last, the agreeable thoughts that have entertained us, of our own homes and our own origin, it seems to me before we part, not improper that we should call to our attention the marked character of the age in which we live, and the great part that in the dispensations of Divine Providence we are called upon to act in it.

We are in an age of progress. That progress is toward self-government by the enlightened portion of the community everywhere. And a great question is, how this impulse is to be carried on, without being carried to excess—how popular government can be established without running into licentiousness. That is the great question, and we have seen how difficult it is by those not taught in the school of experience to establish that government.

It is a common sentiment distributed by those who would revolutionize Europe, that to be free you have only to *will* it. That is a fallacy. There must be prudence and a balancing of departments, and there must be persons who will teach the science of government, and there are but few, except in this country, who can teach that science. [Hear, hear.] And we have arrived at this ability by an experience of a hundred years. And how has it come? Why, we are an offshoot of the British Constitution. We came here and established this Government by a great popular principle, and that is by *Representative power*, and our people have been accustomed to this for two hundred years.

To abide by the voice of the Representatives fairly chosen—by the edicts of those who make the Legislative enactments, has been our policy. And from the first settlement of the colony at Plymouth, through all our subsequent history, we have adhered to this principle. We threw off the power of the king. We also rejected the power of the Parliament. That was John Adams's doctrine. And that is the reason why the Parliament was not alluded to in the Declaration of Independence. The Colonies acknowledged the power of the Crown, but never acknowledging the authority of the Parliament, they disdained to give any reason for throwing off the power of Parliament.

When the Revolution severed us from the mother country, then we had nothing to do but to go on with our elections, supplying the Governors not appointed by the Crown by our own election, and to go on as we had first; and that it was which enabled the Colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island down to a very late period, to continue their ancient Constitution.

But where else could this be done? Could you go to the Colonies of South America to find anything like a Representative Government?

If you look anywhere beside at France on the Continent of Europe, can you find anything that bears the aspect of a Representative Government? There is nothing.

It is very difficult to establish a free Conservative Government for the equal advancement of all the interests of Society. What has Germany done—learned Germany, fuller of ancient lore than all the world besides? What has Italy done—what have they done, who live on the spot where Cicero and Justinian lived? They have not the power of self-government which a common town meeting possesses. [Applause.]

Now I say, that those persons who have gone from our town meetings to dig gold in California are more fit to make a Republican Government than any body of men in Germany, because they have learned this one great lesson, that there is no security without law, and that under the circumstances in which they are placed, where there is no military authority to cut their throats, and there is no will but the will of the majority—that therefore if they remain they must submit to that will.

In the prevalence of this general sentiment of obedience to law—that they must have representatives, and that if they be fairly chosen, their edicts must stand for law. And where they have our habits you will find they will establish Government upon the foundation of a free basis, and nothing else will.

Now I think, gentlemen, that while we prescribe no form—while we dictate to nobody, our mission is to show that a constitutional, representative, conservative government, founded on the freest possible principles, can do—can do, for the advancement of general morals and for the advancement of the general prosperity, as much as any other government can.

Gentlemen, two things are to be guarded. One great truth is, that men in a conservative age are capable of self-government—that the enjoyment of equal rights is a practicable thing, and that freedom is not a dangerous thing for a body politic. And the other is, that freedom from restraint is not FREEDOM—that licentiousness—the discharge from moral duties and that general scramble which leads the idle and the extravagant to hope for a time when they may put their hands into neighbors' pockets—call it what you please—it is tyranny. It is no matter whether the Emperor of Turkey robs his subject of his property—or whether, under the notion of equal rights, the property earned by another shall be taken from him by a majority. I would not choose the latter. On the contrary, give me Turkey, for I would prefer one despot to ten thousand. Who would labor if there were not a security that what he earned would be his own for his own enjoyment, for the education of his children, for the support of his age and the gratification of his reasonable desires?

Gentlemen, the events of the past year are many; they seem to result from an indefinite purpose of those who wish to ameliorate the condition of things in Europe. They had no distant ideas. There may be incidental benefits arising from it. These wars may somewhat assuage the imperial sway of despots.—They may serve to convince those who hold despotic power that they may shake their own thrones if they do not yield something to popular demands. In that sense something good may come of it.

Then, gentlemen, there is another aspect. We have all had our sympathies much enlisted in the Hungarian effort for liberty. We have all wept at its failure. We thought we saw a more rational hope of establishing independence in Hungary than in any other part of Europe where the question has been in agitation within the last twelve months. But despotic power from abroad intervened to suppress it.

And, gentlemen, what will come of it? I do not know. For my part, at this moment I feel more indignant at recent events connected with Hungary than at all those which passed in her struggle for liberty. [Tremendous cheering.] I see that the Emperor of Russia demands of Turkey that the noble Kossuth and his companions shall be given up. [Shame! shame!] And I see that this demand is made in derision of the sentiment of all of nations. Gentlemen, there is something on earth greater than arbitrary or despotic power. The lightning has its power, and the whirlwind has its power, and the earthquake has it power. But there is something among men more capable of shaking despotic power than lightning, whirlwind, or earthquake. [Overpowering outburst of applause]—that is the threatened indignation of the whole civilized world. [Renewed cheers.]

Gentlemen, the Emperor of Russia holds himself to be bound by the law of nations, from the fact that he treats with nations—that he forms alliances, he professes in fact to live in a civilized age and to govern an enlightened nation. I say that if under these circumstances he shall perpetrate so great a violation of natural law, as to seize these Hungarians and to execute them, he will stand as a criminal and malefactor in the view of the law. [Loud huzzas continued for several minutes.] The whole world will be the tribunal to try him; and he must appear before it and hold up his hand and plead and abide its judgment. [Reiterated cheers.]

The Emperor of Russia is the supreme law-giver in his own country, and for aught I know the executor of it also. But, thanks be to God, he is not the supreme law giver or executor of the national law, and every offence against that is an offence against the rights of the civilized world. [hear, hear!] and if he breaks that law in the case of Turkey, or in any other case, the whole world has a right to call him out and to demand his punishment. [Right!]

Our rights as a nation are held under the sanction of national law—a law which becomes more important from day to day—a law which none who profess to agree to it are at liberty to violate. Nor let him imagine, nor let any one imagine, that mere force can subdue the general sentiment of mankind. It is much more likely to extend that sentiment and to destroy that power which he most desires to establish and secure.

Gentlemen, the bones of poor John Wickliffe were dug out of his grave seventy years after his death, and burnt, for his heresy, and his ashes were thrown upon a river in Warwickshire. Some prophet of that day said:

"The Avon to the Severn runs,
The Severn to the sea,
And Wickliffe's dust shall spread abroad,
Wide as the waters be."

Gentlemen, if the blood of Kossuth, is taken by an absolute, unqualified, unjustifiable violation of national law, what will it appease—what will it pacify? It will mingle with the earth—it will mix with the waters of the ocean—the whole civilized world will snuff it in the air, and it will return with awful retribution on the heads of those violators of national law and universal justice. [Great enthusiasm.] I cannot say when, or in what form; but depend upon it, that if such an act take place, the thrones and principalities and powers must look out for the consequence. [Overpowering applause.]

And now, gentlemen, let us do our part—let us understand the position in which we stand as the great Republic of the world at the most interesting era of the world. Let us consider the mission and the destiny which Providence seems to have designed us for, and let us so take care of our own conduct, that with irreproachable hands and with hearts void of offence we may stand up whenever and wherever called upon, and with a voice not to be disregarded, say this shall not be done—at least not without our protest. [Mr. Webster's speech was received with much more than the common exhibition of approbation, and at its close three times three cheers were called for by Mr. Abbott, and responded to heartily and unanimously.]

Mr. Webster then retired, amid the cheers of the assembly, the whole company standing while he left the hall.

After the address of Mr. Webster, the regular toasts were given in order, which successively called out Hon. Judge Woodbury, Marshall P. Wilder, John P. Bigelow, Joel Parker, Gen. Dearborn, Charles S. Goodrich, John P. Hale, Gen. James Wilson, and other distinguished sons of New-Hampshire. The festival passed off with great enthusiasm, and fully came up to the sanguine expectations that had been cherished with regard to it.

The Colored Voters and the Evening Post.

NEW-YORK, Friday, Nov. 9, 1849.

To the Editors of The Tribune:

The following communication was taken to the Office of the *Evening Post* yesterday, with the request that they would insert the same. They very politely said, that they would make all of the personal corrections that I desired, but that they would not insert the part relating to the COALITION. I do not know but that the matter would have rested there, but being told that my people are the "lick-spittle of the Aristocracy," I am not so willing to be quieted. I must be more bold in making known my views and appreciation of those who have been professedly favorable to "lick-spittles."

But I deny the assertion; as for Intelligence—as for Independence and Manliness, our people (the well-informed part of them at least) will challenge comparison with any. More particularly, when it is considered how many depressing influences—how much of dependence they have had to contend with; but admitting the truthfulness of the unjust and insulting remark, would it not be more excusable to be the "lick-spittles of the Aristocracy"—alias to respectability, to health and refinement, than to sustain the same relation to a body, proclaimed and known to be the opposite of these.

GEO. T. DOWNING.

To the Editors of the Evening Post:

GENTLEMEN: In your paper of Monday, the 5th, you were pleased to refer to what I as "reported by the Herald to have said" at a meeting of the colored voters of the City and County of New-York. Permit me to say that I was not correctly reported; I did not say that "they (the Free Soilers) " deceived us in the last Presidential Election." My remarks on that occasion referred to the present election, cautioning our people not to be deceived. Again, I spoke of an entire absence of principle on the part of certain individuals, (as you yourselves would fain show—at least, so far as Mr. Sickles is concerned,) but I drew no comparison as to beasts.

As to the coalition between Mr. Sickles and myself, counting the stakes if you please, we have this vantage ground—there was no premeditation or "convention" in the matter on our part—it was not for "the spoils."

It is true, that I did denounce the coalition between the Free Soilers and the Old Hunkers, and I am still opposed to the bond of union. And why? I need give no other reason to justify me then your own columns.

In your leading article of the 5th just above the article referring to the meeting of colored voters, you say that "they" (a part of the Rome Convention) "stimulated a portion of the general Committee to apply to the Democratic City candidates a test which would have had the effect of reopening the buried dissentions and defeating the ticket. Now, Gentlemen, it is a notorious fact that the "buried dissentions" alluded to by you, is the Slavery question, and that it was upon this question that the Democratic party split.

The Democratic members of the Legislature in their Address, published in your columns, April 16, says: That "the question of Slavery in all its momentous aspects is before the public. It will be discussed; it will not only largely engage the attention of other nations, but it is here present, imminently involved in legislative and political strife; it must be met and disposed of." They further say: "That the defeat of the Democratic party is mainly and directly owing to its prostration before the Slave power of the country." You now coalesce with such a party. You are again "happily united" (your own words) with a party that is continually bowing before one base altar of Slavery. Was I justified? Hasthis mentious question of Slavery been "met and disposed of?" No! but you would have buried the "dissention" to lock arms in an unholy alliance. How could such a coalition be regarded but as "base" and selfish!

The Whig party of the State have united (assumed the platform which the Free Soilers (a *part* of the Democratic party) occupied last Fall. If it was right for us to aid them then, as we did, would it not be right for us to aid those who now occupy the place the Free Soilers have degenerated from? One of your correspondents remarks that "Whenever their (the Whig) Representatives meet in National Convention—when Berrian and Clayton shall meet Jerrard and Smith, the Northern Whigs must forego their Free Soilism." I do not think so. If pressed to forego their principles—to forego their Free Soilism—they will "come out from among them," and form an advance party, which will, from necessity, be forced to take still higher grounds—which we ask, and the growing Anti-Slavery sentiment of the North is demanding.

In taking the position we have in favor of the Whigs, the Colored People do not wish to be understood as affirming that the Whig party, rather than the Democratic, will ultimately do most in gaining us our withheld rights—rights that are ours, not only because of the professions of the land, but because we are men—sons of the soil; because we are individuals who know not, and have not an attachment for any other than this, our native land.

GEO. T. DOWNING.

New York, Nov. 6, 1849.

THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

Victor Considerant on the State of the Phalansterian Movement.

The Tribune translates the following able and interesting article from the *Bulletin Phalanstérien* of Sept. 8th last. It is addressed to the French disciples of Fourier, but will be read with great satisfaction by very many persons in this country.—Even those who do not agree with the peculiar views of the writer will find instruction in the profoundness of his views as to the present condition of European Society, while they cannot fail to admire the earnestness and eloquence with which they are expressed.

TO THE ASSOCIATIVE SCHOOL.

You know what my course was on the 13th of June. On the 1st of July I left France. I have obtained liberty at least from my exile. Let us consider our affairs together. I come to ask of you the effectual means of reorganization. I come to make an appeal to your devotion which will be heard and answered. But, in the first place, let us explain the present condition of things.

I.

We are all acquainted with the law of the development of Humanity, and its application to the present epoch. We can, therefore, easily judge both of the general and special position of our School in this great crisis, which marks the birth of the NEW ORDER that our fathers opened in 89.

The historical end of the French Revolution, now become European, is the modern problem, the enfranchisement and association of individuals, of nations, and of races—that is to say, the creation of true Order, of Order founded on Justice, Liberty and Fraternity, in a word, the Constitution of Integral and Universal Harmony.

We have done everything to prevent this great regenerative movement from being involved in a conflict.

Our fathers were not enlightened by Social Science. They were guided only by instinct, aspiration, sentiment; they assailed the ancient order, without suspecting that a Social Organization was to be created in order to embody the great principles of Philosophy and Christianity in the life of the nations. They believed that everything would be done as soon as they had organized Political Power on a democratic foundation. The view usually held among us as to the consequences of this capital error is a common-place one.

After the great struggle of the Revolution, the conquests, the follies and the reverses of the Empire, the higher class of the Bourgeoisie, who had succumbed under the despotism of the sabre, lost sight of the generous traditions of the Revolution. The selfishness of class took the place of devotion to principles. The Government of the Middle Classes soon became its Social Ideal, its System of Doctrine. The ardent, skilful and imposing struggle for liberal formulas, which it maintained during the fifteen years of the Restoration, was only a combat, on its side, *pro aris et focis*. It wished for the dominion, which was disputed with it by the Emigrants and Jesuits. The year 1830 gave it all it desired.

A new phase was opened.

The Middle Classes, or rather their chiefs, the Mercantile Oligarchy, and the Doctrinaires, organized Power, on aristocratic principles, and in their own interests, by the *Charte* of 1830, and by the Electoral Law of 200,000 copyholders.

The French People comprehended that the new order of Society was not built, for the object of the Revolution attained, the expression of modern times accomplished, by putting an oligarchy of so-called Liberals in place of an oligarchy of nobles.

Unhappily, the idea of the Social purposes of the Revolution did not obtain a new and luminous development among the members of the new oligarchy, but, on the contrary, it lost strength every day. The publicists and politicians, who took the reins of opposition, had retained from the Old World, at least, as their adversaries: The Democratic sentiment was suppressed by the sabre under the Empire, stupified by Liberalism under the Restoration, and thrown into bewilderment under the quasi-Restoration of Louis Philippe.

In lack of ideas, they planted themselves on the narrow and exclusive formulas of political right—some concentrating all their ideas of the future in a certain extension of the electoral sphere, others going for universal suffrage and the Republican form; almost all failing to recognize, and often even angrily rejecting, the fundamental question—that of the Enfranchisement of the Proletary and of Social Reform.

II.

At this epoch the Associative School, founded in fact at the commencement of the century, by the first publications of Fourier, was brought before the attention of the public. We could easily judge, according to their merits, of all those fractions of the Opposition which had been seen, and which still are seen, in the performance of their task. In Power, as well as in Opposition, there was the same negation of principle, of conviction, of ideas: there was ambition, intrigues—nothing more.

As to the sincere democrats, who wished to push forward the new positions, we addressed to them the most earnest and often the rudest cautions. "What will you do," we did not cease to say to them, "what will you do with a Revolution? What will you do with universal suffrage? What will you do with Power, even supposing it to be incontestably in your hands, while you have not studied the Social Question—while, so far from having obtained a solution of it, you do not even know the elements of its problems?" When a nation neither knows what it wants nor what it wishes; when it has not an idea, a common faith; when it has not yet conceived of an end for its collective activity—whatever be its form of government, it will always struggle in weakness or anarchy. To propose a Revolution, before the ideas which it is to realize are formed, announced, and generally accepted (at least by the leaders of the movement), is to prepare a justification: a grand burning, we let light up a furnace in which the elements of the revolution will successively and necessarily consume each other.

I remember, in 1831, that Godfrey Cavaignac, who warmly rejected this reasoning, which we had so often presented, replied to me one day, "Universal suffrage is fruitful in ideas! The necessary solutions to every problem will spontaneously proceed from its exercise."

Cavaignac afterward gained light, but his reply of 1831 was the formula of the illusion in which was long sunk every party of the one-sided Republicans.

Universal Suffrage has given us the Constituant and the Legislative Assemblies; the Executive Commission, the Dictatorship of General Cavaignac, the Presidency of Louis Bonaparte, the Fallaux-Faucher-Barrot and the Barrot-Falloux-Dufaure Ministries, the two states of siege and the reaction, have proceeded from its exercise. Admirable solutions to social questions! And yet eighteen years, during which these questions have been agitated in every aspect and all their solutions produced, have passed over the naive response which was made to me by Godfrey in 1831.

III.

In 1830 the Parliamentary bourgeoisie began to degrade themselves by the great intrigue of the Coalition, in which Thiers, Barrot, Guizot, Berryer, and all their compeers, openly making a joint stock concern of their wretched schemes, were seen to pull down a Ministry which governed as they have all successively governed, whether with or without Louis Philippe.

This intrigue consummated the ruin of the bourgeoisie oligarchy.

Starting from that, its political immorality knew no bounds. The verbiage of principle, now open to the light, concealed nothing.

The selfish policy of the bellicose loafers who directed the Cabinet of March 1, gave a decisive victory to what was called the Conservative party. From 1840, this party was master of the field. Every election served only to increase its compact and contented majority.

Since that time, when consolidated by its victories over the Legitimists, or Republican attempts from 1830 to 1834, the Government of the bourgeoisie was directed, without opposition, by the entirety of the country, we have not ceased to follow it with our appeals.

We have pressed it to enter upon a course of economical reforms, to direct its attention to the melioration of the masses, to prepare with earnest solicitude for the enfranchisement of the proletaries, announcing as inevitable the explosion of the problem of Capital and Labor, if it was obstinately set aside instead of being resolved.

For eighteen years we have vainly wasted them, we have supplicated them, we have conjured them, in every manner, to save themselves by opening to society the paths of necessary progress, by opening their minds to the understanding of the wants of their epoch, of its invincible aspirations, of its irresistible tendencies. Nothing! Nothing! They have wished to see nothing, to foresee nothing, to hear nothing. In the difficult moments, when the sea was raging at Paris, at Lyons, at Rouen, their cowardice was shaken by some gusts; they would speak of progress, of amelioration in the lot of the People. They wished all that! Their policy would give all these advantages! As soon as their Government was settled, free, undisputed, they would be seen at work! But the danger was scarcely passed when they relapsed into their ignorant and stupid selfishness.

Still more in proportion as their power was consolidated, this selfishness became more and more revolting. As soon as the Conservatives believed themselves definitively masters of that false shadow of Democracy which was called the Opposition, the gross Materialism which characterises the mercantile and financial Feudalism and the principle on which it rests, soon developed at a hideous pace, and rapidly assumed the most gigantic proportions. Fear, venality, contempt of the interests of the people, ardor in speculation and stock-jobbing, greediness for gain in the most abject forms—such were the means of Government adopted by this corrupt and corrupting party. It elevated the worship of the golden calf to honor with the French Bourgeoisie, and extinguished that generosity of sentiment, that virtue of devotion, of affability, of a noble social spirit, which constitute at once the titles of nobility for the French people, and the symbols and inspirations of its glorious mission.

IV.

The bourgeoise Oligarchy is definitively judged in France. Eighteen years of sterility, of degradation, of apostacy, and above all, of ineptitude, have sealed its account with history. We have lent ourselves to the trial of its Government. We have long been compromised in the eyes of the legal order which it established, and by attempting to inculcate it with intelligence and the love of progress. The teachings of the past have taught it nothing. It has been what the dominant and contented classes have been in every age.

While the party of the bourgeoisie was losing its force and its virtue, a new order was preparing to enter upon the scene. This was the People. I call by that name every one in the nation, who has the thought, the sentiment, or the instinct of Democracy.

The people did not disdain social ideas. As these were presented in their different forms, they took a deep hold of the heart of the people. The slaves, the enfranchised, the populace, listen to the voice of Christianity, which at first despised and then persecuted by the proconsuls and privileged.

Besides, so necessary was the advent of Socialism in this era, that even the movements of its adversaries conspired to its approach. Each of their efforts to constitute their supremacy in industrial and financial Feudalism, in fact brought on a social discussion; and from 1830 to 1848 it was Socialism which almost in the sole Socialist National itself took the front rank in all serious opposition.

The Revolution of February, in fine, what was it? It was produced neither by electoral reform, nor even by the violation of the right of assembling. It was the expulsion of the bourgeoise dynasty, the outbreak of popular contempt against the government of the satisfied, against the infamies of the usurious and stock-jobbing feudality. The expulsion of that class, when they witnessed the burning wrath from the heart of the popular masses of this Socialism, whose existence they pretended to doubt, was equal to the fury with which they pursue and persecute it at the present day.

V.

The Revolution of February arrived some years too soon to be immediately fruitful in social institutions. The Socialist sentiment, already raised in the masses, felt the blows expended with it were and charge accordingly. Whatever may have been the sterility in this respect, however, the Revolution has none the less realized an immense progress.

It has liquidated the account of the old policy, and opened the eyes of every honest man who believed that universal suffrage and the Republic were all that was necessary.

In presenting the formula of political rights, it can be comprehended at the present day, it has put an end to every pretension, and given to Socialists all men whom sincere love of Democratic rights had hitherto made nothing but Republicans.

In fine, by proving that the most pacific and the least revolutionary Socialists, even by the force of their principles, were far more devoted to Democratic institutions and interests than the one-sided, old-fashioned Republicans, a large number of whom have now gone over to the Reaction, it has definitively shown to the masses that Socialism was the genuine Democracy.

This is not all. By disturbing the Old World, as it has done, which the cowardice and treachery of the anti-Socialist Republicans has saved for the last time, it has shown that the Democratic spirit, in less everywhere undermined the Old World, it has, beside, profoundly developed the sentiment of universal solidarity, of the Democratic fraternity of nations, and placed the Social question as the order of the day for the whole civilized world.

VI.

At this moment there is no longer but a single question in Europe, and the Social question, with its twofold problem—exterior and interior—the independence and free association of individuals, and of groups of nations and of individuals.

There are no longer but two parties. The party of decay, the anti-social party, which opposes its last efforts against the organization of Order founded on Liberty and Justice, stupidly preferring disorder maintained by exploitation and compression.

And the social Party, that is to say, the European Democracy, which has in its behalf all serious interests, all powerful ideas, all the living forces of humanity and the future, as well as the furious and desperate blindness of its enemies, who have covered themselves with shame and blood throughout Europe.

Let those who doubt the result of this great struggle study attentively the point of departure and of Humanity. They are not made for the severer labors of the advanced guard. When the road shall have been opened, spacious and beautiful, through the thorns and rocks, they will come, and we will not reject them. For the present, I address myself to the courageous, to the intelligent, to the strong, to those who are not cast down by a reverse, but whose hearts, on the contrary, are invigorated, whose energy is renewed by persecution.

To these, and think God with us they are almost everybody, to these I say: "It is easy for us to know where we are, and to judge of the peculiar condition of our affairs."

The anti-social Reaction, infuriated and blind, thanks to the blue Republicans, to the statesmen who have joined with it and surrendered to it the Republic, is triumphant along the whole line. This cannot be denied.

Our ideas, profoundly traversed into anarchical, subversive and savage doctrines by the anti-Socialists, have been desperately hunted down.

Our daily organ, prohibited by the champions of legality who have decreed the state of siege, has been suspended.

The persons of our adherents have been maltreated.—Burenet is in prison. Tandonnet is condemned to an imprisonment of a year. Cabet is in exile, and myself are in exile; and a number of our friends have been persecuted and annoyed in various ways. Our dear and venerable Joennot of Colmar, has been accused as a conspirator. All this is true.

It is true, moreover, that our printing office has been searched by the preservers of Order and of Property; that the apostles of the Family have laid their hands on our papers; that there will be no prosecutions against these honest individuals; and that we shall probably never be indemnified for the losses which their moderation has occasioned us.

It is true, moreover, that we have debts, and that our credit has sunk under these rude assaults.

Now, all this cannot prevent us from, being a hundred-fold stronger than we were an hour before, far stronger even than we were on the evening of June 13, 1849.

Why? Each of you comprehends it like ourselves, and finds the evidence of it in his own locality—for the good reason that at the present day the solid sympathy of every one in France or in Europe, was belonging to the party of the Future and of the People, is henceforth ours.

VII.

The masses, you are aware, have been long kept away from us by various causes.

In the first place, because we have a cortege of ideas far too scientific for the masses to prefer them at once to their simple sentiments, or such embryotic views as have the advantage over ours of not demanding much study.

Because, the men who had the ear of the people, and who themselves had only generous sentiments and confidence, the greater number in good faith, some from jealousy, have long held us up to suspicion before the Democracy.

Because, the elevated reason which has made us demand a political truce for the study of the Social question, to attempt the conversion of the bourgeoisie, to criticise the one-sided Revolutionary spirit, and formalistic Republicanism, to unmask, eighteen years in advance, the false Liberalism of the *Left*, as well as the false Radicalism of the party of the *Left without a Leftwood*, and to combat the errors of a purely negative Socialism, have not been understood and have been badly appreciated.

Because, in fine, in spite of the testimonies of the practical solutions which we have furnished on all practical questions, our faith, our reason and our ideas, superior to and far in advance of the general intelligence, have been long banished, in the public estimation, into a special sphere, and in consequence of our practical and practical life, where we are seen to be, on every side, delight to leave us and even to have us consigned.

VIII.

Things are changed at the present day. The men of the Left, of the liberalism of words and of intrigue, are no longer spoken of; they are all jumbled together in the remains of other aristocracies by the waves of the European Reaction which now roll up only the ruins of the past.

The same justice is exercised on that party of limited Republicans who have been seen at work, who have remained satisfactory to social ideas, who have shown themselves what, for eighteen years, we predicted they would be, who have placed the Revolution of February in the paths opened by Louis Philippe, and have made an abortion of Democracy by their cowardice and imbecility. This is all well got rid of.

There are now only Socialists and anti-Socialists.—I do not speak of the legion of *political and social indifference*. This has never been taken into account in the movement.

All that is democratic is Socialist.

All that is blind, selfish and ignorant is anti-Socialist.

On one side the Jesuits, the Cossacks, with the aristocrats and usurers.

On the other, Socialism and the People.

This is the present state of Europe.

Now, the sphinx of Destiny, which proposed, sixty years ago, the question of the Modern Order to France, now proposes it to the whole civilized world. A response must be made to it.

We have proved, moreover, during eighteen patient years of instruction and initiation, that we are men of peace, of reason, of concord, desiring war for its own sake, detesting Revolutions and the vain and sterile agitations, with air and columns against us. Be assured, friends, that we have gained this testimony.

We have proved, on the other hand, especially for the last eighteen months, that, war once declared, we were in the front rank of the people and of Democratic right, strong, courageous, devoted.

Without ambition for power—this, it is well known, is not what we pursue—we have given significant pledges of our personal devotion to the active cause of liberty and of the Unity of Nations. This testimony also we have securely gained.

IX

The Associative School at the present day, is at the head of the Democratic Movement, as it was, in fact, at the head of the Socialist ideas, which have so greatly changed the state of Europe in eighteen years. The time of trials is also one of tests. Revolutions at least show the value of persons and of theories. That of '48 has left on the ground illusions, intrigues, forces destitute of ideas, fictitious popularities, usurped authorities, from which the life has departed. Nothing can survive which is not organized to live, which is not deeply based in truth, in reason, in justice; in spite of vague regrets, the people scarcely ever abandon those to whom it is good to adhere. So long as any one serves his cause with that which has a right to live, he goes on with increasing strength.

For us, the moment has come. To-day we have only to speak in order to be heard with sympathy, and hence to be comprehended and followed. Twenty years of labor and devotion have prepared this position: the wants of the reactionists, in a few months, has perfected us by its touch.

We must take advantage of this at once.

The *Democratic Pacifique*, our daily organ, having resumed its last, in spite of difficulties, and must forthwith commence a political and organic campaign.

1. We must reproduce, in a concrete and synthetic form, the practical solutions of all the important questions which we have successively furnished, and which it now behoves us to set forth in battle array.

2. While we present, in a concrete form, the solutions demanded by the actual state of opinion, and the pressing wants of the suffering classes, we must impress the conviction on the Socialist party that it cannot be absolved and swallowed up by half-way reforms; that it is bound to be radical and integral; and that in respect to Social reform, these conditions cannot be truly radical, except by reforming the vast case of Society, namely, the Township, and by establishing the model of the Township of the New Society;—a field open, moreover, to all solutions, to all experiments.

And then, although Democracy at this moment, may be suppressed, you may be assured that the partisans of the reaction themselves, at the bottom of their hearts, cherish no serious illusion with regard to the certainty of its final advent. Only, according to the world," they think only of egotism, "After me, let the deluge come!" and they wait for the inevitable hour, of throwing it forward into the future. Now, we know, that at this time, the dying and the dead move quickly; and we have a great duty to fulfill. The influences which we are in a position to exert over the public mind, must tend to bring on the hour which will put a pure and lofty character to the victory which will cost delay its approach. It is by surrounding ourselves with the values of all of scientific, organic and religious ideas, that we must henceforth combat so that the grand victory, a far as it depends on us, shall be rather a fruitful creation, than a desolating explosion.

The intelligent and sound portion of the bourgeoisie—that, for example, which rallies under the present management of the *Presse*,—is disposed of itself to hear us. This journal now sets forth the incurable party which remains longer but one of decidedly incurable party which remains disposed to every access of the New Spirit.

In my opinion, then, we are ready to effect, in a few months, a wide-spread conviction, or at least a powerful sympathy, in favor of our doctrines, and to have prepared a decisive appeal in behalf of Realization for the year 1852.

X.

While our friends, who remain in Paris, will vigorously pursue the work in which they have just resumed, and expurge the work in which we have just resumed, and expurge the work in which they have just resumed, and expurge the work in which they have just resumed, and expurge the work in which they