NEW-YORK DAILY TRIBUNE.

BY GREELEY & McELRATH, OFFICE, TRIBUNE BUILDINGS. PRICE TWO CENTS.

VOL. IX.....NO. 290. NEW-YORK, FRIDAY MORNING, MARCH 15, 1850. WHOLE NO. 2781.

NEW-YORK TRIBUNE.

THE NEW-YORK DAILY TRIBUNE IS PUBLISHED EVERY MORNING (SUNDAYS EXCEPTED),

At The Tribune Buildings, corner of Spruce and Nassau streets, opposite the City Hall,

and delivered to City Subscribers for 12½ cents per week, or, when they prefer, they can pay in advance at the Desk for six months or a year at the same rate. Single copies Two Cents. Mail Subscribers Five Dollars per annum, in advance. Subscriptions taken for six months. For three months $1 50. Three Dollars in advance required in all exchanges with Country Newspapers. Daily papers received at this office, whose terms are higher than those of The Tribune, are not allowed any difference.

NEW-YORK TRIBUNE.

Massachusetts Contested Election.

The freemen of the IVth Congressional District will soon be called upon to make the ninth trial for the choice of a Representative. The plurality bill which passed the House was rejected in the Senate. The last 25 years have seen not less than 90 futile attempts to elect Congressmen in Massachusetts owing to the working of the majority principle. From 1830 to 1839 fourteen unsuccessful trials were made in one District, and unless some such proposition as the following is adopted the IVth District bids fair to vie with it. This is taken from the *National Ægis*, a Whig paper published in Worcester:

Considering it as not probable that another trial, with the same candidates, would materially alter the result, and believing that no election can be effected unless the Whig and Free Soil parties can unite upon some one candidate, the *Quaker Hill Aurora* proposes that Palfrey and Thompson withdraw, and that both parties unite on Hon. Samuel Hoar of Concord. We confess we should be entirely satisfied to see the District so well represented as it would be by that gentleman. His course in the House, the present session, has commended itself to his old Whigs friends very cordially.

The following shows the result of the different trials:

	Hoar.	Palfrey.	Robinson.
First trial, November 1848	5,379	5,419	231
Second trial, January 1849	4,669	4,895	1,525
Third trial, March 1849	5,565	5,655	1,066
Fourth trial, June 1849	2,020	2,090	1,528
Fifth trial, September 1849	5,401	5,411	1,502
Sixth trial, November 1849	5,041	4,947	1,900
Seventh trial, January 1850	4,868	5,329	1,062
Eighth trial, March 1850	4,624	4,910	2,253

FROM WASHINGTON.

Patent Office Report—Ritchie on Webster—Doings and Sayings of Congress—West Point Cadets—Bayly and the Inventors' Fund—Ways and Means Committee—Independence of Liberia.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, March 13.

Long JOHN WENTWORTH of Illinois did one good thing to-day. The Patent Office Report came up, and he moved an amendment to McWILLIE's resolution, and carried it, 113 to 63, to print 50,000 of the Mechanical and 100,000 of the Agricultural portion of the Report. This is a victory of talent and science over prejudice and ignorance; and, with such a report before them, the public will never again allow unfit candidates long to occupy the chair of the Patent Office. Such men as HENRY BACHE and EWBANK are an honor to the country, and I care not how many such come to Washington to instruct society. They are far more useful than mere politicians of any party.

Col. FREMONT has arrived in Washington.

Father RITCHIE, POLK and MARCY's man of all work, "thanks Mr. WEBSTER for the bold and manly course he is now pursuing," with respect to the upholding of the peculiar institution. The *Union* is delighted with WEBSTER, and well it may.

Congress does nothing whatever in the way of legislation. One wishy-washy everlasting flood of talk on the subject of all others which should make them blush for shame, continues, day after day, to weary out those who are compelled to listen to it, while thousands of memorials praying Congress to perfect useful measures for the general good are unattended to.

The School at West Point consists of 230 scholars, and supplies the army almost exclusively with commissioned officers. Never, I may almost say, NEVER is merit promoted from the ranks, in an American regiment! No military corps in Europe is half so aristocratic.

This year, the President has selected a son of Gen. JESUP, a son of Commodore NICHOLSON, a son of Col. LEE, engineers, a son of Commander GONDON, of the navy, a son of Dr. WOOD, of the army, MAUNSEL WHITE, Jr. of La. a son of the late Capt. SNEAD, of the army, and—— HILLIARD, of Ala. probably a kinsman of a reverend Congressman, and two others, to be educated at the public cost at West Point. Upon what principle are the sons of men, some of whom are very wealthy, and others known as having ample incomes and no hard service, thus selected to be educated and maintained like gentlemen at the public charge, for a series of years, although they may or may not thereafter join the army as commissioned officers? Mr. McKEE and Mr. DREW have claims, but as to some of the others, they are among the last I would have expected to see chosen. When will we witness a selection of TEN cadets, made from among the children of gallant privates, by a patriotic President? When has such a selection been made? So long as Slaveholding influence is omnipotent in this capitol, a republican army is out of the question.

Gen. BAYLY of Va. has introduced a bill from the Ways and Means, to supply what is called "deficiencies in the appropriations" for the year ending in June next, in which I find, page 7th, the following item:

"Toward the erection of the wings of the Patent Office building, according to the original plan, under the direction of the Secretary of State, Ninety Thousand Dollars, to be paid OUT OF THE PATENT FUND."

There were $50,000 seized from that fund last year: it is now attempted to lay hold of other $90,000—in part to build a palace that will cost $550,000, as now planned, for the use of the Secretary of the Interior. Meantime the Patent Office are deprived of their upper floor, which is used as a museum, while their specimens and models are thrown into the cellar! Why should a fund solemnly and equitably set apart for their use by Congress, be applied to build palaces not for their use, and which they do not desire? Why should this most meritorious class be robbed? The Committee of WAYS and Means are BAYLY of Va. THOMPSON of Miss. GREEN of Mo. TOOMBS of Ga. JONES of Tenn. VINTON of Ohio, HIBBARD of N.H. DUER of N.Y. HAMPTON of Pa.—five from the Slave States. But the Patent fund is not Slave property, at large without an "owner"—why then do they seek to seize it?

WM. A. DUER asked for $35,107 as an alleged balance due to his father, W. DUER, by U.S. Government. A Committee of the House, formerly, and now of the Senate, report adversely.

The Legislature of Ohio last month passed the following resolution in favor of the acknowledgement of the Independence of Liberia by the United States, which the Senate have referred to its Committee on Foreign Relations:

Whereas, the colored emigrants from the United States who have been settled on the Coast of Africa, by the agency of the American Colonization Society, are now organized into an independent Republic, and have been acknowledged as such by England and France; *and whereas* the influence exerted by the Colony in promoting civilization in Africa has been very beneficial, and promises ever-lasting blessings; *and whereas* intelligent, civilized men in the United States are unwilling to emigrate to Liberia until its independence shall be acknowledged by the United States; therefore, *Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio*, That our Senators in Congress are hereby instructed, and our Representatives in Congress requested, to use their influence to induce the General Government to acknowledge the independence of the Republic of Liberia; that they also be requested to use all honorable means to induce the free blacks of the United States to emigrate to the country.

Pensions, Naval and Military—Mint Deposits—Virginia Land Claims, &c.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, March 13, 1850.

I inclose a bill, which has passed to a second reading in the Senate, for regulating anew the pensions of officers of the regular army, privates, seamen in the U. S. Navy, mariners, &c.; it was introduced by Mr. BORLAND from Pension Committee.

It gives each officer, *if he has a commission*, which is presumptive evidence proof that he is a scion of the mushroom Aristocracy of Democracy, double the amount now allowed for the highest disability, according to grade, for a broken arm or leg, and to non-commissioned officers, seamen and privates in the army, double the present allowance in like cases and 50 per cent over. For loss of two legs, two arms, or a leg and an arm, treble the pension now allowed, if officers—quadruple if below that rank. Would it not have been better to give a schedule of allowances instead of referring to present usages in this indistinct manner?

I also send you a bill to enable the Mint of the United States to make returns to depositors with but little delay. It makes it the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to keep in the Mint of Philadelphia, where there is money on hand to be so kept, two millions of dollars, in cash or bullion, out of which to pay those who bring bullion to the Mint for coinage, at the earliest possible moment.

Senate bill 29 is a pull upon the Treasury for dollars, lands, bounty scrip, &c. to pay the claims of officers and soldiers of the Virginia State and Continental lives of the Revolution! At a distance of four score years, old claims, many of them never before dreamed of before, start up before us. Who can attest their correctness? No one. Who can enumerate the thousand and one forms in which revolutionary services have been paid? Why not match this charge by producing from New-England, a bill by the heirs of the Captain of the Mayflower for unpaid passages and advances, with interest, since the first half of the seventeenth century? Ingenuity will readily trump up charges, if a nation full of cash or in good credit, shall elect to pay all such.

Seward's Appeal for Freedom—The Equilibrium—Webster on the Pledge—Annexation—Bondsmen a Basis of Voting!—Upshur and Rich.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, March 12.

SEWARD seems enthusiastic in his love of the Union, and in his conceptions as to the noble destiny which may be the lot of its people. He sees that Slavery, an imperfect civilization, a low state of public and private morals, and thence internal dissensions, are the great obstacles to its perpetuity, and would emancipate where he could, and pass laws to bring the trembling slave within the pale of the Constitution, and substitute mildness to the ebony colored admirer of personal freedom, for the stripes and terrors of the bloody code of Draco, which the South yet clings to as her salvation.

SEWARD's speech was, as a whole, infinitely superior to WEBSTER's; and although he did not get the applause of the galleries, in a slaveholding city, built between two Slaveholding States, and whose population chiefly depend upon the location of pro-slavery government in their midst for subsistence or prosperity, although WEBSTER monopolized the stamping and cheering of the slaveholders and placemen, yet the very absence of these tokens of approbation when SEWARD spoke, is a powerful evidence in his favor.

His quotation of Burke against compromising liberty and justice with the tyrant and oppressor, was truly appropriate, and he gave CALHOUN to understand that no new laws to coerce fugitives were required, and and that there should be no successful nullification on that account in the year of grace 1850. UNDERWOOD lost not a word of what was said, and I wish I could have ascertained his opinion, but he never opened his lips.

The recent meeting of serviles in Castle Garden would have slunk off, justly ashamed of their moral cowardice, could they but have witnessed the scene of yesterday. When DAWSON asked if SEWARD spoke for the North, the reply was, "I speak what I believe to be the prevailing convictions of the people of the Free States."

He showed the absurdity of the "equilibrium," and the catchwords, Southern and Northern States. If, said he, a State retains Slavery it is called a Southern State, no matter where located. If it does not, it is Northern. The States were 12 to 1 for Slavery in 1789; they are now but 15 to 15. CALHOUN was evidently astonished. Never before, this Session, have I seen him stop till between four and five; but SEWARD, speaking as he did, by a commission from three millions of free constituents, had the attraction of a magnet. Gen. BAYLY stopped a short time. The theme assuredly did not suit him. "Old Virginia never tires," was not a tune that could be played on the occasion of a Senate speech for the immediate removal of Slavery and its horrid traffic across the Potomac and beneath of Bladensburg.

I thought SEWARD would hit WEBSTER hard for his servility in the offer to vote $80,000,000 to enable the Slave-holders to transport the free, unoffending colored people to some distant colony. That he beat CASS hollow, and WEBSTER seems really ambitious of taking CASS's position, now that the veteran courtier of Michigan finds it all but untenable. The Free Lands for whites and more Slave States won't do.

WEBSTER's quibble about the solemn pledge of Congress to carve four *Slave* States out of Texas delighted the dealers in that species of live stock, and the speculators in politics, for it united the ideas of political power, to be preserved as a corruptive fund, and of a better price to be obtained for negroes in these parts. The Constitution of Texas wars with nearly now and forever. How can free men settle there? They are not denied there and would not be allowed. The tyrant and his slave are alone contemplated as fit to exist in that vast moral waste.

SEWARD told WEBSTER that there was no warrant in the United States Constitution for political suicide, in the annexation of foreign nations by joint resolution of Congress, and therefore no authority for the pledge to turn Texas into a supply of eight Proslavery Senators to out-vote the population Free States. WEBSTER, as a lawyer, affirmed, in effect, that any Congress might, by joint resolution, annex any foreign country, whether Mexico, China, Great Britain or Turkey; that although a treaty for trading, for postal intercourse, for delivery of criminals, &c. &c. requires a two-third vote, yet that a mere resolution of Congress can supplant the treaty power, and, without any submission of the question to the people, change the character of the Union, and annex (or cause to be annexed to) any nation whatever. This doctrine suits the South, for it lones after Cuba and Slavery there, Chihuahua and Slavery there, and with the patronage of the Executive, WEBSTER said, in 1848, that *much might be done in Congress!!*

SEWARD hit hard the Proviso that gives the owner of five slaves the equivalent of three votes for a member of Congress on their behalf, and whom nevertheless they dare not petition! It is indeed a queer and curious Proviso to keep millions of men in bondage and ignorance, in perpetuity, degrade them as chattels on a level with the pigs, and then increase the popular representation in Congress in a three fifths ratio as compared to the number of three bondsmen!!! In the North the art of living in idless and luxury, on other men's industry, is decently veiled. In the Slave States it is openly avowed, and even the appearance of constitutional liberty scouted as a phantom.

Old Judge UPSHUR, whom WEBSTER made way for in the State Department, as it would not have looked decent in a Massachusetts man to go for *Texas*, if with Slavery, had a black servant named DAVID RICH, to whom, by his will, he gave his freedom. He speaks in said will "of the sincere and steady friendship which I [UPSHUR] bear him," and yet, had not the Princeton's big gun blown UPSHUR into eternity at short notice, DAVID RICH, notwithstanding his owner's steady friendship, had remained a bond slave at this day.

Listen to the character of DAVID RICH, the black man, by his owner, UPSHUR, the white Secretary of State for the United States:

"He has been my slave for twenty-four years, during which time he has been trusted to every extent, and in every respect. My confidence in him has been unbounded. His intelligence is of a high order, his integrity above all suspicion, and his sense of right and propriety correct and refined. I know no man who has fewer faults or more excellencies than he."

Send CLINGMAN *The Tribune*—bid him also peruse UPSHUR's will. Yet, in order to secure a luxurious living for themselves, the Clingmans, the Calhouns, the Reverend Hilliards, and the irreverend ——'s, would seemingly convulse this Union to assure to themselves more extensive markets for the sale of colored men of a high order of intelligence, an integrity above suspicion, and a sense of right the most correct and refined. Have the oppressors of such a race any integrity or sense of right? Read SEWARD's speech and you'll soon get the answer.

I'm tired of Southern gibberish about RIGHTS. FOOTE, in the course of his impulsive rhapsody, talked of the Roman matron who, when asked for her jewels, pointed to her children. Her children! it was well for her that she lived out of our South, and had no seventh cousin whose great grandfather, like the sire of UPSHUR's Rich had been kidnapped in Africa, or else the chivalry would have sold her children to be sugar swamp slaves in Louisiana, or else to augment the race of hereditary serfs destined to count as three fifths of a man each, in the effort blessed by WEBSTER of getting eight slaveholding votes in Senate out of Texas.

ROGER SHERMAN.

California Knocking—Where's Texas—Woodworth's Patent—King Pushing Ahead—Calhoun's Equilibrium.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, March 13.

We have had a couple of hot and spicy discussions to-day—the first about the memorial of young California, asking for a voice and a vote in both ends of this Capitol; the second, on a motion of THOMPSON of Pa. from the Judiciary Committee, the object of which was to carry through the House a bill creating an additional Judicial District in Texas, but which Messrs. MCCLERNAND of Ill. and STEVENS of Pa. manfully opposed, as probably interfering with that delicate and interesting question whether the country between the Nueces and Rio Grande is or is not a part of the great slave pen of the Union, otherwise known as Texas.

I like these oratorical onslaughts. They clear the air a little. Almost all things social and political are to be comparatively viewed—give me the tempests of Washington and Westminster, in preference to the calm of Moscow and Warsaw, or the degraded lot of the masses under the oligarchy of Ireland.

Much of the legislation here relates to new and distant countries, added, or about to be added, to this vast republic. I concur with Mr. WEBSTER, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS and Dr. CHANNING in the opinion that widely extended empire is undesirable. The longer the chain the weaker it becomes, steam and electricity notwithstanding. Every addition to the public domain has made the citizens of the Union more proud, or more regardless of the true glory of a free State.

WOODWORTH's Patent is before the House. A majority of a committee reported to-day a special bill to extend that monopoly other seven years after 1853, and to tax the mechanics and builders of the Union, heavily, partially, and unjustly, in order that the speculators who paid $100,000 for the seven years' privilege, after the late WOODWORTH and his heirs had gained enormously for other fourteen years, may clear another half million. It is worth while to see the bar well in such a case.—What are twenty retaining fees (call them not bribes) to enlist twenty powerful champions of monopoly to canvass publicly or privately, to gild a bad cause, and speak against the people, *for know why?* But merely when the chances of success are considered.

A minority of the Reporting Committee have presented an argument against any more renewals. Renew all Patents, or renew none. I suppose we shall have an application to Congress, next, to buy the big house here, (of which the roof blew off the other day,) where the Pension clerks do congregate.

In the House to-day, PRESTON KING, and I honor him for the effort, brought in a resolution to close the California admission debate on Wednesday, this day week, at two o'clock. He was allowed to lay it on the table, and I hope it will be called up soon, for the usual business of the session, homes for the million, supplies, Post Office, Naval and Military Retrenchment, Mileage, and a thousand other private and public measures, will probably be left until the dog days. Some things are hastily, carelessly, and badly done, and much is left undone.

Mr. DISNEY of Ohio (Loco-demo.—native of Md.) addressed the House for an hour on California—above quorum being present and but few in the galleries. I heard him very indistinctly. In Senate there was some sharp shooting about CALHOUN's equilibrium, his proposed amendment to the Constitution, &c. Even now, we have thirty Senators representing less than five millions of white men, women and children in the Slave States and misrepresenting three millions of chattel property, ignorant and degraded, while other thirty Senators actually represent nearly thirteen millions of white people in the Free States, and have but an equal voice with the thirty sent by not half as many slaveholders, &c. If this is not boroughmongering what is it? And yet it is not *bad* enough for CALHOUN & Co.

Col. Weller holding over—Survey not to stop—B. F. Brown—Fremont vs. the Woolly Horse.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, March 13.

I yesterday sent you information by telegraph of the conduct of Col. WELLER in regard to the suspension by him of operations on the Mexican boundary line. The facts are these. In August last WELLER was removed by the Administration, owing to his wasteful expenditure of the appropriation for that work and his dilatoriness in progressing with it. Col. FREMONT was appointed his successor and *accepted the office*. WELLER was notified of his removal but paid no regard to it. His correspondence with the Department spoke of the receipt by him of no advices from his Government of a later date than the 29th of March last, although no reasonable doubt exists of his having received all the subsequent communications sent to him. The next information the Department gets is, that FREMONT had not entered upon the duties of the office but that he was still exercising its functions and claiming to be the Commissioner on the part of the United States.

The Department of the Interior then again gives him formal notice of his suspension from office, which was inclosed under one to Major EMORY directing him to hand it to Col. WELLER, and to receive from him all the instruments and other property belonging to the Government. From this nothing more is heard until lately, when it appears that Mr. WELLER meets Gen. CONDE at San Diego on or about the 5th of February last, and under the pretense that he was without funds to proceed on the part of the United States, procures his assent for a suspension of all the work on the line until the first Monday in November next, there to reassemble at El Paso on the Rio Grande. A more flagrant breach of trust has never been perpetrated by a public officer, even in the palmiest days of corruption under VAN BUREN'S and POLK'S administration.

I learn to-day that Mr. EWING is of the opinion that in consequence of this suspension, the work need not necessarily stop. And that he is in favor of appointing the Commissioner at once, designating the members of the Scientific Corps, and have them proceed without delay to the field of operation. And to dispatch a messenger to Gen. CONDE, informing him of the action of this Government, and requesting, that with the assent of the Mexican Government he proceed at once to a point designated, where our Commissioner as the successor of WELLER will be, and under their joint superintendance to have the work proceed, regardless of the unauthorized act of Col. WELLER. I presume the matter was made a subject matter of discussion to-day in Cabinet Council, and I hope the views of Mr. EWING were sustained. Every one who has heard of WELLER's conduct has condemned it, as the injury to the service of the United States has been made to suffer greatly in his hands, by the course he has taken.

BENJAMIN F. BROWN, the distinguished Loco-Foco Financier, and *pet* biographer of Gen. CASS, whose peculations compelled him to seek safety in flight, was arrested in Michigan as stated in some of the papers. But under an abuse of the habeas corpus act, he was taken before one of the local judges in that State, and discharged on the alledged ground of the insufficiency of the affidavit. It was prepared from one in this city, that had stood the test of legal adjudication, under which a felon had been arrested, *held* and tried; but in the progressive spirit of the age in Michigan, it was found to be of too frail a texture to be wove around the personal liberty of so distinguished a person as the far-famed biographer, Mr. BROWN. For the present, consequently, he has escaped; but if he remains in the United States thirty days, he will be arrested, if in the power of Government to do so.

Yesterday Col. FREMONT was summoned before the Grand Jury to give testimony in the celebrated "Woolly Horse" case, that gave rise to the arrest of the imposter who was fleecing the public by an exhibition of this humbug. The evidence of Col. FREMONT established the fraud beyond dispute, and the man who had the temerity to come within the reach of "Old Bullion" to palm off his humbug upon the community, will have to pay pretty dear for his whistle.

ALPHA.

Slavery—German, Disney, Douglas—The Proviso—Woodworth's Patent—Litigation.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday evening, March 13.

GORMAN, yesterday, and DISNEY, to-day, seem disposed to admit California, as she is, but without the Proviso, and then to give New-Mexico a Territorial Government, also without the Proviso, leaving slave owners to carry their "property" in God's creatures there, and take their chance of the decision of the federal courts whether the law will recognize black men as on a footing with a brute beast, or with another man of whiter skin.

You will have perceived that *The Republic*, [the special organ of the President?] comes out strong this morning in defence of WEBSTER's argument on slavery. Is not this a sign of the times?

The House having adjourned early, I hearkened for about an hour to Judge DOUGLAS in Senate. He is of small size, hale and healthy; perhaps under forty, or of that age; his hair is black, and plenty of it, his countenance indicates shrewdness and no lack of resolution. Like SEWARD and VAN BUREN, he is a native of New-York State; his voice is strong, and he is by no means an unpleasant speaker. To me his political course has been rather obnoxious, but where public sentiment gets concentrated in favor of right and justice on any one subject, he will doubtless be careful not to run counter to it, tho' he may dodge a good cause occasionally. He is against a prohibition of Slavery in the Territories, and against the Wilmot Proviso for California, but inclines to vote as instructed, and has been instructed to go for the Proviso. How as to New-Mexico?

A friend informs me that one EMMONS was partly the inventor of the planing machine; that hundreds of thousands of dollars were proved to have been gained by the patent previous to last renewal, and that the son of WOODWORTH resides in New-York, and is wealthy. As to litigation, the fact is that the costs of the United States Courts are enormous, and the delay of justice almost intolerable. When men contest the right to a patent the attorney class make fortunes out of them or it, and then the sufferers come to Congress for renewals which, but for its culpable neglect of duty, would never have been required. Members of both Houses plead in the U. S. Courts, they gain by delays and heavy costs, and I see not the slightest disposition anywhere to afford a remedy.

THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN EUROPE.

Signs of the Times.....Socialist Doctrines.....Antagonism.....The Plan of Attack.....Violence of the Agitation.....Instrument of the Revolution.....Doctrines of General Principles.....Fourier's Theory.....Proudhon.....Socialism and Monopolism.

French Correspondence of The Tribune.

PARIS, Thursday, Feb. 14, 1850.

Ominous signs of antagonism and civil war, are rising up, like phantoms from the deep, in France. Socialism is spreading fast among the laboring and the lower middle classes. Terrorism spreads like panic fear among the rich and privileged members of society. The People are resigned and hopeful; the rich, aggressive and desperate. Peaceful progress seems to be impossible. The upper classes are afraid of it, dreadfully, ferociously, afraid of it. Their minds are struck. They feel instinctively, that the monster Socialism will devour their property, or that which is to them more dear, their *Rents* and *privileges*, if they do not crush it in the egg, before it is completely hatched. They mean to league all Europe against Socialism, in a military and *religious*, social and political campaign against the pestilential germs of civil and religious liberty, as country people rise en masse to crush the germs of universal blight, deposited like snow-drifts on the leaves and branches, in the plague-nests of voracious insects. "Socialism, they say, is Barbarism." "It must be crushed, suppressed, or society will perish." Society, with them, means Rent and Taxes, Place and Privilege. Their apprehensions are perhaps excessive; they are not unfounded. I believe that Socialism will, in time, destroy all Rent and Privilege, idleness and rich corruption. They mean to fight, however, for the conservation of these social jewels which adorn Society.

The plan of attack is vast and powerful. They are quietly preparing it, in practice. Its general principle is now revealed, as well as its details. These are its leading elements:

First: Form a league of Property and Privilege, Rent and Place-emolument, in every sphere, class, religion and opinion.

Second: Give places in every branch of public and private service, to those only who denounce liberty of every sort, and consent to be spies for those who employ them. Drive Socialists and Republicans from every place and employment, in the army, the navy, the church, the bar, the magistracy, public and private administration, and even from the paltry place of *concierge* or door-keeper, to make room for spies. This very morning, the door-keeper of the house where I reside, has been sent away to make room for the wife of a Post-Office agent, though she was the most intelligent and careful, cleanly and polite person, who had been in that service during the last ten years. My friend Barral, the chemist, who was acknowledged by his judges, to be first on the list of six competitors for an important Professorship in the Agricultural College of Versailles, was set aside the other day, and the public concours declared null and void, because he is a Socialist Republican. Similar facts take place daily, in every part of France.

Third: Drive the general mass of innovators from the active field of industry, into poverty and famine, discontent and consequent rebellion.

Fourth: Organize the military division of the country in such a manner, that any part of France, and if need be, the whole territory, may at any moment be declared in a state of siege, and governed by martial law. This very day the papers repeat the Government decree, which places the West of France under the military command of Gen. Castellane, the chief positions of which are Bordeaux, Nantes and Rennes; the *South*, under the command of Gen. Rostolan, the chief centers of which are, Montpelier, Toulouse, Perpignan, the *East*, under the command of Gen. Gemeau, with head-quarters at Lyons and Besançon. The center and the North are already in the hands of Gen. Changarnier. When famine and provocation systematically organized drive the Republicans in any part of France into rebellion, martial law will be declared, the common law suspended, and Sicilian Vespers, or St. Bartholomew Lynch law put in practice, on a *wholesome* scale. In the meantime two, other measures are deemed essential to complete the plan.

Fifth: Crush Liberty of Thought and Education, in the Press and in the Public Colleges.

Sixth: Revise the Constitution in such a manner as to suppress Universal Suffrage, before the general Elections of 1852.

Other measures are on contemplation, though not openly announced. The *moderate* press proposes and discusses them, with freedom, notwithstanding their manifest illegality. The "Friends of Order" can say what they like against liberty and justice, in the press and on the stage, in churches and public meetings. Socialists are gagged in every way. The friends of Rent and Privilege, Emolument and Tithe, are violently resolved to save Society from the barbarism of property in the fruits of one's own labor. "None of your Labor humbug, down with the money, the rent and the taxes, or you shall not live in our Society." The people had a notion of refusing taxes, if the Constitution were threatened, the right of voting suppressed. The military division of France, and the general application of martial law, will teach the mob how to refuse the taxes.

Italy, Switzerland and Germany will be treated in the same way, wherever they show discontent. The sovereignty of Monopolism and Royalism means to give a lesson of authority and order to the sovereignty of the People, and their Socialist vagaries of Liberty and Labor against Rent and Royalty. The friends of Rent are drunk with fury and revenge. They will certainly provoke the People into revolution. Civil war seems inevitable. It is more than ever necessary to prepare the public mind for the worst that can happen as well as for the cure of such a dreadful social malady.

Is legislative revolution necessary to prepare the way for Socialist innovation? The most eminent Social Innovators answer, No! I answer, Yes. The People are instinctively of my opinion. Louis Blanc and other eminent men of the political school of Socialists, are also of that mind. Fourier, Owen, Proudhon, and their followers are the advocates of non-intervention. They think the world may be reorganized by practical innovation on the smallest scale; a Phalanstery, a Community, a Bank of the People are deemed equal to the task of universal and progressive transformation. That is one great cause of the revolutionary weakness of these Socialists.

They deem negative doctrines of religion and philosophy sufficient to reform the Church; negative doctrines of equality and liberty sufficient to reform the State. The abolition of Church and State is their ideal of Religious and Political Liberty and Order. They are evidently in the dark on these important questions. Proudhon is the most consistent of the three in general negations. He proposes nothing as a substitute for religious and political organization. Fourier proposes a general doctrine of philosophy and a posterior organization of collective unity; Owen does the same, in different terms, and on different principles of legislative and administrative policy. Proudhon himself has promised to invent a system of Police and general Order as a future substitute for Government in Church and State. Each of them has an ideal of collective unity, resulting from the aggregation of elementary associations, but the special organisms of Church and State, containing in their general mechanism the elements of family and township life, are not portrayed with clearness in their writings. Fourier is by far the most complete, however; or I might, perhaps, with more correctness say, the least incomplete of the leading Socialists. He has given many sketches of industrial armies and other special organs of collective unity. His chief defects in the conception and realization of collective organism, in Church and State, are those of obscurity and incompleteness. He subordinates everything to the practical regeneration of the city. He sets aside the Revelation of the Word, as supernatural inspiration, though he admits it as natural intuition. Owen does the same, and so does Proudhon. They substitute Conventional or Rational Religion, for Divine Revelation and Progressive Interpretation. They are, consequently negative, obscure and impotent in their religious views of doctrine. Having no positive conception of this order of collective life and progress, they deem it unnecessary in the future constitution of Society. In lieu of explanation, they have argued abolition. Superstition, ignorance, hallucination are their explanations of religion.

All the Socialist philosophers have partially discussed the general principles of Science and Religious Doctrine—partially admitted the necessity of Legislative Revolution—partially and more especially discussed the nature and the constitution of new Social and Industrial Institutions. They have nobly advocated the great cause of Human Progress and Regeneration. There is, however, much to be effected yet before the work can be accomplished. It is my object to assist in pointing out what still remains obscure or dimly visible.

Thence it is I criticise the views of my fellow-abocers in the revolution. All work bravely, but each one thinks himself the real Hercules, the only necessary champion and the regenerator. It is a childish folly which will pass away. They are equally necessary, one and all, and possibly, not less important one than another. Each of them has a special mission with the natural powers of endowments to fulfil it. I admire their faculties, admit their services, and notice their illusions and short comings, as a means of throwing light on the whole question, and thus doing my own part in the revolution.

My labors will not crown the work. No one man, nor perhaps one generation will be able to complete it. It is of some importance therefore that the army should work well together, the generals understand each other; the plan of the campaign be known to all; even to the enemy, for he will fight with less determination, when he understands the hopelessness of his resistance. Martial law against the light of truth, is like a globe of darkness in the rays of the celestial sun.

Superior doctrine, superior legislation, and superior industrial and social organization are required to revolutionize the world completely. The leading revolutionists and Socialists are quarreling among themselves about their favorite theories.—None of them are altogether right, nor are they, any of them, altogether wrong. I will discuss their various plans, and give a rapid sketch of my own views.

I have already given an idea of the doctrine of Necessity, or *Pseudo-idealism*, as I understand it.—That doctrine will admit of multiplied developments, but what has been already stated is sufficient to explain its general principles. I will only repeat here that it should be applied universally and not partially, that is to say, in Nature, to all the creations of the globe; in Scripture, to all the religions of the earth; in History, to all the races and to all the ages of Humanity.

Religion is not *sui generis*, by that Progressive view of Revelation and Tradition; it is explained and justified, continued and transformed. It is a positive doctrine of relative and absolute necessity; not a mere negative of evil and antipathy. It does not leave the mind in darkness with regard to past and future laws of progress, on which the *rational* philosophy of blind antipathy for suffering and tyranny can throw no spiritual light.

This doctrine of religious progress was indispensable as a means of preparing the public mind for legislative revolution in the laws of common right and common justice before social innovation could be realized in practice.

Religious doctrine is to legislation what the rays of the sun are to the atmosphere. The condition of the latter depends upon the influence of the former. Climate is an essential element of life and growth for animals and plants. Laws and customs, prejudices and opinions, form the spiritual atmosphere of industrial and social combinations. Where the climate is unpropitious, it is vain to cultivate new plants; where laws and powerful interests are hostile, it is useless to attempt new institutions of an opposite nature. The legislative atmosphere of monopoly is unpropitious to the special organisms of Socialism. Neither Phalansteries, nor communities, nor Banks of the People, could live and prosper in the legislative atmosphere of Land Monopoly and privileged authority in Church and State. Socialism is fatally constrained to reconsider doctrinal and legislative liberty, before it can reorganize the city and the general condition of Productive Industry. Atheism and skepticism are not positive religious liberty; they are mutinous denials of authority and superstition. Protestations against Usury and Rent are not positive destructions of monopoly in land and legislative power. Vain declamations against superstition and monopoly are not positive abolitions and regenerations of one and of the other. Social innovators may disdain the dogmas of Religion, in France and other countries, where the Priests have been subdued by temporal authorities, but they mistake their difficulties when they think they can treat the laws of the State with the same indifference. They think no doubt that legislation affords liberty enough, as it exists at present, for the free development of economical institutions. That is their great error; my present object is to make it evident. Monopolies alone can thrive in a legislative atmosphere of privilege. In such an atmosphere, equitable institutions must either become corporate monopolies or perish.

Proudhon and his partisans perceive that Working men's Societies, as they are now conceived and organized by certain trades in Paris, will become monopolies in the State, just as any other league of mercantile and manufacturing men becomes a practical monopoly of property and credit as it grows and prospers in society. It is vain, therefore, to dream of social innovation before legislative revolution. What is the cause of this illusion? With Fourier and Owen it was undoubtedly the desire of prompt success which led them to speculate in that direction. With Proudhon it would seem to be unmitigated notions of collective unity and order. It may also be with him, as it was with Owen and Fourier, a certain instinct of policy, not to awaken the fears of hostile interests. Fourier thought he could disarm priests, princes, and monopolists by promising them, not only restoration of their lost properties and privileges, but also an immense extension of thrones and honors, wealth and influence. He mixed up the principle of rent in his theory of dividends to *Capital, Labor* and *Talent*; he thought he could conciliate subversive interests and questionable instincts by amalgamation. His followers, who venerate his genius, hardly dare to question his solutions, even when their conscience is alarmed by some of his amalgamations of natural antipathies. I was myself in this position during the first few years of my studies under his direction. Many of his conceptions are undoubtedly true, but not a few of his views of order and conciliation are as certainly erroneous. It will be quite as impossible to conciliate the rent of Capital with the rights of property in the fruits of one's own labor, as it is impossible to conciliate natural vices and interior instincts in human nature with high morality and purity of conscience. The errors of Fourier's theory lurk in this well-meant and ingeniously contrived system of conciliating that which was never meant to be conciliated by amalgamation, the perishable instincts and the vices of relative Necessity, with the everlasting conscience and the virtues of absolute Necessity. We might as well attempt to harmonize ferocious animals with sheep and lambs, without transforming or abolishing their perishable nature, as attempt to harmonize the temporary instincts of Monopoly and Privilege with the permanent instincts of common right and common justice in association. The whole system of amalgamation and conciliation is an impracticable theory. It is written that "the wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock. When that comes to pass the lion will no longer feed on the flesh and blood of the bullock; monopolists will live no longer upon rent, the flesh and blood of labor. The wolf will be transformed before he and the lamb feed together. The selfish instincts of humanity must be transformed before they can be harmonized with generous instincts. Amalgamation of good and bad, perishable and everlasting, is not the same thing as transformation of the bad and consequent association with the good. The selfish instincts of Monopolism must be abolished and transformed before the generous instincts of Association can be organized; Legislation must be revolutionized in theory and practice before Property can be disarmed of privilege, and labor freed from spoliation. Religion, Legislation and Association may be simultaneously discussed in principle and theory, but doctrines must be radiated in the mind before they can be realized in practice. Religion must be freed from fear and darkness; Legislation from monopoly and privilege, before Association can be organized on principles of equal equal justice and common right of property in the fruits of one's own labor.

Why does Proudhon combat this idea? Is it policy, or free conviction? Does he wish to enjoy greater liberty for the discussion of Rent and Usury, by seeming to admit the monopolist right of property in land, or does he really delude himself with the idea that free circulation and equal exchange might be tolerated by Monopoly until the latter was abolished by exhaustion? I cannot answer positively, but it seems as if there was a mixture of policy and self-delusion in his mind.

Whatever be his notion on this question it is clear to my mind that Socialism and Monopolism are as opposite and irreconcilable in principle and practice as the instincts and habits of domestic animals are opposite in nature and irreconcilable with those of unclean and ferocious animals. You cannot multiply the two together in amity and peace. As the social and the animal creations of peace and liberty advance, those of violence and privilege of power must recede. As Man advances at the head of useful animals, their common enemies give way and disappear. As Socialism, or the doctrine of common right and common justice advances at the head of useful Labor in the progress of the People's mind, Monopolism, the common enemy of Labor, must give way and disappear.

Monopolism and Socialism are natural enemies. They cannot live together in Society. They may inhabit the same country, but not in peace and amity.

HUGH DOHERTY.

FOREIGN FRUIT TREES.—The value of trees imported from France in the ship Versailles, which arrived at this port on the 25th, was $4,416. We shall probably have some good pears, &c. by-and-by