

4 BUSINESS NOTICES.

Who wants to buy Carpets and floor cloths cheap? We will sell you dearer than any other...

The Largest in the World.—The largest carpet and floor cloths in the world are made in the United States...

The Genie Fall Hat.—Gentlemen and the public are invited to see the merits of the Fall Hat...

Gentlemen's Hats, Fall Style.—Hats, caps, and neckwear, made to order...

A Word to the Ladies.—The Hat Finishers Union would most respectfully call the attention of their fair friends...

Knox's Fall Style of Hats.—Ready for the inspection of his customers, but saying but little...

Leary & Co., leaders and introducers of fashion for Gentlemen's Hats...

82 Nassau St.—Boot-makers Union Association. Boots, Shoes & Gaiters at retail for wholesale prices...

The Whole Union of one opinion.—The constant succession of orders from all sections of the country...

Palmer & Co.'s great California Excursion.—Palmer & Co., 30 Broadway, a few days ago...

Havana and Principe Cigars.—James Sadler, No. 127 Broadway, "Franklin Buildings," would respectfully inform his friends...

Hudson River Railroad passengers landing at Hammond, N. Y., are within five minutes' walk of J. H. Townsend's Co. Cigars...

New Fall and Winter Dry Goods.—Hitchcock & Leach, No. 317 Broadway, corner of Nassau St., have in store a splendid assortment...

Men's and Boys' Clothing.—We are now offering the largest stock of Men's and Boys' Clothing to be found in this city...

Housekeepers, and all others in want of Bedding, Bedsteads, &c., are invited to call at M. W. Fisher's old established Warehouse...

Good, Handsome and Cheap.—There is no table found combined everywhere, but always united in the Boots and Shoes manufactured by Watson...

Important to Hotel-keepers and others.—The subscribers are manufacturing and offering for sale the largest stock of Men's and Boys' Clothing...

To Newspaper Publishers.—The New-York Tribune respectfully calls the attention of its subscribers to the fact that the price of the paper has been raised...

No. 83rd.—Country Papers, for the trade of the country. Palmer is the Agent of the most widely circulating Journals...

Dyspepsia can be cured.—A fair trial of the Oxygentated Bitters will convince the most skeptical patient that this medicine is equal in its worth to the cure of this disease...

Wheeler's Sherry Wine Bitters.—To relieve pain, remove disease, and restore strength at the same time, by the agency of medicine, may be pronounced an impossibility...

Hvatt's Life Balm is the most certain remedy for Rheumatism, Neuralgia, Sciatica, King's Evil, Mercurial disease, &c., &c. Capt. Hayden King's Evil, as stated above, has been cured by the use of this Balm...

A Traveling Companion for Invalids, and a Relief from Weakness and Labor in Hot Weather.—Chronic invalids generally, but especially those laboring under spinal disease and weakness of the back, together with rheumatism, consumption, nervousness and prostration, may find immediate relief...

Beware of Poison!—Delicious stuff is selling round the streets, at store and dwelling. Dr. Wm. Wood's Great Peppermint Cure is the only safe and reliable remedy...

Dr. James W. Powell, Oculist, Au- ralist, &c., continues to devote his attention especially to diseases of the Eye and Ear, from 9 o'clock, daily, at the same offices he has occupied for the last 7 years, No. 127 Broadway, entrance No. 128.

Dr. James W. Powell, Oculist, Au- ralist, &c., continues to devote his attention especially to diseases of the Eye and Ear, from 9 o'clock, daily, at the same offices he has occupied for the last 7 years, No. 127 Broadway, entrance No. 128.

Dr. James W. Powell, Oculist, Au- ralist, &c., continues to devote his attention especially to diseases of the Eye and Ear, from 9 o'clock, daily, at the same offices he has occupied for the last 7 years, No. 127 Broadway, entrance No. 128.

Dr. James W. Powell, Oculist, Au- ralist, &c., continues to devote his attention especially to diseases of the Eye and Ear, from 9 o'clock, daily, at the same offices he has occupied for the last 7 years, No. 127 Broadway, entrance No. 128.

Dr. James W. Powell, Oculist, Au- ralist, &c., continues to devote his attention especially to diseases of the Eye and Ear, from 9 o'clock, daily, at the same offices he has occupied for the last 7 years, No. 127 Broadway, entrance No. 128.

Dr. James W. Powell, Oculist, Au- ralist, &c., continues to devote his attention especially to diseases of the Eye and Ear, from 9 o'clock, daily, at the same offices he has occupied for the last 7 years, No. 127 Broadway, entrance No. 128.

Catherine Hayes.—A fine Daguerreotype of this distinguished Vocalist, taken expressly for Brady's National Miniature Gallery...

For Tender Feet, the only positive remedy is BISHOP'S CREAM LINIMENT, it never fails. Principal depot 219 Greenwich Street, corner of Duane St., also at E. M. Quinn, cor. Grand and Bowery; Kendall & Co., 143 Broadway, in Broadway, of Mrs. Eliza W. Fulton; and Doct. Palmer, 129 Myrtle St. Price 25 cents per bottle.

NEW-YORK TRIBUNE.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, AUG. 28, 1851.

Nothing was heard of the European steamers up to the hour of going to press.

News of the Morning.—From Cuba we have no further reliable advices, though rumors of all sorts are plenty as usual.

New-Orleans, if we may believe the telegraph, is under the complete dominion of the Filibusters, who have burned the Spanish Consul in effigy, and committed outrages upon the property of Spaniards. It was rumored yesterday at Washington that the Consul had even been murdered, but we presume it was only the effigy that suffered violence.

The Whigs of Boston have instructed their Delegates to the State Whig Convention to go for the nomination of Webster for the Presidency.

Hon. C. H. Donaldson, of Texas, it will be seen, is coming to New-York to summon a meeting of the 'National Democratic Committee,' in consequence of the recent unauthorized publication of the confidential letters addressed to Mr. Greer and himself, by certain prominent politicians. The announcement that B. F. Hallett has turned Whig and thereby disqualified himself for serving on said Committee is altogether too cruel.

Hon. Luke Woodbury, the Opposition nominee for Governor of New-Hampshire, is reported to have committed suicide. Judge Woodbury, of the U. S. Supreme Court, is ill at Portsmouth.

The telegraph brings us later advices from Santa Fe, but they embrace nothing of interest. The slaveholders of Florida, Va., have been illustrating their ideas of freedom of speech by efforts to expel from their precincts peaceable missionaries, who are guilty of the crime of having been born at the North.

EX-Governor McDowell, of Va., died at his residence near Lexington, on the 24th.

The Honorable Thomas N. Carr is anxious to know what the Editor of The Tribune has done with the \$30,000 contributed in this country in 1848 toward the Liberation of Ireland. We beg leave to dispel his anxiety by informing him that the Editor of The Tribune was entrusted the care and keeping only of the Hon. T. N. Carr's contribution to that fund, which, to the best of our recollection, amounted precisely to the sum of \$50,000. The balance of the fund was confided from the outset by the friends of the cause to Robert Emmet, General Treasurer, who, we feel quite certain, stands at all times ready to account for every farthing of it to those who have a right to inquire of him. We hold ourselves responsible to Hon. Mr. Carr for every cent of the Irish Fund that ever reached our hands.

The Herald says: "The Tribune, in favor always of revolutions in Europe, is opposed to the revolution in Cuba."

What 'revolution in Cuba?' We know of none. Where did it break out? Who are its leaders? When there shall be a 'revolution in Cuba,' it will be time to say that The Tribune is for or against it, but a law-defying, treaty-breaking invasion of Cuba by foreigners in race, in creed and in feeling, is quite a different thing from a revolution.

The 'revolutions in Europe' which The Tribune has favored all looked to the Emancipation and Elevation of the Laboring Class—the Cultivators of the Soil—as their chief end. The 'revolution in Cuba' proposes to leave the cultivators of her soil in the position of beasts or chattels, subject to be flogged, starved, sold or tortured as the caprice or fancied interest of the landlord caste shall dictate. He who does not perceive a very wide difference between these two kinds of 'revolution' is welcome to his own optics: we must continue to see through ours.

Protection and the Interests of Labor.—A writer in The National Era, whose assertion that Protection is favorable to the interests of Capital, but hostile, or at best indifferent, to those of Labor, we recently had occasion to notice, returns to the charge, and repeats the assertion. As the subject is one of exceeding interest, we propose to consider what is the truth about it.

This writer admits that Protection will be efficacious in building up the industry of the country to that point that it will no longer require to be protected, but contends that it will do this only by reducing the wages of our laborers to the same pauper standard which exists elsewhere. He says: "Pauperism of the civilized nations can be sustained and equalized sooner by helping Capital in its struggle against Labor in new countries, than by leaving to its own natural powers for effecting the conquest." All the conditions, it is obvious enough that Capital can be at no loss to equalize means, methods and cost of materials, in the open markets of the world. It cannot annihilate cost of transportation, where that is to be against it, but it can make everything else even in the game, and the other element, Labor, must suffer for all difference, until the "genuine Free Trade basis" is established in an absolute equality of conditions all over the world, saving only the cost of carriage, which will be in favor of the home manufacturer. The two systems in the field against each other, with some difference of time and incidents, meet at last on the same plane. There is no free simple interest in the principle, it is only a matter of time how much it may happen to pay while it is wearing out.

Protection is no system of labor rights. It is a maneuver, it is not a philosophy. It is a matter of

exchanges, and fates and fortunes may turn upon it, as they do upon stocks, fannies, and sea-storms; but it is a scheme to talk about it as an element in the social progress and general welfare of the laboring classes.

In the same Tribune we find that the planters and merchants of Jamaica are in distress. The scarcity is, that land is plenty, and people are scarce and independent. The words are, "the population is scanty and independent." In Barbadoes, happily, there is nothing of this sort. The population is abundant, the soil is fertile, and the people are industrious from necessity. Of course, Barbadoes increases her production, and what is the best of all, "the sugar is all profit," for the run crop pays the expenses of the year. And why not? Population presses upon the means (meaning their own means) of subsistence, and they work cheap for their work from necessity, with all the meaning pressed into the word that it is capable of.

The reasoning of this writer is based on the doctrines of Ricardo and Malthus, which have been too hastily adopted by most Socialists. Hence he regards Civilization as a course of warfare between Capital and Labor, in which the rich must grow richer and the poor poorer. Those doctrines being false, the structure built upon them is untenable.

Ricardo takes possession in the beginning of Society, men take possession of the richest soils. Consequently those who succeed there have a poorer chance; they must take less fertile soils; and their successors others still less fertile. Thus the growth of mankind is fundamentally a series of deteriorations for the earth becomes less and less fruitful as her sons become more numerous. Like a partial and heartless mother, she is liberal to the first-born, but rigid and hateful to her younger children.

Malthus teaches that, since the best lands are first occupied, and since the earth is thus less and less productive, while men are more and more prolific, there is therefore a constant tendency in population to become too many for the earth to feed. Hence pauperism and famine; and hence wars are useful in that they serve to keep population within bounds; hence prostitution and vice are useful, for the same reason; and hence the poor ought not to marry, but should make it their duty to smother the sweetest and most human affections of the heart.

The Socialists admit the truth of Ricardo's doctrine, but say that a juster social organization will elude its effect, by removing the primitive monopoly of the best soil and giving every man an equal chance with the others. But they contend that, till that is done, Society moves in a vicious circle, that one servitude will take the place of another, and new and even worse modes of plunder be substituted for the old. This cannot be otherwise, if it be true that the best soils are first occupied. Nay, if it be so, the only path to justice and freedom is revolution, for it is not to be expected that those who enjoy so eminent a monopoly should resign it except by force.

But if it be not so, if men begin with poor soils, and gradually take possession of those which are better, why then the career of Society must be genuinely and steadily progressive from the beginning, save where it is violently disturbed. Food, instead of increasing less rapidly than population, must increase more rapidly. And wherever there is industry, and the workers are not compelled to exhaust the land by exorbitant rents, as in Ireland and India, and are not plundered by Governments for their support of war and warlike establishments, their condition must steadily improve, whether they are slaves, serfs, free cultivators, or toilers in mines or mills. Wherever, in short, more wealth is produced than is consumed, there the tendency to social equality, equality of rights, privileges and possessions is not only constant, but irresistible. Of course, as this tendency acts upon a whole community or nation, its manifestation is very gradual, and a considerable period of time must be taken in order to see it clearly.

Hence, the true way of emancipating the laboring classes is not by revolution, but by industry and the increase of wealth. And thus there is a true and essential harmony between the interests of Labor and those of Capital; and any injury done to one by the other is a gross mistake in the party committing it, and an injury to the whole body of society.

We shall be told, very probably, that in England wealth has increased enormously, while the condition of the laborers has grown worse. As for the latter part of the proposition, we deny it; the condition of the British laborers has, on the whole, improved, and we are ready to show it, though we cannot prolong these remarks by going at length into that subject. But it is true that the improvement has by no means been commensurate with the increase of wealth, for the reason that that wealth is only partly the product of the island, but has been dishonestly gotten by the plunder of foreign colonies and dependencies. The riches of the merchant princes of England (what a satire on justice and good sense is that expression, a merchant prince! a man who has not been anything more useful than a go-between, nor done anything but appropriate, on a grand scale, the goods of both producers and consumers,) have been heaped up by the wretchedness and stagnation of India and Ireland, and other colonies, and by checking and stiling the prosperity of the United States. Besides, the two great causes of popular desolation, land monopoly and taxation for war, have existed there in luxuriance. The laborers have never been allowed access to the soil nor property therein, and they have been taxed almost beyond the power of imagination. Consequently, it is not surprising that they should have advanced at a snail's pace, nor that they should be so poor.

Whoever wishes to study these points thoroughly is referred to Carey's Free, Fair, and Full, as well as to his Harmony of Interests.

there should be cases of awful misery among them. But still, on the whole, they have advanced, because all the wealth produced by the land has not been taken from it; it has not been exhausted, but agriculture has improved, and better soils have been better cultivated.

In the United States, land monopoly is felt little, if at all. Farms can be bought extensively for less than it has cost to clear them, which is as it ought to be, since it shows that man has gained in power over nature, and is now able to clear rich lands at less expense than it formerly cost him to clear comparatively poor ones. Thus there is a free access to the soil, and with the adoption of the land reform measures, it will become perfectly free. How then can the progress of industry tend to the subjugation of Labor and the growth of Pauperism, anticipated by the writer we are considering? How can the wages of workers in mines and mills be crowded down to the starvation point? And how can the increase of population press on the means of subsistence? It is impossible. Labor cannot be subjugated, or wages crowded down, because the land being free, and its return being constantly increased by the better culture of better soils, the earnings of agriculture will be enlarged, and wages in mills and mines must keep pace with them, for any effort to force the pay of artisans below that of agriculturists can only result, where the land is accessible, in driving the former, and if not them, their children, into agriculture. Nor can population press on the means of subsistence, because the growth of the former can only result in the clearing, draining and cultivation of rich soils and the improvement of the others by scientific treatment, whereby the quantity of food will experience a steady augmentation. It is indeed true that a time may come at the end of centuries, when the earth will be fully populated; but then it will be found that nature has provided, in the physical and moral perfection of the race, a check which will prevent the limit from being exceeded.

Industry and the increase of wealth being thus the sure means of advancing the condition of the workers, raising them to perfect independence and establishing that social equality, or equality of rights, privileges and culture, which is the ideal of every lover of his race, it follows that it is for us to favor industry and the increase of wealth. How is this to be done? By throwing open the land, introducing the greatest variety of employments, dispensing with every dispensable intermediary, and causing exchanges to be performed with the utmost economy, that is to say, by confining them as far as possible between persons in the same neighborhood and community; in other words, by carrying Association to the greatest practicable perfection.

But where shall we begin in this process? The land is already freer than anywhere else in the world, and soon will be altogether free. In order to give value to this freedom, we must have a concentrated population, embracing persons of the most various productive pursuits. There must be artisans of every kind sufficient to manufacture for the community, and also to consume upon the spot the products of the soil. Every new trade introduced is a general advantage, because it supplies new articles of comfort or elegance, and at the same time furnishes a market for agricultural products of the most profitable kind. Thus the community advances, becomes richer and more intimately associated, and life gains a lovelier and nobler character. And the whole depends on the diversification of employments and the densifying of population.

This process we are, however, not allowed to pursue undisturbed. England has long enjoyed the monopoly of certain important branches of production, and insists that we shall not engage therein. No matter though it is essential to our attaining the end of our existence as a free nation, she insists. She declares that she is the work-shop and store-house of the world, and that we must take our cotton to her to be spun and woven, and must leave untouched the iron in our own mines, to come across the ocean to buy of her. And, having the machinery for making these things, and an immense capital from the spoils of her colonies to operate with, she threatens by her competition to ruin all of us who may engage in those branches of production, and to prevent us from engaging in them.

Now, we say that it is necessary to the prosperity of the country, and to the welfare and elevation of the laboring classes especially, that the effect of this monopoly and this competition should be guarded against. Besides, our Labor should be protected against the chronic uncertainty and the periodic convulsions which the British monopoly—like every monstrous and unnatural agency—produces at home, and diffuses like a storm upon all its dependencies.

Such is the doctrine of Protection, as we understand it. It is true, it is no system of labor rights, as is said above, neither is it a "philosophy"; nor ought it to be, but a measure to be enacted by Congress. But it is the sure and necessary means of bringing Labor into a position where it will take possession of its rights, never again to be deprived thereof. And as such, we think those who study it, and study the facts on which it is based, will find it sufficiently philosophical to meet all their wants in that direction.

The writer in The Era quotes the case of Jamaica and Barbadoes to prove that a dense population produces pauperism and not industrial independence. Of course it

knows well that we have never propounded this view of the influence of the White and Black Races, when commingled in the same community with each other; but there are those who hold it, and it is with their views and acts that he is dealing. It strikes us that his assumption of a necessary, self-evident moral wrong in their course and vote is unsustainable.

He speaks of the recent melioration of the Black Laws of Ohio as a sign in the opposite direction from that of the Indiana Vote. We think it amounts to very little, for these reasons: 1. It was not effected by a popular vote, and we think could not have been. 2. It was palpably the result of a political accident, such as may not again happen in a century. The nomination of Gen. Taylor at Philadelphia had deeply exasperated a portion of the Whigs of that State, so that they revolted and united with the Abolitionists and a few Leoco-Focos, formed the Free Soil party. That party held the balance of power in the Legislature next chosen, which had a U. S. Senator and several important State officers to elect, beside settling the vital question of the Hamilton Co. Contested Election. The Free Soilers in the Legislature compelled a large portion of 'the Democracy' to vote for the Abolition of the Black Laws under the penalty of a general and disastrous defeat in all those elections and that contest. There was not one-third of the Legislature which repealed those Black Laws heartily in favor of such repeal.

As to New-England, we know no State but Rhode-Island in which the African Race have gained anything. In that State, they were early, unannounced and zealously on the side of Law and Order against the Dorr Rebellion, and the Law and Order party when triumphant, conceded them the Right of Suffrage; had there been no Dorr troubles in the State, we apprehend the concession would not have been made.—And Connecticut, which has since voted on the Suffrage question, refused the Right to the Blacks by a large majority.

As to Indiana, her contiguity to a Slave State is undoubted; but so is that of Ohio, and nearly half the Free States of the Union. Her anti-African prejudice is none the less formidable for being inveterate, but we think the Exclusion clause just adopted is harsher than it would have been made at any former time. The fact that the States which have most African residents are most prone to such enactments, while those which have few or none such are most tolerant toward that Race, leads us to conclusions with regard to the future directly adverse to 'H. J.'s' inferences. But Time will tell.

The following queries appear to have been called forth by our article on the Indiana Vote: To the Editors of the N. Y. Tribune: I have a few queries, which, if you will permit me, I would like to submit for your consideration, viz: 1. Can a man be a citizen of a State, and not of the United States? 2. Has any State in the Union, in adopting a New Constitution, a right to adopt any article or section in it which is contrary to any article or section of the Constitution of the United States? That is, has such State a right to adopt an instrument that shall take away any right which the Constitution of the United States guarantees, or grant any right which it forbids? Are such laws of any validity when passed? 3. Does the Constitution of the United States make color the basis of Right? 4. Have not colored men—freemen born in this country—as good a right, according to the Constitution and laws of the United States, to remain in it, and enjoy the protection of its laws, as the good of its institutions, as white men, inasmuch as colored men participated with white men in the struggle for American Independence? 5. Would the expatriation of the Colored Race be a crime and a breach of this country? S. V. BERRY, Jr. August 24, 1851.

Remarks.—Leaving those who may advocate the compulsory expatriation of the Blacks to answer the above queries, we will just ask Mr. Berry one in return, viz: Suppose three-fourths of the Whites of the Free States should conclude that the intermingling of Whites and Blacks in the same community was demoralizing and pernicious, and, acting upon that conviction, should declare the compulsory colonization of the Blacks, does he believe that such action could be effectively, permanently resisted? Mr. Berry cannot well be ignorant that we consider the present exclusion of Blacks from the Right of Suffrage and other Political Franchises, in this and most other Free States, as at war at least with the spirit and general drift of our Free Institutions. But our thinking so, and acting fully up to that conviction, does not vary the fact—Does not restore them the Right which a Popular Vote has denied them. And whatever may be written in the books, we find that, practically, ultimately, the will of a Majority of the Enfranchised is the law of the land. That Majority may do wrong, but it is well high irresistible.

Remarks.—One other correspondent has written us an explanation of the Indiana Vote as if it were an isolated expression; while to our mind its significance is heightened by the fact that it seems to be only a ripple of the general current. He farther urges that the Voters of Indiana are in good part emigrants from Slave States, educated in the prejudices of Slavery, such as have no existence elsewhere.

Remarks.—Unhappy for this assumption, the most rabid Anti-African portion of our Free State population are those of European birth, who certainly were not educated to associate color with degradation. We shall not soon forget our day's work electioneering for Free and Equal Suffrage in Nov. 1846, at a poll where more than half the voters were of European birth, every one of those, to the best of our knowledge, a violent opposer of the Extension of Suffrage to the African Race. "Let them go back to Africa,

Remarks.—Unhappy for this assumption, the most rabid Anti-African portion of our Free State population are those of European birth, who certainly were not educated to associate color with degradation. We shall not soon forget our day's work electioneering for Free and Equal Suffrage in Nov. 1846, at a poll where more than half the voters were of European birth, every one of those, to the best of our knowledge, a violent opposer of the Extension of Suffrage to the African Race. "Let them go back to Africa,

Remarks.—Unhappy for this assumption, the most rabid Anti-African portion of our Free State population are those of European birth, who certainly were not educated to associate color with degradation. We shall not soon forget our day's work electioneering for Free and Equal Suffrage in Nov. 1846, at a poll where more than half the voters were of European birth, every one of those, to the best of our knowledge, a violent opposer of the Extension of Suffrage to the African Race. "Let them go back to Africa,

Remarks.—Unhappy for this assumption, the most rabid Anti-African portion of our Free State population are those of European birth, who certainly were not educated to associate color with degradation. We shall not soon forget our day's work electioneering for Free and Equal Suffrage in Nov. 1846, at a poll where more than half the voters were of European birth, every one of those, to the best of our knowledge, a violent opposer of the Extension of Suffrage to the African Race. "Let them go back to Africa,

Remarks.—Unhappy for this assumption, the most rabid Anti-African portion of our Free State population are those of European birth, who certainly were not educated to associate color with degradation. We shall not soon forget our day's work electioneering for Free and Equal Suffrage in Nov. 1846, at a poll where more than half the voters were of European birth, every one of those, to the best of our knowledge, a violent opposer of the Extension of Suffrage to the African Race. "Let them go back to Africa,

Remarks.—Unhappy for this assumption, the most rabid Anti-African portion of our Free State population are those of European birth, who certainly were not educated to associate color with degradation. We shall not soon forget our day's work electioneering for Free and Equal Suffrage in Nov. 1846, at a poll where more than half the voters were of European birth, every one of those, to the best of our knowledge, a violent opposer of the Extension of Suffrage to the African Race. "Let them go back to Africa,

Remarks.—Unhappy for this assumption, the most rabid Anti-African portion of our Free State population are those of European birth, who certainly were not educated to associate color with degradation. We shall not soon forget our day's work electioneering for Free and Equal Suffrage in Nov. 1846, at a poll where more than half the voters were of European birth, every one of those, to the best of our knowledge, a violent opposer of the Extension of Suffrage to the African Race. "Let them go back to Africa,