

THE NORTH STAR.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS,
M. R. DELANY, } EDITORS.

RIGHT IS OF NO SEX—TRUTH IS OF NO COLOR—GOD IS THE FATHER OF US ALL, AND ALL WE ARE BROTHERS.

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The object of the NORTH STAR will be to attack SLAVERY in all its forms and aspects; advocate UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION; exalt the standard of PUBLIC MORALITY; promote the moral and intellectual improvement of the COLORED PEOPLE; and hasten the day of FREEDOM to the THREE MILLIONS of our ENSLAVED FELLOW COUNTRYMEN.

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MICHIGAN.—Robert Banks, Detroit.
INDIANA.—Joel P. Davis, Economy, Wayne Co.

Selections.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.
AVAILABILITY—THE DOWNWARD COURSE.

Years ago, when the proposal was first made to the abolitionists to organize themselves into a distinct political party, we were warned by many a faithful watchman for truth, of the danger of such a measure—begun, as it must be, by conceding strict principle to seeming expediency—of the great liability, if not the sure necessity, of still further compromises and coalitions, to the sacrifice of our integrity. Past history gave illustrations to enforce the argument, but in spite of these our political friends thought they could venture on this path of "expediency" with safety. Though they saw that others had been wrecked in that course, with a common and delusive confidence that their higher devotion to principle would keep them secure from evil, they pressed on the same way which had led so many before to abandon principle for power.

The years which have passed, have been swift witnesses of the truth of those timely warnings and cautions.—They have confirmed our conviction, whatever may be the nature of political action itself, that under our constitution, any political action must be "conceived in sin and begotten in iniquity"—that it must have a fatal tendency to compromise. It begins by preferring availability to right, and can succeed in getting power only by pursuing the same downward course.—A brief review of one chapter of anti-slavery history will illustrate it.

In its commencement, the Liberty party professed to be thoroughly anti-slavery—to aim at nothing short of the entire abolition of slavery throughout the country. Immediate emancipation was a leading article of its creed. Its organs declared that they could consistently support no man for office who would not represent their anti-slavery principles. They generally denounced the pro-slavery policy of the government; and denied all obligations to regard the compromises by which the North were pledged to uphold slavery. To save their consistency, most of them, in some way, maintained an anti-slavery construction of the constitution, and thus, by bad logic, tried to keep good consciences. They professed to glory in the name of abolitionists, odious as it was then. The mass of its members were no doubt sincere, however inconsistent in their position.

With these feelings, and to promote these aims, they nominated Mr. Birney, who was distinctively committed before the country as an abolitionist. At that time, we believe that the honest masses of the party would have been shocked at the thought that they could ever take the position they now hold; but being defeated in their attempt to hold up the principles of abolitionism, they yielded to the seductive plea of availability, and joining with the Independent Democrats, who chose Mr. Hale as their Presidential candidate. Bold and manly as his course had been as a member of Congress, they knew he was not committed to any peculiar anti-slavery principle; they had no evidence that he would recommend and sustain the measures they had avowed; his opinions of the compromises of the Constitution were at variance with their own, but he was near enough to them to consent to be their candidate, and the influence of his name was a prize too rich to be refused; this concession to availability startled and alienated a few of the more rigid of their members, but

the great body were elated at it as a grand stroke of policy.

Their next step of concession, as is well known, was a coalition with the Barnburners in the support of Mr. Van Buren, who had gained a most unenviable notoriety by his "base bowing of the knee to the dark spirit of slavery," and who, instead of showing any sincere repentance of his past pro-slavery action, openly justified it; and had just said that that action in his letter to the Utica Convention:

"The extent to which I have sustained it, (Slavery) in the various States I have occupied, is known to the country. I was at that time well aware that I went further in this respect than many of my best friends could approve. But deeply impressed by the conviction that slavery was the only subject which could endanger our blessed Union, I was determined that no effort on my part, within the pale of the Constitution, should be wanting to sustain its compromises as they were understood, and it is now a source of consolation to me that I pursued the course I then adopted."

It is true, he frankly withdrew his pledge to veto an act abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, and committed himself against the extension of slavery into new territory; but he still maintained abolition in the District to be unwise, and must of course discountenance the passage of such a law; he counselled a "conservative forbearance toward slavery where it now exists," and carefully assured the South that he should fully sustain the compromises of the Constitution.

Having chosen Mr. Van Buren as their candidate, and placed him before the country as the great representative of their principles, they were under a temptation too strong for many of them to resist, not only to defend his present position, but to justify or extenuate his past course. All the past political life of "the Northern man with Southern principles," once so odious to the friends of freedom for its servile cringing to the slave power, by the wondrous alchemy of this nomination, becomes transmuted into a cause eminently patriotic and just; or if any faults are visible in it they "incline to virtue's side"—they are the spots on the sun's disc, and which must be hunted for to be found, and then are not worth anything.

The public has greatly misunderstood his policy towards slavery; his vote for the gag-law, suppressing the circulation of anti-slavery publications by mail, his action towards the Amistad Africans, his policy toward Cuba, his gratuitous veto pledge, and all his other pro-slavery acts, so often denounced by abolitionists, are excused, and almost entirely justified. It is melancholy to see this apology for wrong, by men who once would have thrust their right hand into the fire before they would have written it.

Such a course must be demoralizing, not only to the men who take it, but to the community at large. We give Mr. Van Buren full credit for his course against Texas Annexation, and the extension of slavery, and for having broken from his old party, and taken a bold stand against the arrogant encroachments of the slave power, and we would gladly overlook the sins of his past political life if we had any proof of his penitence for them; but we cannot consent for his sake to see a pro-slavery servility exalted into virtue and patriotism.

In this connection we may mention that the National Era makes a labored argument and appeal to the Whigs of Maine, New Hampshire and Ohio, and the Democrats of Vermont, to induce them to go for Van Buren as their only hope of defeating Cass in the three former States, and Taylor in the last. The Republic makes a similar appeal to the Ohio Whigs. Now, suppose the politicians to whom this proposal is made shall show any disposition to accept it, provided the Van Buren men will allow them a sufficient consideration, may we not look upon another compromise and coalition! The temptation will be too strong, we fear, for political virtue, though the Free Soil men probably as little dream now, that they could sacrifice their present principles for such a union, as they once dreamed, as Liberty party men they could vote for Van Buren or any other person opposed to the immediate emancipation in the District of Columbia.

We shall watch the future course of this party with interest, while we must, in fidelity to our cause and principles, counsel all abolitionists to stand aloof from it, and all other political parties; and apply themselves, with unflinching zeal, to their great moral engineering for the promotion of immediate emancipation throughout the nation and the world. Let us cling to the Right, and we are safe, and must succeed.—The first step of compromise for availability opens the way to unknown dangers and probable defeat.

THE HAPPIEST RELATION BETWEEN LABOR AND CAPITAL.

Somebody has sent us the following article, stating that the extract is to be found in Gen. Butler's speech on the Jackson fine. In the heading of the article it is said to have been delivered in the House of Representatives, Jan. 11, 1813. Whether the extract is correct or not, we have not the leisure to examine, but the date is wrong, for the fine had not been inflicted upon the General in 1813. It is probable that 1813 should have been printed 1815.—The person who sent us the extract demands its publication on the ground of fairness, and in all fairness we give it:

The following is a verbatim extract from a speech made by Mr. Butler, of

Kentucky, now Gen. Butler, the loco-foco candidate for the Vice-Presidency in the House of Representatives, Jan. 11, 1813:

"What I mean, then, in connection with what I have just said, is, that the predominance of slave over white population was such, and such its character, as to more than neutralize any aid that could be fairly expected from the white population, had every man able to bear arms been both a patriot and a soldier. What I hear said of slavery in Louisiana, I by no means apply to slavery in general. On the contrary, I would much sooner trust the States of my own, and of several other States, to defend this nation in her darkest hour of need, than one-half of the whining brood of sickly sympathizers, who are uniting themselves with foreign societies, whose real purpose is the destruction of this Union, under the specious pretence of bettering a class, who, in all the essentials of ease, comfort and happiness, are infinitely better off than most of themselves."

The sentiments here attributed to Gen. Butler are neither new nor peculiar. Whoever has given ordinary attention to the opinions of the slaveocracy, is well aware that they regard human slavery as the corner-stone of republicanism, and the only proper relation between labor and capital, without any regard to the color or caste of the laborer. No longer ago than May last, Mr. Davis, of Miss., said, in the debate upon Mr. Hale's bill for the suppression of mobs in the District, "I have no fear of insurrection, any more than of my cattle. I do not dread such incendiaries. Our slaves are happy and contented. They sustain the happiest relation that borlacan sustain to capital!"

The slave system of the South is essentially the feudal system of the middle ages continued; and the serfdom of the producing classes, without regard to color or kindred, is its very heart and soul. The Southern aristocrat cringing to democracy, but he acknowledges no difference, in fact, between the chattel slave of the South and the wages slave of the North, nor can his judgment be fairly impeached, while the one does his work for victuals and clothes, and the other fights his battles at the same rate, and both alike submit to an usurped dominion over them.—When a man, either by force or by choice, becomes the tool of a tyrant, he must take the contempt which belongs to his condition. It is not the Declaration of Independence that can emancipate the toilers, while they are "happy and contented" in their bondage. Ignorance and disregard of principle and slavish submission in the white working man to the class of masters, receives its just recompense in the insolence of such men as Calhoun, Butler, and Davis. The laboring man who gives his suffrage to the man who oppresses and despises him, ought to do so with enthusiasm, and go it with a rush, for if he stops long enough and keeps cool enough to think, he will make the unpleasant discovery that he is both a fool and a slave. "Hurrah for Old Zack!" "Hurrah for Cass and Butler!" Give them a little more grape! You have licked each other many a time, and you don't intend to do "nothing else."—*Phila. Rep.*

LOUISIANA SLAVE LAWS.

The National Era, in illustrating the general law of slavery in Louisiana, makes copious reference to the enactments of her statute law, and to the decisions of her courts. A few specimens, selected from among the more striking, will interest, at the same time their inhumanity and atrocity will shock the reader:

Where a slave became intoxicated, and, going presently into a boat, fell overboard and was drowned, the person who sold him the liquor on which he got drunk was condemned to pay the owner the price; and it was held that the owner need not prove that the defendant knew the negro was a slave, and that the presumption is that the black man is a slave.—11 *Mart. Rep.* 10.

In a suit for freedom by a person of color, held as a slave in good faith, and under a just title, proof that he had served as a seaman in a ship of war of the United States for several years, that he had always passed for a free person, and that none other are ever received on such vessels, will not be sufficient; he must establish his freedom by positive proof.—1 *Rob. Rep.* 172.

Where a slave, ordered to be emancipated by will, sues to establish her right to freedom, she must allege and prove that she is thirty years of age, or a native of the State, and that she has behaved well during the four preceding years.—3 *Rob. Rep.* 484.

Though partial payments have been made to the master by a slave, for the purpose of purchasing his freedom, the latter remains the property of the master, who will continue entitled to all his services, and the purchaser of such a slave will stand in the shoes of the vendor, till such balance is paid. *By the Court.*—A slave cannot become partially free; nor can he, till legally and absolutely emancipated, own any property without the consent of his master.—10 *Rob. Rep.* 450.

Among the decisions of the Louisiana Courts relating to emancipation, we select the following:

1. Under the Spanish law, the emancipation of a slave might be made by parol, in the presence of five witnesses, but not less than that number.—4 *Mart. Rep.* 338; 8 *Mart. Rep.* 140.
2. The Roman law, § 40, which declares that, although the slave do not pay the whole price of his freedom, yet he is entitled thereto, if he afterwards

make up the deficiency by his labor, applies to only such as are made free *instantly*, on condition of paying a further sum in *future*, not to those whom the master promises to free when such further sum shall be paid.—5 *Mart. Rep.* 496.

When will the system that exists by virtue of more than barbarian law, cease to be throughout a Republic vaunted as Christian and vaunted as free? Who does not desire that the dark shadow of such statutes may be lessened, rather than extended? Let them, we say, never pass the boundary of the Rio Grande, and, fast as may be, let them be blotted from the name and memory of our entire country.—*Boston Watchman.*

From the London Times HYPOCRITICAL SYMPATHY—ATROCIOUS PRACTICE.

Political slavery is an abomination in the eyes of our friends on the other side of the Atlantic—social-slavery an unobjectionable condition of humanity. We have received a file of New York papers, and there is much amusement, if but little information, to be extracted from the anomalous jumble of ideas in which the citizens of the United States are involved by the actual situation of American and European affairs. The figure of a spare, yellow, sinewy man, holding in one hand a red banner, inscribed with the words, "Death to Tyrants," and in the other, a cat o' nine-tails, would afford a not inapposite image of the present condition of the American mind as reflected in the press. For every invective hurled against the "despots" of the Old World, there will be found, as a counterpart, some unfeeling joke against the pretensions of the colored population of the States to raise themselves to civil and social liberty. We have the *quasi* Whig candidature of old Zachary Taylor, and the Free Soil candidature of Mr. Van Buren—we have Abolitionism "in white and black slices," according to the complexion of the assailants of the odious principle—we have the Irish Association publishing a manifesto in which it announces that the Irish rebellion has proved an abortion, but at the same time intimates its determination to retain possession of the funds raised in the States in aid of the movement, without accountability, until Ireland shall become a republic, or some other Greek Kalend contingency of the like kind shall occur; finally, we have a report of the triumphant reception given to Hecker, the German refugee, the representative of the massacres and sanguinary tumult of Frankfort, and a thundering leading article in ridicule and denunciation of the negroes. This is the white and black side of the shield. The Autocrat of all the Russias would be shocked at the sentiments recorded with regard to Slavery, while, from the philippic in favour of Liberty, Blanqui and Barbes might extract consolation.

The reception given to Herr Hecker is thus introduced to the reader's notice:—"RED REPUBLICANISM. TREMENDOUS ENTHUSIASM. THE RED CAP AND RED FLAG. IN 'OLD TAMMANY.'"

In the editorial remarks we are informed that the enthusiasm of the meeting, and the intense sympathy exhibited for the cause of revolt in Europe, surpassed all power of description. A red cap of liberty and a red flag were hoisted, and the sight of them again excited the crowd, who renewed their cheers and plaudits. The editor, (of the New York Herald,) however, must speak for himself, and explain what he conceives to be the *esthetical* objects of a revolutionary struggle:—"The heart of Raspail would have leaped for joy—Louis Blanc would have shed tears of rapture—Barbes would have grinned and chuckled in his prison at Vincennes, to see and hear the loud, rapturous enthusiasm with which the red flag was greeted. It plainly proved that, whatever the cooler heads and hearts of a few may mediate, the mass of mankind, when once put in motion and roused up from the tranquillity of daily life and occupation, are naturally red Republicans, and belong insidiously to the mountain party—that they all naturally go for an equal division of property, and for an equal share, by hook or by crook, of gin slings and sherry cobbiers."

As soon as the enthusiasm had a little subsided, the serious business of the meeting began. Gen. Washbridge addressed the assembly with ready eloquence and amusing wit, in English, "a language," says our New York cotemporary, "next to German the best that can be spoken, excepting, however, the harmonic Italian or grandiloquent Spanish." When taken in connection with a declaration of the negroes, which is in another part of the same journal, the assertions of the speakers strike us as being a little odd. The General first taxes every citizen of the United States with the responsibility of legislation—therefore, of Slavery.

The benign influence of our institutions, extending abroad, has everywhere tended to the political elevation of mankind. There can be no question but that Liberty, restrained by constitutional law, is the present dominant sentiment of the age; nor can it be questioned that the American people are guiding this sentiment as a convulsor the ocean of human passion abroad. In America, as nothing had to be removed, free institutions rapidly advanced to maturity without obstruction, but in Europe they have to contend with the established habits and the veteran prejudices of a thousand years.

Each man feels that he is an integral portion of the national sovereignty, and that an aggregate majority of the individual wills upon any given subject constitutes that irresistible public sentiment which should control legislation, and give efficiency to law. The intelligence of the people thus becomes the guardian of popular liberty.—*New York Herald.*

The "General" then proceeds, in the oratorical style indigenous in the States, about "Luther," and imposing moral spectacles, and "the bright firmament of Heaven," and "the mysterious Providence that presides over our benign institutions," &c., &c. When he had finished talking, and the *Marsellais* had been played by the band, and Herr Hecker had made a speech in German, which nobody but his own countrymen understood, Mr. Furch, a native of Germany, but a naturalized American, proceeded to drop manna into the ears of his audience:—"He could not help saying that it did them honor, great honor, while at the same time this cordial welcome of Hecker to the shores of the New World by the Mayor and Common Council of the city of New York, is not only gratifying and flattering to the German feelings of us, the adopted German citizens, but it throws back into the teeth the reproach of European tyranny—it washes out the brand of infamy with which the corrupt tyrants of the Old World seek to stamp every friend of human rights and liberty, and practically refutes the false aspersion of the malignant epithet of criminal and malefactor, with which such men as Hecker are branded. Yes, America is the land to which belongs the honor of being the parent, the support, the friend, the fosterer of human liberty throughout the whole world. (Cheers.) Here, in the free land of the brave and the free, the free and oppressed of all countries will find a welcome and a friend."

It should not be forgotten that on a previous day Mr. Hecker had been publicly received by the Mayor and Town Council. His honor on that day expressed a hope, that while Mr. Hecker remained among them "he might learn the beauties of those institutions, of the land where freedom delighted to dwell. Would one not imagine that the very cab-horses in the United States gave motion to the vehicle's simply under the influence of moral restraint? Would not one suppose that, at the slightest intimation of fatigue on the part of the animal in question, the conductor or driver would put himself between the shafts, and suffer the horse to get inside? Wait a moment; let us see how human beings, how the fellow-creatures of those who delight to tickle each other's ears with this miserable cant about liberty and free institutions are treated in America.

From the Free Soil Standard.
AMERICAN SLAVERY.

Slavery interferes greatly with the domestic happiness of the slave population. The pleasant associations that linger around the home of even the humble cottager, have no connection with the rude cabin of the slave. The inmates of those unsightly abodes are generally as destitute of interest as the dwellings are of beauty, and the slaves relate to them, at the close of their daily labors, like prisoners to their cells, not to mingle in intelligent conversation with their families, or to enjoy the refined pleasures of social life, but to rest from the fatigues of the day, and to gratify their animal propensities. All those things that constitute the attractions of homes of freemen are unknown to the cheerless abodes of slaves. They are more like irrational brutes than like beings endowed with immortal minds, susceptible of endless improvement in knowledge and in virtue.

The institution of slavery also affects the family relations of slaves. As they are entirely the property of their masters, and as they may be disposed of by them, whenever their interest or caprice may dictate, the family relations are liable, at any time, to be disturbed. Husbands may be torn from their wives, and children from their parents, at the option of their owners. Slaves have natural affections, as well as civilized men, and we cannot doubt but they have experienced a vast amount of suffering, in consequence of their separation.

Slavery also produces debasing effects on the morals of slaves. It is the nature of slavery to destroy every noble feeling of the mind, and to leave in existence those of a grovelling nature. Persons thus circumstanced fall more easily victims to the artifice of unprincipled men. Even in civilized countries, where slavery does not exist, many of the young and inexperienced, are enticed from the path of virtue by the wickedness of artful men. And it must, in the nature of things, be still worse in communities where the persons of individuals are within the control of their owners. We have reason to believe that in those communities offences against virtue and decency are frequently committed, that unsuspecting slaves often become an easy prey to those who should be the protectors of their innocence. We have reason to believe that the slaves are as destitute of virtue as they are of intelligence, and that the want of both is to be attributed mainly to their servile condition.

The precedents before us are not of a nature to dispel all alarm. In the ever-raging contest for the American Presidency, there is nothing so effectual as a good war-cry. There is always a war party in the United States. Mr. Polk came in with a Mexican war, and "all Oregon or none" on his banner. The former promise he has sufficiently redeemed, with much glory and very little profit. On the latter point he has allowed his party engagements to be interpreted by public justice and discretion. But another election is at hand; candidates are in the field, not only for that but for subsequent contests, and tacticians are already preparing their plans for many a future campaign. The well-informed correspondent whom our readers have long known under the name of "A Geneva Traveller," speaks very strongly and decidedly as to the probable effect of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon antipathies on future Presidential elections. The

Irish are a very large, and under continual immigrations an increasing party in the United States. They have always encouraged, and this year have even promised to assist a rebellion in Ireland. But they prefer, in general, to operate against England through the politics of their adopted country, always siding with the anti-British party, without reference to any other considerations. General Cass is said to be secure of every Irishman in the Union, because, as his supporters profess, if elected, he will seize the first opportunity of a war with England. That every statesman of moderate honor and sense in the States will see the wickedness and folly of a gratuitous war, we entertain no manner of doubt; but it cannot be concealed that a furious war party and a Presidential election every four years, are a combination suggestive of danger. In the hour of England's weakness or distraction, in a disastrous crisis of European warfare, under provocations or pretences which no care on our part can prevent, with Ireland insurgent and Canada near, a successful candidate for the seat of Washington may find himself too deeply and furiously pledged to withdraw, and the Irish citizens of the Union may succeed in dragging the two nations into a war, from which England will most grievously suffer, but from which we do not think that the United States will emerge without irreparable harm.

Even in this country, under the decedent veil of monarchical and aristocratical institutions, we have often witnessed during the last century, and not less in this, the enormous mischief done by what may be called our Presidential contest—the struggle for ministerial power. Even within the last dozen years we have seen parties so evenly balanced in this island as to drive the actual occupants of office to the most discreditable alliances, the most mischievous concessions, and the most flagrant abuse of official patronage.—During that long struggle between Sir Robert Peel and the party now in power, which, on the one hand, so fatally blinded that statesman's eyes to the impossibility of the engagements thrust upon him by his friends, the whigs, on the other hand, were thrown into the arms of the Irish incendiaries. From 1837 to 1841, Great Britain was governed by Ireland. It is notorious that during that period the solicitations of one Irish supporter was all-powerful, not only for Irish, but for English patronage; and, as we know by an example, that one Irish member could carry off a prize denied to the joint representations of six English and Scotch. Among other causes that have contributed to the present outbreak in Ireland, must be numbered that cupidity for place, which, after a temporary encouragement, is now found impossible to satisfy. The public results of that untoward combination, tell their own tale. The cause of order has been permanently injured by the fell necessity which drove honorable men to seek refuge in a den of conspirators. That such necessities have arisen under a partial representative system, is a fact which indicates the still greater danger of a purely elective government.—*London Times.*

THE FIRST BIRTH. THE FIRST MINISTER, &c.—The first white child in North America, was Virginia, daughter of Arnanias and Eleanor Dare, and grand daughter of Governor John White. She was born on the 18th day of August, 1587, in Roanoke, North Carolina. Her parents were of the expedition sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh in that year. There is no record of her history, save that of her birth.

The first minister who preached the gospel in North America was Robert Hunt, of the Church of England, an exemplary man, who came out in the same company with Captain John Smith, in the year 1607. He was much esteemed as a man of peace, and was in many ways useful to the colony. There is no record of his death, or of his returning to England; he most probably died at Jamestown. He had a good library, which was burnt, with all his other property, in the burning of Jamestown, the next winter after he came out.

The first females who came to Virginia proper, were Mrs. Forest, and her maid, Anne Burras, in the expedition of Newport, 1603. The first marriage in Virginia was in the same year—John Ladon to Anne Burras. The ceremony was probably by the same "good Master Hunt."

The first intermarriage between the whites and Indians was John Kollie to Pocahontas, in April, 1613. Pocahontas was also the first of the Virginia Indians that embraced Christianity and was baptized.

The first Legislative Assembly in Virginia met in July, 1619, at the summons of Governor or George Yeardley. One month later, negroes were first brought into the colony by a Dutch man of war.

The first periodical in North America, was the Boston News Letter, which made its appearance in August, 1705. The first in the Old Dominion. The Virginia Gazette, published at Williamsburg, by William Parks, weekly at fifteen shillings. It appeared in 1736, and was long the only paper published in the colony. Slavery preceded the periodical press by 117 years.

The Blue Ridge was first crossed by whites in 1714. The first Iron Furnace erected in North America was by Governor Spotswood in 1720, in Spottsylvania county, Virginia.

facilities which were given to them for the noblest purposes.

The influence upon the minds and the social condition of the colored race is pitiable in the extreme. We behold a race of men who, we are assured by high authority, were created in the image of God, and who were placed in this world, in order that they may prepare for a higher state of existence, deprived almost entirely of the means of intellectual culture, and kept by their owners, like the horses in their stalls, in a sound and healthy condition, simply with a view to pecuniary advantage. To those unfortunate beings, the pleasures of social life, the higher pleasures of intellectual pursuits, and the still purer pleasures of rational piety, are almost entirely unknown. With reference to the slaves the selfish policy of man counteracts the benevolent designs of Deity, and the light He intended should beam upon their darkened minds is almost excluded by artificial regulations, which state governments have formed for the purpose of keeping them in perpetual bondage. Yes! in this glorious Republic, and in the midst of the light of the nineteenth century, there are hundreds of thousands of adults who are kept by the wicked policy of man in profound ignorance, who, as far as regards intellectual improvement, are mere children, and who have not yet entered upon that career of improvement which nature has opened before them. The stars and stripes—the glorious banner of the free—floats as proudly over them as over us, but those emblems of freedom are as unintelligible to them as the hieroglyphics of Egypt. The truths of the Declaration of Independence, which, when they are uttered, awaken thrilling emotions in the bosom of every true American, are unheard by them, or if they are heard, they are mysteries which they do not comprehend. Even the doctrines of religion do not exercise their proper influence upon them, for they seldom enlighten their minds, or purify their hearts. Destitute of the great gift of reason and of other faculties, they might perform all the duties which they now perform, and enjoy all the pleasures they now enjoy.

Slavery interferes greatly with the domestic happiness of the slave population. The pleasant associations that linger around the home of even the humble cottager, have no connection with the rude cabin of the slave. The inmates of those unsightly abodes are generally as destitute of interest as the dwellings are of beauty, and the slaves relate to them, at the close of their daily labors, like prisoners to their cells, not to mingle in intelligent conversation with their families, or to enjoy the refined pleasures of social life, but to rest from the fatigues of the day, and to gratify their animal propensities. All those things that constitute the attractions of homes of freemen are unknown to the cheerless abodes of slaves. They are more like irrational brutes than like beings endowed with immortal minds, susceptible of endless improvement in knowledge and in virtue.

The institution of slavery also affects the family relations of slaves. As they are entirely the property of their masters, and as they may be disposed of by them, whenever their interest or caprice may dictate, the family relations are liable, at any time, to be disturbed. Husbands may be torn from their wives, and children from their parents, at the option of their owners. Slaves have natural affections, as well as civilized men, and we cannot doubt but they have experienced a vast amount of suffering, in consequence of their separation.

Slavery also produces debasing effects on the morals of slaves. It is the nature of slavery to destroy every noble feeling of the mind, and to leave in existence those of a grovelling nature. Persons thus circumstanced fall more easily victims to the artifice of unprincipled men. Even in civilized countries, where slavery does not exist, many of the young and inexperienced, are enticed from the path of virtue by the wickedness of artful men. And it must, in the nature of things, be still worse in communities where the persons of individuals are within the control of their owners. We have reason to believe that in those communities offences against virtue and decency are frequently committed, that unsuspecting slaves often become an easy prey to those who should be the protectors of their innocence. We have reason to believe that the slaves are as destitute of virtue as they are of intelligence, and that the want of both is to be attributed mainly to their servile condition.

ENGLISH VIEWS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST.

The precedents before us are not of a nature to dispel all alarm. In the ever-raging contest for the American Presidency, there is nothing so effectual as a good war-cry. There is always a war party in the United States. Mr. Polk came in with a Mexican war, and "all Oregon or none" on his banner. The former promise he has sufficiently redeemed, with much glory and very little profit. On the latter point he has allowed his party engagements to be interpreted by public justice and discretion. But another election is at hand; candidates are in the field, not only for that but for subsequent contests, and tacticians are already preparing their plans for many a future campaign. The well-informed correspondent whom our readers have long known under the name of "A Geneva Traveller," speaks very strongly and decidedly as to the probable effect of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon antipathies on future Presidential elections. The

Irish are a very large, and under continual immigrations an increasing party in the United States. They have always encouraged, and this year have even promised to assist a rebellion in Ireland. But they prefer, in general, to operate against England through the politics of their adopted country, always siding with the anti-British party, without reference to any other considerations. General Cass is said to be secure of every Irishman in the Union, because, as his supporters profess, if elected, he will seize the first opportunity of a war with England. That every statesman of moderate honor and sense in the States will see the wickedness and folly of a gratuitous war, we entertain no manner of doubt; but it cannot be concealed that a furious war party and a Presidential election every four years, are a combination suggestive of danger. In the hour of England's weakness or distraction, in a disastrous crisis of European warfare, under provocations or pretences which no care on our part can prevent, with Ireland insurgent and Canada near, a successful candidate for the seat of Washington may find himself too deeply and furiously pledged to withdraw, and the Irish citizens of the Union may succeed in dragging the two nations into a war, from which England will most grievously suffer, but from which we do not think that the United States will emerge without irreparable harm.

Even in this country, under the decedent veil of monarchical and aristocratical institutions, we have often witnessed during the last century, and not less in this, the enormous mischief done by what may be called our Presidential contest—the struggle for ministerial power. Even within the last dozen years we have seen parties so evenly balanced in this island as to drive the actual occupants of office to the most discreditable alliances, the most mischievous concessions, and the most flagrant abuse of official patronage.—During that long struggle between Sir Robert Peel and the party now in power, which, on the one hand, so fatally blinded that statesman's eyes to the impossibility of the engagements thrust upon him by his friends, the whigs, on the other hand, were thrown into the arms of the Irish incendiaries. From 1837 to 1841, Great Britain was governed by Ireland. It is notorious that during that period the solicitations of one Irish supporter was all-powerful, not only for Irish, but for English patronage; and, as we know by an example, that one Irish member could carry off a prize denied to the joint representations of six English and Scotch. Among other causes that have contributed to the present outbreak in Ireland, must be numbered that cupidity for place, which, after a temporary encouragement, is now found impossible to satisfy. The public results of that untoward combination, tell their own tale. The cause of order has been permanently injured by the fell necessity which drove honorable men to seek refuge in a den of conspirators. That such necessities have arisen under a partial representative system, is a fact which indicates the still greater danger of a purely elective government.—*London Times.*

DISTILLERIES.—The present number of distilleries in the United States is 10, 600, distilling yearly 41,502,707 galls.