

FREDERICK DUGLASS, EDITOR.

TERMS.

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The object of the NORTH STAR will be to abolish SLAVERY in all its forms and aspects; to advocate UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION; to exalt the standard of public morality; to 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.

PUBLISHER'S NOTICES.

All communications relating to the business of the paper, names of subscribers, remittances, &c., should be addressed to FREDERICK DUGLASS, Editor, Rochester, N. Y.

LIST OF AGENTS.

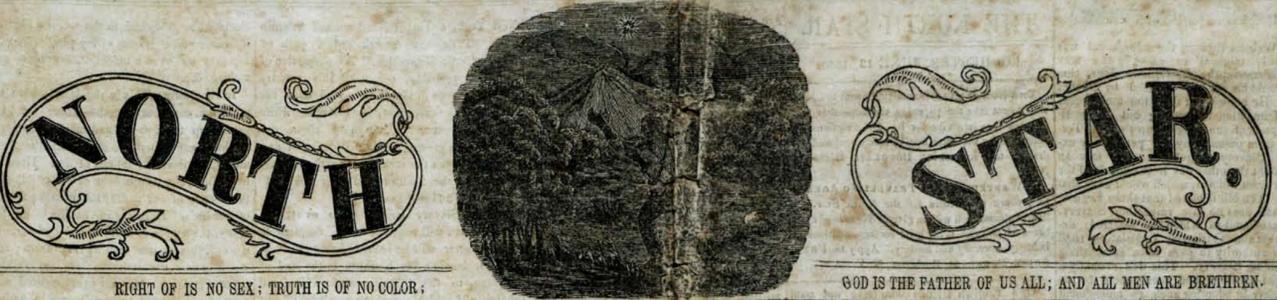
MASSACHUSETTS.—R. W. Wallcut, 21, Cornhill, Boston; Nathan Johnson, New Bedford; Horatio W. Foster, Lowell; James N. Buffum, Lynn; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; Cyrus Bradbury, Northampton.

SELECTIONS.

From the Massachusetts Spy.

POLITICS AND THE PULPIT.

Rev. Henry Ward Beecher has been recently engaged in a controversy with the Journal of Commerce, concerning the propriety of introducing the topic of slavery into the pulpit. That paper has lately had its sensibilities wounded by an allusion made by Dr. Lansing to Daniel Webster's position, and by Mr. Beecher's article in the Independent. The Journal has therefore conceived a great horror for "Free Soil Sermons," although it seems to have no objection to a clergyman's writing a political pamphlet in defence of slavery as aided and comforted by Webster. In the last number of the Independent, Mr. Beecher publishes a stirring article justifying the introduction of the topic of slavery, as a moral question, into the pulpit, and also urging it as a duty. He says in a strain of indignation: "Three million men, against natural law, against every fundamental principle of our state and national government, are, by law, thrown over the pale of the space, and degraded to the level of the brute."



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God's, and must be delivered faithfully. The Sabbath is eminently the day, and the pulpit the place for this solemn act. It must be a Gospel of doctrine, of abstract truth; but by no means a Gospel to disturb him from practical sins! And we almost believe Lowell to have stolen his doggerel from the Journal: "I'm willing a man should go toll-like strong; Again wrong in the abstract, for that kind of wrong is always unpopular, and never gets pried, because it's a crime, so one ever committed."

If the excellent editor of the Journal of Commerce were doomed to be a member of our congregation, we don't think we should be surprised if he were to deliver up said slave two pieces of gold, by way of reward. Of course, the execution of the duty thus imposed, and the manner of executing it, were left to the parties severally contracting. There was no common tribunal for the adjudication of such cases.

It is remarkable, that after the lapse of nearly nine centuries, we find a barbarous stipulation between two barbarous nations reproducing the compact of union of the most civilized and humane republic of the nineteenth century. We are familiar with the provision referred to: "No person held to labor or service in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

The language of this clause of the Constitution, like the phraseology of the articles above quoted, is that of a stipulation. No power is conferred upon Congress by the language of the clause expressly, and we have never been able to see how it could be fairly implied. It bears the aspect of a stipulation between the States, and it would seem as if it were left for the States severally to provide measures for carrying it into effect. Such, if we recollect aright, was the decision of Chief Justice Shaw of Massachusetts, some years ago, and such was the opinion of many eminent jurists, until the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Prigg. That decision set aside, and denied the right of all State legislation on the subject, asserted the exclusive power of Congress to provide means for executing the provision, but asserted, too, the right of the master to seize his slave wherever he might be found, he had escaped from the State whence he had been taken.

The free States, having their right to act on the subject denied by the highest tribunal of the country, discontinued all such action. Some of them, in view of the decision of the court, that Congress could impose no duty on State officers, in relation to the matter, passed laws forbidding their magistrates and ministerial officers to issue or serve process in the case of escaping slaves—laws clearly in harmony with said decision, and not in conflict with the rights of slave claimants. Some States, too, in consideration of the fact that, as the Court had asserted the right of slave claimants to seize their slaves wherever found, without legal process, the liberties of portions of their own free population might be put in peril by sinister or mistaken claim, passed laws requiring to persons claimed as slaves the right to have the question legally determined whether they were not free. And no right-minded man will pretend that such laws were unconstitutional or violative of the rights of slave claimants.

That the barbarous Russ should be permitted in the dark ages to hunt and beget by violence, the territory of a semi-barbarous Empire, any one of its inhabitants, whom he might choose to claim as his fugitive slave, does not surprise us. But the masses have emerged from degradation since the tenth century. Personal rights are no longer deemed sacred, and no guarantees against their violation are held to be too stringent. The State that would deny to any person within its limits the writ of *habeas corpus*, in order to test whether he was entitled to his freedom or not, would be wanting in the first duty of a sovereignty—that of the just protection of those within its jurisdiction.

On an occasion of a second invasion of the Greek Empire by the Russians, another treaty was formed, in 945, in which it was stipulated as follows: "If any slave shall fly from Russia into Greece, or shall escape from the Court, so far as it affirmed his right to seize and bear off without legal process an alleged fugitive, is justly chargeable with the collisions that have since taken place in the recapture of fugitives from service, and also with the laws to remedy injury from illegal seizures, of which the slave States complain. The reclamation of slaves in slavery, is at best so offensive to the opinions and feelings of their people, that slaveholders themselves must admit that it ought to be conducted with as few irritating concomitants as possible. When legal process is issued, when it is served by the officers of justice, when the pretensions of the claimant are established under the shelter of the authority of the United States, there is no danger of collision or violent interference. Americans are distinguished for their respect for legal forms, and they will submit, in the hope that no unconstitutional aggression or claim will be tolerated. But it is a very different thing when a stranger, with a band of armed men, appears in a free State community, and proceeds, without authority or law, to seize by violence another stranger, under pretence that he is a slave. Knowing neither, and nothing of the relations of the two parties, the people see brute force put forth by one to deprive the other of his liberty. Would they not interpose to see justice done? State law is resorted to, for the unknown claimant may be a kidnapper; the unknown claimed, a free man.

No community, however low in the scale of civilization, will endure the open display of violence against an apparently unoffending individual. Some of the Judges of the Supreme Court did foresee and predict precisely the consequences that have come to pass. We repeat then, that for the collisions that have taken place in the reclamation of fugitives from justice, the Supreme Court of the United States, and not the legislation of the free States, is to be held responsible.

Southern men, irritated by the consequences of the decision of this Court, without stopping to ascertain their true cause, have suffered themselves to become inflamed against the North, indulge daily in their denunciations and the bad faith of Northern men, and insist upon additional legislation by Congress, to remedy their supposed wrongs, although some of them admit that to the States, rather than to the Federal Government, the work of providing means for executing the fugitive clause belongs. Of the justice of their denunciations and the reasonableness of their demands, we may have something to say in our next.—National Era.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

EFFECTS OF ABOLITION IN JAMAICA.

We take the following from an able and interesting letter from Jamaica in the Evening Post. The writer it may be seen does not think the main cause of the decline of the Island to be the abolition of slavery. His account of the change going on among the black population is most satisfactory. It strikes us that the hundred thousand cultivators of their own land are much better product of God's earth than as many slaves living at the mercy of an owner. The letter begins by stating the causes of the present state of the Island as follows:—

1.—The degradation of labor, in consequence of the yet comparatively recent existence of Negro Slavery upon the Island, which excludes the white population from almost every department of productive industry, and begets a public opinion calculated to discourage, rather than to promote industry among the colored population.

2.—Nine-tenths of the improved land is owned by absentees—which implies unskillful tillage; an extra expense on an average of three thousand dollars a year for attorneys, agents and overseers; great improvidence in the management of the property, and few or no labor-saving improvements.

3.—The estates under culture were all mortgaged for more than they were worth, when the Emancipation bill passed. This measure increased the embarrassments of the residents, made them the easy prey of their non-resident creditors, and left them no means or capital to conduct the cultivation of the land to any advantage.

4.—The magnitude of the estates, and the principles upon which they have been cultivated, prevent the free circulation of real property, tend to accumulate the lands in the hands of a few, to exterminate the middle classes, or men of little or no capital, and to beget a constant and unnatural antagonism between capital and labor.

These causes, in my judgement, would have conducted Jamaica to inevitable ruin, had the tariff laws never been altered nor the slaves been set at liberty.

But I think I hear you ask, how long is this state of things to continue, or is it to be perpetual? To this I will answer in brief: that it will continue until the land gets into the hands of people who are not ashamed to till it. So long as it is held by English landlords, I think it will continue to depreciate in value. I say this with all possible respect for them, many of whom I know, and greatly esteem. It will continue to depreciate in their hands, I say, because they will not cultivate it personally, nor can they

command the capital, fidelity and skill necessary to cultivate it with profit by agents. It will continue to depreciate until the landholders will consent to sell small parcels who are willing to work the land with their own hands.

That process is now going on constantly. The colored people are rapidly becoming proprietors. It is the highest aspiration of most of them to get a piece of land, say from three to five acres, which entitles them to vote; and with two or three months' labor, during the cropping of the sugar, enables them to live in comparative ease and independence. On five acres they can raise almost everything they require.

Upon these tracts they raise not only what they require for their own consumption, but a surplus which they take to market, usually in small quantities upon donkeys, or upon their heads. Most every colored proprietor, however, has a donkey, which costs from seven to ten pounds, upon which he packs all his property, and under the custody of a woman often, sometimes of a child, he sends it to town, to be converted into money, with which he purchases such articles of necessity or luxury as his land does not produce and he can afford. One of the most interesting spectacles to be witnessed about Kingston, is presented on the high-road through which their market people, with their donkeys, in the cool of the morning, pour into the city from the back country. They form an almost uninterrupted procession of four or five miles in length, and what strikes the eye of a Yankee at once is their perfect freedom from care. Neither poverty nor desire of gain had written a line upon their faces, and they could not show less concern at the result of their trip if they were going to a festival. You will readily perceive how strong and universal must be the desire of the poor laborers to exchange their servile drudgery, at less than a shilling sterling a day, for this life of comparative ease and independence.

Of course it is very hard to get anything ahead upon the wages now paid in Jamaica, and it requires no little self-denial and energy to lay up enough to purchase one of these properties with; but when they do get one they never part with it except for a larger or a better one. The planters call them lazy for indulging in this feeling of independence; but I never could see anything in the aversion of the negroes here to labor which was not sanctioned by the example of their masters.

I think the readers of the Evening Post will be surprised when I tell them that the number of these small proprietors is now considerably over 100,000, and is rapidly increasing. Their properties average, I should think, about three acres.—They have a direct interest in cultivating their land economically and intelligently. The practice of planning their own labor, encouraged by the privilege of reaping its rewards themselves, exerts the most important educational influences, which will soon be much more apparent than they are now. When one was scarcely a colored proprietor of land upon the Island, and that now there are a hundred thousand, it is unnecessary to say that this class of the population appreciate the privileges of free labor and a homestead far more correctly than might be expected, mind that seven-tenths of these proprietors were begotten in slavery, and spent many years of their lives as bondsmen.

It is very obvious to me that the best estates of the Island are to undergo this process of division before its real productive capacities can be known. Their prices must fall to a level with the means of those who cultivate them—the laboring population—being all colored, imports that the land is to pass from the whites to the colored people before the Island can prosper. This I think inevitable, if it remains a British possession.

It is objected here, that if the estates are so minutely subdivided, the cultivation of the great staples sugar coffee, and the manufacture of rum, must cease, because the works upon sugar and coffee estates are very expensive and require large capital, and the estates must be very large to compensate for the outlay in that direction. For example, a good range of sugar works could not be erected for less than \$50,000. The proprietor of twenty-five or fifty acres could not afford to keep such costly buildings for the manufacture of his limited stock, much less could the smaller proprietor of three, five or ten acres.

The answer to this objection seems perfectly obvious, and yet no one here seems to understand it. They have only to observe one of the most familiar principles of economical science, and the whole difficulty is obviated. Let them do what is done universally in the Northern States of our Republic—separate the functions of the agriculturist from those of the manufacturer, and then both departments of industry will be better conducted, upon at least one-tenth the capital now required. There is no conceivable reason why central sugar-mills, for example, should not be established, where the planters could take their cane to be ground for a toll, or to sell, for a return of a given quantity of sugar, or molasses or rum, or money, or whatever might be agreed upon.

Another important question arose in the course of the long, exciting, and decidedly disorderly debate on this Oregon Bill. The detestable serpent of Nationalism shows its head frequently. It was resisted by Mr. Sackett of your delegation, and others, in a spirit of praiseworthy manliness. On the question of destruction of Color in grants of land the vote was mainly sectional. The exceptions were, for the most part, among the Western Loco-Focos. Some of these voted openly for the South—others remaining in their seats, when the process of going through the tellers presented a test of their predilections. The vote on the insertion of the word "white" stood 78 Yeas to 51 Nays from a thin House.

A general and informal understanding was had before the Committee of the Whole, as to the resumption of the Oregon Land bill at an early day, out of which a scene of great confusion grew, when the Committee rose. It got mixed up with the California question, which excited not a little jealousy. The Chair having decided that it required unanimous consent to entertain a motion to fix a day, Mr. Giddings objected, and consequently the House adjourned without an understanding on the subject, after all. This closed its doings and undoings for the week. The "Spring cleaning" will commence to-morrow.

A wife who loses her patience, may not expect to keep her husband's heart.

RIGHTS OF COLORED MEN IN OREGON, &c.

WASHINGTON, Wed. May 29. You will have learned with pleasure, ere this reaches you, that the Senate has given its sanction to a Branch of the Mint, in your City and also one for California. This is more favorable than was generally anticipated. The whole day was consumed upon this important subject. But it was a day better spent than any other day of the session—perhaps one or two excepted. For the details I must refer you to your regular report of proceedings.

The bill from the Senate providing for the appointment of a Surveyor-General of the Public Lands in Oregon, and donations of lands to actual settlers, elicited an unusually stirring debate in the House to-day. The particular point of dissent was upon the amendment excluding free colored settlers from the lands proposed to be donated. Mr. Giddings led off with a bold and truthful speech against the exclusive policy. He alluded, in terms of deserved approbation, to the moral worth as well as intellectual strength of Frederick Douglass and Samuel R. Ward. Having drawn a very striking portrait, he then desired to know on what principle of justice gentlemen proposed to exclude such men from a participation in these land grants. He referred to the free colored population as embracing many who were descended from the fathers of the nation, including even Washington himself. He put a "poser" to the Democrats, who advocated the exclusive policy, by asking what consistency, not to say gratitude, disciples of Jefferson could consent to keep from Oregon those in whose veins coursed the blood of Thomas Jefferson? There was some sneering and jeering on the Southern side, as the Loco side might be called with injustice by a few members, all things considered while Mr. Giddings was speaking, but nothing like the degree of that sort of feeling once so common. There was, indeed, a remarkable and gratifying spirit of toleration.

But this was too tempting an opportunity, for two or three of the representatives of the Chivalry to lose. Conrad of Louisiana fired a sneering shot at Mr. Giddings's "taste" &c. He complained that he had represented that the Caucasians were inferior to the colored men referred to. Mr. Giddings replied that he had admitted that the whites were quite as good as the blacks! Mr. Conrad opposed the exclusion of the colored settlers, on the ground that the South wanted to have the colored population diffused. What do you suppose he assigned as the reason of this wish? Why, that it was everywhere admitted to be a curse. Of course, then, he is quite willing to diffuse a curse! Bayly took the same view as Conrad, and contended that the course of the Territorial Legislature of Oregon, in excluding free blacks from citizenship, had acted in violation of the spirit of the law of their organization as a Territory. In applying the principle of the Anti-Slavery ordinance, Congress did not anticipate that the South would be thus cut off from an outlet for her redundant free black population in that direction, which he alleged to have always been the chief obstacle to Emancipation. To hear him talk, one would really have supposed that the South had assented most graciously to the application of the Frowis principle to the Oregon bill!

But the richest feature of this debate was a speech, in particular reply to Mr. Giddings, by Col. McMullen of Virginia. He was very personal—so much so that he was called to order by the Chairman, (Mr. Strong.) He indulged in a number of those polite lingual missiles, whose points have been worn off by his chivalrous predecessors, through frequent use. He complained of a grievous want of gratitude on the part of Mr. Giddings, in thus insulting his constituents, after the favor he did him, some time ago, in moving the floor for him, when he appealed to his friends to make that motion. The redoubtable Virginian then launched forth into a stream of grandiloquence, in the midst of which the hammer fell, leaving as his last words, the declaration that he "had no doubt the negroes referred to by the gentleman from Ohio were descendants of the first families of Virginia—i. e. the 'F. V.'s!" The gallant Colonel sat down, with an evident feeling of self-satisfaction. It is true there was considerable laughter; but he appropriated this to himself, of course, as induced by his wit! I should almost regret to disturb his feelings.

It is understood that it is McMullen's intention to reply specially to Mr. Haymond of Wheeling—that he has been waiting for his speech. So you see that there is at least one "treat" in store.