THE WESTERN CAROLINIAN.

—THE POWERS NOT DELEGATED TO THE UNITED STATES BY THE CONSTITUTION, NOR PROHIBITED BY IT TO THE STATES, ARE RESERVED TO THE STATES RESPECTIVELY, OR TO THE PEOPLE.—*Amendments to the Constitution, Article X.*—

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Address

To the People of the Slaveholding States, by the Democratic Republican Members of Congress from those States.

At a meeting of the Democratic Republican Senators and Representatives of the Twenty sixth Congress from the slaveholding States, held in the Capitol of the United States on the 20th of July, 1840, the Hon. Wm. R. King of the Senate was called to the chair, and the Hon. Jesse A. Bynum of the House of Representatives, appointed Secretary. Thereupon, the Committee of one member from each of the said States, heretofore appointed for the purpose, through Mr. Clay of Alabama, reported an address, to be submitted to the people of the slaveholding States in reference to which, after consideration, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That one member from each of the aforesaid States be instructed to sign and publish the same. Whereupon the meeting adjourned.

WM. R. KING, Chairman.
JESSE A. BYNUM, Secretary.

To the People of the Slaveholding States:

It is not as members of a political party that we now address you. A crisis has arrived in the affairs of this country, which, with Southern men, makes the interests of party, important as they are, a secondary consideration. The current of events is fast hastening to the point where it must be determined, not whether the country shall be governed according to the principles of the Federal or Democratic creed, but whether, in a large portion of the Union, society shall exist at all, in its present organization.

It is an established principle with the whole human family, that one association, or society, cannot justly interfere with another, in reference to the institutions under which it chooses to be governed, and, that, in this particular, each is sovereign and independent. Much less are one society, or the individuals of one society, responsible to Heaven or Earth for the justice or expediency of the institutions of another. In Europe the right of foreign intervention has been for years the dividing question between the friends of freedom and the advocates of hereditary kings, and absolute power. To maintain the right of interference and force on unwilling nations, hereditary dominion, under the name of legitimacy, was the grand object of the Holy Alliance. The combined monarchs denied to the people any rights which were not obtained from the voluntary concessions of kings and princes, and undertook to put down, by armed intervention, all uprisings of the great mass of society, with a view to modify the Government in conformity with the general will. The friends of freedom, on the other hand, maintained that the people of each nation have a right to change their institutions at will; that one has no right, in that respect, to interfere with another; and that an absolute independence, in each nation, of all foreign interposition and control, is the only safeguard of liberty among mankind. Twice did the Holy Alliance impose a legitimate monarch on France; but, after witnessing the devotion of her people during the three glorious days of 1830, they dared not attempt to repeat the experiment.

By the Revolution of 1776, each of the United States acquired a right to separate and absolute independence as a nation, and a right to mould its institutions according to the will of its own people. And this was all that it acquired. Virginia did not acquire a right to dictate a Constitution or laws to Massachusetts, nor Massachusetts to Virginia. The people of Virginia did not become responsible for the institutions of Massachusetts, nor the people of Massachusetts for those of Virginia. Each was a separate and independent State, and the people of each acquired the right to control their own institutions, and became alone responsible for their justice and expediency.

Some of the States abolished slavery, and others did not. From this circumstance arose one of those diversities in human society which pervade the earth. Whether this diversity was so great as to forbid a Confederacy or any sort of Union among the States, was a question which the patriots of that day considered and decided. They considered that, notwithstanding this and other diversities, there were other great points upon which the whole had a common sympathy and interest. All had an interest in preserving peace between each other; in protection against foreign aggression; in freedom of commerce among themselves; in the inviolability of contracts; in an uniform currency; in the preservation of the public faith, and in other general measures and principles conducive to the prosperity and happiness of man in all societies and under all circumstances. To refuse to unite with their brethren, under a benign authority, embracing only these points of common interest, leaving all else absolutely to the several States, appeared, to the men of that day, as foolish as to repudiate the government of their great Creator, because it embraces the tyrant and his victim, the freeman and the slave, nations where half society are in bondage, as well as nations where all are free—as ridiculous as to hide from the light of the sun, and reject the genial rain, because they descend alike upon the evil and the good, on the unjust as well as the just. Nor did they conceive that, by entering into a Confederacy with limited powers, they made their several co-States, or the people thereof, responsible for the institutions and laws of other States, growing out of their reserved rights and powers, any more than they are responsible for the institutions and laws of the nations of Europe, Asia, or Africa, with whom they are united by the laws of Heaven and the laws of nations, if not by treaties of commerce or alliance.

The power to regulate or abolish the institution of slavery in the States which we represent, was reserved by them absolutely when they entered into the Federal compact. The other States, and the people thereof, have no more right to interfere with it than they have with the same institution in the nations of Africa or Asia. Nay, more: they cannot interfere with it without violating their national faith as plighted in the compact, which, to a certain extent, makes us one people. The Constitution of the United States recognizes the institution, and binds all the States and the people thereof to protect it, in the same manner as they are bound to protect every other institution which exists under the legitimate authority of the State Governments. In attacking the institution of slavery in Asia or Africa, the people of the United States would be guilty of an unwarrantable interference with the affairs of other nations; in attacking that institution as it exists in any of these confederated States, they are not only guilty of an unwarrantable interference, but commits a palpable breach of their plighted faith. Yet these attacks have been made and repeated with a zeal and perseverance worthy of a better cause. Vast associations have been formed, extending over a large portion of the Union, and having connection in foreign countries, for the avowed purpose of attacking the institution of slavery, not in the States where the associations exit, but in other States in whose local affairs and institutions they have no interest or concern.—These associations have become powerful in money and in men, and control a considerable number of presses, which are zealous in disseminating their doctrines and strengthening their organization.

The duty of all friends of the rights of the States, as well as the Union of the States, in relation to this fanatical sect, is too obvious to be mistaken. It is to have no connection with them, having reference to the administration of the Government; but to leave them wholly to themselves. Separated from the great parties which divide the country, and acting without countenance or encouragement from either, their extravagance and the unsoundness of their principles would check their increase and obviate all danger from their assaults upon Southern society and the principles of the Constitution. Unfortunately, this course has not been pursued. On the contrary, their aid has been sought and their support secured in the party struggles of the times; they have been courted, encouraged, and by these means strengthened, until they aspire to the high places in the General Government and expect, at no distant day, to wield its power.

It is a matter of the highest importance to the slaveholding States to know and mark the party and the individuals who are thus encouraging the hopes, strengthening the hands, and administering to the designs of the Abolitionists. It behooves our people, as they value their property, their liberty, and their lives, to look at this matter uninfluenced by party considerations, determined only to know the truth, and do their duty to themselves. Of what importance is it to them whether we have a National Bank or not; a Protective Tariff or not; Internal Improvement or not; if a faction shall obtain a controlling power in the Government which shall rob them of their property, desolate their fields, destroy their dwellings, and massacre their families? This subject transcends and supersedes all others; and the first question a Southern man ought to ask, when he is solicited to attach himself to any party, or vote for any candidate, is, will it, in any way, encourage the hopes, or increase the strength of the Abolitionists? We request each one of you, to whatever party you may have heretofore belonged, to ask yourself this question, and determine to be governed by the answer which truth shall give to it.

That Northern men, generally, entertain opinions adverse to slavery, and regard it as a great moral evil, may be admitted. Many of both the great political parties may agree in abstract opinions on the subject of slavery, but there is, to us, a most important difference in other respects. The Democrats of the North, as a party, are opposed to any action upon the subject by the General Government, whatever may be their abstract opinions; while the Whigs in that section of the Union, as a party, are almost universally the ally of the Abolitionists in their active measures, as exhibited in the Congress of the United States, and in the State Legislatures. In support of this assertion, we call your serious attention to the following facts:

ABOLITION IN CONGRESS.

At the December session of Congress, 1836, the following Resolutions, offered by Mr. Pinckney of South Carolina were adopted by the House of Representatives, viz:

"1. *Resolved*, That Congress possesses no constitutional authority to interfere in any way with the institution of slavery in any of the States of this Confederacy.

"2. *Resolved*, That Congress ought not to interfere in any way with slavery in the District of Columbia.

"3. *Resolved*, That all petitions, memorials, propositions, resolutions, or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being either printed or referred, be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon."

The party vote on these Resolutions was as follows, according to as accurate a classification as can be made, viz:

None only voted against the first Resolution—all Northern Whigs.

For the second resolution		Against it.	
Northern Democrats,	67	Northern Democrats,	9
Northern Whigs,	4	Northern Whigs,	34
Southern Democrats,	35	Southern Democrats,	00
Southern Whigs,	28	Southern Whigs,	00
Yeas	134	Nays	43

For the third resolution		Against it.	
Northern Democrats,	62	Northern Democrats,	17
Northern Whigs,	1	Northern Whigs,	41
Southern Democrats,	33	Southern Democrats,	3
Southern Whigs,	23	Southern Whigs,	3
Yeas	119	Nays	66

Some of the Southern votes on the last Resolution were governed by the opinion that the Resolution technically admitted the reception of the petitions, to which they were opposed in every shape, while it is not known or believed that a single Northern vote was governed by that consideration.

At the next session of Congress, a Resolution, similar to the above, was adopted by a similar vote.

At the session of 1837–8, a direct proposition was made by Mr. Slade, a leading Whig from Vermont, to refer an Abolition petition to a Select Committee, "with instructions to report a bill providing for the Abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia." Much excitement ensued, and the House finally adopted the following Resolution, prepared by a meeting of Southern members and reported by Mr. Patton, viz:

"*Resolved*, That all petitions, memorials, and papers, touching the Abolition of slavery, or buying, selling, or the transferring slaves in any State, District, or Territory, of the United States, be laid upon the table without being debated, printed, read, or referred, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon."

The party vote on this Resolution was as follows, viz:

For the resolution.		Against it.	
Northern Democrats,	51	Northern Democrats,	15
Northern Whigs,	1	Northern Whigs,	59
Southern Democrats,	36	Southern Democrats,	00
Southern Whigs,	34	Southern Whigs,	00
Yeas	122	Nays	74

At the next session of Congress, a series of five resolutions was introduced in reference to this subject, and finally adopted by similar party votes.

The question upon the reception of Abolition petitions came up at the last session on a motion to amend the rules of the House, by incorporating in them the substance of the resolution adopted at the session of 1837–'8, at the instance of the Southern members of all parties, in the following words, viz:

"All petitions, memorials, and papers, touching the Abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling, or the transferring of slaves in any State, District, or Territory, of the United States, shall, upon their presentation, be laid on the table, without being debated, printed, read, or referred, and no further action whatever shall be had thereon."

Upon a motion to lay this proposition on the table, the yeas were 102, the nays 96.

For the motion.		Against it.	
Northern Democrats	9	Northern Democrats	54
Northern Whigs,	61	Northern Whigs	00
Southern Democrats	9	Southern Democrats	30
Southern Whigs	23	Southern Whigs	12
Yeas,	102	Nay,	96

After much agitation on the subject, the following resolution was adopted:

"That no petition, memorial, resolution, or other paper praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or any State or Territory, or the slave trade between the States or Territories of the United States in which it now exists, shall be received by this House, or entertained in any way whatever."

For this resolution.		Against it.	
Northern Democrats	27	Northern Democrats	38
Northern Whigs	1	Northern Whigs	61
Southern Democrats	46	Southern Democrats	00
Southern Whigs	38	Southern Whigs	4
Yeas,	112		106

It will be seen, that at this session the compact front of the South was broken, which may justly be considered as the first fruits of the political coalition which produced the nominations at Harrisburg.

The result of the last Congressional elections in the Northern, Middle, and Northwestern States, was to make the Whigs and Abolitionists from these States but one party in Congress, acting in the most perfect harmony in most of their votes and proceedings.

The conduct of the parties in the several State Legislatures has been in perfect correspondence with the exhibitions made by them in Congress.

MAINE.

The Abolitionists of Maine petitioned the Legislature of that State in 1838–9, to take steps to effect the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and prevent the admission of any new State into the Union, with a Constitution tolerating slavery. These petitions were referred to a committee, a majority of whom were opposed to any action upon the subject; but a minority made a long report, terminating with the following resolutions, viz:

"*Resolved*, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to use their utmost efforts to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and the Territories of the United States.

"*Resolved*, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to use their utmost efforts to prevent the admission of any new State into the Union, whose Constitution tolerates domestic slavery."

The only question taken in relation to the report and resolutions, was upon a motion to print, which was negatived—yeas 76, nays 77. Of the 76 yeas, 59 were Whigs, and 17 Democrats: Of the nays, two only were Whigs, and 75 Democrats.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The Legislature of the Democratic State of New Hampshire, on the 13th day of January, 1837, and again on the 5th July, 1839, adopted resolutions upon this subject, fully sustaining the rights of the South. We annex the last of the resolutions marked A, as introduced and passed by the Democratic party in the Legislature of that patriotic State.

We know not by what vote those of 1837 were adopted; but by an extract from the journal, we find that those of 1839, except the fourth, were carried without a division. The fourth resolution was adopted by 137 yeas to 69 nays. Of the 137 yeas, 134 were Democrats, and 3 Whigs; of the 69 nays, 1 was a Democrat, and 68 Whigs.

RHODE ISLAND.

In the Rhode Island Legislature, on the 23rd of January, 1839, a Preamble and Resolutions were introduced, which we annex, naked B, condemning the resolutions of the United States House of Representatives, adopted on the 11th and 12th of the preceding December, providing for laying Abolition petitions on the table. Upon motion, these resolutions were laid on the table, by a vote of 35 to 30. Of the 35 yeas, 23 were Democrats, and 12 Whigs. Of the nays, 2 were Democrats, and 28 Whigs.

In Connecticut, the Whig party, having the ascendancy in the Legislature of 1838, adopted resolutions favorable to the views of the Abolitionists, which we hereto annex, marked C. At their last session, the Legislature referred the subject of Abolition to a committee, a majority of which was made up of Democrats. They made a strong report with resolutions, against the object of the Abolition petitioners, which the Whig majority of the Legislature refused even to print, and they were left on the table. The resolutions we hereto annex, marked D.

Vermont has long been equally celebrated as a Whig and Abolition State. In November, 1837, the Legislature of that State adopted resolutions, in conformity with the views of the Abolitionists, which we hereto annex, marked E. We are not informed how individuals belonging to the two great parties voted; but as the Whigs had a decisive majority on their side, we have no doubt that the resolutions were carried almost exclusively by their vote. (See note 1 and 2.)

PENNSYLVANIA.

In Pennsylvania the views of the two parties are distinctly marked by their course in the convention of 1838, to amend the Constitution of the State. In that body two questions were raised bearing on this subject:

1. A proposition so to amend the Constitution, as to extend the right of trial by jury to fugitive slaves.

2. A proposition so to amend the Constitution, as to extend the right of suffrage to negroes.

On the day the standing committees of the convention were announced, and its business organized, Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, a leading Whig delegate, offered the following resolution, viz:

"*Resolved*, That article 9, item 6, of the bill of rights, be made to read as follows: 'The *trial by jury* shall remain as heretofore, and shall be secured to *every human being*, in all cases where his life or liberty is in question; and the right thereof shall remain inviolate.'"

This resolution was laid on the table.

The movement thus commenced in the convention, was promptly seconded by the presentation of petitions having in view the same object; and the journal shows that between the motion of Mr. Stevens and the next movement in the convention on the subject, *fifty five* petitions, calling upon that body to introduce the proposed amendment in the Constitution, were presented. Of these petitions, *fifty-two* were presented by Whigs, and *three* by Democrats.

At the second session of the Convention, after the preceding petitions had been presented, Mr. Joseph Konigmacker, also a leading Whig delegate, again brought the subject up, by offering the following Resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the 9th article of the Constitution be referred to the Committee appointed to prepare and engross the amendments for a third reading, and that they be directed to report an amendment to said article, providing that the right of *trial by jury* may be extended to *every human being*, and that the said Committee be directed to prepare and engross said article for a third reading."

This Resolution was also laid upon the table.

In the following month, the subject was a third time brought up by Mr. James C. Biddle, also a leading Whig delegate from Philadelphia, who offered the following Resolution:

"To amend the sixth section (relative to the trial by jury) by adding to the end thereof the words which follow, to wit: "It shall be granted to all persons who may be arrested as fugitives from labor, and who shall claim to be freemen."

This Resolution was advocated by the mover in a long and animated speech, and gave rise to considerable debate. It was resisted with much eloquence, as an infringement of the constitutional compact with the South, especially by Mr. *Woodward* and Mr. *Ingersoll*, two of the leading Democratic members.

The Resolution was finally rejected by a vote of 76 to 39. Of the 76 voting against it, 61 were Democrats and 15 Whigs; of the 39 voting for it, 2 were Democrats and 37 Whigs.

The proposition was twice renewed afterwards by leading Whigs, and finally, after long discussion, in which the Whigs supported, and the Democrats opposed it, it was again rejected, 36 voting for it; of whom 33 were Whigs and 3 Democrats; and 72 voting against it; of whom 61 were Democrats and 11 Whigs.

The old Constitution of Pennsylvania did not expressly exclude negroes from the right of suffrage. In the Convention, Mr. John B. Sterigere, a leading Democrat, offered a Resolution proposing, among other things, an amendment declaring that "every free white male" of the age, &c., shall enjoy the right of suffrage; and afterwards Mr. Andrew Bedford, another Democrat, proposed a similar amendment. The Committee on that part of the Constitution, a majority being Whigs, reported the section admitting "every freeman," &c., to the right of suffrage, omitting the word *white*. The Committee of the Whole, to which the proposition was referred, reported in favor of leaving the Constitution, in that respect, as it then stood. Mr. Thaddeus Stevens and Mr. John Dickey, both leading Whigs, proposed amendments admitting negro suffrage.

The subject was not acted on for some weeks, during which seventy-one memorials were presented against negro suffrage, 66 by Democrats and 5 by Whigs; and 33 in favor of negro suffrage, 3 by Democrats and 30 by Whigs. One of these memorials was from the negroes of Philadelphia, which the Convention refused to print, 44 Whigs and 6 Democrats voting for the motion to print.

When the subject again came up, Mr. Benjamin Martin, a Democrat, moved to amend by inserting the word "white" before the word "freeman," thereby excluding negroes. The records show that Messrs. Brown, Cummin, Fleming, Fuller, M'Cahen, Martin, Payne, Sterigere, Stardevant, and Woodward, Democrats and Judge Hopkinson, Whig, supported the amendment, and that Messrs. Agnew, Biddle, Chandler, Chauncy, Darlington, Dickey, Forward, Maclay, Montgomery and Reigard, Whigs, and Messrs. Earl and Purdy, Democrats, opposed it. The amendment was adopted after several days' discussion, 41 Whigs and 4 Democrats voting against it.

Mr. Scott, a Whig Delegate, then offered an amendment proposing to vest in the Legislature power to admit negroes to the right of suffrage after the year 1860, which was rejected; 33 Whigs and 3 Democrats voting for it.

Five successive attempts were made by Whigs to admit negroes to the right of suffrage, which were voted down, the Whigs giving for them from 26 to 30 votes, and the Democrats never more than three. Finally, the total exclusion was carried by a vote of 88 to 33; and of this 33, no less than 30 were Whigs.

NEW YORK.

The State of New York, under the rule of a Whig Governor and Legislature, presents a mortifying contrast to Democratic and patriotic Pennsylvania. It was a coalition between the Whigs and Abolitionists, which secured the election of the present Governor and Lieutenant Governor, the latter of whom, if not the former, is an avowed Abolitionist. One of the first acts of the combined party, after they acquired a complete ascendency over the State Government, was to turn out the State-Printer, a thorough Democrat, who had always vindicated the constitutional rights of the South, and put in his place Thurlow Weed, a notorious and most active Abolitionist. The associations of this man and other active Whigs in Albany, are shown by a petition to the New York Legislature at the late session, which begins thus:—"That under the original Constitution of the State, no disqualification was made of electors on account of color;" and ends as follows: "Your petitioners, therefore, respectfully request your honorable body to take the necessary preliminary measures (by the passage of a law) to enable the People of the State to abrogate the act of disfranchisement of the colored people, contained in the end of the first section of the 2nd article of the Constitution."

This paper was signed by Thurlow Weed, State Printer, Israel Smith, Loan Commissioner, appointed by Gov. Seward, Horace Greely, Editor of the "Log Cabin," a small paper sustained by Whigs during the present season, B. Hoffman, one of the proprietors of the State Paper, four negroes, and 80 to 100 other persons nearly all Whigs. Of the very few Democrats who signed it, there was not one prominent man of the party.

But this is nothing compared with the action of the united Whig and Abolition parties in the Legislature.

Mr. Mann, a relative of the late distinguished Democratic member of Congress of that name, offered in the House of Representatives of that State the following resolution, viz:

"*Resolved*, That this Legislature has seen with deep regret, and decidedly disapproves and condemns the efforts of many misguided individuals in the Northern States, to interfere, without right and in violation of the principles on which the Constitution of the United States was established, with the domestic institutions of our sister States at the South; thereby disturbing the domestic peace of the States, weakening the bonds of our Union, and sowing the seeds of its dissolution."

One of the Whig members having the floor, made a most violent speech against this resolution, denouncing the Administration of the General Government and the Democratic party; and to cut off all chance of a reply concluded by demanding the previous question, which he was sustained by his party. Under the gag, so unceremoniously applied, the resolution was voted down by 40 yeas to 57 nays, every yea less one being a Democrat, and every nay a Whig.

But the Whig Abolition majority did not stop here; they proceeded to pass an act now standing as a law upon the statute book of New York, intended to prevent the recovery of, and practically emancipate, every Southern slave who may be able to reach that State!

The title of this act is, "An act to extend the right of trial by jury," of which we annex the most material portion, marked F.

This act was originally introduced into the House of Representatives. Mr. Roosevelt, a Democrat, moved to amend it so as to provide, that "so far as respects the penalty of imprisonment in the State prison, it shall not be construed to extend to any claimant of a fugitive slave who shall have obtained the certificate of a judge or other officer, authorising the removal of such slave, pursuant to the act of the Congress of the United States in such case made and provided." This amendment was adopted by a vote of 47 to 37. Of the 47 yeas, 40 were Democrats and 7 Whigs. All the 37 nays were Whigs. The bill then passed by a vote of 59 to 24. Of the 59 yeas, 49 were Whigs and 10 Democrats, while the 24 nays were all Democrats.

The bill then went to the Senate. The provision exempting Southern men from the penitentiary when they proceed according to the law of Congress in the recovery of their property, did not suit the spirit of Abolition. In the Senate, therefore, the United Whig and Abolition majority struck out this provision, and inserted the sixteenth and seventeenth sections, as they now stand in the act, the latter of which in conjunction with the 8th section, imposes on any man, whether the owner of the slave or not, or whether he proceed according to the act of Congress or not, a penalty of $500, and confinement in the Penitentiary for a term not exceeding ten years, for removing a fugitive from labor in any other manner than that prescribed in this State law. Thus amended, the bill passed the Senate by a vote of 15 to 4. Of the 15 yeas, 13 were Whigs and 2 were Democrats, while all the nays were Democrats.

When the bill was returned to the House, Mr. Birdseye, a Whig, moved to concur in the amendment of the Senate, and Mr. Roosevelt, a Democrat, moved to lay the motion on the table. Mr. Roosevelt's motion was negatived, and Mr. Birdseye's prevailed, by a vote of 42 to 31, all the yeas being Whigs, and all the nays being Democrats, save one.

Thus, all the Whigs in the N. York Assembly, save one, voted to punish every Southern man who shall attempt to recover his slave property in that State, even though he may proceed in strict accordance with the laws of the United States, with a fine of $500, and ten years' confinement in the penitentiary, while every Democrat voted against it. And this monstrous act, which attempts at a blow to annihilate one of the provisions of the Constitution, inserted for the protection of Southern property in slaves, received the signature of the Whig Governor of New York, and now stands upon the statute book of that State as a law!

No man can doubt that the object of the Abolitionists in procuring the passage of this act was to prevent altogether the recovery of fugitive slaves, who have made their way to that State. Holding that the master can have no legal property in his slave, and anticipating that some of their set will be found on every jury, they believe that no verdict will ever be obtained by a master, and that every slave apprehended as a fugitive from labor will finally go free; and to deter the master from resorting to other means for redress, not excepting those provided for by act of Congress, they hold up to him, in terror, heavy fines and imprisonment in the penitentiary!

Acting under the same fatal influence, the Whig Governor of New York has assumed a principle in