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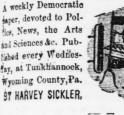
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NEW SERIES,

TUNKHANNOCK, PA., WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1863.

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September 11, 1861.

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Aorth Branch Democrat. ABOLITIONISM AND DISUNION

THE MALIGN INFLUENCE OF SLAV-ERY AGITATION IN THE NORTH. Views of Ex-Governor Marcy in 1836.

DEFENSE OF STATE RIGHTS AND IN-DEPENDENCE.

Extract from Governor Marcy's message to the Legislature of New York, in January,

Having concluded my remarks on the subjects in which our constituents have an immediate and exclusive interest, my sense of duty will not permit me to abstain from presenting to you, at this time, some considerations arising from our federal relations.

This state is a member of a community of republics, subject in many things to one gen eral government, and bound together by po litical ties that must not be sundered. This relation gives us rights essential to our wellbeing, and imposes on us duties equally es sential to the well-being of our sister states. As we value the immense advantages that spring from this Union, so we should cultivate the feelings and interests that give it strength, and abstain from all practices that tend to its dissolution. A few individuals in the Middle and Eastern States, acting on mistaken motives of moral and religious duty, or some less justifiable principle, and dis regarding their obligations which they owe to their respective governments, have embarked in an enterprise for abolishing domestic slavery in the Southern and Southwes tern States.

Their proceedings have caused much mis chief in those states, and have not been ut terly harmless in our own. They have ac quired too much importance by the evils which have already resulted from them, and by the magnitude and number of those which are likely to follow if they are persisted in, to justify me in passing them without no tice. These proceedings have not only found no favor with a vast majority of our constituents, but they have been generally repro bated. The public indignation which they have awakened has broken over the restraints of law and led to dangerous tumults and commotions, which, I regret to say, were not in all instances suppressed without the interposition of the military power. If we consider the excitement which already ex sts among our fellow-citizens on this sub ject, and their increasing repugnance to the abolition cause, we have great reason to fear that further efforts to sustain it will be attended, even in our own state, with still more

dangerous disturbances of the public peace In our commercial metropolis the abolitionists have established one of their principal magazines, from which they have sent their missiles of annoyance into the slaveholding states. The impression produced in those states that this proceeding was en couraged by a portion of the business men of the city of New-York, or at least was not sufficiently discountenanced by them, threatened injurious consequences to our commerce A proposition was made for an extensive voluntary association in the South to suspend intercourse with our citizens. A regard for the character of our state, for the public interest, for the preservation of peace among our citizens, as well as a due respect for the obligations created by our political institutions and relations, calls upon us to do what may be done, consistently with the great principles of civil liberty, to put an end to the evils which the abolitionists are bringing upon us and the whole country. With whatever disfavor we may view the institution of domestic slavery, we ought not to overlook the very formidable difficulties of abolishing it, or give countenance to any scheme for ac complishing this object, in violation of the solemn guarantees we are under not to interfere with this institution as it exists in oth-

Domestic slavery existed in almost every state when the federal Union was formed,-Its character was as well understood then as it is now. The men who founded the gener al government had as much philanthropy and as just an appreciation of moral and religious duty, and knew as well what was due to the cause of human rights as the present generation; yet so great did they regard the difficulties of abolishing slavery, and so disastrous to the public would be, as they apprehended, any intermeddling with it in the respective states, except by the citizens and civil authorities thereof, that they delegated to Congress no power to act on this subject further than to prohibit the importation of slaves after the year 1807; but they recognized the right of the several states to continue slavery, without interference, by obliging them to deliver up to each other all fugitive slaves. They left the right to abolish slavery where only it could be safely left-with the respective states wherein sla-

very existed. The State of New-York had this right and although the difficulties and dangers of exercising it, by reason of the small number of slaves in proportion to the whole population, were trivial compared with those which would attend the exercise of it in the Southern States, where this number is proportionally large, yet slavery was not finally abol-

to this result in our own time and manner | guise of religion, morality, and love for manwithout any molestation or interference from any other state. I am very sure any intermedling with us in this matter by the citizens of other states would not have accelerated our measures, and might have proved mischievous. Such services, if they had been tendered, would have been rejected as useless, and regarded as an invasion of our rights.

If we view the labors of the abolitionists in the calm light of reason, undisturbed by any morbid sympathy and uninfluenced by the spirit of fanaticism-if we look at this object, connected as it must be with the means they are using to attain it-if we regard the utter improbability of their ever reaching the end by the use of these means, and the certain consequences which must result from pushing forward their efforts in the present direction-we must, I think, characterize their schemes as visionary and

Their avowed object is to abolish slavery in the South and Southwestern States; and their means thus far have been confined to the organization of societies among us and to publications of various kinds on the subject of slavery, which are regarded throughout these states as libels on their citizens and provocators to insurrection among their slaves So far as their proceeding are designed to operate upon this state, we may inquire what end or object they have in view? It cannot be to abolish slavery here, for it does not exist among us. Is it to convince the people of this state that slavery is an evil ?-Such is now the universal sentiment, and no man can be found among us who entertains a thought of returning to our former condition in this respect. If the abolitionists de sign to enlist our passions in their cause, such a course would be worse than useless, unless it had reference to some subsequent action. If it is expected in this manner to influence the action of Congress, then they are aiming at a usurpation of power. Legislation by Congress would be a violation of the Constitution by which that body exists, and to support which every member of it is bound by the solemn sanction of an oath .-The powers of Congress cannot be enlarged so as to bring the subject of slavery within its cognizance without the consent of the slaveholding states. The proceedings of the bolitionists have rendered their object in this respect absolutely unattainable. They have already excited such a feeling in all those states that a proposition so to enlarge the powers of Congress would be instantly rejected by each with indignation. If their operations here are to inflame the fanatical zeal of their emissaries, and to instigate them to go on missions to the slaveholding states, there to distribute abolition publications and to promulgate abolition doctrines. their success in this enterprise is foretold by the fate of the deluded men who have preceded them. The moment they pass the borders of those states and begin their labors they violate the laws of the jurisdiction they have invaded, and incur the penalty of death, or other ignominious punishment. I can conceive no other object that the abolitionists can have in view, so far as they propose to operate here, but to embark the people of this state, under the sanction of civil authority, or with its connivance, in a crusade against the slaveholding states, for the purpose of forcing abolition upon them by bloodshed. If such a mad project as this could be contemplated for a single moment as a possible thing, every one must see that the first step toward its accomplishment would be the end of our confederacy and the

beginning of a civil war. So far therefore as it respects the people of this state, or any action that can emanate from them, I can discover no one good that has resulted, or can be reasonably expected to result, from the proceedings of the abolitionists; but the train of evils which must necessarily attend their onward movements is in number and magnitude

most appalling Those devastations which, in the course of Providence, are sometimes permitted to visit populous and opulent cities, suddenly pros trating the monuments of art and sweeping away the vast accumulations of years of patient and well directed industry-great and severe as we now feel them to be-are small indeed, compared with the ruin and desolation which would attend the subversion of our federal government and the progress of a civil and servile war, spreading its ravages through half the states of this confederacy. Such are the fatal issues to which, in the judgment of our southern brethren, the abolition efforts tend; and the recent indications of insurrectionary movements among the colored population of the slaveholding states show that these fears are not entirely

As all the schemes of the abolitionists are professedly prosecuted with particular reference to results to be produced in the slaveholding states, it is proper that we should inquire into the manner in which they design to bring about these results. Is it expected to operate on the slave population, and by their own immediate agency to effect their emancipation? This can only be done by violence. The very act in this scheme of quired, to prevent further evils from this ished here until 1827. We were left to come abolition, which is carried on under the course,

kind, would open with insurrection, massacre in servile war, in which, if the slaves triumph, their masters must be the victims .-Throughout these states such is generally believed to be the deliberate designs of the abolitionists. That their measures tend to such horrible results cannot, I think, be deforesee these results, and recklessly push on to them, willing to participate in such crimes and to meet the fearful responsibility they would incur, I am not prepared to believe. So far as reason prevails among these deluded men, they will undoubtedly deny that this mode of effecting their object is embraced within their plan of operations. It is more charitable to presume that they mean to stop short of this catastrophe; that they are willing to spread dire alarm among the white population of those states, with a view to make them feel that life, prosperity, and all human comforts are insecure where domestic slavery prevails, and by these means by the mere pressure of them to emancipate their slaves. Such a mode of attempting to effect this object is characterized by folly and wickedness. To suppose that such means will conduce to such an end betrays a lamentable ignorance of the universal laws of human action. If the slave owners ever concur in any plan for the abolition of slavery, it must arise from a better motive than fear. They will secure themselves from danger by acting on the objects from which it is apprehended-not by emancipation, but by multiplying safeguards, by increasing restraints, by preventing intercourse as far as practicable among the slave population, by withholding from them all moral and religious instruction, and by every conceivable means of making them harmless machines. To satisfy ourselves that such would be the consequences of exciting alarms, we have only to look at what they have already done and are preparing to do. Manumission is discouraged, and measures are about to be adopted to expel all free persons of color from the slaveholding states. Instead of increasing despotism to co-operate in any plan of emancipation, there is now exhibited a more fixed determination than heretofore to

maintain the institution of slavery. The great engine which the abolitionists profess to wield, and by their operations of which they hope to bring their object within their reach, is free discussion. By the potency of abolition arguments the slaveholders are to be instructed in their duty; to be taught lessons of humanity, of moral obligation, and civil liberty; and to be induced to strip the bonds from their slaves, and to receive them into social and political fellowship. After all that has been done to accomplish this end, it may not be unprofitable to look at the results. If we belive the concurring testimony of citizens of slaveholding states, not one convert has been made among them! On the contrary their passions are aroused; a deep sense of indignation at unprovoked wrongs, and a mischievous intermeddling with their domestic concerns, excites and agitates the entire mass of the white population. The abolitionists and all their works, are loudly and universally denounced as seditious, incendiary, and wicked: and the bonds of amity and concord which unite us to the people of the South are threatened with severance because we tolerate within our borders these disturbers of their peace and violaters of their laws .-Such, we are assured, is the progress which the arguments of the abolitionists have made in bringing the slaveholders to a concurrence in their views.

When we consider the matter and manner of these appeals and the character of the people to whom they are made, we ought not to surprised that they have been indignantly rejected. In all that regards the civilities of life, in high intellectual cultivation and endowments, in moral conduct and character, in comprehension of the principles of civil and political liberty, to give these principles a practical appreciation, in love of country and devotion to its interests, the people of the South have furnished as many eminent examples as any other section of the Union .-When any attempt from any quarter, or under any pretenses, is made to disparage them, if we forebore to vindicate their character. we might seem to be unmindful of what is due to them for the distinguished part they have acted in all the trials and conflicts through which our country has passed, from the earliest stage of the Revolution down to the present time. In all the views I have been able to take care of the labors of the abolitionists I have not discovered that they have produced a single benefit, but every step in their movements thus far has been attended with evil consequences. I will not undertake to describe the calamities which in all probability, would result from their future progress, not only to the people of the several states, but to the people of the whole human race, so far as the cause of civil liberty is concerned, because I indulge the hope that they have already reached the last stage of their onward career. I willingly turn from this view of the subject to direct your attention to what has been done, and what may be re-

an unabated attachment to the federal compact. The many single advantages they have derived from it, and the many they still look for, bind them to a course of fraternal conduct toward their sister states, and lay them under the highest and sacred obligations to itself, will entirely remove these evils, or fulfill in good faith, and to the utmost extent nied; but that the authors of them clearly of its requirements, all the duties it imposes on them, and to abstain from all practices incompatible with these duties, or contrary to the spirit of any of its provisions.

Acting upon these principles, our fellowcitizens very generally feel it to be their solemn duty, whatever they think of slavery in the abstract, or in its actual condition in any section of the Union to leave its treatment, as it was left in their case, entirely and forever to the people of the states in which it exists. These states are not only entitled to the exclusive control of the subject, but, as they are immediarely affected by it, they, and they only best understand the proper mode of treating it; and it requires but a small share of good so to agravate its evils that they will be led feeling toward them, and of diffidence in our selves, to satisfy us that the matter may be safely left to the wisdom and humanity of

those to whom it exclusively belongs. If this state should be brought to think that the advantages it derives from the federal Constitution are not a sufficient compensation for the restraint imposed by that instrument; if for the sake of displaying a morbid and fanatical spirit of false philanthropy, even at the risk of encountering the dangers and incurring the responsibility of an attempt to reform the institutions of other states, it should be wilting to give up these advantages honor and duty would require it, before entering upon such an experiment, to call upon the other states to release it from the solemn engagements it contracted in becoming a member of the Union; but so long as the people of this state cling to the advantages which this compact secures to them, so long as they profess to regard it as the source of their highest earthly good, and the object of their most cherished aspirations, they will I trust, ever regard it as due alike to duty, to consistency and to honor, to fulfill in its spirit every injunction it imposes, and to respect and observe with the utmost fidelity all the great principles on which it was founded.

Under the influence of the foregoing considerations, and others of a kindred nature. our constituents have expressed their enlightened and deliberate judgment upon the subject under consideration. With earnestness and unanimity never before witnessed among us, they have, without distinction of sect or party, in their primary assemblies, and in various other ways, expressed their attachment to the Constitution of the federa! government: their determination to maintain its guarantees; their disapprobation of the whole system of operations set on foot by the abolitionists; their affection for their brethren of the South, and their fixed purpose to do all that in them lies, consistently with law and jus tice, to render these sentiments effectual. It is not to be believed that these manifestations of public sentiment have been or will be disregarded by those who have been engaged in, or given countenance to the abolition pro-

I am fully persuaded that the powerful er ergies of public opinion, as it has bean calledforth throughout the whole state, have already produced most salutary effects, in disab using many persons who had inconsiderately con curred in the visionary schemes of the aboli-

When the very small number that still adhere to this cause see that the immense major ty of the people of this state, including certainly a proportionate amount of intelligence and worth, and of all parties in politics, are utterly and irreconcilably opposed to them and that their measures are regarded with the deepest repugnance by all who affectionately cherish the union and harmony of the states, including among them philanthropists at least as enlightened and sincere as any of themselves, they will, it is confidently hoped, be induced to pause in their career, and to sacrifice on the altar of their common country the opinions and motives that have hitherto prompted them to exertions to be regard ed with so much abhorrence by so great a majority of their fellow-citizens.

When to the just influence which may reasonably be anticipated from the sentiments of the people, so unitedly and powerfully expressed, and rendered still more efficacious, as I think they might and should be, by the opinions and views of their representatives, is added the overwhelming weight of the arguments addressed to the reason and conscience of those who yet adhere to the abolition cause, it would be imputing to them a deplorable degree of mental blindness and fanatical delusion not to except a general be constrained by the decided and constantly to excite apprehension

trol the misconduct of the citizen of a free legislature.

The people of this state continue to cherish government, especially when directed, as it has been in this case, with unexampled energy and unanimity, to the particular evils under consideration, and perceiving that its operations have been thus far salutary, I enterttain the best hopes that this remedy, of render them comparatively harmless. But if these reasonable expectations should unhappily be disappointed-if, in the face of numerous and striking exhibitions of public reproation, elicted from our constituents by a just fear of fatal issues, in which the uncurbed efforts of the abolitionists may ultimately end, any considerable portion of these misguided men shall persist in pushing them forward to disastrous consequences-then a question new to our confederacy will necessarily arise, and be met.

> It must then be determined how far the several states can provide, within the proper exercise of their constitutional power, and how far, in fulfillment of obligation resulting from their federal relations, they ought to provide, by their own laws, for the trial and punishment, by their own judicatories, of resi dents within their limits guilty of acts therein which are calculated and intended te excite insurrection and rebellion in a sister state. Without the power to pass such laws, the states, would not possess all necessary means for preserving their external relations of peace among themselves' and would be without the ability to fulfill in all instances the sacred obligations which they owe to each other as members of the federal Union. Such a power is the acknowledged attribute of sovereignty, and the exercise of it is often unnecessary to prevent the embroiling of neighboring nations.

> The general government at this time exercises power to suppress such acts of the citizens of the United States, done within its' jurisdiction, in relation to the belligerent autthorities of Mexico and Texas, as are inconsistent with the relation of peace and amity we sustain toward those states. Such a power, therefore, belonged to the sovereignty of each of the states before the formation of the Union, and, as far as regards their relation to each other, it was not delegated to the general government. It still remains unimpaired, and the obligations to exercise it have acquired additional force from the nature and objects of the federal compact .-I cannot doubt that the legislature possesses the power to pass such penal laws as will have the effect of preventing the citizens of this state, and residents within it, from availing themselves, with impunity, of the protection of its sovereignty and laws, while they are actually employed in exciting insurrection and sedition in a sister state, or engaged in treasonable enterprise, intended to be executed therein.

Governors Marcy's views in 1836.

[From the Washington Union, Aug. 1, 1857.] We transfer to our colums, from the Albany Atlas, an extended extract from a message of Govener Marcy to the Legislature of New-York in 1836' in which he communicated, with his accustomed clearness and force, his views of the abolition question, and defined, the powers and duties of the several states upon that subject. The principles laid down. and the reasons in support of them, we have good reason to know, met with the cordial approbation of the entire Democracy of New-York, including such men as Silas Wright A. C. Flagg, and others, who were doubtless consulted in relation to them. The doctrine of non-intervention was clearly proclaimed, and supported by reasons which carried con viction to every mind not steeled against argument; and annihilated the hopes of abolition intemeddlers in every quarter. Governor Marcy was then highly complimented in all quarters for his bold and fearless stand in favor of state rights and independence. His doctrine was then deemed purely conservative and Democratic. The principles laid down on this subject are those of the Democratic party everywhere, and, if acted upon in good faith, would restore harmony to every part of the Union, and prepetuate our institutions in their pristine purity and vigor. Those who wish to occupy Democratic groundshould examine the old land-marks and see where they stand, and if they have crossed the line of truth, and are wandering in a region of error, they should at once return to that occupied by their friends. The principles laid down by Governor Marcy will guide them to ground which they can safely occupy with honor to themselves and advantage to the country.

A country editor denounces these afflictions upon him who neglects to pay the printer :- May 243 nigthmares trot quarter races over his stomach every night. May hisboots leak, his gun hang fire, and his fishabandonment of their wild schemes. All but lines break. May a troop of printer's devils, those who are confirmed in fanaticism or ean, lank and hungry, dog his heels each day. reckless of consequences, it is believed, will and a regiment of cats catwaul under his window each night. May the famine stricken increasing force of public opinion to give up ghost of an editor's baby haunt his slumbers, their dangerous attempt to act on the institu- and hiss "Murder" in his dreaming ears .-tions of other states. Those who may not May his buckwheat cakes be always heavy be thus reclaimed or controlled will be too and his calf-skin wallet light; his sour krout few in number and influence, I am persuaded | cooked without "speck," and his rye coffee have no cream or sugar. In short, may Relying on the influence of a sound and en- his dauhgter marry a one eyed pedler and lightened public opinion to restrain and con- his business go to ruin, and he go to the