

cising it whenever they think the contingency has come. You cannot forcibly hold men in this Union, for the attempt to do so, it seems to me, would subvert the principles of the government under which we live."

Report of the
Committee.

In eighteen hundred and fifty-nine a large political meeting of the "Sons of Liberty" in Ohio, adopted the following resolution :

"Resolved, That the several States comprising the United States of America are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to the general Government, but that by compact under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States, and of amendments thereto, they constituted a General Government for special purposes, delegated to that government certain definite powers, reserving, each State to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self-government, and that whensoever the General Government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void and of no force; and, being void, can derive no validity from mere judicial interpretation; that in this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party; that this Government, created by this compact, was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself, since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers, but that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress."

The resolution is an exact copy of the Kentucky resolution of seventeen hundred and ninety-eight, drafted by Jefferson, except the words "and being void can derive no validity from mere judicial interpretation," which were doubtless inserted to meet the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Dred Scott case.

Your Committee submit whether in view of the foregoing, and other well known historical reminiscencies, there is not some reasonable ground for believing that the seceding States were honest and sincere in their convictions, although they led them