

deepest concern the rise and growth of feelings and practices hostile to its continuance. In this solemn form, therefore, they desire to convey to the people of the free States the sense entertained by them and the people they represent, of the means necessary for the restoration of present confidence, and the maintenance of future harmony.

1. Emerging from the war of independence, the States felt that a union between them was indispensable, and to that conviction, after more than one effort, we owe the Constitution. The Union can only be preserved by the same means by which it was created. It exists in and through the Constitution alone. Those, therefore, who desire the continuance of the Union, must maintain that Constitution in every line of it. If a portion be blotted out in any way, or under any pretext, the integrity of the instrument is at an end, and the residue awaits for its extinction only time, opportunity and the hand of the spoiler.

2. Among other things, the Constitution of the United States provides that "no person, held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another State, 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." That the security meant to be given by this provision to the slave States, has been both directly and indirectly impaired by the free States, is unhappily too clear. As well by organized associations, as by individuals in the free States, both means and men are provided to entice slaves from their masters, and to shelter and aid them in their escape, and no law has been passed by any of the free States to restrain such practices, though openly pursued and publicly justified. Emboldened by long impunity, the authors of those outrages have at last ventured to invade a sovereign State, and to raise upon its soil the standard of servile insurrection. Such acts, inaugurated within the limits of the United States against foreign nations, are crimes, but the free States find no punishment for them, when their own citizens are the offenders, and their brethren in the slaveholding States are the sufferers. Nor is this all. The statute books of the free States contain many laws notoriously meant to embarrass, and which do embarrass, the owners of fugitive slaves in the assertion of their Constitutional rights. The free States, therefore, while, by their inaction, encouraging criminal enterprises against property in the slave States, lend all the weight of their united and persevering legislation, to render worthless within their own borders, the rights which they are bound to respect. Situated on the frontier of the free States, Mary-