

citizens of every other state. It is because of the Constitution and the Union, that we demand equal rights in the Territories, and respect for the rights reserved to the states respectively. We have decreed to us, by the same Constitution, and through the same Union, the power to make laws for their maintenance, to interpret, and to execute them. The authority of these powers extends over this whole Union, into each and every state. If they are violated, we have the right to claim that the power, not of any separate state, great or small, powerful or weak, but of the whole Union, shall be exerted in their behalf. And if this be temporarily prevented, or obstructed in any one state to our injury, shall we be righted by breaking up that Union which alone imposes the obligation or has the power to enforce it? Is it better for our rights, to use the power of the Union for their enforcement; or to break up the Union, because we apprehend they will be disregarded?

While the constitutional obligation of non-interference by states or by the Congress, with the domestic affairs of any of the states, remains the law of the land, the refusal to return fugitives from labor, the wrongful legislation protecting those who harbor them, and punishing those who comply with their sworn duty to surrender them, is an injury by others, against their duty to us, in violation of their obligations under the Constitution of which we have a right to complain and to redress. But if these obligations shall be annulled by a dissolution of this Union, our rightful complaint against the violation of agreement is taken away; and we, in this state especially, are left with a foreign hostile asylum to fugitives, upon our immediate borders; with a foreign hostile population, restrained by no Union or Constitution, or laws or compact, from hostile incursions into our territory to incite insurrection; to capture and carry away our negroes and bring on, in our very homes, the worst of all possible calamities, surely the wishes and interests and feelings of the people of Maryland, occupying this position, and identified in feelings, habits, and institutions with all the Southern states, are entitled to some consideration; and they cannot but regard the rash and precipitate act of secession already undertaken, before injury is committed, justice finally denied, or rights actually invaded, as evincing a disregard of the interests of those Border States so deeply and vitally concerned in this matter. The states along the Border are those, which, almost alone, have suffered injury from non-compliance with constitutional obligations concerning slavery. From these the fugitives escape. From these to states further South the migration of slaves takes place, Maryland and Virginia, but Maryland especially, is concerned in any question relating to the Condition of the District of Columbia. The Border States primarily, and indeed almost alone, in fact, will be affected by any attempt