

justice to the South, removing an invidious distinction between the States of the Union set up in flagrant disregard of the Constitution, and to which the South never should have assented, has been made the signal of renewed hostility and revolt; and the angry clouds that passed harmlessly from our political horizon before the unshaken patriotism and wisdom of 1850, have returned upon us with a deeper and a darker tinge, threatening a crisis from the consequences of which every friend and lover of our cherished Union shudders with an instinctive dread. Indeed to such an extent have fanaticism and sectional excitement prevailed in some sections of the Union, that we have been made to witness the enactment of a law, by a sovereign State, for the open and avowed purpose of resisting acts of Congress, passed in pursuance of the express terms of the Federal Constitution, and the necessity of enforcing such acts at the Cannon's mouth by the strong arm of Federal power.

Such an event furnishes most unmistakable proof that we of the South have but little to expect but injustice and oppression from that fell spirit of abolition so busily engaged in shaping the legislation and inflaming the minds of the people of some of our sister States against their southern neighbors. Although its power for mischief has been held in check by those self-sacrificing and truly national men of the North, who standing upon the platform of the Constitution, have nobly indicated the equality of the States, and whose wisdom and patriotism have aided us in upholding the fabric of our Union. But should these dangerous spirits, whose chief employment it is to array the North against the South and to infuse into the minds of the people a restless spirit of contention and strife, peradventure obtain the ascendancy in the National Councils, we have great reason to fear that our blessed Union will prove to be but a rope of sand, and the Constitution which is the sacred bond of that Union, instead of being a protecting shield and a blessing to the people of the South, an instrument of unqualified tyranny.

The Territories of the United States, and the common property of all the States, won by the common blood or purchased by the common treasure of the Union, and to deny to the Citizens of the Southern States, the right of migrating thither, carrying with them their slave property, is, to all intents and purposes, to refuse them admission altogether, and thus exclude them from an equal participation, with the people of the Northern States, in the common blessings of the Confederacy.

Let the Territories be settled by the natural influx of emigration, and if there by whom they shall be thus settled in their transition from the condition of Territorial Communities to that of States, pass Laws or Ordain and establish Governments prohibiting slavery, the South ought to be and will be content.

The principle of the Act organizing Territorial Governments for Nebraska and Kansas, is that which underlies and permeates an entire system of Government, namely, the right of the people to govern themselves and to regulate for themselves in their own way, their own local and domestic institutions. This is the only principle that gives promise of permanent peace and tranquility to the Country. It with draws from the Councils of these States a most fruitful of angry contention and opens before us the bright path of safety. It is the only principle by which this long vexed and most perplexing subject can be adjusted, and to which the South can submit without dishonor.

In any action you may deem it expedient to take in this behalf, let me admonish you that a spirit of moderation should preside over and guide your Councils. The language of menace and bravado is in bad taste and never accomplishes any good. We of Maryland occupying the position of a border State, dwelling upon the dividing line, between the two extremes of interest and opinion upon the subject of Slavery, have a special interest in desiring the adjustment of this