

invasion from abroad, and insurrection within. The North, is to be strengthened, by the addition of the British possessions north of our Union; and the South, and all Southern reforms, be forever buried beneath the fury of the storm such master spirits shall raise and control. Sir, I listened with great attention to the plea of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. McDowell) for changing his course on this question. With me, he was formerly opposed to this notice; but he changes his course now, because it is the will of his constituents. Whilst changing his, he will not deny to other gentlemen the duty of adhering to their position, from the same controlling cause. I can see nothing but disaster to my constituents, from the war his policy proposes. His constituents, have scarcely anything to export to foreign nations. Nearly all that my constituents produce, is dependent on foreign nations for consumption, especially on that nation, with whom it is proposed to war. His constituents, will be far away from the contest—mine must meet it, face to face. His people, will have a market for their grain, in the armies which must muster and fight on our Northern line—mine, must see their produce rot in their barns, or be piled up in their fields, or be consumed by the enemy. These evils, or evils a thousand times worse, are no causes for not entering into a just war, to maintain the honor or rights of the Union; but they are sufficient, to make them demand, to make me demand, in their name, that you show, clearly and distinctly, that duty and patriotism require the sacrifice; and that, all other measures for peace being exhausted, we have no other alternative than the sword, to restore the outraged honor and violated rights of the country. Independently of interest, every principle of justice, humanity, and Christianity, requires that this shall be done. Let our consciences be clear of unnecessary blood; and, like our fathers, we be able, with confidence, to appeal to the Great Arbitrator of the fate of nations for his approbation and support. Then victory, may not be ruin; and even defeat, be success; and military conquest, which has overthrown every other republic which has entered on its devastating career, may at least not leave us slaves. I do not believe, negotiation to be exhausted. I do not believe war to be inevitable; and I am, therefore, for leaving in those hands, to which the Constitution has entrusted them, the conduct, as well as the responsibility, of all measures which, in the present state of things, affect the question of peace or war. The Executive, I trust, in the estimation of gentlemen, is competent to this high duty; and whilst maintaining peace, will vindicate the honor and rights of the Union.