

means, and relief from our present national embarrassments.

I confess to you, Mr. Speaker, I never can look, indeed, in my opinion, no American statesman ought ever to look, on any question, touching the vital interests of this nation, or of any of its component parts, without keeping at all times, in distinct view, the nature of our political association, and the character of the independent sovereignties, which compose it. Among states, the only sure and permanent bond of union is interest. And the vital interests of states, although they may be sometimes obscured, can never, for a very long time, be misapprehended. The natural protection, which the essential interests of the great component parts of our political association require, will be, sooner or later, understood, by the states, concerned in those interests. If a protection, upon system, be not provided, it is impossible that discontent should not result. And need I tell statesmen, that, when great local discontent is combined, in those sections, with great physical power and with acknowledged portions of sovereignty, the inbred ties of nature will be too strong for the artificial ties of parchment compact?—

Hence it results that the essential interests of the great component parts of our association, ought to be the polar lights of all our statesmen. By them they should guide their course. According to the bearings and variations of those lights should the statesmen of such a country adjust their policy. Always bearing in mind two assurances, as fundamental principles of action, which the nature of things teaches;—that although temporary circumstances, party spirit, local rivalries, personal jealousies, suggestions of subordinate interests, may weaken, or even destroy, for a time, the influence of the leading and permanent interests of any great section of the country, yet those interests must ultimately, and necessarily predominate and swallow up all these local, and temporary, and personal, and subordinate considerations; in other words, the minor interests will soon begin to realize the essential connexion, which exists between their prosperity, and the prosperity of those great interests, which, in such sections of the coun-