

der a greater share of their own sovereign power, as appears by the recent history of those times, was the expectation, that their Commerce would be better protected, by the national government.

The hardy people of the North stood in no need of the aid of the South, to protect them, in their liberties. For this, they could safely rely, as they always had done, on their own valour. But it was an important object with them, that every aid, facility and encouragement should be given to that Commerce, upon which their prosperity, almost exclusively depended.

To ensure this great object, a very unequal proportion of political power was conceded, to the Southern States. The representation of Slaves, was the price paid, by the Northern States, for the stipulated protection and encouragement of their trade, and for an agreement of the southern members of the Union, that the public burdens should be apportioned, according to representation. Experience however, has proved, that, although the contract, on our part, has been faithfully fulfilled, both these considerations have utterly failed.

Indications of a spirit hostile to commerce were early visible, among some of those who now control the destinies of our Republic. But the Father of his Country then presided, in our Councils, and this spirit was vanquished. Under the influence of the wise, and liberal, and magnanimous system, adopted and pursued, by his administration, commerce was indeed cherished, extended, and protected; and the stipulations of the constitution were fulfilled, in sincerity and good faith.

Since that period however, the same spirit has arisen, and has exhibited an unrelenting severity, in the exercise of its sway—until, at length, by a series of restrictions, utterly destructive of the calculations of the merchant—by prohibitions and double duties—by

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