

cise it in strict subordination to its own interests, estimated by a wise statesmanship, and a well instructed public conscience ; that benevolence itself, even its ministrations of mere good-will, is an affair of measure and of proportions ; and must choose sometimes between the greater good, and the less ; that if, to the highest degree, and widest diffusion of human happiness, a Union of States such as ours, some free, some not so, was necessary ; and to such Union the Constitution was necessary ; and to such a Constitution this clause was necessary, humanity itself prescribes it, and presides in it ? May he not have thought that he learned that there are proposed to humanity in this world many fields of beneficent exertion ; some larger, some smaller, some more, some less expensive and profitable to till ; that among these it is always lawful, and often indispensable to make a choice ; that sometimes, to acquire the right, or the ability to labor in one, it is needful to covenant, not to invade another ; and that such covenant, in partial restraint, rather in reasonable direction of philanthropy, is good in the forum of conscience ; and setting out with these very elementary maxims of practical morals, may he not have thought that he learned from the careful study of the facts of our history, and opinions, that to acquire the power of advancing the dearest interests of man, through generations countless, by that unequalled security of peace and progress, the Union ; the power of advancing the interest of each State, each region, each relation — the slave and the master ; the power of subjecting a whole continent all