

eagle on the palace of St. James—force free governments over every throne in Europe; and Oregon—the whole of Oregon, is ours. What then? We must be ruined ourselves. Suppose the Union and our form of free government survives the contest, can any gentleman believe that, in reality, our Government will be the same at its termination, as at its commencement? I am one of those who believe, that all the liberty our Constitution confers, exists in its limitations. Take away its limitations—its admirable partition of powers between the States and the federal head, by which the different sections of the Union can protect their peculiar interests, and it erects over us, one of the most odious despotisms the world has ever seen. Sir, all my life, and here for nine years, I have been striving to enforce these limitations, into the practice of the Government. The tendency of the system, is to centralization, as its general operation clearly proves. Nothing but a calm reasoning intelligence, can be able to arrest this tendency, and secure to the States the rightful powers belonging to them; and thus secure liberty and safety to the citizens in all parts of the Union. Such a state of the popular mind, cannot exist in war. All wars are adverse to liberty. They produce violence, not virtuous restraint. They appeal to force, and not to reason. But with our system of government, we must strengthen, by employing alone in war, the powers of the General Government. The limitations of the Constitution will be subverted, if in the least in the way of the efficient prosecution of hostilities; whilst all opposition to save the system, by insisting on its limitations, will be considered as unpatriotic or treacherous. Nor are these inferences, mere speculations. The only wars we have ever had, although far shorter than can be anticipated from the struggle we have now proposed to us, ended in enforcing Federalism in the system. After our Revolutionary war, the first movements of our form of government, under the military influences of our Revolution, were to Federalism. Again, after our last war, although originating with the Republican or Democratic party, and supported by them—all their principles were subverted, under the influences it left behind it. The paper system it engendered—its banks—its debts—its tariffs—its internal improvements, although partially overthrown, still form the points of controversy between the two great parties of the country. It has required thirty years of peace and discussion, to rid, even partially, the Constitution of its corrupt and centralizing influences. Who will look for any reform of the taxing power, or your vicious system of expenditures, after such a war as gentlemen propose? All the limitations of the Constitution, from long desuetude, will be obsolete; and your President, re-elected at his volition, will be the monarch of a despotism. If