

curity of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever."

With whom and by whom is this compact made? It was made "between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia." They came together as separate and independent colonies, for the mutual defence and protection of the whole. Is there anything to change their relation? Was there any change effected in the organic laws of those States? I should like to have gentlemen, with all their ingenuity, show where the relation of the States towards the General Government ever underwent any change up to the formation of the Constitution in 1787.

Then what change took place? The change that took place in 1787, was simply that they had gained their independence, and they wanted to establish a government upon a firm basis, carrying out the original purposes and those purposes only, for which the articles of confederation were originally formed.

Did the gentlemen ever refer to the treaty between Great Britain and the States now forming the United States at the close of the Revolutionary war? That very treaty is not a treaty with the United States. It is a treaty with the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, &c., just as they are enumerated here. The independence of what was declared by that? The independence of those separate States as States, and in no wise as a whole, because they are particularly named in the treaty between Great Britain and the States at that time. Then where does the precedent come from?

What is the necessity for this change? The gentleman has said that it is necessary, at this time, that we should give more power to the Federal Government. Have not they power enough? Have not they spent more money since the commencement of this war than ever was spent before, all together, since the formation of the government? I have no doubt that this debt will rest upon the people of the United States for all time to come; like the debt of England, it never will be paid. I have been trying to estimate it. Taking the whole non-slaveholding States, (leaving out the border States, because they are unable to pay because of the ravages of war, and can scarcely produce enough to feed their people,) taking the income of every abolition State of this Union, at the end of the next fiscal year the debt will be so great that the income of every man in every one of these States will not pay the interest on the

debt. This is the calculation of Mr. Voorhees, and he shows it by figures. Is not that a most melancholy fact?

Gentlemen talk about leaving the country, if this rebellion is not suppressed. I will not say of them as was said of Swartwout when he went to Texas some years ago: that he left his country for his country's good. It may be it would have been for their country's good had they left it years ago. I might well leave it for my good, rather than remain to be burdened with such taxation.

The question of paramount allegiance is the vital question here. To whom do we owe it? Do we owe it to the State, or do we owe it to the General Government? At the time of the formation of the Constitution and its adoption by the several States, there were certain powers delegated for the purpose of forming a Federal Government, for the mutual benefit and protection of all the States. The Constitution itself sets forth that no powers, except those expressly given, are to be exercised by the federal head. The 10th amendment is:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

The delegates of these States when they came together in Convention, found that in order to have a government on a solid basis, certain powers must be delegated to the federal head for specific purposes; and such powers as were necessary to carry out those specific objects were delegated by the States to the federal head. All other powers were expressly reserved to the people of the several States; and they have up to this time exercised them under all circumstances.

Look at the Constitutions of the various States. To show you that this is an attempt at making a change never known before in the formation of the organic law, there is not a State in the Union that in the formation of its organic law does not make provision in relation to this subject. Massachusetts declares by her Constitution, that

"The people of this commonwealth have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves, as a free, sovereign and independent State; and do, and forever hereafter shall, exercise and enjoy every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not, or may not hereafter be by them expressly delegated to the United States of America in Congress assembled."

She expressly reserves every power not granted to the federal head, and you will find it so, I think, in all the Constitutions. But Massachusetts goes further than that. She does not require her officers to swear allegiance to or to support the Constitution of the United States. They have made, years ago, several efforts to secede. Whenever territory was to be acquired by the South, they