

power at that time, and under those circumstances, would open the door for the exercise of powers which would in time entirely obliterate the powers of the State government. And I recognize this as the first step, the first movement to overpower the State of Maryland, and to reduce her to the lowest position in this Government. In speaking of the exercise of the power at that time, Mr. Pinckney said :

"It was but the other day that we were forbidden, properly forbidden, I am sure, for the prohibition came from you, Mr. President, to assume that there existed any intention to impose a prospective restraint upon the domestic legislation of the State of Missouri."

Now, I say that this article of the bill of rights does indicate the following it up with that line of policy that has been latterly advocated by men in high places in this country; and that the exercise of that power in time to come will lead to the utter overthrow of the powers of the State governments. He says :

"We were forbidden \* \* \* to assume that there existed any intention to impose a prospective restraint upon the domestic legislation of the State of Missouri—a restraint to act upon it contemporaneously with its origin as a State, and to continue adhesion to it through all the stages of its political existence. We are now, however, permitted to know that it is determined by a sort of political surgery to amputate one of the limbs of its local sovereignty, and thus mangled and disparaged, and thus only, to receive it into the bosom of the Constitution. It is now announced that, while Maine is to be ushered into the Union with every possible demonstration of studious reverence on our part, and on hers with colors flying, and all the other graceful accompaniments of honorable triumph, this ill-conditioned upstart of the West, this obscure founding of a wilderness that was but yesterday the hunting ground of the savage, is to find her way into the American family as she can, with an humiliating badge of remediless inferiority patched upon her garments, with that mark of recent, qualified manumission upon her, or rather with a brand upon her forehead to tell the story of her territorial vassalage, and to perpetuate the memory of her evil propensities. It is now avowed that while the robust district of Maine is to be seated by the side of her truly respectable parent, co-ordinate in authority and honor, and is to be dandled into that power and dignity of which she does not stand in need, but which undoubtedly she deserves, the more infantile and feeble Missouri is to be repelled with harshness, and forbidden to come at all, unless with the iron collar of servitude about her neck, instead of the civic crown of republican freedom upon her brow, and is to be doomed

forever to leading strings unless she will exchange those leading strings for shackles.

"I am told that you have the power to establish this odious and revolting distinction, and I am referred for the proofs of that power to various parts of the Constitution, but principally to that part of it which authorizes the admission of new States into the Union. I am myself of opinion that it is in that part only that the advocates for this restriction can, with any hope of success, apply for a license to impose it; and that the efforts which have been made to find it in other portions of that instrument are too desperate to require to be encountered. I shall, however, examine those other portions before I have done, lest it should be supposed by those who have relied upon them, that what I omit to answer I believe to be unanswerable.

"The clause of the Constitution which relates to the admission of new States is in these words: 'The Congress *may* admit new States into this Union,' &c.; and the advocates for restriction maintain that the use of the word '*may*' imparts discretion to admit or to reject; and that in this discretion is wrapped up another—that of prescribing the terms and conditions of admission in case you are willing to admit. *Cujus est dare ejus est disponere*. I will not for the present enquire whether this involved discretion to dictate the terms of admission belongs to you or not. It is fit that I should first look to the nature and extent of it.

"I think I may assume that if such a power be anything but nominal, it is much more than adequate to the present object; that it is a power of vast expansion, to which human sagacity can assign no reasonable limits; that it is a capacious reservoir of authority, from which you may take in all time to come, as occasion may serve, the means of oppression as well as beneficence. I know that it professes at this moment to be the chosen instrument of protecting mercy, and would win upon us by its benignant smiles; but I know, too, it can frown and play the tyrant, if it be so disposed; notwithstanding the softness which it now assumes, and the care with which it conceals its giant proportions beneath the deceitful drapery of sentiment, when it next appears before you it may show itself with a sterner countenance and in more awful dimensions. It is, to speak the truth, sir, a power of colossal size—if, indeed, it be not an abuse of language to call it by the gentle name of a *power*. Sir, it is a wilderness of powers, of which fancy in her happiest mood is unable to perceive the far-distant and shadowy boundary. Armed with such a power, with religion in one hand and philanthropy in the other, and followed by a goodly train of public and private virtues, you may achieve more conquests over sovereignties not your own than falls to the common lot of even uncommon ambition.