

had been a declaration of secession here, our State would have become a scene of civil war such as has torn Virginia into fragments? At this day 25,000 men of Virginia have gone out as soldiers under one Government, and something like 150,000 men into the armies on the other side. Such has been the case in every State in the South West. Those States only have escaped, which have been so far removed from the scene of conflict, and which have been so permeated with the spirit of revolution, that the minority did not feel themselves able to make resistance.

I do not mean to be understood to say that the majority of the people of the South are in favor of this Government. I don't believe any such humbug. But I will say that there were enough of them to have made, as they actually have made, a civil war inside the limits of five or six slave States, and it was nothing in the world but the extreme distance which prevented a like scene of conflict in one or two others.

So I say that this whole doctrine of the right of revolution amounts to nothing.—Under a republican government, it must depend upon how far they trespass upon other people's rights in making their revolution, for other people's rights are as sacred as theirs, and if those other people happen to have more power than they have, all that the right of revolution will amount to will be the right to make a fight and get whipped at the end of it.

I shall conclude what I have to say, referring merely to one authority. I only wish to read a small portion of the history of the State, as a proof that the people that went before us, did not entertain such very different views from what we do; and that in point of fact the differences of opinion that have grown up in regard to this question are perhaps quite as much the result of difference of feeling, purpose and desire, as upon any matter of logical deduction or philosophical argument. I wish to read the resolutions of the General Assembly of Maryland of February 26, 1832, in regard to the condition of South Carolina, for the purpose of showing that an arbitrament exists under our form of government:

*Resolved by the General Assembly of Maryland,* That in expressing our opinion upon the Ordinance of Nullification and the recent proceedings of South Carolina, it is our duty to declare our opinions firmly upon the principles assailed, and to expostulate mildly and affectionately with her.

*Resolved,* That we hold these principles to be incontrovertible, that the Government of the United States was adopted by the people of the different States, and established in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, assure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of

liberty to ourselves and our posterity, that it possesses all the purposes for which it was instituted, that it is irreconcilable with the objects and purposes for which the Constitution was adopted, to suppose that it contains in itself the principles of its own destruction, or has failed to endue the Government created by it with the essential power of self-preservation. That it is not in the power of any one State to annul an act of the General Government as void or unconstitutional.

"That the power of deciding controversies among the different States, or between the General Government and the States, is reposed in the federal judiciary, and that it is an act of usurpation for any State to arrogate to herself jurisdiction in such cases.

"That the Supreme Court is the only tribunal having conclusive jurisdiction in cases involving the constitutionality of the acts of the General Government.

"That whenever a State is aggrieved by the constitutional acts of the General Government, the 5th article of the Constitution prescribes the remedy, declaring that 'the Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress.'

"That the right to annul a law of the General Government assumed by one State, is incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great objects for which it was formed.

"That our fellow-citizens of South Carolina, who remain faithful to the Constitution and laws of the United States, are entitled to the protection of the General Government, both for their property and their persons.

"That if any State, regardless of the constitutional remedies which are afforded for every grievance and oppression, should attempt to withdraw from the Union, it is the right and duty of the General Government to protect itself, and the other States from the fatal consequences of any such attempt."

That is to whip her back if she is out, and to keep her from going if she is not quite out. If any body can put any other interpretation upon it I shall be glad to hear it.

*Further resolved,* That the Ordinance of Nullification of South Carolina is calculated to mislead her citizens from the true character of the Federal Government, and the just allegiance which they owe to that Government.