

extension of the appropriations to objects not embraced in the specific grants of the Federal constitution was the necessary appendage of their system. They well knew that the people would not long submit to the levying of a large surplus revenue merely for the protection of manufactures; carried on almost exclusively in one quarter of the Union—and they therefore sought in the extension of the appropriations to new objects, for a plausible and popular excuse for the continuance of a system of high duties. With that instinctive sagacity, which belongs to men who convert the Legislature of a country, into an instrument, for the promotion of their own private ends, they clearly saw that the distribution of an enormous surplus treasure, would afford the surest means of bringing over the enemies of the American System, to its support, and of enlisting in their cause not only large masses of the people, but entire States who had no direct interest in maintaining the protecting system, or who were even in some respects, its victims. No scheme that the wit of man could possibly have devised, was better calculated to the accomplishment of this object. It proposed simply to reconcile men, to an unjust system of national policy, by admitting them to a large share of the spoils—in a word, to levy contributions, by the aid of those who were to divide the plunder. If the United States had constituted one great nation, with a consolidated Government, occupying a territory of limited extent, inhabited by a people engaged in similar pursuits, and having homogeneous interests, such a system would only have operated as a tax upon all the other great interests of the State, for the benefit of that which was favored by the laws, and when time had been allowed for the adjustment of society, to this new condition of its affairs, the final result must have been, an aggregate diminution of the profits of the whole community by diverting a portion of the people from their accustomed employments, to less profitable pursuits. In such a case, the hope might perhaps have been indulged that experience would demonstrate the egregious folly, of enacting laws, the only effect of which would be, to supply the wants of the community at an increased expense of labor and capital. But it is the distinguishing feature of the American System, and one which stamps upon it the character of peculiar and aggravated oppression, that it is made applicable to a CONFEDERACY of twenty-four Sovereign and Independent States—occupying a territory upward of 2000 miles in extent,—embracing every variety of