

the number of States, with the increase of population then anticipated and now so fully verified. *It was also known, though it was not avowed, that a State might withdraw itself.* The number would therefore be variable."

"In no part of the Constitution is there a reference to any proportion of the States, excepting the two subjects of amendments and of the choice of President and Vice President.

"In the first case, two-thirds or three-fourths of the several States is the language used, and it signifies those proportions of the several States that shall then form the Union.

"In the second, there is a remarkable distinction between the choice of President and Vice President, in the case of an equality of votes for either.

"The House of Representatives, *voting by States*, is to select one of the three persons having the highest number, for President. A quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary for the choice.

"The Senate, *not voting by States*, but by their members *individually*, as in all other cases, selects the Vice President from the two persons having the highest number on the list. A quorum for this purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority is sufficient for the choice."

* * * "It seems to be the safest, and is possibly the soundest construction, to consider the quorum as intended to be composed of two-thirds of the then existing Senators."

Rawle, page 305. "As to the remaining States among themselves, there is no opening for a doubt.

"Secessions may reduce the number to the smallest integer admitting combination. They would remain united under the same principles and regulations among themselves that now apply to the whole. For a State cannot be compelled by other States to withdraw from the Union, and therefore if two or more determine to remain united, although all the others desert them, nothing can be discovered in the Constitution to prevent it.

"The consequences of an absolute secession cannot be mistaken, and they would be serious and afflictive.

"The seceding State, whatever might be its relative magnitude, would speedily and distinctly feel the loss of the aid and countenance of the Union. The Union, losing a proportion of the national revenue, would be entitled to demand from it a proportion of the national debt. It would be entitled to treat the inhabitants and the commerce of the separated State, as appertaining to a foreign country. In public treaties already made, whether commercial or political, it could claim no participation, while foreign powers would unwillingly calculate, and slowly transfer to it, any portion of the respect and confidence borne towards the United States.

"Evils more alarming may readily be perceived. The destruction of the common bond would be unavoidably attended with more serious consequences than the mere disunion of the parts.

"Separation would produce jealousies and discords, which in time would ripen into mutual hostilities, and while our country would be weakened by internal war, foreign enemies would be encouraged to invade, with the flattering prospect of subduing, in detail, those whom collectively they would dread to encounter."

Rawle, 306. "Such in ancient times was the fate of Greece, broken into numerous independent republics. Rome, which pursued a contrary policy, and absorbed all her territorial acquisitions in one great body, attained irresistible power.

"But it may be objected that Rome also has fallen. It is true; and such is the history of man. Natural life and political existence alike give way at the appointed measure of time, and the birth, decay and extinction of empires only serve to prove the temerity and illusion of the deepest schemes of the statesman, and the most elaborate theories of the philosopher. Yet it is always our duty to inquire into and establish those plans and forms of civil association most conducive to present happiness and long duration; the rest we must leave to Divine Providence, which has hitherto so graciously smiled on the United States of America.

"We may contemplate a dissolution of the Union in another light, more disinterested but not less dignified, and consider whether we are not only bound to ourselves but to the world in general, anxiously and faithfully to preserve it.

"The first example which has been exhibited of a perfect self-government, successful beyond the warmest hopes of its authors, ought never to be withdrawn while the means of preserving it remain.

"If in other countries, and particularly in Europe, a systematic subversion of the political rights of man shall gradually overpower all national freedom, and endanger all political happiness, the failure of our example should not be held up as a discouragement to the legitimate opposition of the sufferers; if, on the other hand, an emancipated people should seek a model on which to frame their own structure, our Constitution, as permanent in its duration as it is sound and splendid in its principles, should remain to be their guide."

Rawle, page 307. "In every aspect, therefore, which this great subject presents, we feel the deepest impression of a sacred obligation to preserve the Union of our country; we feel our glory, our safety and our happiness involved in it; we unite the interests of those who coldly calculate advantages with those who glow with what is little short of