

his country. He had seen to-day the loyalty with which the throne was regarded, and he, too, was willing to say with them all, "God save the Queen." (Cheers.) After an allusion to the gratifying spectacle which was presented on the occasion of the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Ingersoll resumed his seat, amid the hearty plaudits of the company.

It will be seen by this cursory *resumé* of the performances of our ministers to England, that the last three, one of them, a professing democrat, and the others of the high tariff school, which has just gone out in this country, as the pig tails have died away in France,—all of them indifferently entirely abdicated the character of an American citizen. We have a bundle of speeches made by these functionaries, and others which must be referred to when this investigation is continued. A very favorable occasion for that, will be when their dispatches have appeared on the table of Congress.

That very remarkably conducted gentleman Mr. Rives, who has twice seen, and once at least, assisted at the strangulation of the French Republic, has a right to expect complete justice at our hands. His official career abroad, is the counterpart of that at home. The same foggyism and perverseness that made him love the U. S. Bank, and stampede from the Democratic party to the Whig on the Sub-Treasury, has closely followed his steps, and marked his actions. For his slender abilities, he has inflicted very deep scars on the foreign and domestic character of his country. And the fault is not all his own, for how is it possible to exuse a President and Senate, who would nominate and ratify such an incumbent, first as a Democrat, and afterwards as a Whig, at intervals of twenty years, to the commanding position, of the minister to that France, which is the ally, the pupil, the follower of the United States.

The *Chargé d'Affaires* at Vienna, Mr. Stiles, has done all that his worst enemy could desire in writing a book,—and such a book. His behaviour abroad as our representative, is spoken of in another part of this number. The writer would have been less considerate of his feelings if it had been ascertained that one hundred copies had been sold. But enough for once of the small fry.

Who knows, or who cares what our representatives have done, or are doing, at the commanding points of the eastern world, St. Petersburg, and Constantinople. And in conclusion of this branch of the subject, we reiterate what we have already said in this paper, of a most important matter within reach of the house of Representatives at Washington. We call upon that distinguished body, so largely Democratic for the speedy publication of all the correspondence with the State Department on European affairs, since the last revolution of 1848. The Senate has shrunk from the responsibility in consenting to suppress the invaluable dispatches of the special agent to Hungary, sent to them by General Taylor under a resolution. The people want, and they are entitled to, that part of the diplomatic correspondence of its agents abroad, as well as the residue, and as one of the organs of public opinion, we call loudly and shall call incessantly for the whole of it on both sides. We presume there will be no disposition in Congress, at all events, in the lower house, to consent to the longer postponement of this most desirable disclosure. That some of the parties interested should seek to evade responsibility, we can anticipate; but the objections add great force to the merits of the proposition.

THE CUBAN DEBATE.

THERE has been a debate in the Senate which will end very far from the point at which it started. We refer to the speeches of Messrs. Mason and Cass, (democrats,) and Underwood, (whig,) which were delivered on the 23d of December upon the Cuban resolution of the Committee of Foreign Relations. These old Fogies have taken the lead in declarations on the external policy of the United States, and have proceeded to give their respective ideas of various matters which they think important; and to let us know finally what must be done as to Cuba in particular. There is evidently an approximation in feeling as well as sentiments between the President and these senators, despite the fling at the London press in General Cass' speech. He, as well as the rest looks with a reverence entirely Websterian up to British statesmen. In the effort he made last year upon intervention, he quoted largely from Palmerston, and the thread of his recent effort is a declaration of Canning's that "we must keep upon the line of political knowledge." We are not edified by the tone, nor by the substance of the discussion; and we will proceed to state what are our exceptions to it, and to the orators themselves as well as to their speeches. It appears to us that for some cause or other, there has been a halt in the minds of men; we believe we see Congress waiting for the people and the people waiting for Congress to move in a great emergency. At all events, the press is about as rapid as Congress, and yet it generally speaks promptly for its readers, the public, on matters of moment.

While we are writing the House of Representatives has taken up the same subject in committee of the whole. There is no resolution, but several members ventilated their opinions on Cuba and our foreign relations, but with the most notable marks of irresolution so far as the debate had proceeded. But Col. Polk has the floor, and we expect from him something much more decided, about Cuba and the Gulf of Mexico.

In the meantime we proceed to consider the resolution and speeches in the Senate, where we see also that the debate is to be continued by that distinguished man, Senator Soule.

In the first place, the resolution does not cover the real battle-ground, nor is any allusion made to it in the argument for and against it. This was not unexpected to us who have seen our so-called statesmen often at work, and almost always overlook the main point of debate. The resolution asks for information about a piece of business that was then finished and well finished by the whig administration. Their decision was wise, and with their reasons no democrat need vex his understanding.* The Fillmore cabinet re-

* Since the preparation of this article we have read Mr. Everett's letter to the British minister rejecting the proposition for the tripartite convention. It is the best paper that has ever appeared on the subject from the State department. Its spirit is progressive, and it enters fully and forcibly into the reasons why Cuba is of no value to Spain, the point of all discussion on our side of the trade. This Mr. Buchanan and Messrs. Mason & Cass all alike avoid, and are content to argue before the Senate without any talent, information or zeal from preparation which is at least five years old, though they have thought it worth while to revamp it for the occasion. The world has got beyond the juvenile penalty of wearing old clothes. A Broadway dandy would not now be more ridiculous among the fresh and brilliant toilettes of the street, with seedy breeches, a turned (not turn) coat and a shocking bad beaver and fair-weather boots, than these faded politicians in the Senate in five-year-old opinions smartly set off by the aid of scissors with an edging of the last paragraph from a newspaper. Reserving our objections to many of the views of Mr. Everett, we endorse the following, and promise him that as he had made a great advance in Whig opinions about Cuba, he shall not be ashamed of the progressive character which will be displayed by his Democratic successor.

"Can it be for the interest of Spain to cling to a possession that can only be maintained by a garrison of 25,000 or 30,000 troops, a powerful naval force, and an annual expenditure, for both arms of the service, of at least \$12,000,000? Cuba at this moment costs more to Spain than the entire naval and military establishment of the United States costs the federal government.

"So far from being really injured by the loss of this island, there is no doubt that were it peacefully transferred to the United States, a prosperous commerce between Cuba and Spain, resulting from ancient associations and common language and tastes, would be far more productive than the best contrived system of colonial taxation. Such, notoriously, has been the result to Great Britain, of the establishment of the independence of the United States. The decline of Spain from the position which she held in the time of Charles the Fifth, is coeval with the foundation of her colonial system, a while within

pelled certain offers of England and France to go into a tripartite treaty securing Cuba to Spain; and most virtuously eschewing for all and singular any ambitious designs of their own, in the same quarter. So the matter now stands: proposition made—proposition rejected: the *statu quo* not disturbed. Now we do not say that the offer to disturb the *statu quo* of Cuba, even when rejected, should not be examined by the Senate with jealous eyes; but we do say that there was another affair for an enquiry from that body far more important, because it does most violently disturb the *statu quo* by armed force, and is, in the opinion of the wisest, but the beginning of aggressions on us, which must be met now, or Cuba and Mexico are entirely exposed to foreign invasion, and the Monroe doctrine

twenty-five years, and since the loss of her colonies, she has entered upon a course of rapid improvement, unknown since the abdication of that Emperor.

"I will but allude to an evil of the first magnitude. I allude to the African slave trade, in the suppression of which France takes a lively interest, an evil which still forms a great reproach upon the civilization of Christendom, and perpetuates the barbarism of Africa, but for which it is to be feared there is no hope of a complete remedy while Cuba remains a Spanish colony. But whatever may be thought of these last suggestions, it would seem impossible for any one who reflects upon the events glanced at in this note to mistake the laws of American growth and progress, or think it can be ultimately arrested by a convention like that proposed.

"In the judgment of the President it would be as easy to throw a dam from Cape Florida to Cuba, in the hope of stopping the flow of the Gulf Stream, as to attempt by a compact like this to fix the fortunes of Cuba now and for hereafter—or, as expressed in the French text of the convention, for the present as for the future—"pour le present comme pour l'avenir" that is, for all coming time. The history of the past—the of the recent past—affords no assurance that twenty years hence France or England will even wish that Spain should retain Cuba. And a century hence—judging of what will be from what has been—the pages which record this proposition, will, like the record of the family compact between France and Spain, have no interest but for the antiquary. Even now the President cannot doubt that both France and England would prefer any change in the condition of Cuba to that which is most to be apprehended, viz., an internal convulsion which should renew the horrors and the fate of St. Domingo. I will intimate a final objection to the proposed convention.

"M. de Turgot and Lord Malinsbury put forward as the reason for entering into such a compact, the attacks which have lately been made on the island of Cuba by lawless bands of adventurers from the United States, with the avowed design of taking possession of that island. The President is convinced that the conclusion of such a treaty, instead of putting a stop to these lawless proceedings, would give a new and powerful impulse to them, and would strike a death-blow to the conservative policy hitherto pursued in this country towards Cuba. No administration of this government, however strong in the public confidence in other respects, could stand a day under the odium of having stipulated with the great powers of Europe, that in no future time, under no change of circumstances, by no amicable arrangement with Spain, by no act of lawful war (should that calamity unfortunately occur), by no consent of the inhabitants of the island, should they, like the possessions of Spain on the American continent, succeed in rendering themselves independent—in fine, by no over-riding necessity of self-preservation—should the United States ever make the acquisition of Cuba."

made ridiculous and its authors covered with scorn and contempt. We mean here to refer to the situation of Hayti, the near neighbor of Cuba, and a very fine island as it came from the hand of God; but one which has been darkened by the bloodiest tragedies in all history—the massacre of St. Domingo. That island is probably by this time within the grasp of the French Emperor, who has for some time been cherishing designs of absorption upon it. His instrument is President Baez, a mulatto, who was educated in France. This mulatto has large estates, and has been for over a year colonizing them by Frenchmen exclusively, with a view to becoming a department of France, like the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, whence the blackest Ethiopians were sent as representatives to the late French Assembly.* Great numbers of French emigrants have come over, and are now on the way to St. Domingo, under the protection and aid of the French Government. Congress seems to be ignorant of these facts, and the President criminally negligent of his duties. At the same time that French emigrants are accepted, introduced and settled comfortably by the Dominican President, our own citizens are, by the same President and his clique, rigorously excluded. Louis Napoleon is the oldest grantee of the Nicaragua canal, and has recently offered to associate Americans with him in the enterprise, and he wants a depot for the lines of steamers he is about establishing. This Samana rumor, will be true before the meeting of our next Congress, if the do-nothing policy of our present Foggy Administration were to continue. All this is, as it seems to us, a much more recent and palpable, and dangerous and domineering defiance of this country, and "its established policy," and its reiterated threats, than such burnt powder and spent ball as a rejected proposition to treat with France and England for the neutrality of Cuba, or that other terror to old gentlemen, the land privateering of Count Boulbon, in Sonora,

* One of the richest scenes occurred on the entrance of these three colored gentlemen and their taking their seats in the hall of the Assembly. All eyes were, of course, turned on them. As soon as they were seated, nothing disconcerted, they drew out of their white vest pockets, each one his eye-glass, and all three very steadily surveyed their seven hundred and forty-seven colleagues for several minutes.

which has been already extinguished by his surrender at discretion to the Mexicans. The French Emperor is a very different party from a simple patrician in exile seeking by foraging in distant lands, to better the fortunes of his house; and the actual occupation of a part of Hayti by means of colonization as the act of one very bad sovereign, who has atrociously usurped power in France, and is known to court a collision with the United States, is to the defunct Cuban negotiation, a living lion to a dead dog at least. This bold usurpation was even known at the time of the delivery of the President's message, and it was known when the committee of the Senate presented their resolution, and when they assembled to debate their foreign policy, and to repeat for the thousandth time their determination to enforce the youthful decision of 1816. Yet no notice is taken of this capital, actual infraction of our rights, and of all our messages and speeches since the time of James Monroe. In the House of Representatives, we presume, such a thing cannot continue; but on the contrary, the real difficulty will there be presented, discussed and decided. As it is, the Queen of England, though a woman, would have shown more spirit than the President, and the "forcible feebleness" of the House of Lords would have been giants compared with the Nestors of the Senate. It may be said that we might have a contradiction of the news from Hayti, or that some explanation may be given of it so as to make our action on it of a different character; but we answer that action is not now instantly required, but information is sought, opinions are to be formed, and the public and the government are to have an understanding of what is to be done between us and foreign powers on the subject of colonization on this continent. Every fact and every rumor almost on the subject should rouse the dormant spirit of this country. And nothing can be clearer than that no question about the fate of Cuba can now be treated properly until the actual French doings at Hayti is made matter of enquiry, which, if true, present the case for most emphatic proceedings. On that topic we shall have more to say hereafter. Our present objection to the Senate resolution and de-

bate is, that it has omitted the real topic to be examined: and has taken up a matter which, as it stands, is not half as vital to our people and the world. Still we recognize the overwhelming importance of Cuban destiny, and are ready to challenge any comer, who proposes to absorb that island. We go much further than the Senators whose positions are to be criticised. This leads to what we have to say upon that subject, as well as to what we entirely object to, coming from others.

In the second place then, we repudiate for the democratic party the doctrines alike of Mason, Cass and Underwood, and dissent from their stale and worn out declarations, that the United States is content to have Cuba a colony of Spain any longer: or those other empty declarations that we will not interfere with it unless other persons attempt to grasp or buy it, or until it has achieved its own independence. This is the pith of the speeches in the Senate; and senators get warm over such fossil politics, and call in witnesses to participate in their patriotic devotion to the interests and honor of the United States. We might as well say at once, that our people want Cuba, and that our people will have it, and that it is idle for politicians to name the cases in which they will give their consent to its acquisition. The whole race of so-called statesmen in this country who have thus far been in place, "have learned nothing and forgotten nothing," like the Bourbon dynasty now driven forever from the throne of France. They are about to disappear before the flood of progress and improvement, which they do not understand and cannot resist. And their retreat from the mismanagement of affairs will be hailed by the vigorous and aspiring minds of America as a blessing to mankind. Let us consider the manner in which they have discussed their very defective resolution. A short abstract of their speeches will give us all the light required.

Mr. Mason is Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. He presents his resolution of enquiry, and in substance says, that although the offer of France and England to treat with us for the neutrality of Cuba was rejected, yet the fact is significant. These powers knew we could not accept their offer, for they knew the settled American policy in

that respect. Every country in Europe knew that while Cuba remained in Spanish dependence, the United States had said they would not interfere with it.—But they distrusted us, and for that reason intended to bring us to a tripartite treaty compact. Then the Senator, with the utmost solemnity and at great length, avers that he is content to have Cuba remain a Spanish colony, unless she can break the Spanish yoke by her own force. He says that Cuba is as much the property of Spain as New Mexico and Oregon is our property; and it would tarnish our national fame if the government or citizens of the United States attempted to tear the colony from the mother country. He holds that the interference of England and France is however designed to prevent their being injured by the union of Cuba to this confederacy; and thereupon admonishes them that they will hasten the event, and that all the powers of Europe together cannot prevent the result, which is a mere question of time. He blames the President for publishing the diplomatic correspondence which has been written about the acquisition of Cuba, and thinks the publication will postpone any settlement of the difficulty on the subject.—This speech had all the aid of preparation. It is said to have been deliberated after a conference with Senator Cass only. We presume those two gentlemen considered it their duty to take an undivided responsibility on the occasion. The sequel will show that they had done better to confer more generally with their colleagues, and perhaps taken a little advice. It is probable that if a democratic caucus had been held to compare notes, and according to military etiquette, the opinion of the youngest person present had been taken first, there would have been a different line of policy pursued by all parties, and the damage to several reputations might have been much diminished. But to proceed.

Mr. Cass remarks that he thought the present the greatest crisis in the history of our relations with other countries, and that we should be called on often to settle similar practical questions. He was a believer in the manifest destiny doctrine, and said that he desired last year to repudiate by public protest the inter-

polation of Russia in the law of nations, which struck at the root of all national independence whatever. Thinks that if the protest had been made by the United States, war would not have followed any more than from the exercise of any other clear national right. There was no "entangling alliance" then contemplated with anybody, and the New York Whig convention has denounced the doctrine he then advocated, by resolving solemnly to protest against any deliberate defiance of the law of nations, *et cetera*. The law of nations is not an inflexible code, and it is to be modified under some circumstances. We shall be compelled by manifest destiny and our duty to insist upon the Monroe doctrine of excluding future European colonies from this continent. As soon as the United States recovered from the fatigue of the Revolution, we interfered for the emancipation of the Spanish Colonies in South America, on the ground that if the colonial tie was not severed, every war of the parent state would shake also the offshoot here, and thus we should always be in the midst of war springing from distant causes.

The senator makes no mention whatever of the real difficulty which exists in Hayti; but hopes that the expedition of Count Boulbon, in Sonora, is not of the character attributed to it; though if it be he is for resisting it with the whole power of the country, as we resisted the original attempt to subjugate the colonies of Spain. In this connection, he takes up the Cuban resolution, and refers for his views with respect to her, to his Yucatan speech on the question of sending aid to that State then overrun by Indians, and likely to be despoiled of all the Spanish race. This was in 1847, five years ago, and he sees no cause since to change his opinions. Self-defence was the right of nations as well as of individuals, and the danger was to be judged of by the party himself, without any hesitation. Proximity, and the nature of the intercourse between the nations are considerations to govern; and he declares that we owe it to ourselves to avow distinctly to the world that the attempt of any other nation to procure, peaceably or forcibly, the transfer of Cuba from Spain, would be resisted with all the power of the country. To others, it ought to be a question

of interest, but to us it was one of necessity—of life or death. "Such were my sentiments then (1847), and such are my sentiments now. So long as Spain retains Cuba, or till the island becomes independent—truly and honorably—we have no right to interfere with it." The senator is desirous to purchase the island from Spain, and at a liberal and even at an extravagant price; but would resist its transfer to any other nation with all the means which God has given us. No man, he says, has a right to charge him with *filibustering*. If Cuba desires her independence and fights for it, she will have his sympathies, and this government would recognize it the moment that was achieved; but meantime we must respect the existing colonial relation. The weakness and remoteness of Spain, as well as the agitated state of Cuba, required from a nation so near and powerful as the United States great forbearance. It was natural that stringent laws should be passed there; we would do the same in like circumstances. The senator saw with regret that there was an effort to insist on the rights of Purser Smith, and commends the conduct of the administration. Considers the conduct of Mr. Law equally presumptuous and unpardonable; "it could have been to him a comparatively unimportant point whether A or B was the purser of his ships," and thinks the government was right in excluding Purser Smith. "The honor of the country, thank God, was not in the keeping of Mr. Law; it was in better hands. Has no fears of constitutional difficulties about the acquisition of Cuba; and the French inhabitants of Louisiana are amongst our best citizens. The Cubans would be the same. On the general subject of annexation, declares that he has a capacious swallow for territory. The cautious ask where annexation is to stop? That question will be for posterity to decide;—thinks it is almost boundless, and should, not stop at all, because difficulties can be adjusted between neighbors none the less if they are under the same general system of confederation. Says that we have annexed four countries; Florida and Louisiana by purchase, Texas by treaty, and New Mexico and California by conquest and purchase. He is for honest acquisition, and against any other. The

senator winds up his speech with a philippic against the British wholesale system of land-plundering and consequent enslavement of her miserable colonists all round the world. The shallow London newspapers come in for their share of contempt; and the desperate condition of the British poor at home is contrasted with the comfort of the same classes in the United States. As to British public opinion, it has had too much weight in America, and he seeks to correct that evil; but has not any disposition to fan the flame of war with England, as some have charged to him.

This speech was also very carefully prepared, and is said to have been read from the manuscript to the Senate. If so, there can be no doubt of the very select consultation between the senator and Mr. Mason, in which, upon a point of most primary importance to all the States represented in the Senate, they determined to consult nobody but themselves, and acted accordingly. We cannot commend this line of action; but we are even more at variance with the sentiments of the distinguished colleagues.

Mr. Underwood (Whig) continued the discussion with more than the average amount of confusion and contradiction for that side of the Senate. Of course, he endorses the administration, and the principal positions of his colleagues. He adds some ingredients of his own, which it would amuse the reader to examine, if it were not so laborious to wade through a very indifferent style of composition, and blundering without end. He starts off with the following Whig *allipotrida*. That the farmers should be taught their business by an agricultural bureau; that our manufactures should be protected against a ruinous foreign competition, and — still that we should unfurl our commercial flag on every sea and shore. This smacks of the savor of the American system, and all that false policy which teaches in the Old World that the governments are to take care of the people. The idea the senator has of the nature of our Federal government is to be found in the report of the debate (*Globe*, 28th Dec., 1852), and is really a thing to be known and avoided. We cannot report it; but his account of its derivation should not be lost to pos-

terity for want of room to quote a couple of sentences. "Our Federal scheme existed in essence long before it was fully completed by the formation of a general government. Its essence may be found in the different departments of the State governments by which you assign the legislative functions to one department, and exclude the officers of every other department from participation in them, and so of the judicial and executive departments." The senator thinks peace the road to progress; and holds up the contrast of small Kinkel and Kossuth subscriptions for liberty, with the large donations to religion. He regrets the first French Revolution; he ridicules the last; and is clearly of opinion that men should be prepared for freedom by their masters, before they have any right to it. On the topic of debate, he gives no opinion, and indeed from his timidity in deciding very remote abstractions, we would have been disappointed if he had. It is pretty evident that his speech has contributed very little that was new, or true, or pertinent, and we must confine ourselves in the further prosecution of the subject to the two other speeches. In all conscience they contain errors and shortcomings enough to absorb our attention; and to vindicate the necessity for saying what we shall find it absolutely impossible to suppress, even at the risk of being offensive.

There is not a sound proposition announced by either of the Democratic senators. We will enumerate the whole list of common places, and afterwards demonstrate their total incorrectness, one by one. We know perfectly well that it has been the habit of Congress and the Federal Executive to agree to the conclusions of Messrs. Mason and Cass: but we are willing to devote some time and labor to the task of enlightening the official as well as the public mind to the contrary.

First. It is asserted that the people of the United States are well agreed that Cuba should remain a dependency of Spain.

Second. That Cuba is the property of Spain, as much as New Mexico or Oregon is our property; and that Spain has the right to sell her, and that we should buy her at a liberal, or even at an extravagant price.

Third. That until Cuba breaks her

yoke by force and sustains her independence, we cannot receive her with open arms, and she must bear her oppressions as best she can, although they are now among the very worst in the world. That *jillbustering* is a thing to be reprobated by all men having any regard for social rights, and for the muniments of property.

In our opinion not one of these opinions is true at this time, or can ever be true hereafter. And it is only possible that they have been strictly true at any period. To begin with the assertion that our people are content that Cuba should remain a Spanish colony. This is a total mistake, which no amount of iteration can make otherwise. The people of the United States, on the contrary, are not agreed that Cuba should depend on Spain any longer, and they have not been so for years past. Doubtless, politicians without sagacity, and lawyers without learning, have been mystified by the notion that the colonial tie could not be cut by any mode except the consent of Spain, or the violence of Cuba; but these gentlemen are profound in old books, and know little of nature or philosophy. They have preached therefore that Spain had a legal right to retain her colony, till the public ear has accepted the doctrine, though the public mind has never consented to it.

A glance at the recent history of territorial acquisition, and a reference to its consequences will soon establish the truth of these remarks.

In 1816, and up to 1822, when we recognized the independence of the other Spanish colonies, it is likely that the people had not determined upon their duty to themselves with reference to Cuba. Our own area was sufficient for us with the recent purchases of Louisiana and Florida, which secured us the mouths of the Mississippi and the unbroken line of territory to the Gulf, from Passamaquoddy to the Sabine. But since that period, and especially when Texas was torn from Mexico, for abundant cause, by her own revolutionary hands, in 1836, the people have not been satisfied with the predicament of Cuba. The sympathisers with Texas sympathise with the island of Cuba, and their discontent has been repeatedly manifested. It is a tide that can know no ebb, nor any barrier but the

eternal foundations of reason and justice, on which stand alike property and liberty. The American people want Cuba—want it now—and will have it by some means in the course of a very short period of time. They want it, not to enslave or to plunder it, not to impoverish the soil nor to degrade the inhabitants, but to make it immensely more valuable in resources and to improve the condition of every man, woman, and child in it. They know that, as so much territory, if it were under free institutions, it would yield larger and better products, and be a better customer. As a commercial position, Havana would be much easier and cheaper of access. Cuba is now under pecuniary burthens, and, amongst other things, tariffs are imposed on American flour and provisions, for the sake of revenue for the mother country, which are enormous. This has been a subject of resentment to all the Western States of the Union; and the Northern States are taxed on their ships and cargoes heavily and unjustly. Our people understand thoroughly the importance of the Cuban trade, which is far greater than their trade with Spain. They know it would be quadrupled if it were not for the reckless impositions on the Cubans, levied to maintain the absolute and absurd system of monarchy in the mother country, and amounting to twenty-five millions of dollars. And for the interest of the merchant and the producer, they dissent from the necessity or decency of the present condition of things. Since 1848, and the discovery of the gold of California, with its immense intercourse with the old States; since the establishment of steamer lines to carry on that commerce, and to convey the outpouring emigration to the Pacific, the position of Cuba has become greatly altered. It is not only the gate of the Mississippi river at its mouth, but it is, also, the turnpike bar to the highway to California. In the most ordinary times, the position of Spain as master of Cuba would be dangerous to this extensive and crowded thoroughfare; but any day might see it in the hands of the first maritime power which may choose to be provoked with the United States. France, particularly, would be able to annoy us terribly by taking possession of Cuba as well as Hayti. The more gold discovery and its consequences

are enough to make the people of the United States jealous of Spanish domination in Cuba, and uneasy and discontented with it. And it is perfectly clear that it can no longer be said with any confidence that we are contented to let Cuba remain a colony. But there is a further reason which is new and startling why our people regard Cuba with high dissatisfaction. We are beginning to feel the advance of monarchical aggression upon the institutions and rights of this Republic, which stands so sternly opposed to the whole condition of things in Europe. We do not occupy the old relation to tyrants any longer. They have been shaken from their thrones, and again been restored to power. Between 1848 and 1853 the most terrible convulsion of centuries has passed over the world and left its effects. The United States are now the only formidable Democratic power on the face of the earth. And their free citizens are ready to accept any challenge to do battle for their principles against all the tyrants. In a subsequent part of this article we will shew that the conflict is not far off. We can perceive the approach of the danger in looking at the present condition of the world with a view to preparation for consequences. But the world at large is not more changed since 1816 than we are changed ourselves. The youth we were, has grown into a Titan of strength and courage, who thinks himself a match for any single or associated enemy. They are ignorant of the map, and superficial in their views who pretend to scan the future and do not see that Cuba is something more than a Spanish colony. Cuba is the Gibraltar of the New World, and its keys are at the command to-morrow of all the crowned and mitred heads of Europe, whose emissary is the Emperor of France. Within the period of five years, in which Mr. Cass announces that his opinions with respect to Cuba have undergone no alteration, the most imperious new reasons have arisen to compel any statesman to re-examine and to remodel any judgment he may have previously entertained. It is worse than thoughtless, it is almost criminal, for a senator to talk of adhering to what he may have said five years ago on the relations of the United States with other nations, and their colonies and protectorates. Since that time this Union has about been

doubled in strength and extent; and such is the rapidity of events that the good fortune of California and New Mexico will swiftly overtake the whole of British North America. The entire cordon of island castles with which England frowns upon our coasts, from Nova Scotia to Bermuda, from Bermuda to Bahama, from Bahama to Jamaica, and from Jamaica to Roatan, will be broken up, and become, as they should be, our own outposts. But without anticipating, consider this further reason why our present relation to Cuba is radically different. Spain is so weak that she has made a confession that she cannot hold it. She has allowed England and France to offer to make a compact for the protection of her own colony, which she fears she cannot hold against individual attack. What right has a man to have a wife he cannot take care of: what right has a nation to keep a colony it cannot defend, and that colony lying contiguous to another continent, and thousands and thousands of miles from the parent. This great fact is conclusive of the case, without considering the point at all, that Cuba at the ripe age of three hundred and fifty years has full claims to majority: when Spain confesses she has not the power, either by force or affection, to retain Cuba single handed, the state of pupillage has come to a natural end. Somebody will have it from her; perhaps one or both of the disinterested friends who have volunteered their protection, covet Cuba more than we do; and the very vehemence of the disclaimer in the London *Times* is suspicious;—the Hayti affair is conclusive occupation for colonization.

Irrespective then of the vast interests of our agricultural and commercial public in a Cuban revolution, and of the new interests which have sprung up in the Pacific, to which the pathway is Havana, as much as Chagres; and also aside from the dangerous proximity of the island to our coast as a fortress of despotism, in the approaching crisis between the kings of the old world and the people of the new; and, if possible, forgetting the loud emphasis of Spanish horrors systematically practised on the Cubans of every condition; there is in the Anglo-French intervention of 1851, which was called a police movement only, and in the intervention at Washington of the same parties in 1852,

as well as the practices of the Bonaparte agent in Hayti, the most conclusive reasons for the United States to take possession of Cuba without delay. We are responsible for this advice, and we know that the common sense of the whole Union is responsive to it. The people of the United States are interested, and their vote within twelve months will be unanimous. The people will have to take the matter in hand, as we perceive by all that has been done by Secretaries and Senators that the great subject is as much misunderstood as if it were trivial and contingent. Mr. Buchanan moves for the purchase of Spain in 1848, at one hundred millions, and he tells the American minister not to say to Spain what were the inducements to part with it; but to give her the reasons why it was to us indispensable and invaluable. Any Yankee would have given better instructions for the purchase of a clock, or a hat, or a coat.

And then come those grave senators in the recent debate, and they talk after the old fashion of things, we suppose because it takes labor to keep up with the course of change; and they say that the policy of twenty years ago in reference to Cuba is good enough for us to-day; they have no objection to the island always belonging to Spain, as they say it now belongs to her. More grievous errors could not be committed.

There are several cases in which the colonial *status* should not be tolerated by us, nor continued any longer.

If the slave trade be increased at the present ratio, Cuba will be overrun with Africans; and if Spain and her allies should propose to erect another Ethiopian king there, and protect him as their ward, the United States would be bound to interfere, although he acknowledged allegiance to the Spanish crown, for he would keep up the slave trade and destroy the whites by extermination. This is monstrous, and we will not not allow it. This continent is for white people, and not only the continent, but the islands adjacent, and the negro must be kept in slavery at Cuba and Hayti, under white republican masters. As for the free blacks, there is another continent for them, which they can conquer; and they have had our advice heretofore to that effect. The Monroe doctrine is not sufficient. At any rate, the free ne-

gro must intervene in Africa, and conquer Africa, and erect there a vast empire for himself and all of Ham's descendants.—This is a proposition first broached by this Review, and it is the true doctrine and a matter of paramount importance. Yet the Senator from Michigan, who has a resolution to offer for every day in the year, and a speech to match, cut and dried, to read to the Senate, has probably never given a thought to a topic of the greatest magnitude, and which is up to the times, instead of being twenty-five years behind or a whole age. We respectfully advise him to move a resolution on the continent of Africa and free negro conquest, instead of timidly defending Monroe's legacy and modestly declining to hurt Spanish sensibility. We shall have much to say hereafter in regard to intervention of all sorts, and will prove that the South has deeper interests in it than she imagines, and we advise all persons to read the DEMOCRATIC REVIEW, which is posted up on the living questions of the day and which intends to lead in their discussion. As to looking to Congress for the truth and wisdom which must control the government of any radical administration, experience is shewing that the expectation is not well founded, but we promise never to disappoint the reader, and to keep on speaking about everything of interest, and to the point according to that rule moral obligation, which is to decide the pending question by all the lights, past and present, ancient and recent.

If the oppression now practised by court martials, spies, *gens d'armes* and tax-gatherers and excisemen, by means of cruelty and confiscation, and imprisonment, should be greatly increased, the United States would be compelled from motives of humanity to break up such an outrage.

If Spain allowed the hostile fleets of French and English steamers to make Havana their harbor during hostilities actual, or impending with us, we would be bound to carry the war, and a war of conquest, immediately into Cuba, even should the Cubans not make any effort for their independence.

If Louis Napoleon threaten Cuba, or if we are driven by his infraction of the Monroe doctrine, to take up arms against him at Hayti, the very first

thing we must do will be to seize Cuba for the obvious purpose of keeping open our lines of military communication with the United States. If we do not, he will instantly seize it and then try to fortify and retain possession. And with the danger as great as it is, with the fuse within one foot of the magazine, Senators prepare their written speeches, and harrangue their colleagues and all creation, about their musty old opinions, which have never changed, and which they can see no cause to change. There are those, gentlemen, among the most humble ranks of the people, who do see the danger, and also think you do not deserve much longer patience if you do not see it too. In case, the very probable case, of collision with Bonaparte, Cuba to us is the vital position of strategy for attack and defence; and must be seized and appropriated as a matter of the highest necessity. Our commerce and our coast, our interests and our power, alike demand it; and that step once taken will never be retracted. Our people will not consent to give it up; and they are now very far in advance of the government; perfectly alive to all that dangerous circle of events, which may touch, and with a spark explode at any moment. If we should have any difficulty with England—(war we will not have) it will be easy and desirable for her to negotiate herself out of the scrape while she holds Cuba in pledge as a point of offence.

Once in her power, she might not give it back to Spain, nor to us; but insist on the very protectorate we have just rejected, or propose its transfer in trust only for the present to Russia, till the British bondholders were repaid. That, or other inconceivable manœuvring, she would resort to for the purpose of frustrating any American design on the island. She stole Gibraltar in 1707, and boasts of it. The *Times* thinks that it is proper to rebuke us for our unjust suspicions of British integrity; and scarcely is the debate in the Senate reported than we receive that paper proving out of our own mouths that we are bound to assert and defend, at all hazards and to the last extremity, the Spanish title to Cuba! It is the case to

* The publication of this evidence has yet another object to which we cannot be indifferent. It must render any future negotiation for the purchase of the island far more difficult, if not altogether impracticable. Every Spanish Minister and Queen

say that the Senators in question have fairly earned their honors of retirement.— They are doing harm by their *vis inertia*, and by having lost altogether the support, and their right to the support, of the democracy. That great organization has just elected a different sort of statesman to the Presidential office, and we know that we had cause to give him the most signal majority, for the purpose of reproving the very policy which is, by the Senator from Michigan, especially, endorsed, and which even the best men in the whig party and the masses of the people have left behind them forever. With the President elect at their head, the patriotic spirits of the country, who are the men of the future, will not lag behind manifest duty and destiny in reference to the waters and islands, and isthmuses, of the Gulf of Mexico.

We not only deny that our people are satisfied to let Cuba remain a Spanish colony; but we deny also the second, and still more gross proposition, which supports it.

The senators say that Cuba is the property of Spain as much as Oregon and New Mexico, which are Territories of the United States, are the property of the United States. This is not so at all. Cuba belongs to herself, and it is a violation of all just doctrine, and of both democratic theory and practice, to hold otherwise. The proposition is as confidently stated as its predecessor, and shews the same indolence and inaptitude. Its authors have not considered what they were saying, or they are no longer able to analyze, compare and decide the merits of an ejection. Our own territory, or territories,

Isabella herself, would think it a dishonor to accept the terms which were proffered and rejected in 1848; and now that the whole transaction is before the world, it cannot be repeated without calling forth the strongest opposition on the part of the Spanish nation—not to speak of foreign countries. The "sleepless vigilance" with which the United States proposed, in 1844, to watch over "the rights of Spain in that quarter" can no where be more usefully exercised than in their own ports and cities, for there alone do any designs really exist against the authority of Spain over Cuba. This correspondence contains explicit and repeated pledges on behalf of successive Ministers of the Union that they desire nothing more than to see the dominion of Spain firmly maintained in Cuba; and as we can assure them, with entire confidence and sincerity, that the designs they have attributed to other Powers are a mere fiction, we are entitled, on the faith of these official papers, to exact from the American Government a strict observance of those rights which it is certainly not the intention of any European State to violate or to deny.—*Times*, 14th Dec.

are, while in the wilderness, and up to the period fixed by the constitution, the property of the confederation and are legislated for as such. But when there are a certain number of inhabitants on a given surface, the natural right of self-government is recognized, and they assume its exercise. Afterwards, the territories are sovereign States and members, like the old, of the same Union on the same terms. This system of introducing States is in accordance with natural right. But who in America can contend, that if Oregon and New Mexico were densely peopled, and organized, of course, into the social state, the Union would have the right to deny their existence, and govern them absolutely? In any such sense, we should hold it impossible: and if we persevered in such a system for a generation, the inhabitants would have the moral and legal right to sever all connexion. It is because of the wilderness and its solitude, that any State can claim an absolute ownership of a territory; and that right is qualified by the obligation to make it serviceable to man. We deny that any State has a right to retain title or possession of great tracts to keep them waste and desolate, if such tracts are adapted to the uses of man. If the Federal Government, as absolute owner of the soil of New Mexico and Oregon, forbade the intrusion of the civilized man, her rights would be gone. When the soil is colonized, and a community formed, it is sound doctrine to say that its rights become paramount, and that the title of the parent State, founded on mere discovery, purchase or conquest, should enure for their benefit. The case is only strengthened, if the State be at a great distance from the colony, and unable to protect it from invasion or other forms of destruction. Then it may properly be held that the situation of guardian and ward ceases of necessity; it has no further meaning or foundation. There is the instance of parent and child to illustrate the subject. When the latter is grown, the former has already lost all authority over him, whom he has begotten and with anxiety and expense, and self-denial, sustained and educated. Cuba contains half a million of whites, and is in a perfectly organized state, with her material and other interests, her civil and religious institutions, her manners and customs, her roads and

bridges, her schools and churches, her fields of plenty and her climate as matchless as the ground is fertile. She has her trade, her arts, her villages and her cities, her means of travel by sea and land, and wealth so great that even systematised public robbery cannot exhaust her people.

But there is a further consideration to invalidate the Spanish title; that is the age of Cuba. Human nature revolts at the idea of the perpetual vassalage of nations, and yet we must admit the perpetuity of national vassalage, if we uphold Spain in her pretensions. Cuba is three hundred and fifty years of age, and has certainly attained her independent majority. How long can a colony be held in bondage?—certainly not a thousand years, nor a hundred, nor a generation? The hour that she is able to establish the framework of society, so as to be recognized by common sense as a community, she should be entitled to self-government. We do not say that she can be a despotism, for that is to abdicate the right of freemen, and to impose that hardship upon posterity. If this be not the standard of right in the premises, we know no other. Otherwise, a distant and exposed, but rich and populous colony, may be subjected to another's will for a thousand years. And such absurdities, as the declarations in the Senate will be taken for granted. Cuba the property of Spain! Nothing can be more indefensible. Apply the theory to an American State of yesterday, California, and the enormity of the claim needs no explanation. And then talk of California at the end of ten or twenty, or fifty years, as the property of anybody! No greater violence could be done to reason than these assumptions of the democratic senators. They do not come up to the age, nor the place where they were delivered. They are behind and beneath one and the other; but their utterance in perfect innocence, and without a doubt that they would be accepted by at least a respectable portion of the American people, is proof that there is no use in relying on the intellectual power of the Senate, so far as the ancient leaders of the democracy are concerned. They are going over to the enemy; they will not keep up with the people. The march of a party is like that of an army, and depends on the speed of the slowest soldier in the ranks. It is

sometimes necessary to put the sick and wounded into an *ambulance*; but when the able-bodied get far behind, rather than retard the general movement, it is better to let them all fall into the enemy's hands. This is always considered to be good generalship, especially when such stragglers have a habit of falling in the rear, and a disposition to be overtaken. There are strong symptoms in this Cuban debate, that we shall lose, by the same kind of operation, the services of certain democrats, who with averted eye and reluctant step have been for a considerable period lingering far behind the main body of the party. It will not be a subject of either universal grief or congratulation. Time has prepared us for the event; and yet habit makes the separation awkward and even disagreeable.

The third proposition of the Senators falls to the ground if there be any truth at all in the previous reasoning. Cuba has the right to be independent, whether she be strong enough to break her yoke or not without assistance, and we should not allow the state of oppression under which she groans to continue for an hour. It is admitted by all that the Spanish viceroy at Havana is a contemptible and furious despot, who governs by the sheerest force of intimidation, persecution, and punishment, under martial law, the whole population of the island. If any native-born Cuban, or any other resident, for one moment aspire to improve the condition of his country, he is at once put to the ban, and soon either exiled or imprisoned, and his goods and lands by some summary mode of judgment, are confiscated and consumed by the miscreants who curse the soil. Strangers are watched and tracked from house to house; and Americans are ignominiously treated with every conceivable indignity. The peace and prosperity of the islanders are at an end; and so are the rights of all who have business or other inducement to touch at Havana, or any other port in Cuba. The island is like a silver mine, worked by wretched outcasts in Siberia, without the slightest vindication for such atrocious treatment of a whole population. But the right of Cuba to independence does not arise from that condition. We have enlarged upon the great reasons in her behalf, while treating the question of the

Spanish right of property. If Cuba be of full size and age, as none will deny, and of sound and disposing mind, as all are bound to perceive, then she has an inalienable right to be her own mistress, and to remain out of wedlock, or chose her own lord and master.

It is shocking and barbarous to hold that her skill with the bayonet is to decide the question whether the right exists to independence. None but unthinking men could have entertained such a proposition; yet it is one very often repeated in and out of the national councils, and by men great and small. We presume the idea comes from reading without reflection. The authors of this idea are the writers on the law of nations, who are almost all ignorant of the sovereignty of the people, and consequently unfit to discuss their topic or any other. The London *Times* cries ditto to them, and knows as much of individual, national, and international rights as Grotius and Puffendorf, and no more. Ex-Chancellor Brougham, a still greater mountebank than the *Times*, has written a two volume book on political philosophy, to demonstrate the sin of democracy, the shame of rebellion, and the wisdom of the doctrine of kingly inheritance. Canning and Palmerston are of the same kidney of empirics. And from this set of teachers we find Americans accepting ideas which are opposed to their own system, and to all correct theory of the Rights of Man. These vicious authorities do hold that there is a right of separation between colonies and the parent state, like the right of subjects to overthrow their monarch by revolution; but according to them the only appeal is to arms, and force is the actual source of the right. As the complement of this right of revolution, they hold the sovereign's antagonistic right of coercion, but they do not hold that his success strengthens the divine right at all. Here is a mass of error. There is not any propriety in attributing to the issue of force the virtue which belongs alone to principle. Every question between a king and his subjects, a colony and the parent state, is a moral question, and it is decided by force only because the parties will not recognize the right. That right is always on one side of the controversy; not on either or both indifferently. The sanction of the right which comes

from violence, is not the right itself, and is always perfectly distinct from it. If Spain were ten times as strong as she is, her power to retain Cuba would be greater, but she would not have a particle of right. Any other hypothesis is fatal to everything like reason, truth, and justice. The theory of the Senators would authorise the Spanish crown not only to persecute the islanders, but to destroy them, and to lay waste their habitations, with carnage and conflagration. It would authorise the most monstrous abominations of the weak by the lusts and the avarice and the cruelty of the strong.

If the Cubans be not at all Spanish property, but their own masters; we may be asked whether they have not a right to go over to our rivals, France and England, for nobody holds that they can remain independent? We reply that there is such a thing in an individual as a right of self-preservation, or to protect himself against grievous bodily harm. That is true of states. Cuba is so situated, that we have the right to say, our comfort, happiness, and existence depends as much on a union with you, since the enormous development of our commerce, and agriculture, and arts, as they did early in our history upon the acquisition of Louisiana and Florida. It would have been suicidal for us to allow any state of Europe to buy the territories; and it will be so to permit such state to take Cuba into her possession by fraud or force.

It follows, that if Cuba be not the property of Spain, Spain has no right to make sale and transfer of her to any body, and the purchase from Spain by the United States would confer no title in point of principle. But Spain is wrongfully in possession, and we could not object, after ousting her, and so doing justice to the Cubans, who are sufferers beyond description from Spanish usurpation, to negotiate for the payment of a reasonable sum of money for the riddance, provided Cuba consented to it, and were annexed to the United States. Any sum paid on that account would be small, and should be considered as a mere gratuity to a weak, impoverished, irritable, and declining old nation in its dotage, which had abused all its wealth and power, and tottered from the proudest rank of states to the very lowest. It is probable also that her own rage on the occasion of the seizure, and her

afterwards, would prevent her taking any consideration, and the meddling of France and England would compel us to shut the door of all concession whatever. We do not believe that it would be necessary to provide any sum for the contingency referred to; but we are satisfied beyond a doubt that now is the time to prepare by appropriation from the Federal Treasury, and by other means, for the immediate occupation of Cuba, and all its warlike consequences. But let us proceed with the examination of the argument of the Senators.

We are told by the Spanish minister, that Spain had rather see the island of Cuba sunk in the sea, than that it should belong to any other power. This is Spanish sentiment; but it is not the less atrocious and intolerable. Yet we may see, and see very soon too, that the slave trade will be carried on there at such a rate, in spite of English cruisers, that the island will be only an Ethiopian settlement. What has the North to say to such an extension of the worst horrors of the trade in slaves; and the South, what has she to say to the near approach of a spectacle in Cuba like the catastrophe in St. Domingo. Desperate Spain will stop at nothing. As she feels her aged grasp relax she will declare Emancipation, and let slip the dogs of servile war; and while her vigor lasts, she shews us that she will carry on the slave trade. Are the two sections of the Union which have been so often appealed to with respect to negro slavery and its evils to sleep with the drowsy Senate over such a state of insecurity? Is that other mighty West, so soon, we trust, by its effectual co-operation with the South, to decide wisely and finally all sectional questions, to look on the scene of sacrifice, in which she is a heavy loser? Has Cuba and the oppressed, outraged, and deserving patriots of Cuba—have they no rights and no feelings? Has the whole circle of humanity, which looks on with astonishment and mortification at Spanish misrule of her last remaining colony, no interest in the speedy and total overthrow of Spanish sovereignty and tyranny? There is no theoretic obstacle in the way of the United States to the acquisition of Cuba, with her consent; and the ballot boxes will never be sacredly interrogated unless we hold them out at arm's length to the inhabit-

ants. It is idle, and worse than idle, to talk of any expression of preference or repugnance to the United States on their part, as they are held down by foreigners to the ground with the garrote *en permanence*. They must live, and, in order to live, express all the detestation possible of the Americans. Once we are in possession, the public will of Cuba can be ascertained at once by an impartial and universal vote of the whites. But one result is possible, or credible. Cuba would rush under the folds of our flag, and blaze for ever in the circle of our stars. And yet such a consummation is postponed, and the public obfuscated by the antiquarian speeches of the representatives of the people and of the States, in Congress assembled. The most lame and impotent want of conclusion is apparent in all that is said and done by the public servants. It is time for their constituents to see that the same duties are hereafter performed in a different way, by another set of agents.

Senator Cass thinks it necessary to speak sarcastically of the conduct of George Law in retaining Purser Smith. He says it is true that the charges against Smith were false, and all parties now agree to that; but that the Captain-General had the right to exclude him, and that it made but little difference to Mr. Law whether his purser was A or B. That is the sort of feeling and reasoning to be expected from the Senator. It never struck him that it might make a vast difference to A whether he kept or lost his employment. One side of a thing is as much as Mr. Cass ever sees at a time, though he generally shifts round soon enough to get a view of the other. Since he sunk the soldier, and broke his sword at Detroit, he has been pretty much both sides of all the great questions, and just as often wrong as right upon the small. He is one of those leaders who bring up the rear, and a Democrat who takes no responsibility. He has been known to complain latterly of personal attack, but if he were not personally attacked, he would be invulnerable, because he takes care to dodge every important vote, and to be for and against all important measures, so that to attack his policy is impossible. The only way he has been prevented from founding the worst possible school of politics for a free people has been by making him afraid of

his shadow. You must expose his evasion and the cowardice which explains it, or the timid creatures who profess politics will all follow the miserable example of General Cass. He has prevented his measures being scrutinized for he has none; and yet he is always professing to have an opinion, and seeking to make a parade of his reasons for it. He speaks or reads by the hour of Shrewsbury, but vanishes like a ghost at midnight on the call of the ayes and noes. And the strangers at the Capitol know the senatorial infirmity so well that the titter runs round the Senate gallery the moment the call begins, and General Cass makes his customary retreat. Falstaff was never a more arrant quack, or the cause of more opprobrious laughter in a moment of danger. We believe that Hackett is at Washington, and he ought not to lose the opportunity of giving his representation of his hero another touch from nature. The doughty Senator conceives that a common man had little right in stopping the way of a Spanish viceroy when pursuing his ordinary business—a purser forsooth!—a tenacious purser—not high in authority—employed by the month, at indifferent wages too. It was little odds to Mr. Law whether he discharged him or not. And yet Mr. Law thought and acted otherwise. Because Smith was poor and old, and earned his family's bread by his work his employer resolved to take a personal interest in his case, and to secure his rights. He put his ship and his fortune to hazard on this clear point of right, and deserves well of his country. Had he done otherwise the Captain-General would have next demanded the dismissal of the several Captains, and next the withdrawal of the ships; thus reaching the owners, who were the real parties aimed at, and breaking up entirely a communication whose healthy touch agonizes the whole festering system of despotism in the Island.

The *Journal des Debats* stated, at the time of the difficulty, in order to make its story agreeable to the French Usurper, that Smith was an officer of the Senate of the United States, and not an ordinary citizen. General Cass has lived too long abroad, and has brought back home again his appetite for the splendor of place among the parasites of the court and camp of Louis Philippe. He forgets the common man, and thinks it not impertinent

that we should have Spanish censorship of the American press exercised by the Captain-General, after the same system he admired in France, where his friend Louis Philippe was himself the censor of the press, and had that high claim on the Senator's admiration.

But Senator Cass thinks that the pertinacity of Mr. Law in going according to contract to Havana with the Crescent City "was equally presumptuous and unpardonable," and "thanks God the honor of the country was not in the keeping of Mr. Law; it was in better hands."

Smith had really done nothing at all; but if he had done what the Captain-General attributed to him, it would not have been any cause for his arrest, much less for the indignity offered to the steamer and its owners and officers. Smith was charged with circulating slanders on Cuba and her governor, at New York. But that would be no cause of complaint there at Havana. American citizens, like all other men in other countries, have a right which strangers cannot except to, to speak out their minds of any government when they are at home. If it were otherwise, not one of them could travel. So universal is their intelligence that they know all that is going on in the world from thousands of cheap daily newspapers; and they are conscious of entire freedom to declare their opinions. Smith had not once what if done, and held to be a disability, would prevent any American from going to France, Russia, or England, or anywhere else. Mr. Law did not discharge him; nor stop his trips with mails and passengers to and from the Isthmus, calling also with both at Havana. If General Cass had been in his place, he would doubtless have done the reverse; begun the line of submission by yielding to the impudent demand for the discharge of Smith, and finally, as we have shown, had his line of steamers broken up; finding himself now in the unenviable position of knocking at the doors of Congress for relief. In theory and practice Mr. Law pursued the wisest and noblest course, amidst the sneers of his opponents, and the faltering and desertion of the President and his cabinet, who also belong like their apologist, to the superior class that look down from a considerable height upon the people. The people have given the Whig administra-

tion, however, to understand that they did not do their duty; and they will not revise this opinion at the pleasure of any senator.

All around the horizon the tempest lowers over the United States, and not least among the legacies of the outgoing Executive to the incoming President, is the sequel of this very Cuban difficulty. It behoves us all to be prepared for extremities.

The measures to be taken are very simple. The principal are to follow Cromwell, in praying God, and keeping our powder dry.

The condition of the Army is worthy of immediate and faithful attention. Its force should be made efficient; the officers put upon the *qui vive*; and the Commander-in-Chief have an opportunity to earn more distinction, not among his countrymen, but against their enemies.

The condition of the Navy, likewise, should undergo rigorous scrutiny, and all the most recent and substantial discoveries and improvements should be adopted and put in action.

The American people, especially throughout the great North-West, are rife for the crisis, and urge the commencement of operations. The country is full of resources, for the material and personal, especially of a steam marine, which it will now become a pressing question in what manner to create.

The sinews of war should not only be forthcoming, but in hand; and we have bestowed on the question of finances long and careful attention. There is no want of money; but the plan is not to run into debt and wait for appropriations, but to have a supply of cash subject to responsible call. And we have made up our minds to all that follows in that matter, and will give our view of the approaching conflict at considerable length.

We are in favor of a credit of several millions being opened at the Treasury for the use of the next President in case of need. It is not much difference whether the amount placed at his order be five millions or ten millions; and out of the abundant surplus on hand over the estimated expenditure, it will be better to make ample provision for contingencies, than to have the Executive without money at a critical moment. Congress

should, at all events, act promptly as well as vigorously on the subject, so as to strengthen the government for the crisis which seems to be impending over the United States, in consequence of foreign aggression upon its established policy. It would be a very bitter reflection on the part of the overwhelming majority of Democrats now holding the whole legislative power in both branches of Congress, if the State should suffer from their neglect or refusal to make the *de bene esse* appropriation. There are not wanting very recent precedents for the measure. As everybody knows when the Canada troubles of 1837 agitated our border, Congress voted Mr. Van Buren ten millions to be used at his discretion; and still later, Congress voted Mr. Polk three millions, to be used in the same manner to aid in any negotiation during the Mexican war. The former sum was not employed because there was no collision; the latter was drawn from the Treasury. In either instance; not a single dollar was lost or put in jeopardy.

If we look at our own condition, and also at the condition of the world, we will find every reason to make us perfectly decided to sustain a most vigorous course of foreign policy generally; and also that we are loudly called on to repel the probable French invasion in the Gulf of Mexico, at worst we must not withhold the means of preserving effectual peace, and the sinews of war, from the control of the incoming President. He will be forced to deal at once with that particular question, or with some other of the same nature beyond all peradventure.

The English usurpation of sovereignty in the Gulf of Mexico, over the islands of Roatan, and Bonacco, *et cet.*, by the erection thereof into a British Colony will not probably, *per se*, give us a great deal of trouble. It is now more than a year since the lion rampant was put into possession there, probably by order from the Foreign Office; but the Foreign Office knows too much to run into a war for such a trifle. The real danger is not great, if we succeed in ousting the French Emperor from Hayti, where he is proceeding to establish his protectorate. England will give up her new colony off the Belize without matters growing more serious than a protest from the United States.

If this were otherwise, our commerce would soon be altogether exposed to depredators. The harbor of Samana is the best in the Island of Hayti, and lies just in the path of American ships going on the outside of the island to Panama; while the Islands of Roatan and Bonacco are full of such harbors, as are not to be found on the mainland, and yet they are in the path of our trade, inside of Cuba, with the Isthmus, and they stop up also any scheme of transit behind them, which is one of the best crossing places to and from the Pacific. The State of Honduras to which these islands belong has to be sure, complained bitterly of the theft of the British Government. But the Fillmore Administration has outlawed all appeal from that quarter, as it has done that of the friends of the young victims of Lopez's Expedition, and in John S. Thrasher's case; and the subsequent appeal of George Law and Company with respect to the treatment of the Crescent City. It is true also, that England in the Bay Islands operation, as in all other cases, watches her opportunity, and if France repels us at Hayti she will hold on to the new colony. But everything depends on the giving a sound dressing to the French Emperor. In that event, England will quietly let fall the new pretension she sets up at the side of her famous Mosquito protectorate, and we shall have no more trouble in the Gulf of Mexico. The capital point is to drive the French flag away from the usurpation at Hayti. In this affair, we have shown how the fate of Cuba will be involved, and Great Britain may gain nothing by her usurpation, and may even lose as much as Spain of her present possessions in any struggle with the United States. At any rate, she exposes herself to serious risk, from Canada to Panama. Her coast watch over us, will not long be submitted to by Americans, with the same patience as it is submitted to by France. In our opinion, the latter country has only to overthrow her usurper in order to catch instantly all our democratic ideas, including the idea of annexation; and so she will forthwith reclaim Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney, which are so many sentry boxes over French territory, and are almost land-locked by them on every side. But, however the French people may de-

cide about annexation, it is very certain that on a rupture between us and England, we will strive hard to carry by force, and to garrison with our own troops, and colonize with our citizens, the whole cordon of British islands looking to our shores from the Gulf. Nova Scotia, Bermuda, Bahama, Jamaica, Roatan, and all, will cease to remain any longer her outposts; but on the contrary will be ours. In any case the English, as well as the French aggression complicates the future, and enforces a profound scrutiny into pressing questions, now near at hand.

Our own condition authorizes us to give Mr. Pierce the credit of as many millions as he wants till the next Congress. We can afford to do it. The country never was more prosperous. Its agriculture, like the agriculture of all the earth has been by very far, more productive, than the average crop this last harvest. Our commerce is leaping forward to a developement which will exceed within the life-time of our children, and perhaps in our own, that of the whole world, savage and civilized. It is even now the first among nations, when we consider at one view, the ships and sailors as well as the cargoes they carry, and more especially the superior quality of those ships and sailors than the quantity. There is no mistake in the assertion that the United States are this day the first agricultural and commercial power on the list of nations; the first that is, and the foremost that has ever been. Our vast abundance of corn and cotton growing land, and the value of its products; and our tonnage of nearly four millions; but above all the inspiration of Democratic institutions, have taken for us in the face of every competitor, at the beginning of the last half of the nineteenth century, the highest place among mankind. This nation has a right to call herself the Genius of Liberty, and to stand between the Goddess of Plenty, and the Goddess of Victory; beneath her feet lies the most prolific soil, over head floats the proudest banner; if her people take rank according to the production of the necessities of life, she has no equal; and if for maritime superiority, they wield the trident of Neptune, which is the sceptre of the world. And we confine ourselves studiously to the present, in these observations, for there is

no eye that can bear the splendor of the future, if there were any imagination vivid enough to anticipate it.

Now, it is our idea that we will have to push our way hereafter, even in the Pacific, against the frowns of all the allied forces of Europe. We have the same combination, the Czar of Russia leading, watching the Japan Expedition, and the same combination, the Emperor of France leading, intervening at Hayti and Cuba; and the same combination, England leading, possessing themselves of the soil and government of Central America, while we are all in most innocent partnership as it would seem, cultivating prospects of trade with Brazil and the Republics to which Brazil antagonises. In the whole intercourse, jealousy of the United States is the prominent feature, jealousy of them as rivals and enemies, in fact and in principle. We are "the observed of all observers" in the literal sense; and either intervention or non-intervention as the case may be, will be resorted to by all Europe consolidated, and at a time not now remote to put a stop to our expansion. We do not say that the country is in danger; but we do say that it has no right to take its usual repose, for there is literally no security against a very sudden attack, or that insult which is worse than a blow; that stain which is deeper than a wound, from threats which we are not prepared to retort. If we are caught in that predicament by the action of Congress or its non-action, the people will handle that inactive body rather unceremoniously, and put there a different set of representatives. There is reason to believe that advantage will be taken of the weakest period in our politics: the recess of Congress between the end of Fillmore and the beginning of Pierce, over a half a year. That period is just a-head, and in this locomotive age, we advise strongly that its peril now so unwonted, should be guarded against. Let the money be placed in the hand that may be forced to clutch the sword in defence of the country; this will be no fatal union of the two for private ambition; but the indispensable measure of public safety. It will indicate a generous confidence in the President to which he will respond gallantly; and it will advertise the Holy Alliance, that

America will not be driven from her position of master and protector of the New World. We have no fear of the prowess of our eagle, against the host of vultures, now whirling over the free waters which wash our shores; but there was a time when such a bird

"By mousing owls was hawked at, and killed."

Like all the feathered tribe our emblem eagle has his moulting season. By virtue of his superior nature, that weakness comes but once in four years, instead of every summer. We are approaching our crisis, and his crisis at the same time, and we must feed him well, lest the enemy steals upon him when he is by constitutional infirmity disabled to some extent.

But if we look at the condition of the world, as well as our own condition, the argument for the appropriation becomes irresistible. On that side of the investigation the danger is apparent and imminent. The French Emperor, in the lust and pride of usurpation, is less than he seems to be, because he does not possess the confidence of any considerable portion of the French people. He has station; but he has obtained it and holds it, by an egregious swindle of fraudulent pretences and practices. He had made his way from exile to the Presidency, by deliberate lying and other imposition, in December, 1848. He had then not the slightest intention of being honest; and was the self-same caittiff he is at this apparently prosperous moment of his fortunes. He kissed and betrayed the people. By all manner of promises and subterfuges he canvassed for the votes of the just emancipated people of an infant but gigantic republic, containing a population at that period nearly double that of the inhabitants of the United States, and unquestionably, then and now, the leading naval and military State of ancient or modern times. On these voters he imposed himself as the only friend of the masses; and as the social as well as political reformer of the age, against the abuses of capital and of other tyrants. He had the sympathies of the unbought and generous descendants and survivors of the heroes who marched under the Great Napoleon to the conquest of the Continent. His electioneering machinery was very

simple and therefore very strong. *La Presse*, with its circulation of fifty thousand daily sheets, took the lead in the cause. De Girardin was his intellectual chief; and even the rival houses of Bourbon were his reluctant allies in the hate they bore to one another. The public mind was filled with poison against the red republicans, while the friends of order as well as the friends of industry were alike set against each other, and bought with falsehood and flattery. Read this translation of one of the principal documents in the canvass; and meditate on the baseness which prompted, and which attended and followed it. "Electors, misery gains on us every day more and more. Wherefore? Because those who govern us inspire no confidence. In truth, what have they done to merit it? The poor die with hunger. The *ouvrier* is without work. The farmer has no demand for his harvests. The merchant sells nothing.—The landholder gets no rent. The capitalist does not lend his money for want of security. France, which was so rich, what has she become? The bankruptcy of the government is to be feared, indeed menaces us? In order that confidence, the source of national prosperity, be re-established, we must have at the head of affairs a man who has the sympathies of the country.

"Napoleon saved France from anarchy in the first revolution. The nephew of the great man, with his magic name, will give us security, and save us from misery. It is thus that a considerable part of the nation understands the crisis; it is thus it has spoken by its powerful movement for the candidature of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte as President of the Republic. That part of the nation is what is called the people, that honest and laborious population of whom it is said, the voice of the people is the voice of God. For this reason, the absolute majority of suffrages is already acquired by citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. The news from every portion of France gives us that assurance more and more. But in order that the security which is to result from his election should make itself felt without delay (and there is great need of it) the election of citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte should be made by an overwhelming majority. It is to attain that object,

very desirable in so critical a moment, that we make our appeal: to the merchants who desire to see business prosper: to farmers who want to sell their crops at a reasonable price: to the *ouvriers* who cannot live without employment: to fathers of families, who wish to assure the present and the future to their wives and children: to the army which will never be deaf to the name of Napoleon: to voters of all shades of opinion who seek the safety of the country; so that of one common accord, and by a unanimous vote, we should elect President of the Republic, the citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte." Signed by the Society of the True Friends of the People.

Both parties in this country are familiar with electioneering documents, but we consider the above as one of the most artful, as it was one of the most successful, of all that repertory among politicians. Its fraudulent design is disguised, and even aided, by the most wonderful effrontery. The imposture is made complete by the note which immediately follows the signature on the circular. It reads in these words and phrases. "The citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte will astonish his readers, by his new, republican, democratic, and wise ideas. Read his works, for sale No. 36, rue Neuve des Petits Champs, at the Napoleon Library." When we put this fragment of the past by the side of the present, and compare what the Democratic candidate promises, and what the Emperor has brought to pass, we may concede at once, that there is nothing further for audacity to do. Its business is over.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte's rivals for the Presidency also gave his cause a most unwitting support. There were but two serious candidates besides himself; one was Cavaignac, and the other was Ledru Rollin. The former was the English candidate, which was enough to make him distasteful. He was also the true and responsible author of the fratricidal Roman expedition. He was the wholesale destroyer of thousands of misguided Frenchmen in the streets of Paris, in June, 1848. The expedition to Rome was an electioneering expedient to catch the clergy; but we do not believe Cavaignac knew what he was doing in urging his troops over the necks of the in-

surgents who had been employed in the national workshops, to the number of several hundred thousand of both sexes for three months, and were suddenly turned out to starve, and who were also incited against the republic by the royalists. The masses were to be pitied, and might have been easily reduced to order on the first or even the second day of the insurrection; but the butcher African general allowed them to organize and to fortify in order that he might get hold of a dictatorship, and gather laurels from fields and seas of blood shed by his ruthless soldiers. On the third day, clad in the coveted panoply of such a dictatorship as he had extorted from the provisional government, and thirsting for fame, military fame to be won over his fellow citizens, Cavaignac, the conqueror of the French people, of his own friends, of the democracy of Paris, rode forth at the head of tens of thousands in array of battle. History will do him justice for the horrors of that slaughter. Is it wonderful that Louis Bonaparte should triumph over such a candidate for universal suffrage; or that the voters of France should have dashed his accursed name upon the ground he had polluted with their carnage but a few months before? Frenchmen had been slaves, if they had placed such a man in authority over them; and they will be victims again, if they ever, under any circumstances, hereafter trust to the integrity of General Cavaignac. He is now living quietly under the shadow of the Elyseé, while his country writhes beneath an usurper's heel. And he has, by this omission to perform his duty, added perjury to the barbarity of the infernal deeds he perpetrated in the month of June. For he is the man who wrote to the National in 1850 a letter pledging himself to stop the career of Louis Bonaparte over the Constitution. He called to witness his oath in support of that instrument, and volunteered to say that he would defend its letter and its spirit against even a majority of the nation with the same sword which had so grievously cloven down the insurgents. There was a report that he would suffer Louis Bonaparte to usurp, if he could obtain or counterfeit votes enough for his purpose; and Cavaignac was most publicly and violently indignant. Alas! the people only, and

not the despot, were destined to feel the weight of his wrath. He has married a woman of fortune (Mademoiselle Odier) and submits to the fantastic travesty of the Empire with a degree of patience which resembles virtue. The French people knew his value in December, 1848; and will not fail to estimate him and all the generals of the same kidney at the same figure. Cavaignac, Changarnier, Lamoriciere, and Bugeaud, (of Transnonian memory and dead without one regret) ought to be all rated as of no value at all, living or departed, to the popular cause. We hope young France will have none of them at the next struggle of free institutions there, upon any possible pretext. They will give it such protection only as vultures give to lambs,

"Covering and devouring them."

It is not any fault of Frenchmen that Bonaparte triumphed over Cavaignac.—Ledru Rollin was a democrat who had committed many faults, and whose want of depth and discretion made him as dangerous to his friends as to their foes. He is not qualified to govern the French people, since he has not learned, and never will learn, the art of self-government.—The place is too large and too high for the man; he would look like a pigmy in a giant's niche, or as Murat did in the retreat from Moscow after Napoleon fled to France. Besides, his proposition was absurd. "I wish to be President," said he, "but not to be President; my election will be a protest against the existence of such an officer, and against the clauses in the constitution providing for him. I am known to be opposed altogether to such a thing as the Presidential office, or any like Executive, and I wish to be made President only to have the chance to protest more efficiently against—myself." We believed the President's power dangerous at the time, and subsequent events have demonstrated that the great danger of the French constitution is precisely in the Executive; which has destroyed the legislature, and set itself up to govern absolutely; but the absurdity of Ledru Rollin was in the application of it. If he only wanted the office in order to protest against the office with proper emphasis, he deserved to lose it; for no man ever was, or should be, elected on

any such hypothesis. Opponents of an office, like opponents of a measure, should not go in for it. So thought the voters.

And thus, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte prevailed over both his rivals, and really had the cordial support of the people, whose destruction he meditated. His strides over popular rights and personal liberty and safety, over individuals and the State, have been in execution of the same heinous design. The people of France, however, have not been accomplices. The declaration of the Presidency for ten years, and of the Presidency for life, and the declaration of a hereditary Empire, are all the sheer fraud of a bad man, entrusted with the powers to have his will in spite of reason and justice. The most elaborate frauds of our day are undoubtedly the fictitious votes which are reported to be the results of the Bonaparte appeals to the voters of France. Louis Bonaparte had sole control over the Press, the Army, the Navy, the half million officials, and the miserable and innumerable crew of priests and pedagogues who minister to the mental and religious slavery of the ignorant but noble millions of Frenchmen and Frenchwomen. Like their master, all these faithless hosts turned their backs on "liberty, equality and fraternity"—that grand devise of the victory of February, 1848—won by the people against the king,—

"A victory of endurance born."

Louis Bonaparte appointed the thirty thousand mayors of communes and removed them at pleasure: these collected and manufactured the ballots according to orders, reported them to his prefect of every department; these prefects sent them up to Paris to his minister of the interior, who gave them to him to be counted; and he was thus judge, jury and sheriff in his own case. In other words the game was all securely bagged by his own hands, and he has had the hardihood to announce the auspicious result, and to thus elect his own candidate President for ten years, and Emperor of France. Any other wretched juggler in his position would have been all sufficient for the same thing; any other fanatic would have done the same evil for his own good; any other madman could have voluntarily, for the same ob-

ject, tempted the fate which is waiting at the gilded door of Bonaparte. But he has been more fortunate than other usurpers in persuading not a few of the real friends of freedom that all his sham is reality, and in turning their anger upon the victims, instead of on his dishonest and outrageous acts.*

* The popular error that Louis Napoleon's usurpations since 1 December, 1851, have been sustained by the vote of the people, who are said to have made themselves parties to his crimes, is repeated by Mr. Dix in a late lecture before the Mechanic's Institute of New York. This opinion is expressed fully by him in the following extract, which we give the reader as the most striking means by which such a flagrant mistake can be corrected. Our text explains how the cheat of an appeal to universal suffrage has been carried in France. There was no sort of good faith in the balloting; the votes were thrown in at the time in handfuls, or put in after the election day, or not put in at all, but counted as having been given by the people. The pure contempt with which the people of Paris and the Departments have treated the hypocrisy of the sham Emperor lately is confirmation of all this matter not to be resisted. We know that if the French had voted *en masse* for Louis Napoleon, as is said, the greatest enthusiasm of all ranks would have broken out in bonfires, illuminations and displays of every kind. Louis Napoleon elected himself by wholesale fraud and forgery, and it is a little surprising that an old lawyer should be deceived by counterfeit appearances and declarations. It was as easy for Louis Napoleon to report seven millions of affirmative votes, as seven, and he reported seven millions; it was as easy to increase his apparent majority by millions as by tens, and he did that also. The wonder is, however, that among the American people anybody should not understand the transaction. Even the *London Times*, which is in political knowledge as far behind California, as were the astronomers before the flood behind Copernicus in knowledge of the heavens, scented the rascality of the pretended vote, and peached upon the contriver of such a transparent device. And yet such imposture is credited at New York, and propagated by a distinguished gentleman who has shown so much good sense, still more recently in his admirable lecture on New York. "Its growth, destinies and duties." In truth, we feel culpable for having allowed such a monstrous absurdity as the Bonaparte humbug to enter any mind in our whole country. Mr. Dix is reported by the *Herald* to have said:

"The late usurpation in France dissipates, for the moment, the last hope of constitutional liberty. The people have not only acquiesced in it, but they have ratified it by their votes. They are not the mere passive instruments of the usurper; they are his active ministers in obliterating the last vestige of their new freedom. They gave him a larger vote as a despot than as a constitutional President. It is the first instance in the history of the race in which a great people, in a time of profound peace, neither menaced by external dangers, nor distracted by internal feuds, (for no republicanism had been effectually overthrown,) have renounced self-government for despotism. This great error should not be imputed to the French people as a fault so much as a misfortune. They have been educated under a system centralization which has drawn all political power to itself, not even leaving to them the management of their own local concerns. Under such a system, all practical notions of rational liberty are almost unattainable. In the general wreck of popular institutions and patriotic hopes, the great principle has happily been saved. By submitting to the French people the recent change in their government, the doctrine of the divine right of kings has been practically

Without further discussion of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, we may take it for proved, that he menaces the people and government of the United States from a height of which he has over estimated the advantages. He is a shabby counterfeit and most detestable usurper, whose short existence is to be continued by incessant toil, anxiety and disaster in all the modes of action by which he must attempt to sustain himself. He is no true nor legitimate ruler of France. The people are not with him. His end is at hand, for none have ever yet been false to Frenchmen and long survived the treason.—Louis XVI., Napoleon, Charles X., Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon belong to the same series of crowned and sceptred knaves who have felt the indomitable valor and vengeance of those whom they did not serve for the simple want of integrity; trustees that were untrustworthy. Yet this last and least of all the list: the peerless perjurer and grovelling miscreant, under his false flag of leader of the French people, flaunts it in our faces. There will be, there ought to be a collision. Not a collision with the nation, but with its tyrant; not any controversy with France, but with Louis Napoleon. And then the truth will assert speedily its domination over a lie. Frank Pierce is the real fruit of the suffrages of the American people. He can advance to meet the false Emperor without any fear of consequences, because the latter is rotten to the very core; and even as his outline comes within the range

repudiated. It is a formal recognition of the popular will as the basis of all political power; and the assertion of this great principle, where it is almost universally denied and practically defeated, is some compensation for the radical errors and heresies with which it has been accompanied."

The appeal to the people, was in principle as abominable and sterile, as the appeal was, in fact, fraudulent and mendacious. What is it? To get rid of the Bourbons who are the true heirs of the crown by "divine right," as it is called, he must break their line of inheritance. He appeals to universal suffrage for that purpose; and if he did use it fairly, who would be deceived? He still claims the Empire; this title of Napoleon III., as the nephew of his uncle Napoleon I., and of the succession of his son Napoleon II., so that he is Napoleon III. of that dynasty; and he means to transmit his crown by descent to his son, if he have one. The people of France are not only injured by this vile cheat, but they are insulted; and notwithstanding that our leaders of the people tell us that the principle of inheritance of office is broken up, and it is meant to say, and it is positively asserted that the sovereignty of the French nation is actually restored!

of vision, the centre of the figure is perishing, and at the touch of any other spear as well as Ithuriel's will fall to dust.—That scene which may open before the next six moons are wasted, will be instruction to other generations: it will exhibit might and right in mortal combat. The old issue awaits the struggle without its peril.

"Truth crushed to earth shall rise again,
The eternal years of God are hers;
But error wounded writhes in pain,
And dies among his worshippers."

In the shock of the coming battle error will be crushed however, while truth will scarce receive a wound. And yet, when in the course of human events, so great a nation as ours puts on its armor in so great a cause as the liberties of mankind, we would have other armor than "the quarrel just." There is that at stake which requires the aid of blood and treasure. The American people have never been niggard of either when there was a solemn demand upon them to go forth and do the deeds of heroes upon the field.—The most complete preparation is wanted in the present emergency for other impressive reasons not yet stated.

It is a part of the condition of the world at this moment that Louis Napoleon should be put forward by the Holy Alliance. Behind him, and around him, press the mitred and sceptred hosts who are at present, by the worst of titles, absolute masters of the people of Europe and elsewhere, and the most inappeasable enemies of the people and institutions of the United States. The Pope, the Czar, the four Queens of Spain, Portugal, England and Greece, the four Kings of Naples, Prussia, Denmark and Musquito; the four knaves of Hayti, Brazil, Austria and Morocco, (all of them calling themselves Emperors without regard to color,) and a perfect *cohue* of wretches spread over the coasts and continents and islands of the globe, who are a thousand times more criminal than the stupid jailors of China and Japan: these sovereigns form the kernel and the husk of the Holy Alliance. In Europe alone, including England, they had made constant war up to the battle of Waterloo against the democracy; and England up to the date of that battle had carried on the same nefarious war with

the democracy of these United States, as well as the continent. The lesson of New Orleans, the memory of Andrew Jackson, have not deterred her from favoring the unholy coalition of allied despots against us. That coalition has now at its command in the royal exchanges established at every capital, the wealth of all the wealthy classes. At London, principally, can loans to any extent be contracted on the credit of Russia, to aid her nefarious purposes in the next shock of principle in arms. It was at London, no longer ago than 1850, that Russia got her loan of twenty-seven millions and a half dollars to pay off the expenses of the Hungarian war. Mr. Cobden protested for his corporal's guard of friends in the House of Commons, that it was infamous for English capitalists thus to aid the tyrant in crushing the victims. He called on the names of the devoted dead who had parted with their lives for freedom; he appealed to the human hearts beating in the bosoms of the living, to avert such a national calamity from the fame of his native country. He advertised and held a meeting of his friends in the city to hear him reiterate all these things, and to take action by address and resolution; by address and resolution the meeting did unanimously speak, but nothing followed but sheer disappointment. The Barings,* advertised for funds, and within an hour after the opening of the stock book, there were subscribed, in hot haste, by the "solid men" of London just one hundred millions of dollars, nearly four times the sum that was wanted! The eager shareholders had to submit to an apportionment of the twenty-seven millions and a half that was wanted, and withdraw the residue of the biddings.

In England also the coalition can command the utmost service of the ship-builders and ship-furnishers so as to obtain, on easy terms, all kinds of naval supplies, and as many fleets as are wanted. The carpenters at Blackwall, Glasgow and Liverpool have put the last hand recently to a number of steamers now actually in the Spanish fleet, which shews its iron teeth from the shores of Cuba at the United States. There is nothing that the British wealthy classes, and as a matter of

course the mechanics, will not do for the purpose in propping up, by loans of money, by munitions of war, by building of ships, the cause of monarchy and aristocracy.—The poor exhausted treasuries of France and Russia, and Austria, will still pay something in the same interest which is common to them all. The "material aid," therefore, for the French Emperor, from the Holy Alliance and its abettors, will be very great, and that at a time when his profligate conduct and enormous waste of money have already made the *bourgeoise* tremble. The latter are now, we are told, rapidly withdrawing their money from the funds, and hoarding it; but the former will still advance. The Czar has had a large investment in French stocks for several years, and would doubtless increase it to any figure that the French Emperor's war with the United States may require.

So far forth then as friends and other means are wanted by Louis Napoleon, they can be obtained; and he is not to be considered our isolated foe, because he is now, and will be more so in the hour of contest, surrounded by the princes, aristocrats, oligarchs, kings, emperors, and other titled enemies of the human race.

Nor is Louis Napoleon in the coming encounter the accidental foe of the United States? On the contrary, he is the continual and logical antagonist of republicanism here, and is bound to a system which must become more and more aggressive upon us, till the overthrow of all privilege whatever in any shape. Our physical force is so vast: our advance in every species of prosperity is so great: our genius develops so wonderfully outwardly,—at sea, in commerce—as well as inwardly,—on the land, in agriculture and the arts; that we are by natural growth, by immigration, by energy and industry, by intellectual and moral and physical power, and, above all, by the clearly demonstrated superiority of our democratic institutions to all previous or existing forms of government whatever, the leader of the Nations of the Earth. It is perfectly safe to say that the public opinion of the United States upon any capital question in human affairs has as much weight with the masses of mankind as that of all the rest of the world put together. Oh! that we had had the same

authority during the desperate struggle of France, through the blood and fire of her first revolution, when she was struggling alone—alone, against the same union against liberty which exists at present. How could we have rescued her fame, and that of her chiefs and leaders in counsel and war, from the vile monarchical slanders in which so-called history has sent them down to posterity—England leading in the hue and cry. But then there was no such power on earth as this republican confederation; or the moral support it could have given to the French people would have enabled France not only to stand against the world, but it would have prevented the usurpation, stupid and selfish at once, of Napoleon the first, as well as of Napoleon the least and the last.—Now that great predominating moral force is acquired, and exerting itself day after day; it weakens the hold of the mitre, the sceptre and the crown; it strengthens the hand of the mass to strike for freedom, and to retain its conquests. Its agency in the work of liberating nations, if left unchecked, will be omnipotent. It is this change, and not a simple fear of change, which now perplexes monarchs and monarchists. With such an unruly and formidable enemy always on the alert and always advancing upon the country of its opponents, measures have been undoubtedly long since taken. M. Soulé quoted fully in the Senate last session the opinions written down, in 1817, by Prince Pozzo di Borgo for the Czar, on the necessity of suppressing our example and system together by united effort. We have ourselves, in the pages of this publication, reiterated the proceedings of the conspiracy of absolutists at London, suggested by Sotomayor in 1850, to the diplomatic squad, and Lord Palmerston, then British foreign secretary. Everybody who reads the newspapers is familiar with the hob-nobbing between the Tory ministry and the white slaves of Louis Napoleon, the white Soultouque; and every body ought to know that Lord Cowley, who represents England at Paris, is brother-in-law and cat's-paw to the very worst enemy of this country, Sir Henry Bulwer. Every body knows that the Court of England joined that of France in saving Rosas from the just fury of the people whom he had

plundered for twenty years, and before whose indignation Rosas had fallen in battle. Every body knew what a Chang and Eng ligature united these two governments in behalf of Cuba, after the Lopez expedition. Every body suspects that the Pope was art and part of every proposition of intervention between us and Spain; and nobody can tell how much agency even distracted Prussia, bankrupt Austria, brutal Naples, and all the other curs of low degree, had in each one of those hypocritical affairs, nor how soon they will swallow St. Domingo and Cuba, and assemble in cannibal ceremony with Quaggy at San Juan de Nicaragua, for the purpose of putting the Isthmus of Central America under the patronage of a rabble of crowned heads, agreeably to the express invitation of that precious document, the Clayton and Bulwer treaty.

The finishing stroke to all the proceedings of the Holy Alliance is just given to the United States by notice to quit the harbor of Spezzia, which is a splendid anchorage near Genoa, where our ships have been riding safely for several years. This drives our fleets out of the Mediterranean; and the stars and stripes have no longer any resting place to call their own in Europe. It was well to deprive us of our last hold of the Old World, before setting down the hostile and encroaching foot of the French Emperor in the New. We will detain the reader a moment to apprise him of all the importance of this late affront in the house of our friend, the so-called liberal King of Sardinia, Victor Emanuel.

A place to refit and rest the Mediterranean fleet and crews is clearly indispensable to so great a maritime power as the United States. Several years ago, we enjoyed that advantage in Port Mahon, on the Spanish Island of Minorca, not far from the coast of France. We were compelled to leave on account of the jealousy of our hosts, which was not to be regretted, and owing to our recent relations with Cuba, could not long have been postponed. By the permission of Charles Albert, we took up quarters in the Bay of Spezzia soon after the expulsion from Port Mahon. It is a grand roadstead,—said to be the best on that seacoast. It had attracted the attention of Napoleon,

* These Barings are the London Bankers of the United States.

He proposes to add us to the list of the insulted, alongside of Switzerland and France. He may not be contented with seizing Hayti and Cuba; but will insist on room for his penal colonies for political offenders on this Continent. He will have victims enough to colonize the Antilles and Mexico both. Now is the time to teach him and his allies, the irresistible power and will of the United States. Congress should rouse itself to the crisis, and the people are very eager for the contest.

CICEROACCHIO: OR, THE ROMAN PATRIOT.

rect in the drawing, genuine in the details, expressive in the coloring, profound or lively in the countenance, real in the *ensemble* the fault must not be attributed to the subject, which is true as history itself, but to the hand which held the brush, and made a picture of it for public exhibition. However it is easy to see, by simply perusing the work, that the picture is too serious, and the brush too much in earnest, not to belong to the school of contemporary facts and events. Had we had only the intention of being amusing without profit, of agreeably smiling like a coquet only to show her teeth, without sometimes indulging in some biting remarks now and then, of lighting in the anatomy of the face, or in the exquisite delineation of a lock of hair, or trying a new theory of the soul, or a new description of the white of the eye, in drawing, like Werther, the living illusions of love, or like the Parisian milliner, a new system of whalebones for stays, or composing expressly for the occasion some unheard-of phrase, so dark as to blind the intellectual vision of the reader, or some new pomatum to restore artificial polish to wrinkled cheeks, or the color of ebony to white hair, had we dwell with complacency on the inventory of a lady's toilet, or put our nose in a gentleman's wardrobe, counted the beads of his former, and the gloves of the latter, then to our narrative that tediousness, that flatness, liveliness, or that wantonness of shagvelled discordantly smiling and grimacing manner, so well appreciated in this age of careless pleasures and dissatisfactory enjoyments, had we been still without object, without wisdom, without aim, or without wisdom, in what we could produce to the public, or to the printed novel, such as is the manner of writing in this day, the criticism would be somewhat more severe than it is.