

Irishmen may not be induced to make their own cause and fight for, by such priestly influences as we have now among ourselves reviewed, it is hard to determine. What indiscreet and violent democracy, they may not fight for, it is less difficult, with American example before them, to determine. The trial in our life-time will be hard and long; but of two things we are certain: they will be content with no issue but slavery to a more cunning race, or perfect freedom; they can not more certainly ensure slavery forevermore, till grateful annihilation comes, than by following the advice and direction of Mr. Brownson, and his coadjutors.

We have now discharged an obligation in which we were personally indebted to Mr. Brownson. He and that ultra-montane wing of the Church are beyond redemption. But the more eminent, more liberal, and wiser portion, of which the distinguished Archbishop of New York is

the representative, will, we trust, divide itself politically from the ultra-montane faction, and return to their proper position in the American ranks. So wise a statesman as Dr. Hughes cannot fail to know that democratic policy will carry with enthusiasm all the young men of whatsoever religious creed, and that Cuba, Mexico, Central America, and all the islands must be ours. Under our institutions is the only possible security for the Church properties. The stability of our Republic, renders needless the confiscation now meditated by the growing republican party in all those states. And, if Dr. Hughes has the true interests of conservatism in such matters at heart, he will prefer to expedite rather than retard those movements of democracy, which are so much abused by senseless and bigoted editors. In that event we will hold up our arms and preserve silence on many immaterial political errors.

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THE CUBAN DEBATE.—POSTSCRIPT.

We have had another instalment of the Cuban debate from Messrs. Cass and Mason, leaving Mr. Underwood this time quite out of sight. Mr. Mason has not spoken generally to the questions brought up by the resolutions on foreign policy.—He confined himself to the point whether the Monroe doctrine should be of general or special application; and after narrating the history of the negotiations out of which the doctrine arose, he held that the application was not general, but only to the case of the Spanish republics; or to a precisely similar case, if one arose. Mr. Cass accepts the historical statement, but denies that the Monroe doctrine is to have only limited application; he states that now is the first time he has ever heard that President Monroe did not intend to embrace the continent. Mr. Cass however leaves it doubtful whether he means by continent both North and South America, or North America simply. That matter is reserved for future

explanation, and another set of circumstances. Indeed, the old foggy Senator has learned a lesson of discretion from the manner in which Mahomet promulgated the Koran, a chapter at a time; so that the succeeding leaves would fill up the chasm of the creed which prying eyes might detect.

By way of postscript, there are several observations to be made upon the last speech of Mr. Cass, and as we shall give him credit for a very decided change in his opinions, we do not hesitate to claim the credit of the change for the *advance sheets of the Democratic Review*. In those sheets, sent down to Washington more than a week prior to the last debate, we stated the position of Young America on the Cuban question. They appeared there just after Mr. Cass' first speech on the same subject, which contained a perfect fog of "noise and confusion"—much bad temper and flagrant mistakes, all of which we felt in duty bound to correct.—

We may well congratulate the country on the present result, which has shown signs of decided improvement. If it would only continue long enough, and keep on in the same direction, Mr. Cass may become a pretty good member of the senior class of progressive democracy, *cum pericolo* however of always falling back among the sophomores. It is quite encouraging to hear him shout out that dreaded word "progress" at the top of his lungs, so lustily and repeatedly, toward the end of his long and not lucid discourse. We are refreshed too to see that he has exhausted his vocabulary against filibustering, and against Mr. Law and Purser Smith; and that his eulogiums on Fillmore's anti-American conduct in regard to all the events of Captain General Concha's aggressions upon our people and their property are not repeated. It is probable that Mr. Cass, after having been somewhat stringently reminded that his declarations of allegiance to Whig misrule were very unpalatable to Democrats, has determined to join the latter, who are now unanimous in denouncing the Whig President and Cabinet for all they did and omitted to do in respect to the case of the fifty young victims taken in the open sea and destroyed like wild beasts by Spanish cruelty without trial; the case of Joba S. Thrasher, who was kidnapped from Cuba to Spain for no offence; and the case of the Crescent City, which stopped an enterprise both public and private in its nature for a caprice of the Captain General of the Island. And we think the advance sheets of the *Democratic Review* had a great deal more to do than Mr. Canning had with putting old fogeyism on "the line of political knowledge."

Notwithstanding what we have done for Mr. Cass, by way of stimulation and direction in the path of duty, it will be seen by the most cursory examination that he is far behind the exigencies of the moment. But he has dropped the idea that opinions five years old are good enough for such a crisis, and has dropped the opinions with the idea; and has been even gracious enough to announce that he believes the people are ahead of their representatives in Congress. That is doing pretty well for an old fogey; and as for the unsound declaration that this

ought to be so, it is not to be expected that one whose positions are not permanent; nor now, nor hereafter to acknowledge any such law as perpetuity, should adhere long to that ancient error. The citizen chooses by the ballot those who should lead in the management of state affairs, not a set of followers, and senators and representatives must alike go forward, instead of lagging behind public opinion. By the fourth of March next, we predict that Mr. Cass will ask young America for a certificate; and he may get it if he perseveres: even Mr. Everett is not a man without expectations in the same quarter.

Mr. Cass spoke to both his resolutions on the 18th January. The first one, declaring the Monroe doctrine in its general application, he expounded with considerable success, and his explanations and reasonings may for the present be accepted by every section of the party. We have no doubt of the misconception of Mr. Mason, and coincide in the statement of Mr. Cass that there has not been any diversity of creed in the Democratic party in respect to its application to both continents. Mr. Cass does not commit himself positively to the continent of South as well as North America, but he is a willing and wide awake progressive, according to the last of his speeches, and can readily help himself out by the necessary stipulation.

For ourselves, we have no doubt that within a very short period the colonies of England as well as of Spain will become independent republics in consequence of the manifest superiority of democratic institutions for the people; and because it is not proper that on the margin of the great Lakes, any more than along the Atlantic shores of the United States, there should be the frowning fortifications, the alien and oppressive laws, and the hired military force necessary to keep colonists in subjection. We hope they will now break their own yokes in Canada as well as Cuba; and we hope that the citizens of the United States will aid the movement, as we aided Texas, and as we received aid from the French people and government. When independence is thus declared by the wishes of the inhabitants, distant and hostile powers should be held in check by the Federal Government in its own interest, defence,

and preservation, as well as from considerations of justice and humanity towards the colonists.

Central America is but a question of time, and we must insist on South America being consecrated to republicanism alone. Mexico must soon come under our protection by her own incurable divisions and weakness, for we cannot allow there the establishment of any monarchy, or other protectorate.

It will be necessary, in all human probability, for the United States immediately to interfere with the condition of this distracted and unhappy country. There is nothing like its condition amongst organized nations, which is really indescribable. Mexico is beset with Indian predatory tribes; invaded on the eastern border by numerous bodies of armed men under Canales and Caravajal. French filibusters are put down for the moment; but nobody can tell at what other moment or under what higher auspices Count Boulbon may reappear upon the stage. But last and worst of all, President Arista has just sent a message to the Congress which indicates the speedy dissolution of every vestige of representative government, and the prompt restoration of some detestable despot as dictator in his place. Arista is a sensible, patriotic, and well-meaning man. He is the friend of Mexico and of the United States; but he is for that reason in the most hopeless minority that ever supported an executive before. He has not ten friends amongst the members; and he is driven to the wall; and has announced his anguish and despair to the world in the document referred to, which can be found at large in the *New York Herald* of the 21st January. Every man of any intelligence amongst us, will read that historical appeal, which is really intended to be heard and answered by the United States. For what do we hear in connection with it? We hear that Santa Anna, the worst enemy of Mexico and of the United States, has been actually recalled from Jamaica by a committee of revolutionists, and is on his way to the Mexican capital. The United States, in sixty days, will find themselves bound to interfere in the whole of that business, and that with the arguments which have hitherto been always necessary to bring

the New Dictator of Mexico (that will be) to reason. The *Herald* makes the following appropriate remarks:

How far British, French, and Spanish emissaries may be implicated in the present revolutionary disturbances will probably be developed after the return (which is very likely) of Santa Anna to the possession of absolute authority.

In the meantime, as it is impossible that Mexico, under any form of self-government, can much longer exist as an independent nation, it will become a primary duty of the administration elect to look well to, and watch narrowly, the drift of her affairs. Whatever may have been the real character of the late French military expedition in Sonora, it is evident that Louis Napoleon has an eye upon Mexico, and is suspicious of Yankee encroachments in fulfillment of "manifest destiny." We must also remember that the debt of sixty millions due from Mexico to England, gives John Bull a lively and substantial interest in the good or evil fortunes of our helpless neighbor; and that Spain has been recently bristling up to her, in a style somewhat belligerent and somewhat offensive, considering the crippled condition of the government. Against any present or future colonizing or protective designs, however, of England, France, or Spain, or all of them together, it will be the duty of the new administration to guard, by the practical enforcement of the Monroe doctrine of foreign non-intervention.

With respect to the Cuba resolution, and Mr. Cass' speech, there is much to be said. He advances, but hesitates; his voice is strong, but his knees tremble. He totally abandons the egregious misrepresentation that our people are satisfied as long as Cuba remains a Spanish dependency; and has altered his ground with respect to the doctrine that Cuba is so much Spanish property, and that until she cuts loose by force, we have no right to interfere. We demonstrated to him that the people of the United States were highly dissatisfied with the outrageous tutelage of Cuba, and his silence shows that he accepts that conclusion. But he has greater difficulty with the direct question of the acquisition of Cuba by the United States. Mr. Clay wrote a letter during his canvass for the Presidency in 1844, against the acquisition of Texas, though "personally" he was in favor of it. Van Buren also wrote a letter to the same effect. Both lost their election, and Mr. Polk, who was for annexation at the start, and carried it out, was chosen President. Mr. Cass says, "so far as respects my own personal views, I desire the possession of Cuba—earnestly desire it, whenever we can justly obtain it, and the sooner that time comes, the better." * * * As to the means (read mode, not means,)—though,

as I have already said, I am prepared to advocate its purchase, even at the most liberal price, still, I should prefer its acquisition by the action of the people of Cuba—and a noble tribute it would be to our institutions—in the exercise of their power as an independent nation, could they succeed by any arrangement with Spain in procuring her recognition of that condition, or should they be able to establish their right to a place in the family of nations." Abundance of new light has thus broken upon the old fogies of the Senate since the last discussion of the subject. The purchase from Spain, and the military success of the Cubans, which were Mr. Cass' only alternatives for acquiring the island, have wonderfully softened down and disappeared. He now prefers "the acquisition by the action of the people of Cuba," as we insisted in the advance sheets of the *Review*. Along with that there is the usual amount of the Senator's mystification, about Cuba, as an independent nation, procuring a Spanish recognition; or her establishing her right to be a nation. Mr. Cass, and everybody else, knows that Cuba never can get Spain's consent to her independence by entreaty; and he and everybody else knows that her right to be a nation is neither dependant on Spain nor on force, which may or may not be intended by the last member of his sentence. THE DEMOCRATIC REVIEW has done one old foggy important service, however, in putting him so far ahead as that he declares he prefers to obtain Cuba by the action of the people; but it cannot efface the discrepancy and evasion with which that sentiment is carefully surrounded. So much for our mode of acquiring the island of Cuba, which has probably been adopted by Mr. Cass, though we cannot speak of that with any certainty, for he may yet reveal some other alternative or qualification not dreamed of by his readers. Our position is plain. We do not believe Spain owns Cuba; but the Cubans are, and of right ought to be, their own masters, and, without resort to force, may take their place among nations, subject to our right of self-defence and self-preservation. We are for taking possession of the island now, as soon as it can be done, for the sake of its people, and our own, and to be in a position to make head

against the desperate designs and prodigious power of Louis Bonaparte & Company, to be exerted on Hayti, Cuba, Mexico and Central America, all of which he covets and menaces. Mr. Cass does not tell us, whatever he may mean, that he would have the United States interfere at all if England and France attempted to put down a revolt of the Cubans against Spain. There is nothing in any fair interpretation of his mystic speeches, which provides for that; and yet justice and the people of this country are for such intervention, and that right speedily and effectually.

The general doctrine which he puts forward with the persistence of an old fogey always consequent in one thing—antiquity, he states to be contained in the Resolution of 1811, relative to Florida. In that resolution, Congress declared that in a certain contingency, they would take temporary possession of the Spanish territory, which should, in their hands, remain subject to future negotiation. That is not our doctrine. We go for permanent occupation, and that as soon as we can get foothold; and we are for not committing ourselves to any special state of facts, which shall determine the seizure of Cuba, and exclude others which may be equally decisive. There has, in our opinion, been negotiation enough already, and of a very indifferent quality, as we have elsewhere stated; and we know that it is folly, if not hypocrisy, for the people of the United States to talk of any temporary arrangement, or short lease, upon that portion of *terra firma*, known as Cuba upon the map, and attributed to Spain by the geographers. Mr. Cass can find nothing in his Yucatan speech of 1847, to preserve, nor will he be more successful in resurrecting the ancient and mouldy resolutions of another generation. The statement which he makes of a case for the application of his "general doctrine" is equally shaky. "Thus, then, stands the matter, France and England have assumed the right to decide upon the destiny of Cuba, and have asked the concurrence of the United States in their proposed arrangement * * * "without the participation of Spain." "This has been declined, and the two powers, upon their own principles, are free to regulate the whole subject, so far as they can agree

in their policy. If they cannot do that, each of them will probably await the chapter of accidents, protesting or seizing, as one or the other may be in the ascendant; provided, however, that we sit still and philanthropically cry 'Peace, peace,' when there is no peace."

Now, we insist that the matter stands otherwise, and that this whole statement and inference is a blunder altogether in character. France and England, interfered with the participation of Spain, and for and on account of Spain's own separate, private interest in the business, for the purpose of securing Cuba the colony, by a perpetual tie to Spain the parent, and for no other purpose. And, therefore, the two powers on their own principles, are estopped to deny the Spanish title, or to molest it in any manner whatever. Mr. Cass does not come within beat of drum of any proposition, germane to the subject of discussion, so as to commit himself, except that he is all the while pretending to go in for the acquisition of Cuba in a legitimate mode of some sort, at some future day, and under very peculiar circumstances, all parties, and Spain in particular, having entered into an amicable arrangement.

But we will promise to forget the trouble it has taken us to make the Cuba debate intelligible to the reader, if Congress will go in for giving President Pierce the ten million appropriation. That is the simple touch-stone of the sincerity of his friends; and the people expect it to be applied in the present instance. A resolution to that effect is indispensable; and it is all humbug to talk of the crisis, and of standing up to it without the money. He that opposes it, intends to skulk from the doctrine of Monroe, and the duty of a patriot to his country. In order to do ourselves any kind of justice in the approaching crisis, and not to leave the President with his hands tied, and exposed to insult, and disgrace, which will have to be retrieved afterwards at great cost, and loss of character, we must put the means at his disposal. Such a proposition has been made by Mr. Marshall, the member of Congress from the exposed shores of California. His position, not less than his spirit, and ability, made it proper that he should offer it. We have seen suggestions to the contrary. But it

is no matter who makes the proposition; it is perfectly evident that we are driving fast upon a complication of dangers which cannot be provided for too soon; or too securely. Into the same hands in which, so lately, almost a whole people have placed the power of the Confederation, more particularly for the management of our foreign relations, it is but decent that Congress should, with the same unanimity, in the fate of the state of the world, and our own manifest duty, danger and destiny, vote the money, which may be wanted during the coming recess.

On the ten million vote, it will be easy to see how much sincerity there is among democrats who are given to preaching with considerable vehemence, but whose practice is not in keeping with their phraseology. Young America is not much, if any, in advance of the other sections of the democracy on this vital subject; but there may be individuals calling themselves "progressives," who can be hereafter better distinguished if the vote be taken. Among the vigorous and devoted youth of the Whig party in Congress and the country, there will be a very decided support given to such a mark of energy and determination in their opponents. We wish to see the argument fairly put and enforced, so that it will be impossible for any member to answer negatively to his conscience and the people. The argument can take place on an amendment to Mr. Cass' resolutions, as well as in any other mode; and he will probably be ready, both to accept and advocate such an amendment. If not, let us have the separate proposition of Mr. Marshall, and direct and immediate action upon it, in time for the Senate. This is the short session; but there is nothing so important as the great peace-measure involved in this preparation for war. None but an enemy open or disguised, can wish to see President Pierce compelled to call an extra session, and to ask for special appropriations, with enemies at every hand, and the country full of excitement and indignation. The time to deliberate is now; now is the time to act. We must fight now for all North America and the Islands; charge on Africa as soon as possible; apply Munroe to all South America, and growl and protest against all the usurpations of Europe and Asia.

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ERRATA—In "Carnival Feast," page 504, fifth line of first column, at the end, for "souls" read "jowls." Tenth, for "spittering" read "sputtering." End of the line, for "crust" read "crisp."