

“Under these circumstances, and under those immediately connected with the transaction itself, it will be for Her Majesty’s Government to show upon what state of facts and what rules of national law the destruction of the *Caroline* is to be defended. It will be for that Government to show a necessity of self-defence, instant, overwhelming, leaving no choice of means and no moment for deliberation. It will be for it to show, also, that the local authorities of Canada, even supposing the necessity of the moment authorized them to enter the territories of the United States at all, did nothing unreasonable or excessive; since the act, justified by the necessity of self-defence, must be limited by that necessity, and kept clearly within it.

“It must be shown that admonition or remonstrance to the persons on board the ‘*Caroline*’ was impracticable, or would have been unavailing; it must be shown that day-light could not be waited for; that there could be no attempt at discrimination between the innocent and the guilty; that it would not have been enough to seize and detain the vessel; but that there was a necessity, present and inevitable, for attacking her in the darkness of the night, while moored to the shore, and while unarmed men were asleep on board, killing some and wounding others, and then drawing her into the current, above the cataract, setting her on fire, and, careless to know whether there might not be in her the innocent with the guilty, or the living with the dead, committing her to a fate which fills the imagination with horror. A necessity for all this, the Government of the United States cannot believe to have existed.”

To these hands, for one, I am willing to entrust the rights and the fame of my country.

Mr. President, I concur entirely with both the Senators who have preceded me that there need be felt no apprehension of a war with England. Like them, I neither expect nor desire it. Heaven forbid! I know of nothing between the Governments that ought not to be and may not be easily and honorably composed. But whatever may befall, I claim it as the praise of this Administration, that it has had the manliness to seek peace by justice; and that, if war shall come, it has done all that man can do to enable us so to go into it that we may have the approval of our own consciences, self-respect, the moral judgments of the world, and, may I not add, the God of our fathers with us in the conflict.

