

“not to follow, and cannot follow, unless England chooses to add violence to her hostility and injustice towards us. Much more stern measures than I have suggested have been taken by nations in pursuit of their just rights and not been held to be causes of war.

“THE DIPLOMACY OF CROMWELL AND JACKSON.

“Reprisals and embargoes, it is agreed by all writers on international law, are not *casus belli*. Oh! for an hour of the diplomacy of the ablest ruler England ever had to maintain her national reputation, the stern old puritan, Cromwell, when he sent the Quaker merchant, whose ship had been unjustly seized by a French man-of-war, to Cardinal Mazarin, the Prime Minister of Louis XIV., for redress of his grievance, and told him to wait three days only for an answer. No answer being given in the prescribed time Cromwell seized a number of French vessels, sufficient to pay the Quaker's claim, sold them and made good the wrong from the proceeds, notifying the King of France that the residue of the price of the vessels was at his service. Yet no war ensued, says a French writer, because an act of justice was done, although violently done. Or, if you desire a later example, let me recall to your memories Jackson's message to Congress in 1834, when the French Chamber of Deputies had neglected to vote appropriations to pay claims to our citizens which were acknowledged to be due. He said:

“‘I recommend that a law be passed authorizing reprisals upon French property in case provision shall not be made for the payment of the debt at the approaching session of the French Chambers. Such a measure ought not to be considered by France as a menace. Her pride and power are too well known to expect anything from her fears, and preclude the necessity of a declaration that nothing partaking of the character of intimidation is intended by us. She ought to look upon it as the evidence only of an inflexible determination on the part of the United States to insist on their rights.’”

“ENGLAND SHOULD HERSELF MAKE OFFERS OF CONCESSION AND APOLOGY.

“‘Mere money, without other reparation, will never satisfy the wounded honour of this country. We must have for our satisfaction something more of concession and apology; and it is for Great Britain to say in what form that will be easiest to herself. I can have no doubt but that her withdrawal from the continent will satisfy our people, although it is only the anticipation of an event which must happen in few, very few years, but an hour of a nation's life. If England refuses this, let her say what reparation she will offer to us, the injured party. If nothing, then let all intercourse between the two countries cease. This, our alternative, non-intercourse, I do not conceal, either from myself or from you, although not a justifiable cause of war, would, unless it led to a settlement of the difficulty, probably result in a declaration of war by Great Britain. If so, be it so. And in that case again I would say, in the language of Jackson to France:

“‘If she (Great Britain) makes that occasion for hostilities against the United States she but adds violence to injustice, and could not fail to expose herself to the just censure of civilized nations and the retributive judgments of Heaven.’”

“WORSE THAN WAR.

“I have said, and I repeat again and again, I would not declare war; it is the last and worst remedy for grievances; but yet there are other alternatives more terrible to a nation than war—loss of honour, loss of rights, loss of self-respect. I would do everything, yield everything, accept anything, consistent with patriotism, justice, and the dignity of the nation, to adjust peaceably and for ever these momentous questions, claims and assertions of international rights between this country and England. But more we cannot yield or accept; and if the dread alternative is forced upon us of an appeal to arms because of unrequited indignities, injuries and wrongs, then, as a Republican, as an American, I cannot fail to observe the great temptation that this nation has for a war with Great Britain.”