

nt our privilege
venience of E
United States could remain so distinguished as
from her or o
we may we
of the great rival powers of the earth, an object
to conceive it
international envy, and yet escape the common
es of the Am
amities of nations. •

government. We cannot always expect to be free from war, and may or may not be, which is inherent in the condition of nations. So ourselves, is only was this conviction impressed upon the to the present of the illustrious Father of our country, that he departed he left, as a portion of the legacy bequeathed to his countrymen, the admonition in that a certain policy of peace prepare for war." This warning would be borne in mind. Washington knew well the springs of human action. He knew the passions and policy of nations, and that when it is desired to ascertain their character and objects, you do not scan man in his social state in connection with his fellow-man. There you obtain the elucubrations and sympathies of men are always employed for the benefit or detriment of each other. They have feelings and sympathies; passions to indulge and sympathies to relieve. But nations are susceptible of the refined sensibilities of our nation which only exist in the social relations. Nations are but corporations on a magnificent scale—which are entered as Iceland in their calculations; heartless as they are in their conclusions. In their cabinets every thing is done to procure certain results. They care nothing for the calamities they may entail on other nations in the less obvious. Think you that the British ministry feel sympathy with the millions of India whom they have slaughtered or enslaved? Have they tears to shed with the widows and orphans of the Sikhs, so often slaughtered in their battles? No. Yet acts as these are evidences of the sympathies of nations. Nay, it is evidence of their ministerial spirit that the compromise. I trust, however, it is a spirit of compromise never to be extended by England to any country; and yet the same love of aggrandizement which has directed her policy in India will more than the doubtfully characterized her measures towards the United States—the increase of power and extension would be expounded in the dominion.

sincerely desire peace; but how are we to secure it? Will it be attained by permitting this question to fester in the public mind of both countries? Ask you not that the popular mind of England is agitated to some extent? Can she be calm at heart? We know that the public mind in this country cannot be at rest, and is it therefore wise in us to persist in this agitating subject to remain in its present condition? I answer no, Mr. President. I venture to say that, however erroneous it may be, that the co-ordinate branches of the government coincide with the Executive with the promptitude, and when the spirit in which he acted to-day everything has been tranquil, England quiet, and the public mind in the United States calm, serene, and unexcited.

r, which is full of the subject of our having acted in accordance with our right in giving the notice, no question it by all means. England knows it is our right, and our integrity, our prerogative to exercise it. But when Great Britain finds that the policy of the Executive is of any ascertainment or denounced by American statesmen, her policy is at once changed. This very opposition is sufficient to inspire England to beard this nation in a war—to embarrass the Executive of the nation—I mean the measures of the Executive, and become general. I do not know that he can be embarrassed. Twenty years since I was associated with

him in the councils of this nation. Since then, it is true, time has silvered his locks, and left an impress upon his brow. But I believe he yet retains unimpaired all the faculties which he ever possessed. Once I knew his perceptions were clear, his views comprehensive, his mind vigorous, his political purposes patriotic; and he was decidedly energetic in the accomplishment of his designs.

He is, I trust, yet all that he ever was; and by the efficient co-operation of the co-ordinate departments of government, I doubt not but that he will be enabled to bring this matter to a happy consummation, and thus avert the evils of war, so much deprecated in this chamber. If war is not averted, it has been suggested that preparations are necessary. I grant it true. Our situation is not one of preparation. We should always be in a defensible position. Within more than a half century, when have we been in a proper situation for defence? Are we now making preparations for war? Will we ever be prepared until it comes upon us? Never. It is not in the genius of this people. They are bold, daring, and confident; and until the shock of danger comes, every American is proud of the national character; and, glorying in his individual liberty, each feels that he is indeed a freeman, and therefore cannot be conquered. They cannot realize the necessity of concert and preparation. It is this universal feeling that prevents the national defences from assuming in time of peace that formidable character which such a nation as Great Britain at all times presents.

To place this country in a state of defence would require on land numerous fortifications and the construction of a great naval armament, which can only be accomplished by an expenditure of many millions. In time of peace this is impossible. The American people have a horror of taxation. No public man who would vote for unusual taxation in time of peace could maintain his position before the people, no matter what the emergency might be, short of actual war. Therefore you cannot induce our population to submit to taxation for defence in time of actual peace.

This being necessarily our situation, honorable gentlemen seem to consider it an argument in favor of a compromise on our part. If we once admit this principle, there will be no end to the concessions demanded of us. Admit it, and we will speedily be ruined by concession; for the principle, thus grafted on our policy, would not fail to be taken advantage of by every government with which, in future, we may have a controversy on any subject. Unprepared as our situation may be for war, we cannot, consistently with national dignity and honor, renew a proposition to negotiate. Suppose we were to do so in view of our present circumstances, and England were to reject it—for we have no reason to believe that she would accede to it—would it not justly degrade us in our own estimation, and incur for us the contempt of other nations? England can consistently take that step without compromising her national character; and this notice will interpose no barrier.

If England and the United States go to war, it will not grow out of the resolution before the Senate, but it will be contingent upon the inclination and disposition of England apart from this question. It is by no means likely that she will involve herself in war for a country described by honorable senators on this floor as barren and useless—a desert waste. England is too politic to haz-