BY W. LEWIS.

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## SPEECH OF THE HON. LEWIS CASS, of Michigan, On our Relations with Great Britain.

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE JANUARY 28, 356. who has read the President's annual message, can fail to see that our relations with England are in a critical condition. In that able and statesmanlike paper, the Chief Powers of the earth.

And I have read, with much gratification, the dispatches which have issued from the

ator from Delaware, Mr. CLAYTON, himself affecting to be utterly ignorant of its exisat the Court of London. His letters to Lord the dictate of prudence and of patriotism. Clarendon: and especially his statements, information reached me, that upon a memonot wanting.

Entertaining the views I have expressed of the President's message, I regretted to see, in a highly esteemed and intelligent journal of this city, which I have read with interest for almost half a century, the National Intelligencer, and for whose editors I have a warm personal regard, comments upon the tone and temper of portions of that document, which seemed to me marked with an undue severity of criticism. I do not propose to examine them, and refer to the article principally for the purpose of quoting a single paragraph. Before doing so, however, l'ask attention to an expression, which conveys a forcible image, but one I consider wholly inapplicable to our position. That expression which contains much in little is, that "we are drifting into difficulties." Sir, I do not thus understand the circumstances, with which we are surrounded. In my opinion, our noble ship is upon her true course, and our pilot is doing his duty. If difficul-ties are before us—and I believe they are we are neither drifting towards them, nor they towards us. They are designedly placing themselves in our way, and it would ill become our self-respect, or our honor, to change our course with a view to avoid them. The maneuver, even if resorted to, would be but a temporary escape, and we should find, that, while we had lost our character, we had not gained the poor recompense of fafety for dishonor.

ted by observation of the increasing prevalence of a war spirit amongst the politicians nance, much less confidence, to any Administration, or to any party, now or hereafter, which may show a disposition to make capsmall, such as are of every-day occurrence

the article. Should trouble come, that paper \$1.50 will be a faithful co-laborer in its country's if not paid in advance, 200 cause; but in the mean time, such intimadoubts upon the motives of public men, and to render them distrusted. During many years, I have observed that every one has

nounce injurious or insulting conduct towards 83 00 \$5 00 \$8 00 almost closed, lest the country should become 8 00 12 00 too sensitive, and something worse might 10 00 15 00 happen, as though there could be anything 9 00 14 00 23 00 worse than national disgrace. I do not rec-15 00 25 00 38 00 ollect a single controversy we have had with 25 00 40 00 60 00 a foreign Power, since I have been on the stage of action, when these ungracious charges have not come to weaken, if not to deaden, the inspirations of patriotism. Certainly, Auditors' Notices 125 sir; to observe vigilantly the conduct of foreign nations towards our country, and to expose their injustice, is not to desire or to demand a war upon all occasions. The idea is utterly unfounded. Grave events, the gravest, only can justify hostilities, but far short of such events may there be others calling for examination and exposure. It seems Mr. CASS said: Mr. PRESIDENT: No man, to me, sir, that the propensity to doubt the iustice of our own cause is almost an American idiosyncrasy, for I do not believe it is equally prevalent among any other people on the face of the globe. I have more than once Magistrate has spread before the country before been, and shall now again be, exposed and the world, a statement of our affairs to similar obloquy. But neither its advent with various nations, and especially of our nor its apprehension has deterred me, at much affairs with England. The whole exposition earlier periods of life, nor will they deter me is plain and comprehensive; but it is with now, when life is fast drawing towards its the latter, that I have any concern upon close, from the expression of an earnest hope the present occasion. And there I find the that the American name and the American facts true and clearly stated, the principles fame will be maintained by the American urged with force and justice; and, while the people with the brightness of true glory, unindefensible pretensions of England are ex-diminished by the commission of a single posed with a power of truth and reason, deed, or the omission of a single deed, which which will carry conviction to every unpre- national duty may forbid or require. I have judiced mind, there is a tone of firmness per- the consolation, however, of believing that, vading the document, and within the limits upon the present occasion, every appearance of a proper national comity, which becomes indicates that, in the Senate and out of the the constitutional representative of this great | Senate, a unanimity of sentiment almost un-Republic in its intercourse with the other known in the history of our country will accompany the efforts of the Government to secure the public rights and honor.

Why, sir, it is all idle to talk about a desire State Department in relation to this control to engage the country in war. There is no versy; and I find them marked with signal such desire, or, if there be, it is confined to a ability. It must be a satisfaction to the population so inconsiderable, our laws. Well may the President express ment through Mr. Crampton, and not objective that its important interests as to exert no influence upon our national his surprise at such an excuse as this! Well ted to. It also states that, at the trial in for future colonization by any European this House, when the honorable Senator from are committed to such able management; and course. Almost nobody wants war. But may he ask, how could the British Govern- Philadelphia, an attempt was made to impli- Power." I will add, as a mere act of justice, that the papers, which have found their way to the to the signs of the times, and crying, "all's public from that Department, during the ad
This extraordinary, sir, that any one could they had, or ought to have had—how could they Yankee court of justice." The Attorney suppose, that these declarations had reference, look to the accomplishment of their object, General is charged with "grossness," "vul- only, to the peculiar position of the Spanish ministration of the present Secretary, may which roams the desert, and hides its head favorably compare with the official papers of in the sand, fearing it knows not what, and the most eminent of his predicessors believing that it cannot be seen, because it And I fully concur in the encomiem pro- cannot itself see, is as wise as those politinounced the other day by the honorable Sen- cians, who think to avert or avoid danger by a competent judge, upon the distinguished tence. The true way is to look it in the face. Minister, who has conducted our negotiations and to be prepared for it. This is equally

Sir, war has its evils, and great, indeed, first explaining our case, and next examining they are. Many of us know them by persothe case of England, are models of diplomat- nal observation, and all know them by hisic correspondence, clear, cogent, conclusive, tory and tradition. But there are evils still and I believe have been read with pride and greater, and among those is the forfeiture of pleasure through the whole country. And I our own self-respect and the loss of the retrust, sir, that the public press has already spect of the world. If, in addition to our conveyed to Mr. Buchanan evidence of the own experience, we wanted any other proof warm appreciation of his fellow-citizens .- of the dire calamities, which war brings in An American Representative abroad is often its train, we should find it in the great conplaced in positions of difficulty and responsitest now going on upon the shores of the old bility, where the support of his countrymen | Euxine, the early seats of civilization, where is not only his best reward, but his best en- three of the greatest nations of the world are principal agent in these obnoxious affairs; and couragement: I have found myself surroun- engaged in the deadliest conflict, recorded in ded with such circumstances; and one of the the long annals of human warfare, from the proudest days of my life was the day, when first battle described in sacred history, when the four Kings went out against the five rable occasion I had been weighed in the Kings in the vale of Siddim, down to our and the publicity of the transactions, and, balance by my fellow-citizens, and found day. How this mighty struggle is to end, or when, or with what consequences to the combatants themselves, or to the old hemis- and-one charges made against us by the Engphere, it would be presumptuous even to en-

deavor to predict. A singular commentary upon the little danger of war, "while statesmen keep their senses," to use an expression of the Intelligencer, is furnished by an event, that recently oc- highest considerations, and I also think it strange in a region where, it is said, that won- were on our very borders, keeping us in per- in the anti-colonial doctrine. It was fruitless curred in England. War, indeed, did not re- | would have redounded to our credit through | der is often expressed at finding, that an | petual alarm. The great code of public law | in any useful result, and thus this American sult from it, but it is obvious that, in the pub- the world. At the same time, sir, I do not American is white, and speaks the English lic opinion there, a critical state of things exists, which requires but a slight incident to produce hostilities; and the circumstances to which I allude is anything but honorable to the boasted intelligence of this middle of the nineteenth century. It is but a few days trust a demand has been made, and that it of Persia, guarantying the territory on the claim of dominion over what was called the upon this subject a few days ago, referred to since the people of England, with wonderful will be listened to; and, if not listened to, that unanimity, believed that a war with the University of the views expressed by Mr. Calhoun; in the unanimity, believed that a war with the University of the views expressed by Mr. Calhoun; in the vi unanimity, believed that a war with the United States was imminent—not imminent will be most ungraciously refused, and ought "How little wisdom"—said a Swedish states. The question is well touched by Mr. Canning, tained, that no general principle of action merely, but that it had actually broken out.-They heard, as they supposed, the guns of British Government, had it been actuated by take to govern the world!" How little comthe hostile parties, while, in fact, it was the peals of their own "Thunderer," now face- have recalled its Minister as soon as it as- Europe on the subject of American affairs! American affairs, that broke upon their star- had placed himself." It owed a prompt disa- land, from the time she refused to surrender tled senses, peals with no flashes of light to vowal not less to itself than to us. relieve their monotonous reverberations .-His Olympian predecessor "frightened the nations," while the English ruler of the clouds has to limit his powers of alarm to his own | nation. But he sent his voice to every nook | who are acquainted with him. Upon such a of Great Britain, from Johnny Great's house subject I shall take counsel from my own seek, not only to injure, but to degrade us, in loyal heart. A fleet had actually sailed to find in British parliamentary history, and the reason, and can only find it in hostility cdge? Were the great political and commercular to our institutions, and jealousy of the adcident to our institutions are the present that the reason, and the reason, a The Intelligencer, speaking of warnings it was certain; but why, was involved in inex-had given, says they were "warnings promp-tricable obscurity. The great light could When I had not, or did not, enlighten that dark point .-It was as much of a puzzle as ever puzzled a of the day, against indulging this martial Chinese. But, though opinions were a good propensity to the extent of giving counted ses, which seemed to challenge the public asital by fomenting national jars into national tercept a new armada, more terrible than its time supremacy of the world. Upon that oc- called forth no token of public disapprobahates, or nursing into causes of war every Spanish predecessor, which had left, or was caston, I was assailed by one who had held tion. adventitious dispute or controversy, great or about to leave, our shores, in order to wrest the highest office known to the British Con-

of the poetic exclamation-

I leave to the future historian to pass judgement upon the disputed point.

been exposed to similar imputation, who of national credulity could suffice to enable a looked steadily at the proceedings of other people to swallow such humbuggery as this; nations, and was prompt to observe and deit deserves no better name. And yet the huit deserves no better name. And yet the hu- (meaning myself) had no more capacity for the adhesion to it, which had been pronoun- position, to have made this system of policy miliating fact is true, beyond the reach of argument, or reason, than he had for under- ced here by two able and distinguished Sen- an American system by a solemn declaration; us. It seems to be thought, with some, to doubt. The whole English press confirms standing legal points and differences;" "that ators. It has grown in favor, rapidly but and, if we had done so, we should have spabe the dictate of caution, if not of wisdom, it. I have myself seen a letter from disting- he was the very impersonation of mob hostil- firmly; for the tenth year has not yet passed red ourselves much frouble, and no little more that the public eye and ear should be kept uished English gentleman, who says frankly, ity to England; and "that he pandered to away, since I addressed the Senate upon the diffication. But we let the time pass by, withword he uses, upon that occasion—the dupe meaning the people of the United States.
of an arrogant, unprincipled journal, which But the conduct of the English representaespecially, where one of them reigns supreme, and constitutes itself a new estate of the realm.

The President, in his message, refers to another incident, which has come to complicate our difficulties with England, and that is, the for the British army, and the developments aid from this country. For this purpose, to be construed so and so, and we have not little purpose. interfered with them, agreeably to our conthis pretension. It characterizes itself.

That high officers of the English Government, both in the United States and upon nied either by them or by the home anthorities. It was an unfortunate moment to make Herald predicts, that it will all end in noththis experiment upon our forbearance. A great war was going on, and the nations of the earth were watching with anxiety every incident connected with it. We could not submit to the violation of our neutrality laws, without the most serious imputations upon One was, to dismiss the British Minister, especially, looking to the time and the condition of the world, and recalling the thousandto have been done for us elsewhere. The man to his son-"how little wisdom does it who said to Mr. Rush: tionsly called "Blunderer," when it discusses | certained the awkward position in which he

Of Mr. Crampton I shall only speak in of 1783, to this day; and I will not say all, terms of high personal respect. He is a dis- but almost all, of them resulted from her continguished gentleman, enjoying, and, I be- duct towards us, and were causes of comlieve, deserving, the esteem and regard of all, plaint on our part.

country abroad, my official conduct became the subject of animadversion-of censure, rather—in the British House of Peers. I had, unfortunately for the good opinion of the English public, done what I could to counteract sent, each finding its advocates. One was, a scheme of their Government, which, if sucthat the naval expedition was destined to in- cessful, would have given to them the mari-Ireland from English domination; and the stitution, after the Sovereign, in terms which the other day upon the subject of the oft-dein the family of nations, and from which the other, that this display of a nation's power I will repeat, but shall not imitate. The ac- bated Monroe doctrine. I propose very briefly United States would in vain hope for any exwas for the purpose of avenging the insult tor in that interlude—the Thersites, rather—to re-examine it; and I shall do so with the emption."

cast upon the realm of Queen Victoria, by has been remarkable for his versatility, havmore confidence, because I have just refreshhas been remarkable for his versatility, havmore confidence, because I have just refresh-Sir, I am sorry to see these remarks in our Attorney General, in a communication to ing performed many parts; but while he has ed my recollection by a conversation with the States at different intervals, and under cir. It is now sought to degrade it to a mere temsuch a justly influential journal, not so much | the district Attorney of New York, in which | been able in all, he has particularly excelled | person, who, of all living men, has the most | cumstances, calling for action. In Europe, | porary expedient, living while the Holy Alli-

plain language. And this national burst of "he had no more conception of questions of well and favorably known to the whole coun- partment of the government possesses the indignation is another illustration of the truth international law, than he had of the langua- try, which he has served with honor and power to enforce it, being vested with the "what great effects from little causes spring!" says, heir lordships laughed, pleased, no leave to the future historian to pass judgement upon the disputed point.

It is difficult, sir, to believe that any extent. It is difficult, sir, to believe that any extent. The first plant is the progress that that he was one of the "dupes"-this is the a groveling, grounding set of politicians,"

has acquired and exercises an influence over: tive, so far as it affects the honor and interthe English public mind, equally strange and humiliating. Unfortunate is it for any peoper subject of exple, where the journals of the day guide, inthority, is a question between himself and his stead of indicating, the national opinion, and Government. If without it, his course was that period, different Presidents of the United indefensible, and his punishment should be exemplary. If with it, the greater is our cause of complaint, and the clearer right have

we to except reparation.

The dismissal of a Minister is no cause of war. It has been often done. It is a measeffort to procure recruits in the United States ure, we have more than once taken, and England many times. On one occasion, she which have attended it. As the President sent home a foreign ambassador under guard. well remarks, our traditional policy has been | Spain, fallen as she is from her former high to avoid all connection with European wars, estate, quite recently testified her dissatisand to prevent either party from receiving faction with a British Minister, by ordering him out of the country. I repeat, sir, laws have been passed, which form a perma- this act of national sovereignity is no just as certain, that these principles themselves nent portion of our system of national inter- cause of war; and if it be made the pretext for will be permanently engrafted into the Amercommunication. Those laws have been vio- one, why so be it-we will meet it as we ican policy, and in the most imposing form, lated by persons, acting in the name of the may. The prosecution and conviction of an as that they are now engrafted in the hearts British Government. The existence of the English consular agent in a Prussian Court, of the American people."

Of the American people. What, sir, is the Monroe doctrine? Let ders identified by the verdict of a jury, and the sentence of a court. No man has, therefore, the right to gainsay, either the one or that England would have permitted such a the other; and, least of all, has the British breach of her laws to pass unnoticed, under Government the right to say, your laws are such circumstances, has read her history to

One of the recent arrivals from England tute the department appointed to interpret ing Herald, of December 20, 1855, which is our peace and happiness, and equally imposour own laws. The act of engaging men not unworthy of notice in this connection. - sible, therefore, that we should behold such within the United States to leave our territo- This article says that, notwithstanding the interference with indifference." ry, with a view to enlist into the British ar- "bluster" here, no doubt but the foreign enmy, when within the British dominions, is listment affair was a "plot," got up by the proper for asserting, as a principle, in which not denied; but we learn, from the President's "American press" at "the instance, it would the rights and interests of the United States message, that it has been urged, in defense seem, at all events, with the knowledge, of were involved, that the American continents, of the act, that "stringent instructions" were the American Secretary of State." The Her- by the free and independent condition, which given so to conduct the affair, as not to violate ald asserts it was proposed to the Governwithout going in the face of a statute as com- garity," "daring assertion," "inconclusive | colonies. The first had, but the second was prehensive as ours? I will not characterize ness;" and certain members of the Govern- addressed to all nations, and was intended the first attempt to procure the co-operation ment are charged with laying "this plot to to operate during all time. It was the annun- of the American Legislature in this doctrine implicate our officials."

Notwithstanding "struggles for notoriety, their borders, were engaged in superinten- | malignacy of the southern and the inextinding and directing this business, is not de- guishable hatred of the Irish," and though "the Yankee may bluster and rave," the

people of the United States; recognizing none zation of those countries, or the establishbut Southerners, and Irishmen, and Yankees ment of new colonies. They could not suffer -thus ignoring the great West, with its six a state of things, which would forever con-

We have had many difficulties with Engthe western posts, under the treaty of peace

Why this never-ceasing injustice? Why to the Land's End, carrying trouble to every feelings only, and not from a lesson which I the eyes of the world? I have often sought wards Europe, which Europe must acknowl-When I had the honor to represent my power and prosperity, and still more at the in this hemisphere, (Europe,) without the co. tion of the American Government to an apwonderful career before us. Time brings no operation, or even knowledge, of the United proaching crisis, and it then investigated, relaxation of this unfriendly feeling. It States?" brings profession enough, but little corresponding action. And the operation of the feeling is as evident at this day, as at any former period of our intercourse. So far as we know, the conduct of the Ministry has

Mr. President, we had a short discussion

ges spoken in the moon." Here, the record ability in various high capacities, at home right to make war. But here the Executive rather a gentle relaxation of high-born mus-cles.] Lord Brougham added, that the ed upon the public mind, and especially at ought, sir, years ago, by congressional interin one of his notes to Lord Clarendon, that, years ago, it was hailed with enthusiastic ap-States have repeated it in their messages to Congress, and always with unmistakeable in-

dications of public approbation." When this subject was before us, in one of its almost periodical visits, some years since, I said: "But these resolutions, (resolutions embodying the same principles, will pass the sage is but a question of time. They may fail to-day, and they may fail again. Timidity, or imbecility, may overrule that firm sagacity which befits our condition. It is just

Mr. Monroe answer the question. In his annual message to Congress, in 1823, he announced his views upon two important subjects. They are as follows, and are to be found in different parts of the message: "1. That it was impossible for the Allied

"2. That the occasion had been judged the rights and interests of the United States they had assumed and maintained, were

ciation of a new line of policy. On what was it founded? On the situation of our country, and of the various States of this then pending difficulties in regard to Oregon. continent, which demanded a system-as Mr. Jefferson said, "separate and apart from Europe." For ages after the discovery, the colonies, planted in this hemisphere, were the Now, sir, this precious diatribe is only im- mere appendages of the mother countries; portant, as an indication of the popular feel-ing in England. Here is one of the great the slightest view to the establishment of any London newspapers, printed within sound of enlarged policy for their prosperity or in-Bow-bells, abounding in the most ridiculous crease. They were useful in peace for the our honor and good faith. When this inter- specimens of nonsense and malignity, it is purposes of commerce; and in war, to aid in ference with them became known—and known, too, by judicial investigation—there were two courses for the Government to pursue in vindication of the honor of the country. ing too gross for the English palate, in rela- to be perceived, that new interests had arisen, tion to our country. I must confess, as a which would necessarily lead to great western man, who crossed the Ohio when a changes. And when the Spanish colonies the other, to lay the case before the British lad, and spent a large portion of his life con- look the same position, as sovereign States, Government, and to demand his recall. For | tending with the obstacles of a new country, | it became evident, that the time had arrived myself, sir, I think the former should have and upon the very verge of civilization, that for some decisive action upon the subject. been instantly adopted. I think the nature my self-love is a little wounded at the classi- It was impossible for the United States to fication, by the writer in the Herald, of the permit, if they could prevent it, the recoloni-

lish press, and people, and Cabinet, of fili- millions of people, exceeding in population nect those vast regions with European Powbustering, and of permissive if not of author- more than half of the kingdoms of Europe. ers, making them parties to distant warsized, armaments in the United States, in vio- However, I console myself with the reflection, dynastic; ambitious, and what not-in which lation of our solemn duties-I think this act that we shall be heard of by-and-by, and that they had no concern; and thus endangering brought on by resolutions introduced by myof vigorous policy was demanded by the in the mean time, this ignorance is not our safety and our interests-placed as they is not a rigid, unbending one. It accommo- principle has been but a barren dictum, as conceal from myself, that there were very language. The same arrival, that brought dates itself to the advancing condition of the brave considerations in favor of adopting the the Morning Herald, brought also this most world; of which power of adaptation many world; of which power of adaptation many tify until it receives the sanction of the Fedsecond course: that is, giving to the British acceptable piece of information, that "the examples are on record, as in the case of the eral Legislature. Government the opportunity of doing justice report which recently prevailed, that the Uni- principle of the right of occupation, resulting to the occasion and to us by its own act. I ted States had made a treaty with the Shah from discovery, and the abrogation of the

pects and interests, as immediate and command. independent States of Spanish origin from ing, as it did or could any of the States of Eu- the grasp of the Holy Alliance, as the union nent, and confessedly the leading Power. They ular demonstrations was called. The unholy were connected with Spanish America by their alliance would have been its proper designaposition, as with Europe by their relations; and tion. by political relations. Was it possible they could see with indifference their fate decided only by Europe? Could Europe expect such indifference? Had not a new epoch arrived in the relative position of the United States tovance, we have made in all the elements of the new continent, to be canvassed and adjusted stances occurred, which directed the atten-

United States:

"But a new element of incalculable import." henceforth to be recognized in America."

This principle of European non-interference in the affairs of this continent has been advocated, and brought before Congress and the country, by three Presidents of the United

subject, and they refused even to refer it to out appreciating our high responsibilities, the Committee on Foreign Relations for exam- leaving important interests to be the sport of ination. Mr. Buchanan said well and truly, circumstances. And why this indifference to a measure, urged upon us by so many grave when first announced, more than thirty considerations? The honorable Senator from New York (Mr. Seward, said, the other day, probation by the American people; and since that this doctrine was an abstraction, and had therefore found no favor with Congress. Sir. it was never an abstraction. There never was a moment, when its resolute confirmation by Congress would not have been of the highest importance to the honor, the interest. and the safety of our country. The legislative confirmation would have been no more recognizing the doctrine,) or equivalent ones, an abstract declaration, than the executive recommendation. Both the one and the other Legislature of the United States. Their pas- were demanded by the gravest considerations. No, sir, it was not the fear of abstractions, which interfered between Congress and this good work. It was some undefined apprehension, that, if we spoke the words, we must adhere to them; and that, if we adhered to them, they would be words of terrible import to our country. I am happy to believe, that timidity is giving way to a wise firmness.

Mr. SEWARD. Will the honorable Sena-

tor allow me to ask him a question at this point by way of elucidating this matter?
Mr. CASS. Certainly.
Mr. SEWARD. I desire to avail myself.

of the honorable Senator's recollection about the occasion when the debate, to which he alludes, took place. Was there at that time Powers to extend their political system to before Congress a practical question of construction. Our own judicial tribunals consti- has brought an article in the London Morn- any part of America, without endangering flict, or apprehended conflict, in regard to any portion of the territory of Central America? I ask the question, because I have quite forgotten the occasion on which the debate to which he refers took place.

Mr. CASS. I beg pardon; I referred to the honorable Senator's declaration on the introduction of the President's message.

Mr. SEWARD. I spoke then of the reason why it failed upon the occasions when it had this House, when the honorable Senator from Michigan himself brought it forward, and I thought then it was presented without an occasion.

Mr. CASS. Mr. President, so far as I know, was on its redecimation by Mr. Polk. He certainly introduced it in reference to the There was a plain, practical point. We refused to say a word, and, I repeat, we refused then even to take it (the subject) into consideration. In the other occasion to which the honorable Senator refers, there was a resolution, I think, introduced by myself; but I do not iecollect what particular bearing it had, except its general bearing, on the welfare of the country:

Mr. SEWARD. That is what I understood, and therefore I asked the question. Mr. CASS. The circumstances connected with Mr. Monroe's communication are well known, and properly called for the consideration and action of Congress; but it found neither. When Mr. Polk adopted and renewed the declaration, the Oregon controversy was pending, and it was a peculiarly fitting occasion for a union of the legislative and executive powers; in order to bring this great work to its consummation. Still, nothing was done. And, now, this subject is again brought before us by another President, and with a view to its direct bearing upon the discussion, in which we find ourselves engaged with England. Some years since, as I have stated, the debate in the Senate was self, affirming the concurrence of Congress Lord Clarendon calls it, and will never fruc-

The honorable Senator from New Hamnshire, (Mr. HALE,) in the remarks he made. was laid down by Mr. Monroe, but that his "It concerned the United States, under as efforts were limited to the preservation of the rope. They were the first Power on that conti- of various despotic powers to put down pop-

they also stood connected with those new States. There is no doubt, sir, but that the threatening aspect of affairs in relation to these Spanish States, and the known project to. bring them under the dominion of some Bourbon prince, was the prominent cause, which led Mr. Monroe to interpose upon that occa-And to the same purport speaks Mr. Ever-upon which that action could be justified, ett in one of the most admirable letters to be and the result was this well-known declarafound in the whole history of diplomacy .- tion. In our position, it is one of the great He said, speaking of the influence of the elements of our strength, and of our means of self-defense. It is perpetual, as well in its obligations, as in the security it brings ance in reference to territorial arrangements is with it. It interfered with no existing rights, but looked to the future, with a view to guard that from danger.

Mr. Monroe promulgated, what is known through the world as his doctrine-the American doctrine of American self-preservation. on account of the language, for it is guarded, that high functionary had, to the great offence in vituperation. In that high seemblage, right to speak authoritatively upon this matbut on account of the spirit, which pervades of English delicacy, stated a plain case in Lord Brougham said, speaking of me, that ter. I refer to Mr. Rush, whose name is out by the executive authority, as that de-unprincipled league. Now, sir, Mr. Monroe