has usually been the medium through which the more cultivated foreign race has gradually introduced itself into a mutually beneficial intercourse with the less advanced tribes, has been to Africa, from the dawn of history to the present day, the all powerful agent of universal civil war, anarchy and social disorganization. This has been one cause of her making so little progress in civilization.

Another, is her climate—her mighty equatorial expanse, a more extensive tract of land between the tropics than in all the rest of the globe—her fervid vertical sun, burning down upon the rank vegetation of her fertile plains, and rendering her shores and water courses pestiferous to a foreign Constitution. This peculiar geographical character seems again to shut her out from the ordinary approaches of civilization. Common inducements of commercial gain are too weak to tempt the merchant to those feverous districts. Nothing but a taste for adventure, approaching to mania, attracts the traveler, and when Christian benevolence lures the devoted missionary to this field of labor, it lures him too often to his doom. Here, then, we see a union of influences which seem to seal the fate of unhappy Africa as an abomination of desolation. But, now, mark and reverence the providence of God, educing out of these natural disadvantages of climate—disadvantages to man's apprehension—and this colossal moral wrong, the African slave trade, out of these seemingly hopeless elements of physical and moral evil—out of long cycles of suffering and crime, of violence and retribution, such as history can nowhere parallel—educing, I say, from these elements, by the blessed alchymy of Christian benevolence, the means of the ultimate regeneration of Africa. The aroused conscience of Christendom denounces the slave trade, but not till it has existed for three centuries, and filled a portion of the Western Hemisphere with five or six millions of the descendants of Africa, of whom about a million and a half, in the islands and on the continent, have from time to time become free; though born and reared under circumstances unfavorable to mental culture, yet still partaking, in the main, of many of the blessings of civilization and Christianity, amply qualified, as Liberia has shown, to convey those blessings to the native land of their fathers.

Thus, at the moment when the work itself is ready to be commenced, the chosen instruments are prepared. So I err in the opinion that the same Providence which has arranged or permitted this mysterious sequence of events, is calling and inviting them to the auspicious work. All other means have been tried in vain. Private adventure has miscarried—strength, and courage, and endurance almost superhuman, have languished and broken down—well-appointed expeditions, fitted out under the auspices of powerful associations and powerful governments, have ended in calamitous failure; and it is proved at last that the Caucassian race cannot achieve the long deferred work. When that last noble expedition which was sent out from England, I think in the year 1841, under the highest auspices, to found an agricultural settlement in the interior of Africa, ascended the Niger, every white man out of one hundred and fifty sickened, and all but two or three, if my memory serves me, died, while of their dark skinned associates, also one hundred and fifty in number, with all the added labor and anxiety that devolved upon them, a few only were sick, and they were individuals who had passed years in a temperate climate, and not one died.

I say again, Sir, you Caucassas, you proud Anglo-Saxon, you self sufficient, all-attempting white man, you cannot civilize Africa! You have subdued and appropriated Europe, the native races are melting before you in America, as the untimely snows of April before a vernal sun; you have possessed yourself of India; you menace China and Japan; the remotest isles of the Pacific are not distant enough to elude your notice; but Central Africa confronts you, and bids you defiance. Your squadrons may range or blocade her coast, but neither on the errands of peace nor the errands of war, can you penetrate to the interior. The God of Nature, no doubt, for wise purposes, however, inscrutable, has drawn across the chief inlets a cordon you cannot break through. You may hover on the coast, but you dare not set foot on shore. Death sits portress at the undefended gateways of her mud-built villages—yellow and intermittent fevers, blue plagues, and poisons that you can see as well as feel, await your approach. As you ascend the rivers, pestilence shoots from the mangroves that fringe their noble banks, and the glorious sun, which kindles all inferior nature into teeming, bursting life, darts disease into your languid system. No, you are not elected for this momentous work. The great Disposer, in another branch of his family, has chosen out a race—descendants of this torrid region, children of this vertical sun—and fitted them, by ages of stern discipline, for the gracious achievement.

For foreign realms and lands remote, supported by His care,
So pass unharmed through burning climes, and breathe the tainted air

Sir, I believe that the auspicious work is begun; that Africa will be civilized—civilized by her returning offspring and descendants; I believe it, because I will not think that this mighty and fertile region is to remain forever in its present state—because I can see no other agency adequate to the accomplishment of the work, and I do behold in this agency a most mysterious fitness. I am aware that doubts are entertained of the practicability of the work, founded, in part, on the supposed incapacity of the civilized men of color in this country to carry on an undertaking of this kind, and partly on the supposed hopeless barbarism of the native races, which is thought by some persons to be so gross as to defy the approach of improvement. I believe both opinions to be erroneous. It would, I think, be unjust to urge, as a proof of the intellectual inferiority of the civilized men of color in this country, that they have not made much intellectual progress. It appears to me that they have done quite as much as could be expected under the depressing circumstances in which they have been placed. What branch of the European family, if held in the same condition for three centuries, would not be subject to the same reproach? Mr Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, urges the intellectual infirmity of the African race, as existing in the United States. He might have been led to doubt the justice of his conclusions, by reflecting that in the very same work he thinks it necessary to vindicate the race to which we ourselves belong from a charge of degeneracy, made by an ingenious French writer. Why, Sir, it is but a short time since we Anglo-Americans were habitually spoken of by our brethren in England as a degenerate and inferior race. Within thirty years it has been contemptuously asked in the liberal journals of Europe, in reference to the natives of the country of Franklin and Washington, and Adams and Marshall, and Jefferson and Madison, of Irving, Prescott, Bancroft, Ticknor, Bryant and Longfellow, "Who reads an American book?" In the face of facts like these, it becomes us to be somewhat cautious in setting down the colored race in America as one of hopeless inferiority.

Again, Sir, it is doubted whether there is in the native races of Africa, a basis of improvability, if I may use that word, in which a hope of their future civilization can be grounded. It is said that they alone, of all the tribes of earth, have shown themselves incapable of improving their condition. Well, Sir, who knows that? Of the early history of our race we know but little, in any part of the globe. A dark cloud hangs over it. The whole North and West of Europe, till the Roman civilization shone in upon it, was as benighted as Africa is now. It is quite certain that, at a very early period of the history of the world, some of the native races of Africa had attained a high degree of culture. Such was the case of the ancient Egyptians, a dark colored race, though not of what we call the negro type. They are considered the parents of much of the civilization of the Greeks, and, indeed, of the whole ancient world. As late as the 4th century, before the Christian era, Plato passed thirteen years in studying their sacred records. The massive monuments of their cheerless culture have withstood the storms of time, better than the more graceful creations of Grecian art. Races that emerged from barbarism later than those of Africa have, with fearful vicissitudes on the part of individual States, acquired and maintained a superiority over Africa, but I am not prepared to say that it rests on natural causes of a final and abiding character. We are led into error by contemplating things too much in the gross. There are tribes in Africa which have made no contemptible progress in various branches of human improvment. On the other hand, if we look closely at the condition of the mass of the population in Europe, from Lisbon to Archangel, from the Hebrides to the Black Sea. If we turn from the few who possesses wealth, or competence, education, culture and that lordship over Nature and all her forces which belongs to instructed mind. If we turn from these, to the benighted, destitute, oppressed, superstitious, abject millions, whose lives are passed in the hopeless toils of the field, the factory, the mine—whose inheritance is beggary, whose education is stellid ignorance—at whose daily table hunger and thirst are the stewards—whose rare festivity is brutal intemperance. If we could count their numbers, gather into one aggregate, their destitution of the joys of life, and thus estimate the full extent of the practical barbarism of the nominally civilized world, we should be inclined, perhaps, to doubt the essential superiority of the present improved European race. If it be essentially superior, why did it remain so long unimproved? The Africans, you say, persevered in their original barbarism for five thousand years. Well, the Anglo-Saxon race did the same thing for nearly four thousand years, and in the great chronology of Providence, a thousand years are but as one day.

A little more than ten centuries ago, and our Saxon ancestors were not more civilized than some of the African tribes of the present day. They were savage, warlike people—pirates by sea, bandits on shore, enslaved by the darkest superstitions, worshipping divinities as dark and cruel as themselves; and the slave trade was carried on in Great Britain eight hundred years ago as ruthlessly as upon the coast of Africa as at the present day.

But it pleased Divine Providence to pour the light of Christianity upon this midnight darkness. By degrees, civilization, law, liberty, letters and arts came in, and at the end of eight centuries we talk of the essential inborn superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, and look down with disdain on those portions of the human family who have lagged a little behind us in the march of civilization.

Sir, at the present day Africa is not the abode of utter barbarism. Here again we do not discriminate; we judge in the gross. Some of her tribes are, indeed, hopelessly broken down by internal wars and the foreign slave trade, and the situation of the whole continent is exceedingly adverse to any progress in culture. But they are not savages; the mass of the population live by agriculture, there is some traffic between the coast and the interior there is a rude architecture; gold dust is collected, iron is smelted, weapons and utensils of husbandry and household use are wrought, cloth is manufactured and dyed, palm oil is expressed, and schools are taught. Among the Mahomedan tribes the Koran is read. I have seen a native African in this city who had passed forty years of his life as a slave in the field, who, at the age of seventy, wrote the Arabic character with the elegance of a scribe. And Mungo Park tells us that lawsuits are argued with as much ability, fluency, and at as much length in the interior of Africa, as at Edinburgh. I certainly am aware that the condition of the most advanced tribes of Central Asrica is wretched, mainly in consequence of the slave trade which exists among them in the most deplorable form. The only wonder is, that with this cancer eating into their vitals from age to age, any degree of civilization can exist. But I think it may be said, without exaggeration, that, degraded as are the ninety millions of Africans, ninety millions exist in Europe, to which each country contributes her quota not much less degraded. The difference is, and certainly an all important difference, that in Europe, intermingled with those ninety millions, are fifteen or twenty millions, possessed of all degrees of culture, up the very highest; while in Africa there is not an individual who, according to our standard, has attained a high degree of cultivation. But if obvious causes for this can be shown, it is unphilosophical to infer from it inessential incapacity. But all doubts of the capacity of the African race for self-government, and of their improvability under favorable circumstances, seem to me to be removed by what we witness at the present day, both in our own country and on the coast of that continent. Notwithstanding the disadvantages of their condition in this country, specimens of intellectual ability, the talent of writing and speaking, capacity for business, for the ingenious and mechanical arts, for accounts, for the ordinary branches of academical learning, have been exhibited by our colored brethren, which would do no discredit to Anglo-Saxons. Pall Cuffee, well recollected in New-England, was a person of great energy. His father was an African slave: his mother, an Indian of the Elizabeth Islands, Mass. I have already alluded to the extraordinary attainments of Abderrahaman. A man of better manners or more respectable appearance I never saw.

The learned blacksmith of Alabama, now in Siberia, has attained a celebrity scarcely inferior to that of his white brother, known by the same designation. I frequently attended the examinations at a school in Cambridge, at which Beverley Williams was a pupil. Two youths from Georgia and a son of my own were his fellow pupils. Beverley was a born slave in Mississippi, and apparently of pure African blood. He was one of the best scholars, perhaps the best Latin scholar, in his class. These are indications of intellectual ability, afforded under discouraging circumstances at home.

On the coast of Africa the success of Liberia (the creation of this Society) ought to put to rest all doubts on this question. The affairs of that interesting settlement, under great difficulties and discouragements, have been managed with a discretion, an energy, and I must say, all things considered, with a success which authorizes the most favorable influences as to the capacity of the colored races for self-government. It is about 30 years since the settlement began, and I think it must be allowed that its progress will compare favorably with that of Virginia and Plymouth after an equal length of time.

They have established a well organized Constitution of Republican Government. It is administered with ability, the Courts of Justice are modelled after our own. They have schools and churches. The soil is tilled, the country is explored, the natives are civilized, the slave trade is banished, a friendly intercourse is maintained with foreign powers, and England and France have acknowledged their independent sovereignty. Would a handful of Anglo-Americans from the humblest classes of society here do better than this?

The truth is, Mr. President—and with this I conclude—our influence has been, and I trust ever will be, at work through the agency of the Colony of Liberia and the other similar agencies I trust hereafter to be added, abundantly competent to effect this great undertaking, and that is the sovereign power of Christian law. Ah, sir, this, after all, is sometimes resisted and subdued—commercial enterprise becomes bankrupt, State policy is outwitted, but, in the long run, pure, manly, rather let me say, heavenly love, can never fail.

It is the moral sentiment, principally under the guidance and impulse of religious zeal, that has civilized the world. Arms, and craft, and mammon seize their opportunity and mingle in the work, but cannot kill its vitality. That our colored brethren equally with ourselves are susceptible of the moral sentiments, it would be an affront to your discernment to argue. Sir, I read last year in a newspaper an anecdote which seemed to put this point in so beautiful and affecting a light, that with your permission I will repeat it.

A citizen of Rapides, in Louisiana, with his servant, started for California, hoping to improve his not prosperous circumstances by sharing the golden harvest of that region. For a while they were successful, but the health of the master at length failed. What, in that distant region, under a constitution forbidding Slavery, and in that new and scarcely organized society—what was the slave? Priest and Levi, as the master lay ill of typhus fever, came and looked on him and passed by on the other side; but the faithful servant tended, watched, protected his stricken master by day and by night—his companion, nurse and friend. At length the master died. What then was the conduct of the slave, as he stood in those lonely wastes by the remains of him who, when living, he had served? He dug his decent grave in the golden sands—gathered up the fruits of their joint labors—(these he considered the sacred property of his master's family)—toiled a few more weeks under the burning sun of a California summer to accumulate the means of paying his passage to the States, and then returned to the family of his master in Louisiana.

I cannot vouch for the truth of the story. I have heard of tales which, if not true, were well invented. This, sir, is too good to be invented. I believe, I know it must be true, and such a fact proves more for the possession by the African race of the moral sentiments by which the land of their fathers is to be civilized than volumes of argument. Sir, that master, and that slave ought to be in marble and brass. If a person so humble as myself, so soon could pass away to be forgotten, dare promise it, I would say their memory shall never perish. *O fortunati ambo; siquid mea Carmina possint. Nulla dies unquam memoris eos eximet ava.*

There is a moral wealth in that incident beyond the treasures of California. If all the gold she has already yielded to the indomitable industry of the adventurer, and all that she yet locks from the cupidity of man, in the virgin chambers of her snow-clad Sierrs were all molten into one ignot, it would not buy the moral worth of that scene. Sir, I leave you to make the application. I have told you—you knew it well before—how Africa is to be civilized, and who are to do the work, and what remains, but to bid God speed the undertaking.

The delivery of the address was interrupted by frequent bursts of applause.

Rev. Charles H. Reed, of Virginia, delivered a few remarks in support of the position, that it is the duty of the whites to sustain the blacks until they can stand alone, and he pressed the colonization cause as a Christian enterprise.

Hon. C. F. Mercer gave a minute history of the Colonization Society, urging that the Society should be guarded against fanatic Abolitionists on one hand, and the equally fanatic advocates of Slavery as an abstract good on the other.

The Society then adjourned.

State Nominations.

ALBANY, Tuesday, Jan. 18, 1853.

The nomination of Mr. Ogden, of Pen Yan, for Canal Appraiser, and Mr. Briggs, of Syracuse, for Superintendent of the Salt Springs, are to be acted upon to-day, in the Senate.

The Health of Havana—Removals and Appointments.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Jan. 18, 1853.

A dispatch from Key West states that Hon. Lewis C. Levin, who recently visited Havana with the view of leaving his family there for the benefit of their health, has returned with them to Key West in consequence of the alarming prevalence of the small pox and cholera at Havana.

Several clerks have been dismissed from the Census Bureau since the 1st inst. Four were dismissed to-day. Meanwhile we are apprised of eight fresh appointments.

U. S. Supreme Court—The Troy Nail Manufacturing Co. vs. E. Corning and others.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Jan. 18, 1853.

In the case of the Troy Nail Manufacturing Company against Erastus Corning and others, of New-York, for alleged infringement on Burden's patent binding lever, in the manufacture of railroad spikes. The decision was given this morning, reversing the decision of the Court below, and directing a perpetual injunction to be issued.

Washington Items.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Jan. 18, 1853.

The Union, this morning, publishes a letter from Mr. Beale, Member of Congress from the Fourteenth District of Virginia, declining a reelection.

The amount received thus far in January toward the Washington Monument is $2,708.

The Weather—Congressional Nominations.

CONCORD, Tuesday, Jan. 18, 1853.

The weather is moderating. The thermometer is now at 28. The wind is north-west, and it is snowing a little.

Hon. George W. Morrison, of Manchester, was to-day nominated at the Democratic Congressional Convention, held in Manchester, to be supported in March, as the Democratic candidate in this, the IId District, under the new revision. He received 145 votes, the whole number. There was a majority of between 100 and 200 against the Democrats last year in this District.

The new gas works were put in operation in this place last evening.

Messrs. Foster and Pillsbury, the Abolition lecturers, have taken the stump in this State, to open the way for Hale, Tuck & Company, preparatory to the March election. Abolition and the Maine Liquor Law are to be the issues. Uncle Tom's Cabin is the principal electioneering document.

Snow—Wilson, the Counterfeiter.

BOSTON, Tuesday, Jan. 18, 1853.

Snow has fallen steadily since noon to-day.

William W. Wilson was examined in the Police Court to-day on charges of counterfeiting bills on the Bank of North America, Tradesmen's and Merchants' Bank; also the Housatonic Bank and the State Bank of Indiana. Another charge is for counterfeiting silver dollars, halves and dimes. The case was sent up to the Municipal Court, and bail required in $17,000.

Col. Hebert Recovering—Cholera on Shipboard—Terrible Mortality among Emigrants to Liberia.

BALTIMORE, Tuesday, Jan. 18, 1853.

The mail is through from New-Orleans a date as due.

Col. Hebert, Governor elect of Louisiana, was recovering. His disease was a brain fever.

Bark Zebra, which sailed from New-Orleans 1st instant, for Liberia, put into Savannah on Saturday, with the cholera on board. The Captain and twenty-seven emigrants had died, and many of the crew and passengers were sick.

The weather is colder, and snow is falling fast.

U. S. Steamer Water Witch, &c.

BALTIMORE, Tuesday, Jan. 18, 1853.

The U. S. steamer Water Witch arrived here from Washington on Sunday, is taking in stores, and will sail in a few days for Rio de la Plata.

We have no mail south of Richmond this morning.

The weather has moderated. The thermometer this morning was at 25°.

Marine Disasters.

PHILADELPHIA, Tuesday, Jan. 18, 1853.

The schooner J. & W. Errickson, of Philadelphia, from New-York for Richmond, went ashore on Sunday in Townsend's Inlet, Cape May. Her cargo consisted of railroad iron. The captain and crew were saved.

A letter from Berlin, Maryland, states that the cargo of the schooner Franklin, from Porto Rico, before reported ashore south of Fenwick's Island, will be landed in a damaged condition.

Departure of the Steamer Fulton—Mr. King's Health—Marine Disaster.

NORFOLK, Tuesday, Jan. 18, 1853.

The U. S. steamer Fulton sailed from here for Havana last night. The health of Hon. W. R. King was improving.

The packet schooner Columbia, hence for New-York 1st inst., was spoken off Cape Henry yesterday, with loss of sails, &c.

Marine Disaster.

BOSTON, Tuesday, Jan. 18, 1853.

Accounts from Holmes's Hole report that schooner Progress, from Portland for Baltimore, dragged ashore in the gale of the 13th, but got off 15th with loss of false keel and leaking 50 strokes an hour. She will proceed to New-Bedford to repair.

The Florida at Savannah—Quick Passage.

SAVANNAH, Tuesday, Jan. 18, 1852.

The steamship Florida, from New-York, arrived at the Bar at 9½ o'clock, and at her wharf at 11½ o'clock last night, being the quickest run ever made.

Destruction of a Freight Depot on the Erie Railroad by Fire.

GOSHEN, TUESDAY, Jan. 18, 1853.

A fire broke out, in the oil-room in the freight-dépôt of the Erie Railroad at Delaware, and the building was entirely consumed, with a large amount of freight. The loss is estimated at $5,000.

Railroad Accident—Jail on Fire.

BINGHAMTON, TUESDAY, Jan. 18, 1853.

The Day Express train on the Erie Railroad, while passing Campville station, bound east, came in collision with an engine which was standing on the switch between the two tracks. All the cars were thrown off the track, and several passengers were severely bruised, but it is thought none dangerously.

A fire was discovered last night in one of the cells of the jail under the court-house in this place. It was extinguished before much damage was done, and is supposed to have been the work of one of the prisoners.

XXXIID CONGRESS.....SECOND SESSION

SENATE....WASHINGTON, Jan. 18, 1853.

Mr. RUSK moved, and the Chair was authorized to fill the vacancy in the Committee of Post-Offices and Post Roads, in place of Mr. Upham.

Several petitions were presented.

Mr. BADGER introduced a bill changing the law relative to bail in civil cases in the District of Columbia. It abolishes all right to demand bail in any civil case.

Mr. UNDERWOOD spoke in favor of the bill, and it was referred.

Mr. BADGER introduced a joint resolution for the relief of Clark Mills. Referred.

Mr. SHIELDS reported back the House bill appropriating $50,000 for the equestrian statue of Washington. Mr. Shields said that it had passed the House unanimously and hoped it would do the same here.

It was taken up and passed unanimously.

Several reports were made.

Mr. MANGUM offered a resolution directing inquiry into the propriety of purchasing Espy's Conical Ventilator. Adopted.

Mr. SOULE offered a resolution calling for information from the State Department relative to claims of American citizens against Hayti. Adopted.

Mr. PEARCE offered a resolution for printing Mr. Stansbury's report of the World's Fair held in London. Referred.

The act for the relief of the widow and children of McKee, of Kentucky, was passed.

Mr. BROOKE's resolution calling for the reasons why official relations with Marcoleta, the Nicaraguan Minister, were suspended, was by consent withdrawn, with a view to be offered in Executive Session.

The Pacific Railroad bill was taken up and postponed.

Mr. CASS's resolution reaffirming the Monroe doctrine and applying it to Cuba, was taken up.

Mr. BRIGHT presented the credentials of John Pettit, Senator elect from Indiana, who appeared and was sworn.

Mr. CASS said:

The question of the recolonization of any part of this hemisphere by the European powers, has occupied the attention of the American people for many years, with more or less interest, as passing events seemed to render the effort more or less probable, but that the subject, as well as the principles involved in it, have been so often discussed that he did not propose to enter into a very full examination of our rights and condition connected with this important topic, but rather to present the general considerations belonging to it.

He then proceeded to quote from the messages of Messrs. Monroe and Polk the passages in which the so-called "Monroe Doctrine" is affirmed, and to speak of the reception which the doctrine therein contained met at the European Courts in the time of Monroe.

One third of a century, said Mr. C., has passed away since these diplomatic discussions, and if our position and circumstances, being the oldest of the family of nations in the western hemisphere, conferred upon us, at that time, such rights, accompanied by such duties, how much stronger is the appeal of this policy of continental independence, to our earnest attention, now when time has developed our strength and our danger, and when our American interests are primary, and those which connect us with Europe but secondary, in importance, and when, from day to day, this disparity is increasing?

This then being our settled plan of policy, and having been so announced to the world by two chief magistrates of our country, why, it may be asked, does it become necessary for Congress to interpose, and, by a legislative declaration, reaffirm it? The nature of our Government furnishes a satisfactory answer to this question. Though there is no doubt but that these executive declarations were beneficial in their operations, and aided in checking schemes of aggrandizement, which, had they gone on, would have changed the political aspect of the countries south of us, and greatly to our injury: still they have not been wholly regarded as events upon the La Plata, and in other regions, practically have demonstrated, and occurrences now going on in Central America, and which from day to day occupy the earnest attention of the Senate, showing the steps by which the merest shadow of possession becomes a claim, and a claim a title which carries with it dominion and sovereignty, treaty or no treaty. These occurrences announce that our declared policy of exclusion will be still further disregarded, unless authoritively reaffirmed in the name of the American people. An experiment is making upon our forbearance, or rather upon our apprehension, and as it is arrested or submitted to it will be abandoned or pushed to results which no nation now ventures openly to avow.

Mr. CASS was of opinion that the American Government had faltered in its course, and that it ought to have added the solemnity and force of a Legislative concurrence to those executive declarations. The neglect of this he considered a great mistake, and as opening the way for European nations to meddle in the affairs of this Continent.

The recent movement in Sonora was largely commented upon, and on leaving this topic, Mr. Cass says: "Now, it can hardly be doubted by any man, who is familiar with the course of European interposition, that if the effort just made to overthrow the Mexican Government in Sonora had succeeded, ere long that country would have passed into the possession of France, unless prevented by our remonstrances, or by armed intervention. As it failed, we shall not know its true history until we read it in another attempt, and perhaps a successful one. That, however, will not be made, if we are true to ourselves, by announcing and continuing to manifest a determination to resist it, or any similar scheme of European aggrandizement."

Having proved to his own satisfaction that we have a right to insist upon this principle of American exemption from being mixed with European politics, he proceeds to say: "What objection can there be to its ratification by Congress, the depository of so much of the power of the American people? Why this course is rendered necessary I have already explained, and shown that the time which has intervened since its first proclamation, and the circumstances which have almost reduced it to a dead letter, have produced the impression which evidently prevails in Europe, that we are not prepared to enforce it, as the war-making authority has refused or neglected to sustain it. Why, I repeat, withhold this action, and leave us thereby to encourage untoward events, which due firmness on our part might anticipate, and would probably prevent?"

The decree stands recorded in the history of our own Executive acts. It is essential to its validity that it should now take its place in the acts of the legislative department. Why not? Do you mean to leave it without effect, and abandon it to its fate, and not even attempt to enforce it? If so, it would be much more honorable to repeal it. Or do you desire its efficient action in great exigencies, which may come—probably, indeed, will come!—for, if you do, you must fortify it by the declaration of your zealous concurrence, and, if need be, your powerful coöperation. Or are we afraid to speak out boldly, plainly, as becomes the American people, trusting to the miserable policy of expedients, instead of asserting our rights and our determination to maintain them?

It may be consoling to observe, at least for those who need the consolation, that a legislative declaration would, to say the least of it, have a strong tendency to prevent attempts which, without such an imposing measure, would doubtless be made, for assuredly the contest with the United States for the acquisition of Territory in North America, the very seat of our power, would not be hazarded without very powerful considerations, which it is difficult to foresee, in the face of the exertions of this country putting forth all its strength.

He then proceeded to the second resolution, which relates to Cuba. He desired the possession of that Island—earnestly desired it, whenever we can justly obtain it and the sooner that time comes the better, not being particular as to the means.

"There are two questions involved in this subject of Cuba; one of right, the other of expediency. Whether we can do anything justly, and, if we can, what and how much we ought to do."

Mr. Cass proceeded to argue that the gulf of Mexico should be to the United States what Napoleon endeavored to make of the Mediterranean, that is, an American—as he proposed to make the other a French—lake, or what that sea is now to England, holding as she does Gibralter, Malta, and the Ionian Islands. We find nothing new in this part of Mr. Cass's speech. The alleged designs of England and France upon Cuba are held up *in terrorem*, and the usual filibustering notions on the subject are given out in full.

Alluding to the recent letter of Mr. Everett, he said: "It is worthy of his character, and it is marked by a lofty, patriotic, American feeling. I have seldom seen a document more conclusive in its style or illustration. If it had announced openly that we desire to purchase Cuba, and that declaration would have been appropriate to the occasion, I should have given to it almost my unqualified adhesion. But even with that omission, I feel proud of it, as an American State paper."

And I thank Mr. Everett for the reproof or retort, be it one or the other caustic, though a little reserved, as became his position, but plain enough withal, which he administers to his diplomatic correspondent on the subject of our territorial acquisitions, compared with those of France and England. If there is one chapter in the whole history of human hypocracy, from the time of the parable of the Pharisee, who thanked God he was not as other men, and especially as that Publican, down to the last diatribe against the grasping propensity of the United States, more remarkable than any other for its inconsistency, it is that which records the boasts of European self-disinterestedness, compared with that Publican on the western side of the Atlantic who covets all he sees and snatches all he can.

Mr. Everett's defense of the history of our acquisitions is unanswerable—as well with relation to the means by which they were obtained, as to the meliorations resulting from them. Truly has he said, "Every addition to the territory of the American Union has given homes to European destitution, and gardens to European want." And he might have added, with equal truth, freedom and the rights of man to European vassilage.

The proposal of a tripartite treaty by England and France, he considered a mere farce, proposed by those powers, with a full understanding that the proposition would be rejected here.

Why was this proposition for a tripartite treaty submitted to the United States? asked Mr. C. Not with the slightest belief that it would be accepted. There was not a member of the French or of the British Cabinet, who did not know, as well before the project was referred to us as after, that the offer would be peremptorily rejected. They all understand our principles and our policy. They knew we were opposed to these "entangling alliances," for these are truly so, and they knew our views with respect to Cuba, and that we would not sacrifice our permanent interests to any such scheme.

Then why this solemn farce, of an invitation to do what it was known we would not do? Well, Sir, there is but one rational answer to this inquiry. Those two Governments are able to say to us, now and hereafter, we shall take our own course with respect to Cuba. We have asked your participation in the measures necessary for its security, and you have declined to join us. We are free to act as we please. We have given you warning that we do not recognise your right to acquire that Island, and that we shall "*discountenance*" all efforts that you may make to obtain possession of it.

This declaration is explicitly made by the French Government, and the same view is easily deducible from the letter of Mr. Crampton, where he speaks of their being something equivocal in the declaration of the United States in consequence of the "juxtaposition" of the words "European" and "power," and inviting a plain disavowal of our intention ever to obtain possession of Cuba. This, of course, he neither got, nor expected to get.

Thus, then, stands this 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 arrangements. This has been declined, and the two Powers, upon their own principles, are free to regulate the whole subject, so far as they 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, Sir, I have endeavored to show why these resolutions should pass. I have endeavored to show both our right and our duty to adopt them, and also that their adoption would have a powerful operation in checking projects of aggrandizement, which, without our interference, will go on their consummation. I do not presume to say that this solemn proceeding alone will, under all circumstances, secure our community from these danger. But I do say, it will be heard, and not unheeded, and projects which, without it, would be, and perhaps promptly, carried into effect, will be, if not abandoned, at least be delayed *till a more convenient* OPPORTUNITY, which will come when pusillanimity guides the councils of our country, and not till then.

Mr. BUTLER said that he desired simply to make an explanation, which perhaps was called for by the remarks just made. He sympathised with the Senator in many of his patriotic declarations, and he did not know but what he assented to many of his doctrines, but he intended to go into no examination of the whole subject, nor follow the Senator in the whole encyclopedia of our foreign relations. Mr. Monroe's Cabinet was composed of men of practical views—they were not mere dialectic politicians, and that declaration, as he understood it from the explanation given of it by Mr. Calhoun, who was a member of that Cabinet, was intended to meet a practical issue then presented—to meet what was considered a practical question touching our institutions and rights. The allies of Europe, after forming what was called the Holy Alliance, feeling themselves powerful, were, in the arrogance of their power, disposed to restore the Spanish dominion in the American Republics. They felt that our institutions in their rapid growth, were injurious to them, and they thought fit to restore to their dominion legitimacy and despotism in those States. Castlereagh, who represented England, wrote to Mr. Canning advising him of this determination, and that statesman, thinking such would not be advantageous to Great Britain, and tending to involve her in difficulties, proposed that if the United States would make a strong declaration on the point that it would not permit such an act, Great Britain would decline the proposition. This declaration was then made by Mr. Monroe. There was a practical point to be met, and they met it boldly. Our forefathers were men of strong purposes and not of long advertisements, and he had generally found that those men of long advertisements were men of little performances. When there arose any practical issue with England involving a question of war, he did not believe, as was said by the Senator from New-Hampshire a few days ago, that this country would back out. When the time arrives that we were to try title to Cuba, and England was one of the parties, our people will not be found behind hand in such a trial. If Brother Jonathan for the next thirty years shall go on in progress as he has during the last, John Bull will not be found to be much of an obstacle in his way in his progress westward. He did not understand the Monroe doctrine as the Senator did. He understood it as applying solely to the attempt about to be made by the Holy Alliance to restore the Spanish dominion over the Central American States.

Mr. CASS said it was intended to go further. He understood it to extend to any effort to recolonise any part of this continent.

Mr. BUTLER read part of Mr. Calhoun's speech, delivered in the Senate some years ago on this subject, in which it was held that the Holy Alliance intended to restore Spanish dominion over those States, and that this general declaration by Mr. Monroe was intended to meet that specific case—that there it stopped, and it extended no further. He (Butler) thought that if Great Britain or any European power should take possession of these islands for the purpose of interfering with our institutions, or to make war upon them, or to be used against the United States in the case of war, he would, when that case arose, be prepared to give an opinion as to what should be done. Mr. Monroe took the wise and practical course of meeting the issue presented, and no other. He thought it very unwise to advertise the world in advance of what the United States would or would not do in cases which might arise. He had no fear of the feelings of patriotism of the people, should any actual issue arise. Should Great Britain take these islands, or Honduras, for the purpose of affecting our institutions, or to injure us in case of war, he could not say, but, perhaps, the gentleman's doctrine, that we should resist it, was but right and proper.

Mr. HALE said his amendment applied this doctrine to Canada. In March, 1770, the British soldiers in Boston shot down American citizens, and, when the event was told to a certain old statesman, the only answer he gave was that the soldiers must be talked to. They were talked to, but it did not amount to much. He thought this talking was our besetting sin. We talked too much. It might perhaps make some difference if we lived up to our talking. His remark about this nation backing out of any difficulty with England had no reference to the long advertisements made by some who generally were found to act the least. He was surprised that the Senator from Michigan had not alluded to his amendment. Why speak to Spain? She has said she will not sell Cuba, and has refused the liberal offer of a hundred millions of dollars. Why, then, tell her she shall not sell it? He contended that the local position of Canada, either in peace or war, was tenfold more important to the United States than Cuba. During the election of 1848 the Democratic candidate never went to bed without the possibility of having his dwelling rent asunder by a shell from the British possessions.

Mr. CASS—I slept pretty soundly, nevertheless. (Laughter.)

Mr. HALE said the Senator slept soundly perhaps under the double assurance of being free from the danger either of an election or of wounds. The commerce of the Lakes, he was told, was far greater than the whole foreign commerce of the United States, and he would like the gentleman to examine whether Canada was not, in a military view, of greater importance than Cuba, as the whole of this interior commerce was within reach of its shores? Would it not be better, then, to tell England that she should not sell Canada? Why select weak Spain in this matter? Why not, when we are notifying the world, select the Power who is to be our competitor? Why confine this to territory South? It was time to look a little North.

The Senator from Michigan was in favor of annexation and extension; so was he. He considered it a little remarkable that in all treaties made concerning territory, when it was at the North we cut off, and the South took in territory. This might have been accidental. In the case of Maine we sold to Great Britain that which she wanted for a military road. In the case of Oregon, where our title was clear and indisputable, we gave Great Britain 350,000 square miles. Had Mexico done this according to the doctrine now advanced, it would have been cause for war with Great Britain. We gave her Vancouver's Island, commanding the mouth of the Columbia River also. While this notification was in hand it would be as well to notify Great Britain that she was not to sell the Bahama Islands nor Jamaica. He then pointed out the vast benefits to result from the acquisition of Canada—equal, if not greater, than from Cuba—and followed the subject at considerable length. He also controverted the position that it was our mission to spread our dominion over the world. It was easy to show to the world that a free people, powerful and mighty, enjoyed under free institutions, peace and prosperity, and could extend the same to the oppressed of all mankind, and kept always in view the great principles of justice and right. He thought if it was desired to test the practicability of enforcing the Monroe doctrine, the opportunity was afforded by Great Britain in colonizing the Bay of Islands in contravention of treaty stipulations. Let it be tried at once. Why select Spain, our old ally, and who had never violated any of her engagements?

Mr. MASON got the floor, and the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The House resumed the discussion of the resolution reported from the Committee on Elections, to pay John Taliaferro per diem and mileage for contesting an election thirty or forty years ago.

Laid on the table.

The Committee on Ways and Means were authorized to employ a clerk.

Mr. BROOKS (N. Y.) from that Committee, reported a bill establishing a Branch Mint in New-York, and it was read by its title.

Mr. CHANDLER (Pa.) immediately rose and asked whether this was the first reading?

The SPEAKER—It is.

Mr. CHANDLER—Then I object to the second reading, and will state my reason for doing so.

The SPEAKER—Objection having been made to the second reading, the question occurs—Shall the bill be rejected? The rules so provide.

Mr. CHANDLER—Will you allow me to explain my reasons.

Mr. BROOKS—I have not yielded the floor.

The SPEAKER—The gentleman from New-York will remember the question must be now put in this form.

Mr. BAYLY—I merely wish to inquire whether it is in order to move to refer the bill?

The SPEAKER—Not till the bill has reached a second reading. The question is, shall the bill be rejected?

Mr. BRIGGS—Will it be in order, before the expiration of the morning hour, to move to recommit the bill?

The SPEAKER—It will not be in order till the bill receives a second reading.

Mr. FICKLIN—Let it be read a second time.

Mr. SWEETZER—Is the question debateable?

The SPEAKER—The Chair thinks not.

Mr. CHANDLER—I did not rise with the view of making a speech, but to ask the gentleman who reported the bill whether he intends that it shall take the general course.

Mr BROOKS appealed from the decision of the Chair, that the question must be taken without debate. He demanded the Yeas and Nays.

Mr. SEYMOUR called for the reading of the bill.

The Clerk had not completed the reading, when

Mr. BRIGGS—the morning hour having expired—moved that the bill be recommitted to the Committee of Ways and Means, and on that moved the previous question.

The SPEAKER replied, the motion could not be made until the bill was read a second time.

Mr. BROOKS—Then I hope the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Chandler) will withdraw his objection. I wish to ask what becomes of the bill if we pass by the morning hour?

The SPEAKER—It will go to the Speaker's table.

Mr. BROOKS—Then