THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

GENERAL BUTLER ON THE SITUATION.

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"LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION."

BOSTON, Nov. 23, 1870.

General Butler, the original and irrepressible, has finally given the public his views upon the Alabama *claims*, and what he regards as the injustice of the British government towards the American fishermen. Some days since the New York *Tribune* published what purported to be his opinions on this important question, but, as is well known, the whole story was only a fabrication, and when General Butler was invited to deliver his views before an audience here he took occasion to allude to the account of a bogus interview, as follows:—"I confess to some embarrassment, because a publication, purporting to express, in the form of a reported conversation, *my views upon these questions* of the Alabama claims and the fishery troubles now pending between England and this country, has been very extensively circulated. I need hardly say to gentlemen of your discrimination that that publication was wholly unauthorized by myself, and I have no knowledge who was the author. If that publication had been authorized, and were correct in all respects, I could hardly conceive that any one would have a desire to hear from me further upon these topics, and especially the language attributed to me. While many of the ideas are those that I have sometimes expressed in private talk with my friends, the publication is evidently the production of some person, who, hearing of such a conversation, has undertaken to give to the public, to my injury, as much of it as he could remember according to his comprehension." Having thus, as a preliminary proceeding, branded as false the alleged interview between himself and a *Tribune* writer, General Butler soon began to interest his audience with the narrative which they were so anxious to hear. The spacious hall was filled to its full capacity, and upon the platform were many leading citizens and republican politicians from all sections of the State. The General did not wait for an introduction to his listeners, but stepped promptly and squarely forward, announced himself pleased to meet so many old friends face to face, then declared that what he might say were but the opinions of one man, and that one man was responsible for those opinions. This characteristic preface won the warm applause of the audience, and when it subsided General Butler went on as follows:—

General Butler commenced his lecture by stating that by the results of the war all party distinctions and party catchwords had been abrogated, save the single dogma, still adhered to by the democratic party, as to the rights of the States as corporations in contradistinction to the rights of the federal Union as a national government; that the mission of the republican party at home was ended; that, as a party, no peculiarity of doctrine was left to it for its future aspirations upon which to rally its partisans, and that its mission at home had ended save to garner the gleanings of its great past; that the democracy had dwindled into an opposition only, while the shibboleth of republicanism was that the government should not pass into the hands of its enemies.

GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION STRONGER THAN ANY SINCE JACKSON.

Herein—he continued—lies the secret of that admirable vitality of the republican party which has become the wonder of the politician and the dread of the democracy. This determination of all true men, shown in every canvass, expressed by every ballot, has enabled the republican party, after ten consecutive years of administration after three times electing its President notwithstanding the apostasy of one, in spite of the many corruptions that necessarily creep into a party so long holding power, to do, as it is now doing, what no other administration has been able to do since Jackson—elect to the first House of Representatives, chosen after the inauguration of its President, a majority of nearly two-thirds. Save in the case of Lincoln only, in 1862, when the war united all parties at the North, and the whole South had thrown itself off, who was enabled to carry a small majority, this has not been done since Jackson. Every other President but Grant has found an opposition Speaker in his first House of Representatives. Even Pierce, who carried the whole country save five States, is not an exception.

BOTH PARTIES DIVIDED UPON THE TARIFF.

Upon the tariff some are for protection *per se*, and some are free traders, while perhaps the major part, learning from experience that indirect taxation is most easily borne by the people and most easily enforced by government, and believing that the necessities of the country to meet the required large expenditures of administration and the interest upon the public debt—a legacy of the war—have made a need for tariff to raise revenue sufficient for a basis to all necessary incidental protection to American industries, have adopted for their policy such a revenue tariff, with incidental protection, with the largest possible free list. Like differences upon a tariff policy disturb the peace of the democracy. The farmer of the Northwest believes there ought to be protection for his wool. The Kentuckian asks it for his hemp and the Louisianian for his sugar. So by no means are our opponents united upon revenue measures.

REPUBLICAN DIFFERENCES UPON FINANCE AND CURRENCY.

Upon measures of finance and the character of our currency similar differences divide the adherents of each party. Many good and earnest republicans believe that the present currency furnished by the national banks is the best that the world ever saw, and that the prosperity, if not the safety, of the country is bound up in the sustenance of those institutions and the money they issue. Some also believe that the wealth loaned the government during the war, although the lender took advantage of the then depressed state of the nation's credit to make the best bargain he could and to loan his money at fifty per cent or less of the obligation in coin, should never be made subject to taxation for any purpose whatever, and should be paid in gold at its full face, irrespective of the terms of the law which created the debt. Others are equally certain that paper money issued by corporations for their own gain and profit is the dearest and worst currency with which a nation can be cursed, and in the language of Webster, that of all institutions ever devised by men to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, and to till the rich man's field by the sweat of the poor man's brow, the banking system which issues as money an irredeemable currency bears the palm. Some believe that the burdens of taxation upon invested capital should be equal, whether the investment is in commerce, in manufactures, in agriculture or in national securities, and see no reason why more than two thousand millions of the most productive wealth of the country should be substantially exempted from the public burdens, and especially the taxation of the nation, which gives the only value to that class of capital. Some of these last also believe that the notes of the nation issued without cost or interest is a better currency than the note of any corporation issued for profit to the corporators can be. And they further believe that it is right of the government, if it is deemed politic, to pay its debts in exact accordance with the provisions of the laws creating them. And they know if any preference is to be given to any class of the government creditors, by provisions for payment in coin, it should be to those debts of high honor due to the soldiers who fought in the trenches of Vicksburg, Petersburg and on the fields of Gettysburg and the heights of Lookout Mountain, and to the mothers, widows and orphans in their promised pensions, the price of a husband's and father's life blood and limb.

An attempt was made two years ago to read out of the republican party those who held such belief, irrespective of their record of services to the country, or their fidelity upon those other great and vital questions of freedom and loyalty to the government, which were the very essence of its existence. That attempt, however, was soon found to be utterly futile in the West, and the only case in which it was tried in the East resulted in so miserable a failure, so disastrous to those who undertook it, that the experiment will hardly be repeated. The division in sentiment in both parties upon finance is still more curiously shown in what may be properly denominated the only administration measure of finance—that is, the taxation of the people for the immediate payment of the public debt. In his last annual report, the Secretary of the Treasury, speaking as the organ of the administration, fully recommended Congress to sustain the then rate of taxation in order to a speedy payment of the public debt. The administration seemed to intrench itself as in its stronghold in this, its great finance measure, yet we see a republican Congress, not without division in the republican party, aided largely by democratic votes, reducing both direct and indirect taxation of the people more than $80,000,000 at a single session, thus depriving the Treasury in a very large degree—nearly fifty per cent—of the means to carry out its own recommendations. Perhaps upon no measure was there a greater departure from the recommendation of the administration by Congress than upon this. The Secretary of the Treasury made the ultimatum of his administration the immediate payment of the public debt, which could only be done by keeping up the high rates of taxation imposed by the necessities of the war; and if economy in expenditures, if vigor in the collection of the revenue, if studious, energetic employment of all its products in cancelling the national obligations be evidence of the wisdom of a policy, certainly the highest praise is to be bestowed upon our honored fellow citizen, the Secretary of the Treasury. Assuming the desirableness of his end, with scrupulous honesty and integrity of purpose, he has adopted every means to that consummation.

ANNEXATION OF ST. DOMINGO.

Upon another set of great public measures a still more curious division and exchange of party ideas takes place. Heretofore it has been the boast of the democratic party that they desired to extend the boundaries of the country, or, in the euclidean word of the day, "the area of freedom," by acquisition of territory. Now we see a republican administration, with wise prescience of the interest of the nation, seeking to annex St. Domingo, sustained by a majority of a republican Senate, and by a majority of a republican House, and the whole democratic vote solidly against receiving into the Union the best and most desirable acquisition that has ever offered an extension of our empire. Upon the annexation of St. Domingo one would have thought no patriot would have doubted the wise foresight of the President in eagerly pursuing this acquisition. The outermost island of the Antilles, with the best harbor and most easily defended as a naval station of any on the continent, safe and salubrious at all seasons of the year at Samana Bay, a well fortified naval station and coal depot of the United States, established there, would render all the naval stations of Great Britain or other foreign Powers in the West Indies untenable and useless. Whoever desires this Continent shall be ruled by Americans, and that all foreign Powers shall retire therefrom, will agree with the President in his desire to have St. Domingo, the priceless jewel of the sea, the possession of which insures Cuba as our own. That administration measure failed by a union of a minority of the republicans with the solid democratic vote; yet the acquisition of Cuba, a less fertile and less commanding island of the Antilles, at the cost of unnumbered millions, has been the subject of vocabulary resolutions, time out of mind, in democratic conventions, equalled in number only by the repetition of the resolutions of 1798.

AMERICAN COMMERCE.

We also see a like division in each party upon the question of the re-establishment of American commerce, crippled and almost destroyed by the hostile acts of Great Britain during the rebellion, most vividly illustrated at the breaking out of the war between Prussia and France, when the President, as an administration measure, by a formal message recommended that our merchants have liberty to purchase the iron steam ships of the belligerents which might be otherwise locked up by blockade in their ports to be navigated under our flag, thus give employment to our sailors and to cheapen the transportation of our exports. We then saw the singular spectacle in Congress of leading democrats, one, an old whig abolitionist, representing the democracy of New York city, striking hands with the republican tariff men of Maine and Pennsylvania, as well in the Senate as in the House, to talk against time so that the waning hours of the session might expire, to prevent the passage of a republican administration measure to relieve American commerce. Thus we have seen that upon quite every issue that once divided the two great parties, either differences exist among their partisans or that each party has substantially changed its ground, one upholding that which the other formerly denied, the other denying that which it had asserted.

ENGLAND AND THE ALABAMA QUESTION.

We have also seen that the republican party has adjusted all the questions raised by the war, so far as they affect the internal policy of the government and so far as itself is concerned. There now remains to it only to adjust the great international and foreign questions that were evolved by our late terrible civil contest. And as we have reconstructed the States lately destroyed by the rebellion, so we should reconstruct our commerce, likewise destroyed in the same war. As we have adjusted the claims of our citizens for damages done in the war by our own government, so far as we have thought them just and equitable and not tainted with rebellion, so we should now adjust the claims of our citizens and the claims of our nation upon those nations who took advantage of our crippled condition to show a hostile spirit, followed by unfriendly acts. The chief offender against the national dignity and honor in this regard is the government of Great Britain. True, imperial France was quite as early in the recognition of the belligerent rights of the rebels, quite as unfriendly in its spirit—in its attack upon the neighboring republic of Mexico; but in the latter it failed to do us any injury, and the former was followed by no act of which we could justly complain. No rebel cruiser was fitted out or entertained and refitted in any French port. No pirate was let loose by Napoleon to prey upon our commerce. Upon what are popularly known as the Alabama claims I entertain some views of the grounds upon which they may rest different from those usually put forth as the basis of our grievances. I do not now, nor should I ever, propose to argue the question whether England was too early or sufficiently late in her recognition of the belligerent rights of the South. I hold, with the President, that the question of time for recognizing the belligerency of contending parties is one to be settled by each nation for itself, and no other nation has any proper ground for complaint of that determination. Nor do I care to examine whether the Alabama and Shenandoah might or might not have been kept in port by more vigilance or increased activity of the British naval officers, or by more stringent municipal laws. Admit, for the sake of the argument, that in that regard Great Britain did each act in conformity with the laws of nations. Yet it will not be denied that afterwards the Alabama and Shenandoah were received in British ports, their officers fêted, toasted and dined and the vessels refitted, provisioned and supplied with the necessary means of continuing their warfare upon our commerce, which was clearly a violation of international laws. Nor will it be denied that the government of England was bitterly hostile to the Union during the whole prosecution of the war, and was only restrained by her fears of the results, and not by love of the United States, from actively taking sides in that contest by acknowledging the confederacy. No man can doubt that her government heartily desired that her only successful commercial rival should be crushed. Nor can we look upon the consolidation of her provinces upon the north of us into a new nation called a dominion, from which unchecked raids were made upon our defenceless borders while the war was raging, as other than a hostile movement, designed to cripple us, in case the South should be successful, by creating an unfriendly nation on the north of us, to be in accord with a hostile nation on the south. By the valor of our soldiers and the patriotism of our people, under the providence of God, the British government was disappointed in its dearest wishes and failed of its most cherished desires.

ENGLAND DESTROYED OUR COMMERCE AND PROLONGED THE WAR.

The effect of what was done and omitted to be done by Great Britain, that as a friendly nation she ought to have done, is that our commerce has been substantially swept from the seas; we had only thousands of tons at the close of the war where we had millions of tons at the beginning. No man, even now, can cross the Atlantic Ocean in a seagoing steamer flying the American flag. Another effect of the position of the British government towards the South by giving false hopes to the confederacy was to prolong the war, at the expense of millions upon millions of treasure and thousands upon thousands of lives. And yet we are far into the sixth year since the war was ended, without being nearer—not to say to a reparation for these wrongs—even to a practical consideration of the questions involved than we were at the day of the surrender of Lee. The republican party is the dominant party of the country, and must remain so for the next three years at least. Upon it and upon its administration devolve the duty and the burden of bringing to a conclusion all these questions and obtaining the needed reparation, indemnification and apology for our wrongs. Delays add not their solution, but rather add to their complications. Time can never obliterate the deep sense of injury this nation entertains of the action of Great Britain during our war. Years only intensify its bitterness. The festering wounds in our national honor never will close up by lapse of years. They must always remain green, open, sore, until healed by the potent salve of ample reparation and indemnification. True, it is urged by some, not too far-sighted or discriminating people, principally newspaper writers, that we should delay settlement of our claims until England gets into a war and then let loose other Alabamas, other Shenandoahs and other Floridas from our ports, in the interest of the belligerent nation with which she should be at war, to prey upon her commerce, especially to make the pretext of war between herself and either of her dependencies, to have our own citizens fit out our ships as cruisers under some apocryphal flag and thus to avenge our wrongs. The statesmanship of those who advocate such a course would seem to be this:—We complain of her wrongs and we propose to make those right by doing other like wrongs to be inflicted in safety when our enemy is crippled. Is this statesmanship? Is it magnanimous? Is such redress bold—is it manly? Nay, is it not sneakingly cowardly?

LET US DEMAND OUR RIGHTS AND MAINTAIN THAT DEMAND.

Let us rather stand up in the manly strength of our nationhood, and fearlessly, boldly claim the rights which belong to us, insist upon their being respected, and that all questions between us and Great Britain be adjusted at once and forever, so as to take away all cause of unfriendliness between two powerful nations of the earth. Let us say to Great Britain, "Thus much we are wronged; thus much we require to satisfy the nation's honor and the nation's loss, and for that wrong and that loss thus much we must have, because it is our right and because we are able to maintain our right." Judge we between the two proposed modes of adjusting the Alabama claims. I say that her government was hostile, and her hostility was harmful to the United States and was so intended. We claim reparation for that harm done by this hostility. The question is how are we to enforce our rights? By declaring war? By no means. The United States will never lightly declare war. We are not a war-making government; we are only a war-carrying-on government when war is made upon us. I would apply the same doctrine to nations that I would to individuals under like circumstances. If my neighbor takes advantage of the fact that his line lies close under my windows to build a high fence to shut out the light and air from my dwelling, in order to show his hostility to myself and family, do I stop to inquire whether he has put that fence one inch over or one inch within the line which divides his land from mine? If he has put it one inch over I may sue him in the courts of law. But there are no courts of law to adjust disputes between nations. If he has put it one inch on his own land to gratify his ill will and injure me what is my remedy? Simply to declare him a bad neighbor, and that I will have nothing to do with him in the future save to get him out of my neighborhood if I can and as soon as I can, either by causing him to move or by removing myself.

THE REMEDY—NON-INTERCOURSE.

So would I do with England. If she will not make reparation for the wrongs done as during the war by her hostility, not by simply making good the millions that our merchants lost, but by making good all that the nation has lost, I would treat her as I should my vicious neighbor, who gave vent to his enmity by darkening my windows—declare that I would have nothing to do with her, that I would neither buy nor sell with her, or after due notice hold diplomatic or commercial relations with her henceforth until full reparation is made. Complete, thorough and stringent non-intercourse is the remedy. That is not war. That is not a *casus belli* under any suggestion of the law of nations. We have the undisputed right to trade with whom we please, or to refuse to trade with whom we please.

ENGLAND DARE NOT TREAT US AS SHE DID CHINA.

True, Great Britain, when the government of China refused to have its subjects poisoned by English opium, sent a fleet and forced the opium down the throat of the Chinese at the mouth of her cannon; but what publicist ever dreamed that that was done under any provision of international law, but only an exhibition of force? Besides, China had not been admitted into the family of nations. When the United States decides not to buy British goods until she settles the Alabama claims I am willing to see Great Britain if she thinks best send her fleets to our ports to force us to take her manufactures of iron and wool.

We know how to conduct a defensive war, whether by sea or land. I do not deem it either unmanly or unfair to say to England that she shall have none of our cotton or breadstuffs until this question is settled, although such deprivation to Manchester, Birmingham and Bradford might work a revolution in her government in six months. Nor would it be more unmanly or unfair to declare such non-intercourse, because now is our opportunity, inasmuch as Prussia and France will be ready, in recovering from their exhaustion, to take from us all the supplies that we have both of cotton and food for export, even if they become sellers of the first to England. Nor is it our fault if England's delays in doing us justice have postponed our demand for it till her complications with Russia have substantially put her at our mercy. The saving to the country by non-importation of British goods—the impetus given to our manufactories—the projection thus afforded to American industry, would very soon quite make good to us all that we have lost in money by the Alabama outrages. The United States government ought to assume and pay all that there is of ascertained loss to the individual citizens because of these claims, and then add the amounts so paid to its own great claim to be adjusted by Great Britain as a whole.

THE DUE REPARATION.

For, after all, the great injury and wrong is not one to be compensated in money. The better reparation to this nation would be for England to remove all opportunity or cause of collision between the two countries in the future. But those must always exist so long as England has a government under her control, and for the acts of which she is responsible, stretching from ocean to ocean, across our northern border, and for many hundred miles intervening between us and our newly acquired territory, Alaska, and while she holds her naval stations and depots at Jamaica, Nassau and the Bermudas, from which our commerce and our coast can be menaced in any future war on this side the Atlantic. Therefore would I suggest that that which would best satisfy the people—that which would best meet the exigencies of the occasion, and that which England could part with herself in most honor, by showing a desire to take away all ground of possible unfriendly relations in the future—would be that she should withdraw her power from this Continent. I do not ask her to give us Canada and her provinces. I should be willing to assume all the Alabama claims and settle all possible differences between the two nations to-morrow if Great Britain will leave the Western Continent. Simply divorce herself from them and permit her provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and British Columbia each to settle for itself by the action of its own people what shall be its future. I am asked, will the provinces vote for annexation to this country? I am willing to take the risk that men and countries will act for their own best interests.

It would be more economical for the United States to pay the Alabama claims, whatever they may be, in money five times over, than to allow the present commercial and political relations of Canada, with all the losses, expenses and complications to remain open for a single year, to say nothing of the cost to us of the suppression of the raids of our irrepressible Fenian brethren, which seem likely to be periodically repeated, at least until Ireland is free.

THE DANGERS OF WAR FROM OUR FISHERY COLLISIONS.

But there are other and more difficult complications arising daily which demand in the interest of peace between the two nations the immediate settlement of the Alabama claims, in a manner which shall take away all possibility of future entanglements. For the purpose of forcing a reciprocity treaty upon the United States, the Canadian government has been for the past two years renewing its pretensions to the exclusive right of the fisheries in the great bays and estuaries along shores adjoining the British provinces—pretensions which are only to be examined to be found unjust; pretensions under which they have seized a number of vessels belonging to the United States upon the flimsiest pretexts, broken up the voyages, turned loose the crews, who are part owners, and subjected the owners to the hardship of defending their claims to their own property before a British Vice Admiralty Court, only to find their vessels, if they succeed, returned to them stripped of their lines, cordage and running rigging; allowed to go to waste while in the hands of the court; with their cargoes perished, the voyage broken up and the means of continuing it carried off without any responsibility for the loss. Canada claims to enact laws providing for the seizure and confiscation of our vessels if they fish within the lines which her laws prescribe, and also if found taking shelter for more than twenty-four hours in her bays and harbors, whatever the inclemency of the weather, or even if buying provisions or supplies therein with which to fish anywhere upon the broad expanse of the ocean. This condition of conflicting rights and claims cannot long rest without collisions which will severely endanger the peace of the nations. American seamen are not too patient of wrongs from that Power which impressed their fathers and seared their ships on the high seas till we went to war for sailors' rights.

Nor is this interest an inconsiderable one. Massachusetts alone sends more than fifteen hundred sail of vessels out to the Northern fishing grounds at different seasons every year. It is evident that these seizures and condemnations cannot continue. Our fishermen will not long submit to be seized by the Canadian revenue cutters without defending themselves. A collision is inevitable if there is no other way in which our rights of fishing can be protected. If the government is powerless to preserve our rights through its diplomacy a collision is desirable, because then this series of injuries will be terminated in a manner that will astonish diplomacy.

AN OCEAN-BOUND REPUBLIC THE ONLY SURETY FOR PEACE.

Therefore urging the settlement of the Alabama claims in the manner I have suggested, by withdrawing British power from the continent and giving us an ocean-bound republic, is in the interest of peace and not in the interest of war. No statesman, no patriot can desire war. Nay, no partisan can desire war as a means of sustaining his party. War is by far too terrible to be lightly loved, or until all other means have failed. We as a nation unhappily now know what war is, its effects, its sequences and its consequences. It is, therefore, the duty of the patriot and the statesman to provide for a permanent and honorable peace, and to see to it that all causes that may provoke war are removed. Therefore it is the duty of the administration and the republican party, as the governing power of this country, to bring at once, and at all hazards, these Alabama claims and our fishing troubles to an honorable adjustment—such an adjustment as will be sustained by the country and give assurance that no causes of serious difference between us and England can arise in the future. Such an adjustment will commend the administration of General Grant, with redoubled force, to the people and win him new laurels in peace to entwine in the chaplet with those won in the war. It is said by certain timid anglophobists that a peremptory demand upon England to do what we believe of right ought to be done, to be followed, if refused, by a declaration of non-intercourse on our part, will bring on war by England in preference to an honorable adjustment. As the action I have proposed to be taken is fully within every rule of international law, such result ought 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 honor 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 honor, 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 forever 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.

THE GREAT PROVOCATIONS TO A WAR WITH ENGLAND.

Let me say nothing now of the keen sense of wrong and injury inflicted. Let me say nothing of the rising gorge at the thought that England took advantage of our crippled condition to do those things to our hurt which she would not have dared otherwise to do. Let me say nothing now of the fact what she did was done to crush a hated commercial rival. Let me say nothing of the fact that she hoped by her course to demonstrate to mankind that the great experiment of freedom to all, now being wrought out by this American government, was a failure, and thus in the interest of despotism to crush out all hope of republican liberty throughout the world. Let me say nothing of the fact that her hostile acts were done in the interest of a confederacy whose corner stone was slavery, and whose object was to perpetuate that slave power which the greed of British merchants and slave traders had fastened on our country in its infancy.

THE GREAT TEMPTATIONS TO MAKE WAR WITH ENGLAND.

But I do remember and cannot forget that we have sixteen hundred thousand naturalized Irishmen in this country, every one eager to avenge the wrongs done his motherland, the green isle of the ocean, by British tyranny, which drove him from her soil. I cannot but remember that they require no urging to join our armies in a war with their oppressors, but are prevented by the repressive hand of our government, in the interest of peace and in sacred regard for our treaties of amity, from making war on their own account, and that, if we did not hinder them they would take Canada by conquest in sixty days.

I cannot but recall the truth that our Southern brethren, many of the best and bravest among them, who fought against the government, with a vain attempt to rid themselves of the glorious memory of its history, are impatiently longing to fight once more under the starry folds of the old flag. Give the privilege to the brave sons of the South to defend their country again in a foreign war, and especially one with Great Britain—not loved by them any more than by us—and it would bring us all together again, uniting as with one flag, one country and one destiny. In so much is this reunion the hope of the patriot that one feels almost to doubt whether to achieve it would not be worth all the loss of blood and treasure in such a war. Again, let me not forget that it would be a war upon the ocean—never an expensive one—and where the most brilliant laurels of American arms have been won. And I cannot fail to perceive that the saving of money by the non-importation of British goods, and the stimulus given to American production, would quite equal all the expenditures of the war. I can never forget that in such a war we have no commerce to lose. Quite all our ships are gone already because of the warlike acts of England's cruisers, which we have so long suffered in insulted silence, although we know that we can sweep the seas of her commerce from the ocean. As a republican and a partisan I cannot but remember that whenever a country is engaged in a foreign war the administration of the government is always sustained by the patriotism of the people. Never would that be so signally demonstrated as in a defensive war with England, brought on by the republican administration, in a firm, manly and strenuous endeavor to enforce the rights of our injured and despoiled citizens, to avenge our insulted honor and to maintain our fishermen in those rights now taken from them by England's wrongs, which their fathers won for England and themselves with their own right arms. As a party man I do not fail to remember that of the twenty odd hundred thousand votes of the democratic party now in opposition, twelve hundred thousand at least are naturalized Irishmen, who would stand side by side with a republican administration in a war with England—Ireland's oppressor for nearly a thousand years, and would vote as they fought.

As a politician I have an incentive to such a war, as its result would be the perpetuation of the republican party in power for more than a generation. If, therefore, when we ask for our just rights and indemnification for our losses through her acts England should incline to offer us, instead thereof, such a war as I have sketched, with such causes, with such hopes, with such results and such memories, ought not every patriotic American to address to her Majesty's government a portion of the prayer which we were taught in childhood every day to say to our Maker—so much more beautiful and appropriate in the original than as translated by English bishops—"Suffer us not to fall into temptation?"

SAVAGE VENGEANCE.

An Indian Woman Avenges the Death of Her Husband by Murdering Two Persons.

[Oakland, Cal., (Nov. 15) Correspondence of the San Francisco Chronicle.]

A terrible murder was committed last Saturday, 10th inst., near Centerville, in this county, by an Indian woman named Anistaba. It appears that some months ago Anistaba's husband was killed by another Indian, near the Alviso Rancho. The Indian who committed the murder was arrested at the time and brought before the justice for examination, but the parties (Indians) who witnessed the murder, being afraid or unwilling to testify, the defendants had to be discharged from custody. Anistaba, since that time, has been wandering about, swearing vengeance on the whole Mexican and Indian race. On Wednesday last she seized an axe, and, rushing on an Indian named Juan, dashed his brains out with it. She then turned upon her own daughter, a girl ten years of age, and struck her a blow on the head with the axe. She then took the child in her arms and carried her about a mile down on the marsh, near the bay shore, and, after splitting the child's head open, she hid the body in the grass and weeds. After this she attempted to kill herself by chopping the top of her own head with the axe. The body of the Indian, Juan, was found dead, and the child being missed, a search was instituted and the body found as above described.

Constable Trefy, of Centerville, lodged the woman in the county jail at San Leandro, on Sunday morning, to which she was committed by the acting justice. Since the commission of the crime she has acted as a perfectly sane person except when she first appeared at the house near "Alviso Hills." Before the arrest she acknowledged the murder and gave as her motive a desire to die herself as she had no way of making her living. Violent deaths seem to "run" among these people, the last husband of this woman having been killed a few weeks ago in a drunken row by an Indian.

TROTTING TO-DAY.

The proprietors of the Fleetwood Park, Prospect Park Fair Grounds and Union Course have all issued attractive programmes for the admirers and patrons of the trotting turf, and no doubt there will be large congregations at each course to witness the races. At Fleetwood Park there will be a good trot between Tammany, New Berlin Girl and David Bonner. At Prospect Park two events will come off, and at the Union Course they intend to make a day of it, for there is no less than four contests advertised to take place, embracing trotting and running races. The sports for the year generally "wind up" on Thanksgiving Day.

THE STORM.

Effects of the Rain Storm Along the East River—No Serious Damage Done.

The destruction of property throughout the city consequent upon the rain storm on Tuesday night appears to be much less extensive than was generally expected. Indeed, the cellars and basements along the river front on the East river, which are always supposed to sustain the most damage from the swollen tide, have not suffered in proportion to the severity of the storm. To be sure some of them were flooded, but the majority, from Wall street as far as Chamber street, were not perceptibly injured by the influx of the water. Many of the cellars along the river are well calked, so that a moderate rising of the river cannot seriously affect them. But there were some, nevertheless, that contained so many as two and three feet of water. At nine o'clock the tide was higher at low water at the screw dock by a foot than it is at the ordinary high water tide. The wind was very strong from the northeast and increased in violence during the night. Fulton Market, perhaps, suffered most. Business was partly suspended there, as the water came flowing swiftly from the river in that direction, making its way into a few of the basements. Some exaggerated reports that considerable damage had been done got abroad, but satisfactory inquiries made resulted in the fact being ascertained that the pecuniary loss to individuals has been very little. It is some time, however, since the tide has risen so high.

The trips of the ferryboats were somewhat delayed during the evening, but with the exception of the accident to the Jersey City, which had her smokestack blown off as she was entering at the foot of Cortlandt street, no other injuries were reported. Among the stores into which the water entered to an extent were those of Messrs. Barker & Co., Front and Beekman streets; N. D. Hook, liquor dealer, Fulton Market; Fordham, liquor dealer, South street; McAuliffe, Front street; McKenna, Battery place; Herring & Ward, Chambers street; the cellar of liquor store No. 227 South street.

A very large sheet of plate glass, forming the window of the establishment of S. & M. Mirel, diamond dealers, in Union square, was blown out and destroyed early yesterday morning by the violence of the storm. The glass was valued at $250 and, fortunately for the proprietors, was insured in the New York Plate Glass Insurance Company.

NORTH RIVER.

The damage done by the storm along the west side was also very trifling. The tide was very high, and in some instances the water appeared through the flooring of the docks, but not sufficient to effect any injury upon property. Several basements along West street were flooded by the heavy rains that fell on Tuesday, among them the cellars of Messrs. Vandermeer & Co., No. 53 West street. A night watchman employed on the dock near the foot of Hoboken street was blown into the river, but on his being rescued from his perilous position it was ascertained that he had been imbibing a little too much of the "critur," and that walking much nearer the edge of the dock than was necessary, he stretched out his foot to steady himself against the wind, and, instead of stepping on the quay, he pitched head first into the water. The Old Dominion steamship Saratoga ran ashore on the Delaware Breakwater coming up from Richmond on Tuesday afternoon, in consequence of the storm, and the Wyanoke of the same line, was also delayed twelve hours from the same cause.

TOO BAD INDEED.

The Wiles of a Woman in Wilful Working—A Supposititious Case of Deception or a Phenomenon Never Before Heard Of—A Hard World to Live In.

Queer things do occur. Strange things happen every day around us without our ever knowing anything about them. Women are a riddle, especially. When they want to deceive poor men they are insoluble. That is their character. And there are so many and so various ways by which they accomplish their purposes that a man has always got to keep his eye open or—there's no knowing what may happen. Talk as you like about man's inhumanity, and his traitor nature and his cruelty to woman's nerves. Listen to this:—Five months ago Emma McLaughlin was a miss of eighteen, residing at 41 Oliver street. Golden hair she had, which fell in rich tresses around her face and over her shoulders. Lithe and gay was her nature, generous in smiles was she; a loving and lovable girl, who seemed to be of angelic purity, and such a woman as would make a man an excellent wife. Of regular features, there was a sweetness in the expression of her face which seldom accompanies the classic mould of beauty. Her eyes were of heavenly blue, and melted softness and an affectionateness into one every time she liked. Little wonder that she had suitors. There were scores of young fellows pining in anguish for her encouragement. Scores of young fellows would have died to own as wife that pretty little woman.

Robert M. Walsh was a favored suitor. Bob works in the Post Office and earns seventy dollars a month, and is a tolerably good looking young man. He paid his addresses to Emma, got terribly "spooney," swore he adored her and all that, and, finally, after a two months' acquaintance, popped the question. They were married. That was a little more than three months ago. Everything went on lovely. Happiness reigned supreme at their residence, 90 Cliff street. One day Bob stared very hard in Emma's face. Emma cast down her eyes and blushed. Bob began to perspire. He left the house without saying a word and went to the nearest corner saloon, where he drank "several" bourbons.

Yesterday afternoon Bob was arraigned in the Tombs Police Court, before Justice Dowling, on complaint of his wife. She swore he would not support her. Bob told his story. The magistrate sympathized. But law is law. Married were Bob and Emma as tight as ever knot was tied. So said the magistrate. Bob heaved a heavy sigh, and asked the magistrate if it wasn't awful hard?

"Very, very hard," said the magistrate. Bob had blundered badly, but it couldn't be helped. He had got to pay five dollars a week to Emma for her support—that is, twenty dollars a month out of the seventy dollars; yet he pleaded that he had an aged mother to support and a little sister. No matter, the money must be paid, said the inexorable Justice.

Emma left the court, having done the job. Bob stayed.

Within three months after Bob and Emma had been married Emma became a mother. Bob said he knew nothing about it at the time he married her, and doesn't like matters when too much hurried. He thinks this was making rather fast time, and that was why he didn't want to be peculiarly responsible.

THE RECORD OF MARRIAGES.

The Board of Health at Fault This Time.

CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL,
403 WEST THIRTY-FIRST STREET,
NEW YORK, Nov. 23, 1870.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:—

In the article "Public Health," in to-day's HERALD, is the following:—

A list of defaulting clergymen, failing to report marriages, was submitted and referred to the Committee of Law and Ordinance for prosecution. Their names are:—Rev. A. J. Donnally, 407 West Thirty-first street; &c.

The charge implied, so far as I am concerned, is not true. I have reported every marriage solemnized in this church (over 100 each year, since the law requiring it was promulgated, to the Board of Health, and about February of last year, when the Board "defaulted" in supplying the blank forms prepared by them, I was obliged, in order to comply with their law, to get some printed myself.

ARTHUR J. DONNELLY, Pastor.

POLITICAL TROUBLE IN IBERIA PARISH, LA.

One Man Killed and Another Mortally Wounded—A Party Ambushed and Three Men Wounded.

[From the Iberia (La.) Times, Nov. 4.]

A little after seven o'clock on Monday evening last a party of white men, it is said—some two or three in number—rode into the quarters of White & Finneo, some six miles above town, on the bayou, and asked for the flag that a negro man named John Sparrow had carried in the radical procession that day. On being told that it was at a cabin further on they went to this cabin also and made the same demand, when it is supposed that the negro refused to give it up, and after some loud talk one of the party fired a shotgun, killing the old man instantly. Another shot was then fired at his stepson, a young lad who was sick in bed at the time, taking effect in his head and shoulders, from which, it is thought, he will die in a few days. After the shooting the party rode off, and are yet at large. Upon being informed of the killing our parish Coroner, Dr. George J. Colgin, summ