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should it come: first, those who have made the speeches to kindle it up; and, secondly, those who will have to fight it out.

To which of these classes members of Congress will generally belong, I need hardly say; for who will expect them to go into the field, or what proportion of them are likely to expose themselves? For my own part, I heartily believe, no matter what we may hear, that there is as much bravery and patriotism within these walls as without; quite as much, but not a bit more; and should the British commit the folly of again invading this city, does any body suppose that the two houses of Congress will sit here and suffer themselves to be made prisoners of war? Vain expectation! rash conjecture! Congress can adjourn to the highest peak of the Alleghanies. Thither, or still west of them, this Government will probably in that case retire. The President and his Cabinet, as well as Congress, would consider it unwise to expose to the hazard of being captured by the British arms so many patriots. It is idle, then, and even ridiculous, to talk of fear, of personal fear, or its opposite, as connected with us on this great national question. There being to us no occasion for fear, there can be as little to vaunt of our bravery.

It has been said, Mr. President, that this is a question which ought to soar above all thought of party. The sentiment is a just, a noble one; and I very heartily concur in it. But, sir, out of this chamber, (for I will say nothing of what has occurred within it,) has the question so held itself aloft, above all party? Has it done so with those who are loudest to claim that we should forget all party in this matter? I, sir, am a Whig, and trust in God ever to be one; but I aver that, had I this instant to choose between the total annihilation of the Whig party, and a war with England *for the whole of Oregon*—a war which I believe to be totally unjust, unnecessary, and impolitic—without hesitation would I say, “Let the Whig party be annihilated.” I, for one, should see it perish with pleasure, if a spirit so unpatriotic, so foul, so abominable directed it, that it could drive, or attempt to drive, this country into a war with England, for the assertion of this fresh territorial dogma—this bold political paradox—our newly vamped up title to the whole of Oregon.

No, sir; were I capable of looking on the question only as by the event it will affect parties and decide their fate, I would take a course precisely opposite to that which I have chosen as my duty; I would stir the dying embers of every old, of every sordid, of every unchristian animosity or prejudice, and kindle up new ones; I would denounce the rapacity of England; her domineering spirit, her sleepless efforts to circumvent, her fixed purpose to destroy us; her aim as constant to insult whenever she cannot injure us. I would, sir, out-Herod all the Herods of Oregon; I would do all I could to stir up here at home the worst feelings of our nature, and to excite passions as fierce, as foolish, and as bad in the kindred people on the other side of the Atlantic; I would, in short, if nothing better than the interests of party swayed me, flame out a furious 54° 40' man, and do all in my power to hurry England and America into deadly conflict for this desolate corner of a territory uncertain of title and questionable of value. And why, sir, if a mere party man, would I do all this? Because I am thoroughly persuaded that, if this or any other Administration, but this particularly, shall, in the headlong prosecution of an unjust claim, whether at the dictate of an electioneering convention, plunge this peace-loving country into the sin and suffering of a war as needless as it will be ferocious, the *People* will no sooner have tasted the woes of such a contest than their vengeance will overwhelm those who brought them into it. At such a time the forms of the Constitution will scarcely shield them; they would be driven from power within a day, if it were possible without trampling in the dust our Constitution. Upon the President, the Cabinet, the Party, that had wantonly committed such a crime and such