

compliance with which, by either, must necessarily lead to war. This position is so absurd that no one maintains it. But it is said that the measures which must follow the giving of this notice will lead to war. That depends upon the nature of those measures; upon what we do after the notice is given, and not upon the *act* of giving the notice.

Let us then, sir, sweep away the embarrassment, the encumbrance of this treaty of joint occupation; let us thereby put our feet upon firm and solid ground, and then, standing erect, as we shall upon our just rights, let us resolve that we will do nothing wrong, and that we will submit to nothing which is not right. In such position what have we to fear? During the existence of this treaty of joint trade and commerce we are bound by its faith. We dare not violate it, even to protect our kindred, blood, and friends. We had better lose the whole of Oregon than tarnish our national honor by doing any act in violation of this treaty, even to secure our citizens now there, or those who desire to go there.

Mr. Chairman, so long as this notice remains to be given, so long this treaty will continue to be our stumbling block; and so long as this treaty continues in existence, so long we shall continue to negotiate with Great Britain in regard to the Oregon country, as we have done these thirty years, without the least success. And, sir, I will tell you why.

I have alluded to the claim made by Great Britain during the negotiation of 1826, '7, once before during my remarks, but I will here state it more fully. The British plenipotentiaries, Messrs. Huskisson and Addington, during this negotiation, annexed to the protocol of the sixth conference what they were pleased to call "*a full and explicit exposition of [the British] claims and views.*" This "*exposition,*" after remarking upon the broad difference between the nature of the rights claimed by Great Britain and those asserted by the United States, proceeds to say: "Over a large portion of that territory, namely, from the 42° to the 49° north latitude, the United States claim *full and exclusive sovereignty*. Great Britain claims *no exclusive sovereignty over any portion of that territory*. Her present claim, not in respect to any part, but to the whole, is limited to a right of *joint occupancy* in common with other States, leaving the right of exclusive dominion in abeyance." Now, sir, the treaty of 1818, continued in 1827, secures to Great Britain *all she claims*. It secures to her, in common with this country, the free navigation of the Columbia, the harbor at its mouth and the joint use of all the country, *south* as well as north, of the 49th degree of north latitude. This treaty is all she wants, all she desires, and as long as it endures, and is not violated, it is all that Great Britain demands. How is it with us?

I believe it is conceded on all sides that we have a clear and unquestionable right "*to full and exclusive sovereignty*" as far north at least as the 49th degree. That we ought *exclusively* to possess and enjoy the country up to this point. Those who are among the most eloquent in magnifying the horrors of war, and the prowess of England, seem willing to demand what they are pleased to term a "*straight fence*" on the 49th parallel north latitude. But permit me to inquire, sir, how we are to obtain even this, during the continuance of the treaty of joint occupation? It is impossible. We should violate the treaty by attempting it. Great Britain must and will use the whole and every part of the country, in common with us, so long as this treaty exists. We cannot prevent it. And she will never negotiate upon a fair and equitable basis until this notice be given and the treaty

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