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and exhausting struggle, consent to such terms, and thus would the *object of the war be lost*. The blood and treasure of the gallant West will have been poured out in vain, while the North and East will have reaped the greatest benefits for their sacrifices.

There might be one other result. Both parties, worn out by the struggle, might, as in the last war, stipulate to return all that either had conquered; and thus the country would be left where it was when it began the foolish contest of strength.

I said "the country would be left where it was." I erred, sir; far otherwise will be the result. We are now on the very portals of success in carrying out those noble principles of government, which our fathers bequeathed to us, and which, if once wholly in operation, will do more than anything else to advance the cause of liberty and happiness. We have just purged the old republican party of that system of *bastard republicanism*, which the war of 1812 bequeathed to the country, and have infused into it a new life and energy. The message of Mr. Polk is amongst the best evidences of it; and the noble and masterly report of Mr. Walker—making clear that which before was intricate and confused—taking high constitutional grounds on the great subject of revenue—illustrating it with new and irresistible arguments—a document which, side by side with his great Texas letter, will commend him to immortality, is another of those fruits. The bill of my friend from Virginia, [Mr. DROMGOOLE,] for establishing a constitutional treasury is another—all together forming a system of noble measures, well calculated to cause the heart of a true republican to throb with joy, if successfully carried through the ordeal of legislation.

We are on the point, too, of purchasing the magnificent territory of California, which, with Oregon, would give us a breadth of Pacific coast suited to the grandeur and commercial importance of our republic.

*All this would be blighted by war.* California would be lost to us; Oregon would be lost to us. A debt of five hundred millions would be imposed upon the country. The paper system, in its worst form, will necessarily have been imposed upon us. The pension list—that spring of life and immortality to patriotic valor—would be almost indefinitely increased. The government will have become *centralized*; its checks weakened; its administration federalized in all its tendencies. The fabric of State rights will have been swept away, and remain only as a glorious dream; and a strong military bias will have been given to the future career of our country, which, while it may be splendid in appearance, will bear within itself the certain elements of destruction.

Sir, this picture is not over-wrought. It is a melancholy truth, too well attested to be disputed, that republicanism, which grows in the genial smile of peace, shrinks from the clash of arms, and yields to the fiercer bearing and swelling energies of its antagonist principle, the one-man power—a principle which thrives upon the wants, and fattens upon the distresses of the country.

I say this in behalf of the whole country, and not merely for my own, my native land—the sunny South. In such a contest, come when it may, she, at least, has never faltered in her allegiance to the whole country; and it is now a pride and a pleasure to her sons, to remember that the actions of our gallant ancestry have been such, that no slur can be cast, even by the malignant fanatic, upon her escutcheon that history does not give the lie to.

Strong in all the elements of government, her peculiar institutions (she has been accustomed to think, and experience sustains her,) but strengthen her for a war.

Dreadful, however, as the results of war must necessarily be, they are to be endured—and only to be thought of to enable us the better to prepare for it—if it is necessary. *Is war, then, necessary at this time?* The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ADAMS] intimates that he has "heard of some question being made in England, whether they shall not give us notice of the termination of the joint occupancy." I apprehend that England will do no such thing. Her title is derived, she proclaims, from her convention with Spain; and under it she claims no exclusive right to an inch of Oregon. A notice, then, to us would, in some degree, impair the force with which she urges her rights under that convention. A notice that she designed to take *exclusive* possession of any part of Oregon, would be a notice that she abandoned her position under the Neotoma Sound convention, which gives her no exclusive right, by her own interpretation, and that she rested her title upon other and, I must think, weaker grounds.

Does honor—"that blood-stained god at whose red altar sit war and homicide"—require us to plunge into a war with Great Britain? If so, I am yet to hear the first argument in support of it. The proposition recently rejected by England was rejected in 1824, and yet Mr. Monroe thought it no cause for war. A similar but more favorable proposition to England was rejected in 1818 and 1826; and yet neither Mr. Monroe nor Mr. Adams thought that our honor had been insulted to such a degree as to demand blood to efface it. General Jackson, Mr. Van Buren, General Harrison, and Mr. Tyler rested quietly after such rejection of our offers of compromise, and deemed not that it was necessary to give this notice to save the honor of the country.

*Do the wants of our fellow-citizens require war?* No. While we have millions of vacant and fertile land this side of the Rocky mountains unappropriated, there are in Oregon, we are told, but 7,000 souls inhabiting a vast country, as large as the original thirteen States—900 miles long by 700 broad! So far from the wants of the emigrants to Oregon requiring it, they are actually under obligations to the Hudson Bay Company to such an extent, for kind and hospitable acts, as to form what is even now called there an English party, who dread a war!

The only other objects to be attained by this agitation of war, have been given vent to by a representative of a miserable faction in Ohio, [Mr. GIDDINGS,] and by the gentleman from New York, [Mr. KING.] Of the former I will say nothing; and of the latter, only that this game of president-making, at the expense of such great interests, is worthy of being mentioned but to be denounced by every patriot. As to the great and pure man at whom he aimed, [Mr. CALHOUN,] he is far, far above his reach. That English arrow, even though shot from a New York bow, and even though the gentleman may have conceived it to be *Wright-ly* shot, falls harmlessly at the feet of that great statesman. It will not turn him from the path of duty, even though duty to his country may prove a sacrifice of high and honorable hopes, which a portion of the country may have entertained in relation to him. With him such sacrifices have been but too common, that he should