

they can carry with them still less now, when the result of both those wars, but especially of the latter, has proved that our strength consists in our resources, in our material for ready preparation, and in the indomitable spirit of our people, rather than in any extended previous preparation. To argue that we should adopt no measures which, by any possibility, will lead to war, until we are on an equality in point of preparation with the power which it may be supposed we will offend, is to argue against all war, as well as against the advocacy of any measure which, however remotely, may operate to produce hostilities. For the sense of our people, the spirit of our institutions is opposed to large standing armies, to expensive navies, and to extensive fortifications, so that our preparations are always made after war is declared, or considered inevitable.

Other gentlemen tell us that the certain effect of a war for Oregon will be to lose the whole of it for a while, at least, and that its probable effect will be to lose it to us altogether. But, sir, I cannot bring myself to believe that we shall lose it even for a time. I cannot but believe that we shall be able to send men enough into that country to expel any force which Great Britain can send there, and supply with the necessities of life and the munitions of war, for any considerable time. And as to her Indian allies, very little is to be dreaded from them, except in their attacks upon defenceless women and children. Great Britain managed in both our wars to get them upon her side, but we were an overmatch for both of them, and that, too, when the Indians were much more numerous and powerful than they are at this time, and when we were far less so, and when the Indians were far more formidable than the half-brute creatures which bear that name on the west of the Rocky mountains. Indeed, I am inclined to the opinion that the Indians have but served to fetter and clog the operations of their civilized allies. This is emphatically so, in all their pitched and regular battles. In all such engagements, the British would have done better without them. I repeat it, therefore, sir, that I cannot but believe that we can employ a force in Oregon that will enable us to retain possession of it against any force which can be sent there. I have great confidence in the enterprise and prowess of our western citizens whose invaluable services as hardy pioneers, both in possessing themselves of the country, and in the rapid population of it, was so graphically described by the honorable member from Indiana, [Mr. KENNEDY,] and whom he so faithfully represents on this floor. I never can believe that they will allow the cross of St. George to float in triumph over any portion of that territory. But if misfortune should lose us the country in the beginning, there never can be any possible chance of our losing it altogether. If Great Britain should expel our people from the territory, we can take possession of Canada, and New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia; and when we become tired of fighting each other, she will give us Oregon, and we will probably surrender these countries to her. But, if we should unfortunately lose it altogether, we shall have the gratification of remembering that it was lost by the fortunes of war, rather than by ignoble surrender—that we were at least true to the motto which we have adopted in the management of our foreign relations, “to ask nothing but what is right, and to submit, with impunity, to nothing that is wrong”—and that we have not been altogether false to our reiterated

assertion that our title to the whole of Oregon was clear and indisputable.

Other gentlemen have descanted most beautifully upon the prosperity of our country; its wealth, its commerce, and the achievements of its arts and industry; and we are bid to look upon them all as the trophies of peace. That peace is the immediate cause of all this, I am ready to admit. But there is a class of causes, called remote causes, and they are frequently entitled to more weight, when results are to be considered, than those causes which are seemingly more direct and manifest. And among the remote causes, which have enabled us to attain our present position, in all that aggrandizes a people, the two wars through which we have passed, are certainly entitled to no little weight and consideration. The first war brought out our independence, and gave us existence as a free confederacy of States. And the second gave our people a name for valor and unconquerable determination, and for jealousy of our rights, which challenges respect for us in every sea and in every port. This respect, sir, is the chief element and support of extended commercial prosperity. Let us forfeit that by any surrender of our just and proper rights, and these monuments of our enterprise and adventure, to which we now refer with so much, and with such just pride, will be humbled and levelled in the dust. And, I would ask, if Great Britain stakes nothing in this conflict? Where are her wealth, her prosperity, her commerce, and the achievements of her arts and her industry? Where are the thousands and tens of thousands of her people, who are now employed in manufactories, but who, if the supply of cotton shall be cut off by war, will be thrown out of employment, and reduced to beggary and starvation? Where are the murmurings of the gathering storm, which are constantly heard amongst her enslaved and starving populace, and in the very heart of her kingdom? Where is Ireland, with her convulsive throes for the very birthright of freemen—direct representation? Where is the wild, the brave Affghan, who, in the rude mountains of his native land, is beating back with fury and destruction the wave of British power, as at each returning wave it seeks to overrun his own, his native land? Where are her numerous colonies and settlements, scattered throughout the habitable globe, bound to her only by fear, and who are seeking the first favorable opportunity to throw off the yoke of her exactions and oppressions? Where are all those nations of the world, who, according to the honorable gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. HUNTER,] are standing by, panting for her overthrow, and ready to gather up the spoils of her dissolution? Is it true that we have everything to discourage, and she everything to prompt and urge her to the conflict? If the sympathy of mankind be the platform on which we are first to place ourselves in order to ensure success, where, I would ask, amid the realities of the picture I have drawn, she is to obtain even a foothold?

There is yet another and a distinct class in this House—for on this question there are several classes, as well as shades of opinion—I say there is a class who are opposed to this notice, because they are of opinion that the President and Senate have that authority, as the treaty-making power, and they are opposed to what they consider unnecessary and unauthorized legislation. It is true that the President and Senate have the power to make