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souri settlements to Oregon by a sufficient force of mounted riflemen. Now, sir, I wish these recommendations to be carried out in the order which circumstances indicate. The laws, the agencies, and the riflemen first; the notice afterwards.

The emigrant from the United States to Oregon passes over a prairie desert, infested by roving bands of predatory savages, and emigration is retarded by the hazard of the trip. To keep the country "open" to our people, we need riflemen to watch the gate.

The Hudson Bay Company, by its unrivalled trade among the tribes of Oregon, has acquired an influence which it is important to counteract—for this, Indian agents are required.

British laws have long since been extended into Oregon for the benefit of British subjects. Shall we refuse to do as much for the citizens of the United States? No, sir. Nor will the recently manifested spirit of emigration admit of delay. Our people have removed the "Far West" into Oregon. American hearts have gone over the mountain, and American laws should follow.

Sir, we have been asked why our citizens have left the repose of civil government to plunge into the haunts of savage beast and savage man. For an answer, I point to the energy and restless spirit of adventure which is characteristic of our people, and has contributed much to illustrate our history in peace and in war. They have exchanged repose for forest danger and privation; they have gone to the school of the wilderness, from which came forth the moral dignity of Daniel Boone, the giant greatness of Andrew Jackson.

What obligation—whose right—have our emigrants violated? They have gone into territory indisputably our own: into the valley of the Columbia, to Astoria and its dependencies. If to hold for the common benefit the common property—to tame the wilderness and render it productive—incur sentence of excommunication,

"Methinks the punishment surpasses the offence."

But the peaceful agricultural character of the emigration is denied, if, with the axe and plough, they also take the rifle. Sir, the rifle is part and parcel of the frontier man. It contributes both to his food and his defence. You might as well divide the man and horse of the fabled Centaur, as take his rifle from the western pioneer. The tide of emigration bears them westward; westward let it flow, until, to use the idea of the lamented Linn, our people shall sit down on the shores of the Pacific, and weep that there are no more forests to subdue. The purpose with which our citizens have emigrated into Oregon is agricultural; that of the Hudson's Bay Company, to keep the country in its wilderness condition for the advantages of fur trade. The distinction well expresses the difference between the Governments they represent. One popular, and seeking to enlarge the circle of its benefits; the other restrictive, confines its favors to a few, (in the strong language of an English writer, noticing this subject,) "like a harsh step-mother, pets the favorite, and plunders the family."

Whatever interests Great Britain had were conferred upon the Hudson Bay Company, with power to exclude British subjects from the territory; and notwithstanding much has been said about colonization by that company, I believe the practice has

been to require discharged servants to leave the country. Fur-trading is the antagonist of colonization; and I doubt not, if the Hudson Bay Company could control the destiny of Oregon, with a very small exception, it would remain the field of hunters and the home of fur-bearing beasts.

Sir, both in the legislative halls of the States and in primary assemblies of the people, a general determination has been shown against permitting a policy so narrow and so sordid to control a territory we believe to be our own. This wish of the people meets no opposition here. Then, sir, waiving the consideration of any sinister motive or sectional hate which may have brought allies to the support of the resolution now before us, I will treat it as singly aiming at the object which in common we desire—to secure the whole of Oregon to the United States.

Thus considered, the dissolution of the Oregon convention becomes a mere question of time. As a friend to the extension of our Union, and therefore prone to insist upon its territorial claims, I have thought this movement premature, that we should have put ourselves in the strongest attitude for the enforcement of our claims before we fixed a day on which negotiations should be terminated. That nation negotiates to most advantage which is best prepared for war. Gentlemen have treated the idea of preparation for war as synonymous with the raising of an army. It is not so; indeed that is the last measure, and should only be resorted to when war has become inevitable; and then a very short time will always be, I trust, sufficient. But, sir, there are preparations which require years, and can only be made in a state of peace; such are the fortifications of the salient points and main entrances of our coast. For twenty-odd years, southern men have urged the occupation of the Tortugas. Are those who have so long opposed appropriations for that purpose, ready to grant them now in such profusion that the labor of three years may be done in one? No, sir; the occasion, by increasing the demand for money elsewhere, must increase the opposition. That rock, which nature placed like a sentinel to guard the entrance into the Mediterranean of our continent, and which should be Argus-eyed to watch it, will stand without an embassage to look through.

How is the case in Oregon? Our settlements there must be protected, and, under present circumstances, an army of operations in that country must draw its food from this; but we have not sufficient navy to keep open a line of communication by sea around Cape Horn; and the rugged route, and the great distance, forbid the idea of supplying it by transportation across the mountains. Now, let us see what time, and the measures more pointedly recommended by the President, would effect. Our jurisdiction extended into Oregon, the route guarded by stockades and troops, a new impulse would be given to emigration; and in two or three years the settlement on the Willamette might grow into a colony, whose flocks and herds and granaries would sustain an army whenever one should be required.

By agencies among the Indian tribes, that effective ally of Great Britain which formerly she has not scrupled to employ, would be rendered friendly to our people. In the meantime, roads could be constructed for the transportation of munitions of