

the country beyond  
have great weight in  
perceive that he and  
ces of that title: for  
the abstract justice of  
European Powers" to  
is in the New World  
must have been be-  
cient fullness on that  
vance in this respect  
by which to adjust  
among themselves, the  
in a reasonable time  
served and admitted,  
tion to given cases,  
is incorporated into  
c, law of the United

his, and the various  
Oregon Territory is  
aguage (Mr. Adams  
necessary, by force,  
tions which seem to  
gnous condition of  
ould be ended, and  
established. Hav-  
e for the aid and  
e of the rights and

of North America,  
able rivers, contin-  
y mountain ranges,  
is familiarly known  
ith which the coun-  
e marketable wealth  
ered over those parts  
eld Canada, down  
nd the collection of  
and the great lakes,  
adians themselves,  
the English Hud-  
able trade, on the  
s of Great Britain.  
ong without a com-  
Montreal, formed in  
duced deadly feuds,  
while they distract-  
turn was given to  
ir Alexander Mac-  
after his return to  
book, published in

from its very nature,  
very large capital, or  
d, consequently, an  
men of enterprise  
rmed on such pri-  
succeeded the former,  
the junction of such  
s Bay Company is  
pose; and the trade  
egree of advantage,  
ge of their charter.  
s charter, though but  
he would be willing,  
the proposed com-  
most complete and  
the fulfilment of its  
the same time, be  
of trade on the Co-

into Hudson's bay,  
trade to their source  
rises in the Rocky  
in the Pacific ocean.  
mountains, and dis-  
6 degrees 20 min.  
a at their mouths,

"But, whatever course may be taken from the Atlantic, the Columbia is the line of communication from the Pacific ocean pointed out by Nature, as it is the only navigable river in the whole extent of Vancouver's minute survey of that coast. Its banks, also, form the first level country in all the southern extent of continental coast from Cook's entry, and, consequently, the most northern situation fit for colonization, and suitable for the residence of a civilized people. By opening this intercourse between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and forming regular establishments through the interior, and at both extremes, as well as along the coasts and islands, the entire command of the fur trade of North America might be obtained from latitude 48 deg north, to the pole, except that portion of it which the Russians have in the Pacific. To this may be added the fishery in both seas, and the markets of the four quarters of the globe. Such would be the field for commercial enterprise; and incalculable would be the produce of it, when supported by the operations of that credit and capital which Great Britain so pre-eminently possesses. Then would this country begin to be remunerated for the expenses it has sustained in discovering and surveying the coast of the Pacific ocean, which last present left to American adventurers, who, without regularity or capital, or the desire of conciliating future confidence, look altogether to the interest of the moment. Such adventurers—and many of them, as I have been informed, have been very successful—would instantly disappear before a well-regulated trade."

"Many political reasons, which it is not necessary to enumerate here, must prevent themselves to the mind of every man acquainted with the enlarged system and capacities of British commerce, in support of the measure which I have very briefly suggested, as promising the most important advantages to the trade of the United Kingdoms."—(Mackenzie's Trav., vol. 2, p. 338-92.)

Meanwhile the United States acquired the country beyond the Rocky Mountains, by discovery, purchase, exploration, and the formalities of occupation. Mr. Astor, himself extensively engaged in the fur trade south and west of the Lakes, became fully aware of the great value of the Oregon country, and the importance of a line of trade to be carried across the continent, by ascending the river Missouri, and descending the Columbia to the Pacific, and thence communicating directly with China; and, in the promotion at the same time of his own interests and those of the United States, organized the establishment of Astoria. The Northwest Company took the alarm. They foresaw what would be the effect of this enterprise, if successfully prosecuted. They despatched emissaries of theirs to the Columbia, who, availing themselves of the war between Great Britain and the United States, which followed in the year after the foundation of Astoria, induced McDougall, one of the agents of Mr. Astor, to make a fraudulent sale of his factory, furs, and other property, to the Northwest Company; and the sloop of war Racoon came and took formal possession of Astoria in the name of Great Britain, and changed the name of the post to St. George. This formal possession, however, was an act of war; and was annulled, as I have before stated, by the restoration of the post to Mr. Prevost and to Commodore Biddle, in the Ontario, after the conclusion of peace. But still the Northwest Company retained the actual possession of the country, under the purchase from McDougall; and, in 1821, the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, having compromised their differences, were united; the operations of the new association being continued down to this time under the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company.

This purchase from McDougall, and the possession under it, could, it is evident, confer no sovereignty on Great Britain as against the United States. But the continued tolerance of the presence of the Northwest Company there, after the conclusion of the war, was a capital error, imputable to the supineness and culpable neglect of our Government. Mr. Astor offered to renew his enterprises on the Columbia, provided the Government would establish a military post there, with the most trifling force, even a lieutenant's command; needing only the countenance and the flag of the United States. If his advice had been adopted, the question would have been settled then, before the Hudson's Bay Company had struck root in the Terri-

tory. What the actual result has been, I will state in the words of Major Filcher. (Sen. Doc. 1830-'1, No. 39.) It has been to realize, in all respects, the plan marked out by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in 1801, for undermining our influence and our trade in and beyond the Rocky Mountains.

"1. The Hudson's Bay and Northwest Companies have been united, and are now trading under the name and charter of the former. 2. The trade has been extended to the Columbia river. 3. A colony of civilized people is forming on that river. 4. A line of forts and posts is established across the continent. 5. The mouth of the Columbia is occupied, ships enter it, boats ascend it, the mountains are crossed, and the communication is regular, from the Pacific to the Atlantic. 6. American adventurers have almost disappeared, and the British have the command of the fur trade north of 49 degrees, and the chief enjoyment of it for some degrees south.

"The political advantages of all these events are considerable (to Great Britain) in time of peace, and must become infinitely more so in time of war, when the command of all the Northern Indians may harass the settlements on the Upper Mississippi; and the possession of a naval and military station and a colony on the estuary of the Columbia river may lead to the annihilation of our ships and commerce on the Pacific ocean."

The Hudson's Bay Company, as now organized, I present to the notice of the People of the United States, as being in itself a great foreign power, most injurious and hostile to their rights and interests. It is to America what the East India Company is to Asia. Dean Tucker describes it as one of the corrupt monopolies of the reign of Charles II. (Tucker on Trade, p. 68.) And it is natural enough that a corporation, born of corruption, should subsist by usurpation. Though chartered for a limited time, which has long since expired, and though never confirmed by Parliament, (Chitty on Com. vol. 1, p. 679,) and so existing, as a corporation, by sufferance only, it claims a more than imperial sway as appurtenant to the grant of the trade of Hudson's Bay, commencing midway in the north-eastern coast of the continent, reaching from Labrador down to near the shores of Lake Superior, thence along the high lands which divide the waters of the Mississippi and Missouri from those of Lake Winnipeg, and so sweeping around by the easterly side of the Rocky Mountains to the Slave Lake, and back to the shores of the Atlantic. (Bouchette's Brit. Dom. vol. 1, p. 32, et seq.) This enormous territory, indeed, encroaches directly on the United States, for the Company undertook to sell to the Earl of Selkirk a large tract of more than 100,000 square miles, the country of the Red River of Lake Winnipeg, which is found to be cut off by our boundary. Not content with which, the Company has even seated itself down as the mistress of the great valley of the Columbia. Yet its rights are limited to the power which its establishments give it, and the monopoly which it usurps of the trade of the interior, overbearing the competition of private enterprise.

I have English authority to attest the general character of the dominion exercised by these mercantile sovereigns, the Hudson's Bay and Northwest Companies. There is a work published by a servant of the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1770, who styles it "a baneful monopoly," who details what he plainly calls its *tyranny* and its *frauds*, and who says the associates "have undoubtedly forfeited every just pretension" to continue a corporation, "by the ill use they have made of this royal favor." (Umfreville's Hud. B. Com. p. 98.) And what the Northwest Company has been, we learn from the friends of the Hudson's Bay Company; for (the late) Lord Selkirk says that, in the wide range of country occupied by their forts and trading-posts, they "established a more despotic rule than could be found to exist even in any Asiatic Government." (Claims of the Hud. Bay Com. p. 39;) and we are further advised that "the intercourse of the Northwest Company with the Indians, \* \* under the semblance and disguise of commerce, is an organized system of rapine." And these are the companies we suffer to remain in the intrusive occupation of the Oregon, most injuriously to us!