

3. The establishing a constitutional Treasury, for the collection, keeping, and disbursing of the Government's money separate and distinct from all corporate or private interests.

All these are Executive measures, but the two last, whilst they are of deep import to the whole American people, effect us most in our internal and domestic relations, and on which we have legislated and acted until they have become essentially partizan. Not so with the first; it addresses itself more to our relations with European Governments, and especially with great Britain. This is the only issue presented by this Administration to the country. It finds its immediate and unavoidable application to the Oregon question, or "the country westward of the Stony or Rocky Mountains." On this subject the President recommends: 1. The giving of the notice now under consideration. 2. The extension of our laws and jurisdiction over the country. 3. The establishment of agencies and intercourse with the Indians. 4. A cordon of posts, with sufficient military force to protect our emigration there. And 5. The establishing mail facilities between that country and the States.

These recommendations, like the principle that includes them, I admit, have not assumed partizan casts; but they are not less the measures of the Administration than those of the Tariff and the Constitutional Treasury; nor are they the less important in my judgment, and I can most cordially give to the Administration my sincere support in all its recommendations. Even further, if it should be thought necessary, I am willing to grant pre-emption to settlers on the soil west of the Stony or Rocky Mountains. I use this latter expression, Mr. Chairman, because it is the language of the treaty, and is most consonant with the principle of the Executive in regard to colonization and dominion by a foreign power on this continent; and because I believe, sir, that no good reason can be assigned for limiting our title to $54^{\circ} 40'$.

I do not intend to enter into an examination of title, but avail myself of the declaration that it is "*sustained by irrefragable facts and argument, and is clear and unquestionable*," not only to $54^{\circ} 40'$, but beyond. I concur with the gentleman from Illinois, (Mr. DOUGLASS,) that our treaty with Russia is like that with England, for fishing, hunting, and settlement by her people, not by the Government; but of one thing I am not mistaken, that by the express terms of the treaty, Russia was confined to the "*coast and the adjacent islands*," and has not occupied or claimed beyond this. Leaving to Russia, then, her treaty, with her possessions, (which I would not interrupt,) there remains between the Rocky Mountains, north of $54^{\circ} 40'$, an area of more than 500,000 square miles, which is included in our acquisition from Spain, and in our conventions with England, to which our title, as I believe, is as good as that portion of the country which lies between $49\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and $54^{\circ} 40'$. And if any adjustment shall be made, by which the exclusive right of Great Britain shall be acknowledged to any part of this country, even north of $54^{\circ} 40'$, in less than a quarter of a century, it will be matter of astonishment to American statesmen and the American people that, with the avowal of the Executive, and the evidence of title which exist, Great Britain should have been permitted to *colonize* or acquire *domain* in any part of this territory. I therefore go for giving this notice, in the language of the treaty, for "the country westward of the Stony or Rocky Mountains," and maintaining our right to the whole, and nothing less than the whole, as against Great Britain.

But it is urged by those opposed to the notice, that if it should pass in the unqualified form reported by the committee, it is equivalent to declaration of war, and that it should be amended so as to leave the subject discretionary with the President.

I would not put it in the power of the Executive to do that indirectly which the Constitution inhibits directly, to declare war, or to do any act not clearly conferred by the Constitution, which would necessarily lead to war. Neither would I cast the responsibility on the Executive when the subject does not belong to him, but let Congress, where the matter properly belongs, decide and act upon it, and leave the President to carry out their legislation. To the proposed amendment I am opposed, and if it prevails I will vote against the notice.

But, Mr. Chairman, I do not believe there is any war in this subject. I admit that the issue of war or of peace is with Great Britain. If she desires war with us, she will not want a pretext;

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