

zen ocean, and covering the exact place where the boundary of 54° 40' was supposed to be established! The treaties show this; and their production is enough for those who have been deceived into the belief of a 54° 40' boundary. Again: for two years the people have been deluded into the belief that this 54° 40' was their true and rightful northern boundary! The Executive documents of 1823-'24 were produced; and they show that the statesmen who made the treaties supposed to give us this northern boundary, actually proposed it, at the time, over and over again, to Great Britain, as her northern boundary, coming down to 49 for quantity, and that, not upon a principle of compromise, but of right, to cover her settlements in the valley of Frazer's river; settlements well known to the statesmen of that day, however unknown to the brave fifty-four-forties of the present day. For two years the people have been told that every acre and every inch—every grain of sand, blade of grass, and drop of water, from 42 to 54 40, is ours. Geography, history, and the maps are produced, and show that Frazer's river flows from 55 to 49—discovered by the British in 1793—settled by them in 1806—covered from head to mouth with their settlements, and known by the Scottish name of New Caledonia when we negotiated with Spain in 1819; and then the Executive documents are produced, which show that this river and its settlements were admitted to be British property by Mr. Monroe's Administration, who no more set up a title to it under the Spanish treaty of 1819 than they set up a title to Canada under the same treaty. Yet our warlike fifty-four-forties opened the session with demands for ships and troops to fight Great Britain for this very Frazer's river! A demand which put her up to ships and troops on her side, until she saw that these intrepid invaders of New Caledonia would be set right at home. From that moment her war fever abated; the war fever of our valiant invaders abated also: they now cry war no more; and, to do them entire justice, I verily believe they had never heard of Frazer's river at the time they proposed to walk over it in their march to fifty-four forty. They are now peaceable enough; and all we have to regret is, the discredit which their want of acquaintance with our own treaties—want of acquaintance with our own documents—and want of acquaintance with our own geography, has brought upon us in the eyes of Europe and America.

The danger is passed. The language and conduct of Great Britain is pacific—perfectly so. She was a little ruffled at first; as who would not be at the menaced invasion of a province? But since she has seen that the invaders are brought to a stand at home, she seems to have recovered her good humor, and the Oregon question has nearly died out with her. Now, everybody is looking for a settlement of it on the basis of the old offers of 1807, 1818, 1823. These offers I digested into the form of two resolutions in 1828, in Executive session of the Senate, with a view, by their adoption, to prevent the ratification of the renewed joint occupation convention which we are now all so determined to get rid of. These resolutions have been read once to the Senate, but I will read them again, not to show my consistency, (for my ambi-

tion is to be right, and to get right by changing, when standing still becomes error;) but to choke the quibblers and garblers who mutilate and misapply my words, to get me into the same box they are in themselves. Sir, I came into the Senate before the fathers of the church had all left it, and when it was the custom of the young Senators to listen to the old ones, and not to throttle them; and when, I flatter myself, I learnt something; and, among other things, learnt that 49 was the proper boundary between our Columbia river and the British Frazer's river. Upon this knowledge I acted in drawing these resolutions eighteen years ago; and I have nothing to add, or to take from them, to-day.

*"In Senate: secret Session: Tuesday, Feb. 5, 1828.*

#### "MR. BENTON'S RESOLUTIONS.

*"Resolved, That it is not expedient for the Government of the United States to treat with his Britannic Majesty, in reference to their territorial claims, and boundaries west of the Rocky Mountains, upon the basis of a joint occupation by the citizens of the United States and subjects of Great Britain, of the country claimed by each Power.*

*"Resolved, That it is expedient for the Government of the United States to treat with his Britannic Majesty in reference to said claims and boundaries, upon the basis of a separation of interests, and the establishment of the 49th degree of north latitude as a permanent boundary between them, in the shortest possible time."*

These resolutions were offered in secret session, as it was proper to offer them, but have long since been made public, with other proceedings on the ratification of the renewed joint-occupation convention in 1828. They are known to the leaders, if not to the followers of the fifty-four-forties, and would be appealed to by all who would wish to represent my opinions as they are, and not as they are not!

I have no personal interest in this matter. After long delay I have spoken publicly (for my opinions were never a secret) what my duty to my country required at my hands, and according to the knowledge which thirty years' study of the subject has given to me. I have been fighting the battle of Oregon for thirty years, and when it had but few friends, though now entirely eclipsed by the new converts. I am where I always have been, and rejoice to see the question coming to the conclusion which I have always deemed the right one. For my justification in making head against so much error, I throw myself upon the equity and intelligence of my countrymen; and, never having had any fear for myself, I now have none for my country.

Mr. BENTON then moved to recommit the bill to the Committee on Territories, amended on the motion of his colleague, [Mr. ARCHISON,] to recommit to the Judiciary Committee, with instructions to report as follows:

That the bill be recommended to the Committee on the Judiciary, with instructions—

First. To bring in an amendment extending the jurisdiction and laws of the United States, civil and criminal, over the citizens of the United States in Oregon, to the same extent that Great Britain extended her jurisdiction and laws over her citizens in the same territory by the act of Parliament of July 2, 1821, and supplemental act.

Secondly. To report a bill for the full and perfect government of the territory, to take effect after the abrogation of the joint-use convention, providing for the appointment of a governor, to be the military and civil chief of the territory, and, *ex officio*, superintendent of Indian affairs; providing also