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ding to the gentleman from South Carolina, [Mr. Rnerr,] our revolutionary fathers tried both, and the result of their experiment is a glorious commen- tary upon the superiority of determination—of firm- ness, of activity. We are told by him that they en- dured for ten years the hardships, and oppressions, and exactions of the mother country, before they took up arms to redress themselves; and we are ad- monished to imitate their patient forbearance. But what did this forbearance effect for them? Inactivity but brought upon them an accumulation of wrongs, an increase of exactions, and an addition of hard- ships. It was activity—a firm and open avowal of their rights, and a determined effort to maintain them—that worked out a vindication of their rights, and a redress of all their grievances. Let us imi- tate them in their last resolve—let us declare our right not merely to establish forts and post-routes, but our right to the territory, to the soil—and by the time we shall need them, we have fifty thousand people in Oregon. Instead of seven thousand men, women, and children, we shall have twice that num- ber of fighting-men—men of nerve and skill in the use of the deadly rifle—ready and on the spot to defend their homes and their firesides. But these gentlemen who promise to get for us the whole of Oregon if we will not pass the notice, tell us that their plan will not lead to war. There is the pacific policy, if we would trust to their skill in prophecy. But let us analyze their plan and see how it is to work in practice. They, like us, advocate our right to the whole, and that we shall take posses- sion of it, or encourage our people to do so.

The only difference between us is, that we pro- pose to notify Great Britain of our intentions—they propose to do the same thing without any notice. Well, how do they propose to take possession? Why, by erecting forts, by establishing post offices and post routes, and by extending our laws over our emigrants, and by encouraging them to make per- manent settlements in the country, and to reduce and cultivate the earth. And all this is to be done throughout the whole extent from 49° to 54° 40'. To limit these establishments to the Columbia, or by the 49°, is at once to admit that you intend to surrender the balance of the territory. Can Great Britain fail to see in all this a determination to oust her from the country? Is she so blind that she can- not see—so deaf that she cannot hear—so dull that she cannot understand? Think you that our actions will not speak to her louder than any words we could employ? Will not our forts, and our militia, and our farms, and our workshops, speak to her in language stronger than what we can put into any written notice we can serve upon her, and tell her of our determination to appropriate the whole coun- try? And if she is determined to retain any portion of it, will she not prepare to do it at once, at the point of the bayonet, and at the cannon's mouth? To expect anything else, is to calculate largely upon the blindness or tame submission of that haughty power. The gentlemen appear, themselves, to have some apprehension after all that their plan may not work so peacefully and quietly; and they attempt to prepare and reconcile us to the war which their plan may bring about by telling us that it will make Great Britain the aggressor and they amplify most eloquently upon the manifold advantages of being in the defensive. I am willing to admit that there are great and manifest advantages in being on the defensive in any controversy, whether it be of a warlike or other character. But it would seem to

me that no war will possibly grow out of this ques- tion in which Great Britain will not necessarily and unavoidably be the aggressive party. Even if the notice is given, and war should ensue, she must begin it. All will admit that we can populate that country more rapidly than she can. The gentle- men who propose to get the whole country, if the notice be not given, count largely if not entirely on our superior advantages for colonizing that country. So long, therefore, as we can do that, and thereby secure by our majorities the control of the country, what more do we ask? What is there to fight for? Nothing, certainly, on our part. Our position would give us every advantage. So far, therefore, as the question of war is concerned, the practical results of both plans would seem to me to be the same. The one may bring it on a little more speedily than the other, but war is as likely to follow the one as the other, and in either case Great Britain must begin it.

I am, therefore, in favor of the notice, because I believe that there is a disposition on the part of al- most every member of this House to take posses- sion of some portion of that territory—to encour- age our citizens to emigrate there, and to make per- manent and exclusive settlements, and to extend our laws and institutions over them. This cannot be done, in my estimation, consistently with substat- ing treaty stipulations, until after the notice is given and the treaty abrogated. The notice is the only way in which we can in proper faith rid ourselves of our obligations to Great Britain. And this course is as necessary for those who think our claim does not extend beyond the 49°, as for those who would be satisfied with nothing less than the whole. For the subjects of Great Britain have the rights of ingress and egress and of trade into every portion of the territory—to the south as well as to the north of 49°, and to the south as well as to the north of the Columbia. To curtail or destroy these privileges by any measures which shall operate either directly or remotely to produce such a result, cannot justly be done without first putting an end to the treaty of 1827. And I very much doubt whether we shall be able to get the signature of the President to any laws, the immediate or remote effect of which would be to exclude Great Britain from any portion of the country, until the notice has been first given. Tra- ties, when once concluded, are invested by the con- stitution of the United States with the force and name of laws, and by that same instrument the President is bound by his oath to see that the laws are faithfully executed—faithfully is the word ac- cording to their direction, their spirit, their letter, and in no other way.

Again: I am for the notice, because, if we are to take exclusive possession of any portion of the ter- ritory, to proceed with the notice is more open and above board. For us to attempt secretly to get pos- session of the country, would carry with it the ap- pearance of an effort to deceive—an attempt secretly to undermine, which could really deceive no one, and which is equally against good faith and fair deal- ing. Our country should always remember to ful- fill, with scrupulous exactness, all her obligations—her contracts—all the pledges of her faith, whether they relate to the payment of money, to territorial rights, or to commercial privileges. To keep them to the promise, and to break them in act and in deed, is unbecoming our frank, our manly character, as a people. To proclaim the inviolability of treaties at the same time that we are secretly and sneakily seeking to empower ourselves to violate them with