

or's man or boy. Four or five mounted riflemen, going together, and started from the different posts to relieve each other, alone could do it. In winter, they would have sleighs drawn by dogs, the reliefs always being ready at each post. The mounted regiment, already provided for in the Senate's bill, can render this service, costing nothing, and by the mere order of the President. No law is necessary about it. A non-commissioned officer and four or five men, relieved at each post, are the only practicable mail-carriers over such a line; and while carrying the mail, will also be in the line of their military duty, in looking out for danger, and giving assistance to travellers and emigrants.

In the land grants, the bill from the House is entirely deficient: it proposes three hundred and twenty acres to each settler. Now the bill which passed the Senate heretofore gave double that amount to each father of a family, and half that amount for each child under eighteen years of age, including the children born within five years after he went to the country, and also half that amount to the wife in her own right; and to all single men over eighteen years it also gave six hundred and forty acres. Such beneficial provisions as these, once sanctioned by the Senate, should not be given up without an effort to restore them.

The bill, therefore, now before the Senate, is, in some respects, unnecessary—in some, injurious—in some, deficient in justice to the settlers—and, in defining no boundaries for the territories to be occupied, is dangerous to the peace of the country, and commits the hazards of war to the collisions, accidental or designed, of Government agents, four thousand miles from the seat of Government. It confounds temporary and permanent measures, which should be kept distinct. A temporary government, to provide for the preservation of order and the administration of justice until the convention expires, is one want—a permanent territorial government is another; and, for the purpose of having these measures appropriately brought forward, and in a way to pass, I shall move to recommend the bill with instructions to bring in the temporary and the permanent measures separately: namely, a temporary extension of law to the extent recommended by the President, and a plan for a permanent territorial government, fully organized, to take effect the instant the present convention expires. These are my views. I would not mix temporary and permanent provisions: I would do nothing half way, or niggardly. At the termination of the present convention, I would take possession of the territory to the same extent that it was held by Mr. Astor—from the sea to the mountains—and take possession as an owner knowing its value, and determined to maintain it. A governor who should be both a statesman and a soldier, with an adequate salary, should be at its head; a distinguished general should be under him as the immediate commander of the military force, regulars and militia. A territorial legislature—superior and inferior courts of law and equity, and of admiralty jurisdiction—and a custom-house, should be established. A skilful engineer should be sent out to superintend the planning and construction of fortifications: a regiment of artillery should go to man the works. A navy-yard should be established

for the repair of vessels. The militia should be organized, and divided into classes, ready for service when called, to be compensated in land for holding themselves ready, and paid for their services when in the field. Mounted gun men, cavalry, and horse artillery, so well adapted to a country of plains and grass, should be relied on for field service against Indians, or any invader: artillery and infantry (regulars and militia) for the defence of posts and forts. A chain of posts on the commercial route of the Columbia and Missouri should be established. That route flanks the British establishments, and is open to the depredation of the northern Indians. Posts at the Oka-nag-an, and at the Upper Falls of the Columbia—in the valley of Clark's river—at the Great Falls of the Missouri, and at the mouth of the Yellow Stone, should be established. The protection of Government should be extended to both routes, the land line of travel through the South Pass, and the water line of commerce through the North Pass. This would keep the Indians in order on both routes, north and south, and speedily open direct communications with the Pacific ocean. In a word, I would prepare to take possession of the country (for its exclusive possession comes to us under the Ghent treaty, whether Great Britain treats now or not) on a scale commensurate to its importance and to our rank and power in the world. For this purpose I would have the bill recommitted, and the committee instructed to report separately the temporary measure for the preservation of order, and the permanent government for the territory, which I have sketched.

Mr. President, I have performed a painful duty—one from which I have long held back, hoping that events would correct the errors of the day, and free the country from danger. There was great danger of war with Great Britain when Congress met last fall, and all upon a mistake and a blunder. War speeches and war preparations were immediately commenced on this floor, and the people were inflamed up to the fighting point. I endeavored gently to quiet these dangerous movements—all to no purpose. At last, I felt it to be my duty to my country to speak out, and to let the people see that they had been led into great errors, and to the brink of war, by editors and orators, assuming to speak with great authority. I know the frailty and the vanity of poor human nature, and how hard it is for party leaders to admit a mistake which they have induced myriads of good men to adopt. The leaders are ashamed to retract: not so the mass of their followers. They have no interest in being deceived, and no petty vanity to be mortified at the retraction of error. They only wish for what is right and honorable, and with them truth prevails, and error passes away. For two years the people have been indoctrinated with a Russian line upon 54° 40', from the sea to the Rocky Mountains, the Russians owning all north, and we all south, and leaving no room for Great Britain between. Well! the treaties supposed to establish this boundary, and thus to cut out Great Britain, are produced, and they show that there is no such line—that the United States line with Russia is insular, and not continental; and that Russia, by treaty, admits the British title quite out to the Pro-