

England regarded her own merits, and be determined accordingly. I have referred to this to show that she is watching the interests of her manufactures, and is willing to sacrifice territory to maintain them.

But, sir, the extent of her commerce and her inability to protect it will prevent England from rashly going to war; numerous as are her ships of battle, yet her ships, loaded with rich cargoes, are still more numerous, and comparatively unprotected; England is always sagacious, knows that the first gun which is fired in this war will be the signal to call the eagles to the carcase, and proclaim a richer harvest to the privateers and pirates than ever before was yielded to the reapers of the seas. Those nations who have long hated England for her naval and commercial supremacy, (never disputed but acknowledged,) would then feel that, like Shylock, having a hated enemy on the hip, right gladly and fully would they feed their ancient grudge.

But, sir, gentlemen who have argued against notice, upon the ground that it would induce war, have continued to dwell on the power of Great Britain and of our weakness; they look only on one side of the picture. Powerful as she is, yet in the midst of that power are the elements of weakness; and our want of preparation for war, which gentlemen have said was our weakness, is the very condition which gives us ultimate strength. Why, if we were fully prepared for war, if we had a large standing army, independent of the discontents produced by increased taxation to support it, and the dangers from its force being turned upon ourselves, consciousness of that power might induce arrogance and rapacity, and it might be we should then be too ready to listen to the valorous suggestions of the gentlemen who have declared that they never would be satisfied whilst any other nation held a foot of territory on the American continent; and our armies, now under the lead of the high spirited and gallant gentlemen from Illinois and Michigan might be engaged in a crusade, *re-annexing* and *re-occupying* all the territory on the American continent, driving all other nations from its possession, and crowning the beautiful language so common in this debate, "planting the American eagle over every foot of soil from Terra del Fuego to the North Pole." But, sir, seriously, in defensive war we are always sufficiently strong to maintain our honor against the most formidable in arms. For offensive war, we can never, till war comes, be prepared. But England has dangers, commercial and political, internal and external, which greatly threaten her. (It being announced to me that I have only six minutes left of my hour, I can only glance at them.) Her proximity to the continent of Europe, that spirit now working there, the dangers to the old monarchies consequent on the death of the King of France, whenever it may happen, and according to the course of nature in a few years, the discontent at home, her enormous public debt and its incidental evils, the restlessness, that any agitation of Irish repeal and Irish emancipation, our proximity to the Canadas, all the greatest dangers to English rulers sufficient to make them desire a war, least of all with the United States: for much as she might injure us, it is not more than we could her. We must admit that each on the other could inflict incalculable evil.

Again, there is no honor involved in our maintaining our rights up to 54 40; none in Great Britain maintaining hers up to the mouth of the Columbia river. If it were a question of honor, then it were useless to urge compromise to the people of the United States, on whom "dishonor's breath would light as the whirlwind on the waters." But our most sagacious diplomatists have offered a compromise. Mr. Polk himself has offered a compromise. England has done the same. We differ only as to the terms of compromise. Our ablest statesmen, in the most cunningly contrived arguments on our title, have never been willing to claim as their "ultimatum" all the country up to 54 40. Now, surely, gentlemen will not contend that the people, who are to pay the taxes, and bear the burdens, and fight the battles of the war, are to fight for that which the diplomatist in his argument has never contended for, and the President offered to give up. It has been said by some of the most fiery of the gentlemen, that our title is good to 54 40, and that then, it being a question of right, there should be no calculation of consequences, no compromise; and if war comes, let it come. There is no sensible, prudent man, in his private affairs, governed by argument so simple, by reasoning so foolish. That man who in private life contends for every thing which is his, and has it, or has a law