

where a half-breed Indian, for the murder of an Englishman, was tried, convicted, and hung—a mode of death the most repugnant to all an Indian's prejudices. Why should this not have been done upon an American citizen? What have you done to insure his surrender to your own courts?—what to protect his pursuits, doubly legitimate both by your territorial title and the stipulations of the convention?

You do not, probably, know the number of men of Massachusetts, of New Hampshire, of Missouri, and of other States, who would push their fortunes in that territory, and carry civilization thither, could they but expect from you the protection and the favor which *England, through the Hudson Bay Company, grants to her people*. Your States of the East and the West will not send forth their swarms, because they believe their Government too timid or too niggardly to protect or to assist them. They never will believe you in earnest till, by some measure as positive as this, you prove to them that you regard your title as indefeasible, and give them a pledge of your intentions that cannot be retracted. I have seen many letters to this effect, and know that such is the general doubt which holds back numbers who desire to go. Your people require *action* of some kind; and I will feel that I have not lived in vain, if this bill should have the effect of bringing the subject to some definite conclusion.

These are the views of those who look only to the earthly rewards of hazardous enterprise. But the Eastern States furnish others, whom a sacred call has led to trace the pathless wilderness, careless of all human protection; who, in the true spirit of Christian philanthropy, have braved every privation and danger to carry to the valleys of the Oregon and the Wallamet the light of the Gospel, and its attendant, civilization; accomplishing there, by individual devotedness, those noble benefits which it was your part to have performed. The Christian spirit of men has outstripped the tardy policy and goodness of the Government; and these Gospel-bearers have at once formed a paradise, where your statesmen imagine nothing but sterile sands, or a surface blackened by volcanic fires.

Of the horrors of such a sojourn the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. McDuffie] seems to have formed a particularly lively conception, and has conveyed it (as was to be expected) in a very powerful form. Had he (he said) an honest or deserving son, who desired to migrate thither, he would say to him, "Don't go! stay where you are!" But, had he one fit for a convict-ship or Botany Bay, he would tell him, without hesitation, "Go, by all means!"

Now, for the Senator's information, I beg to read a few well-authenticated descriptions of this blasted land of his. The reports of the missionaries, and the narratives of Captain Wilkes and of Mr. Peale, the naturalist, give a very different picture. They agree that, for picturesque beauty, for exuberant fertility, and for salubrity of climate, no region of the earth, of equal extent, surpasses the vales and the table-lands of the Oregon. There, too, they tell you, instead of the dissoluteness of such a population as the Senator thinks it only fit for, are seen gentleness, piety, intelligence, and peace, which seem to have their chosen seat in the beautiful valley of the Wallamet. They are law-abiding and law-loving; they are active, yet quiet; no strifes or broils, suicides or murders. No

compulsion of the law is needed to make them rectify their debts—a contrast, on this verge of civilization, (as the Senator supposes it,) at which a series of his constituents, not to say my own, would well blush. He is not less mistaken as to the motives which, he thinks, can alone highest led these wanderers so far. Was it such a prospect as brought our sturdy ancestors to the rock of Hudson's farthest West with like visions of some noble settlement to be realized? There is a fascination in the half-real dreams which I have witnessed among the poor and had I wealth to pay, or could such things be bought, I know not what I would give to have the wild and strange rapture with which the Americans must have gazed, for the first time, from the summit of the Cumberland mountains over the more fertile plain of Kentucky; or yet, again, when he passed through that Eden-like wilderness, from the top of one of the mounds of a departed race, looked, in bewildered delight, over the magnificent banks and streams of the Ohio.

These, sir, are sensations not to be purchased. There is in them no touch of anything mercenary, and they animate men to ventures which no child can repay, but which surely, in finding or forming empires for us, deserve encouragement and protection, as much as any labors of that more so-called kind which seek, and make themselves in a state rewards at home. There are men who go for the wilderness like our first parents, when God United them forth from the garden of Eden to subdue the earth. Such feelings, to our own immediate well-being, shed an ideal beauty over the barren who have of Plymouth, one day, under their all-subduing spirit, to blossom like the rose. The same impulse yet animates their race, and will bear them into the deserts, as of old across the deep, give them the protection of your laws and the countenance of the Government.

I recollect, Mr. President, at the last session of Congress to have heard a venerable and respectable lady say that, when she removed, at the close of the Revolution, from Annapolis to Cumberland Maryland, she was looked upon as having come out of the world, and as about to become a savage. In such a light were your forefathers [Bates of Massachusetts in the chair] viewed when in their forlorn search for freedom, they abandoned the ease of civilized life, and, for freer hopes, braved the dangers of the deep and the terror of a savage shore. They but obeyed the instinct of our peculiar race—that invincible longing for liberty and space which impels those of Anglo-Saxon descent to trace the rudest tracks, the wildest ranges the Atlantic and the Indian waste of waste to explore the vast Pacific, and break through icy barriers of the polar oceans. With a spirit renewed from our virgin soil, and from Nature in this untamed continent, it looks back to the of our forefathers, half ready to spread there a regeneration which constantly agitates itself. Nations may enlarge themselves by physical conquests; but we (I thank God for it) can subvert only by the dominion of mind the moral empire of institutions. If neighboring countries are, at a future time, to be added to our Union, it will be to those who will have sought the blessings of our institutions; not we who will have coveted the enlargement of our territory by conquering alien armies.

[Here Mr. LINN proceeded to read a series of