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statesmen, and eminent statesmen in our own country, and in this House, deny that it was a treaty for "joint occupation," but a commercial convention for the purposes of trade and commerce. If that be the true construction, I ask, can we, with that treaty staring us in the face, decline giving the notice, and pass measures to colonize Oregon for the avowed purpose of ultimately thereby seizing the "whole of Oregon," even to 54° 40'?

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The committee will mark the manifest distinction between a protecting our adventurous pioneers in Oregon, by throwing the shield of our laws around them, and encouraging them to settle there for the avowed policy of seizing the country, to the ultimate exclusion of the English.

Mr. Chairman, statesmen should ever hesitate and ponder well when national honor and national faith is at stake. And, sir, with great deference to the eminent gentlemen who differ with me on this question, I appeal to gentlemen's sense of honor and frank and manly dealing, if the policy of emigration and colonization, for the purpose of taking the territory virtually before giving the notice, comports well with the magnanimous, bold, and manly bearing of a proud and high-minded nation. Will not the nations of the world taunt us with it, as an unmanly piece of management, partaking more of the character of an artful game than of candid, independent, undisguised action? And, sir, will they not have too much cause to do it? I beseech gentlemen to pause, to pause long, before our nation is made to act a part even bordering on dishonor.

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But, Mr. Chairman, when gentlemen seem convinced of the importance of terminating this dispute with England, and that difficulties are annually accumulating, their imaginations are haunted by the terrific war scenes so ingeniously depicted here, that while they talk with burning patriotism about "the whole of Oregon," they urge the policy of colonization, and say if war must come, time, time, time is to achieve our triumph. Sir, this cry of time—wait—negotiation—has been raised and sounded here for twenty-eight years! Difficulties are constantly multiplying, and still the same cry is made. Gentlemen argue as if giving this notice is declaring war. All admit it is of itself not cause of war; and, Mr. Chairman, instead of producing war, and shutting the door of negotiation, I advocate it, because I firmly believe it tends to promote and hasten negotiation and to preserve peace. Sir, have we not struggled—yes, struggled—for more than a quarter of a century to negotiate with England without giving this notice? And after the lapse of that time, can it be called rashness, war, madness to give the notice? May we not—confidently relying on the strength of our title and righteousness of our cause—indulge the hope, that, when the notice is given, England will reflect, will appreciate our earnestness, will be aroused by the pressing importance of prompt action to act the part in negotiation of her own proposals, which her own sense of justice will dictate, and the public sentiment of the world will admonish her she ought to do? Sir, I applaud the President for his effort to settle this question in that spirit of liberal concession so creditable to his heart; but I equally applaud the promptness with which he took an independent and firm position, when the British minister so hastily rejected that liberal offer. With a title which no candid man can hesitate to pronounce better than hers, he still, in the spirit of concession, approached her. She discarded our offer. We have done our part for compromise; if she desires it, let her now act. Sir, let us do our duty, and give the notice. Has not negotiation, without the notice, baffled the efforts of our wisest statesmen? Did not Mr. Clay, with his lofty genius, the admiration of so many of his countrymen, try and fail? Did he not suggest the most liberal offer, while he said that England had no "color of title to any portion of the country." Did not Mr. Monroe, Rush, and the able Gallatin, also attempt it, and fail? Has not Mr. Calhoun, whose giant intellect can grasp any subject, and who has evinced so much desire to adjust it, attempted and failed? And have we not all perused with pride the masterly correspondence of our present eminent Secretary of State, who has also failed in his efforts at negotiation? When Lord Ashburton came from England as a special minister to adjust our controversies, do not gentlemen remember well that the cry then was to "hush up discussion"—the notice will be considered a threat, and check negotiation? And do not gentlemen know that his lordship returned home content with the laurels and land he acquired in the northeast; leaving it to some fortunate successor to acquire laurels and land in the northwest? Was not the same suggestion made when it was announced that Mr. Pakenham was coming? And gentlemen know the result of the effort to negotiate with him. And yet, Mr. Chairman, after all these liberal concessions, these anxious efforts at negotiation without notice, by our most eminent and learned diplomatists, struggling in a spirit of compromise for a quarter of a century, we are told to wait a while longer, to pause still, and thereby literally allow Britain, by time, to strengthen her pretensions to title, and increase the difficulties in the way of adjustment. Sir, I think our path of duty is clear and plain. Fidelity to our treaty demands that we first give the notice, for we are bound to protect and defend our people, who are daily flocking to that territory, under the belief that it is ours, and that this notice will be given.

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Gentlemen say that perhaps war may follow. I trust not, and trust that England will do her duty. But, sir, must we be alarmed, frightened from the discharge of what honor and justice to our people commands us to do, because England may in her folly, without cause, involve us in war? Peace has its charms, and war its horrors. The mind delights to contemplate the holy and benign influence which an honorable peace exerts on nations, science, morals, and religion. The man that would recklessly check it in its progress, promoting happiness and prosperity in our beloved country, has neither the heart of a patriot or a christian. All—all shrink with ab-