

there is a change of policy. Once, owing to her insular position, England regarded conquest as necessary to extend her dominion, and increase her rank and influence among continental nations. Then chivalry was her spirit, and proudly and bravely did she manifest it—war her policy, and fiercely and successfully did she pursue it. Her bold barons and stout men-at-arms, in hard fought fields, added conquest to conquest, till her flag floated over a larger territory than that of any power on earth. But commerce and manufactures are the sources of her wealth, and the means of her power, and peace is necessary for their prosperity, and she carefully preserves it. England of the nineteenth century is not England of the 16th century. The England ruled by the Guelfs is not England ruled by the fiery Plantagenets, the haughty Tudors, or the stern and uncompromising Protector. England, commercial and manufacturing, is not England, feudal and chivalrous. Her interest being in peace, she will not rashly go to war. By your gasconading on this floor—by insults in diplomacy, you may, if you want a fight, obtain it; for England, like ourselves, holds such relation to the world, she cannot safely, without risk of her own destruction, have her power to avenge insult and right wrong, made the subject of doubt. By bravado and menace—by the exhibition of an exacting spirit, we may place her in such condition, that she may have forego all the benefits of peace, and hazard all the evils and losses of war; for England has not lost all the feeling which once led her soldiers to the field. The great men who rule a country, are almost always the types of its people; and you see in two of her prominent rulers the fair representation of the feelings of the English people. Sir Robert Peel, nominally connected with the Tory party, is yet the idolized defender of the commercial and manufacturing classes. He is cool, sagacious, and pacific; and in English politics stand in bold and conspicuous relief, and gives the strongest assurance of peace. In grim repose, and behind him, however, stands the hero of Waterloo, ready, if English honor be assailed, or if we force the fight, to lend his iron arm and iron nerve to enforce the resolves of Parliament. I am one of those who would not recklessly provoke the war, but still I am among that number who think, that if war come, we can, as in times past, again maintain the honor and interests of the republic against all the power of the English monarchy, led by the iron Duke himself. All I purpose saying is, that England has too many interests dependent on peace, and particularly peace with us, lightly to break it; and it will not be broken, unless the designing or reckless bluster of braggarts and demagogues force the strife. The predictions which some gentlemen have made on this floor have been amusingly falsified during this debate. Those gentlemen who were so fortunate as to get the floor soon after the discussion opened, and were opposed to notice, made the most violent appeals to our fears, based on the most confident predictions, that any agitation by Congress, and that the very recommendation of notice in the message, would result in instant war, and the then expected English steamer would bring the startling intelligence that England had instantly, to the whole world, made proclamation of her wrongs and of her preparation for battle. But that steamer came, and the news is, that England is more than usually pacific. I never participated in those fears, or believed those predictions; I knew she wanted the repeal of your tariff, which fosters and protects your own people, and gives impulse and continued progression to the prosperity of this country. She wanted your mechanics, your manufacturers, your laborers, your farmers, made tributary to her; and she well knew this only could be done by the repeal of your tariff, to obtain which, and the assurance of its never being re-enacted, she would give you all Oregon and Canada to boot, and then make a good bargain. And, sir, the President in this same message, which recommends notice, also advises and insists on the repeal of the tariff. Thus, though one part of the advice might be calculated to excite, the other part was to soothe; and the prospect of the speedy destruction of our tariff, a consummation by her most devoutly to be wished, keeps her in a state of almost perfect quiet. There is too much reason to fear, Mr. Chairman, that some sort of a trade is about to be made by the British Government and this Government, in which the settlement of the Oregon question is to be the price for the repeal of the tariff. The union of these questions would be exceedingly unfortunate; each ought to rest on