

which he records. We have abundant proofs that England anxiously desires to settle the controversy by negotiation. Her sagacious statesmen know that, if any thing can give us the whole of Oregon territory, it will be time, and the operation of that "American multiplication," so delicately referred to in this debate. England understands her interest too well not to desire a peaceful and early settlement of the difficulty. That she does not intend to go to war with us is abundantly proven by her own conduct, and by the arguments of gentlemen in this debate, who have labored to magnify the reasons and causes which make it almost fatal to her to do so. And I apprehend that he who seeks to find fault for the extraordinary display of that spirit of bullying and of gasconading detestation which has characterized this debate, equalling any thing that Mexico ever achieved, that field of glory, cannot do better than to refer it to the profound conviction which gentlemen entertain that England, by reason of causes having their existence in her domestic affairs, cannot be provoked at the present time to go to war with the United States, this Government.

Is it certain that a peaceful settlement of the difficulty is desired by all who have taken on this subject? Gentlemen scout the idea of a partition of the territory. Having satisfied themselves that our title to the *whole territory* is clear and unquestionable, they assume that any settlement of the question which surrenders a portion of the territory to England amounts to a disgraceful purchase of peace by giving away American soil. Unless they are prepared to give England some valuable equivalent for her share in that territory, it is preposterous to expect such a settlement of the controversy as they propose, by any other mode than that of conquest by war. I do not believe this nation ought to go to war to maintain such a claim to the whole of Oregon. I do not believe that gentlemen who contend for the position to which I have referred, ground their opinions upon the resolution of the Baltimore Convention and the approval of the President, rather than upon the *facts and arguments* of the case. I do not believe that this nation has a clear and unquestionable title to the *whole* of Oregon. If I did so believe, I would be willing to wage war to make good that title. I would not stop to inquire how long, how disastrous, or terrible the struggle might be, I would go for such a war rather than purchase dishonorable peace by yielding up territory which was "clearly and unquestionably ours." But we have no such clear title. The administration of Mr. Monroe, of Mr. Adams, and of Mr. Polk, have proposed to partition the territory by making the 49th degree of north latitude the boundary between two nations west of the Rocky mountains.

We have thus, by solemn acts of our own Government, admitted that England has a title in that territory as well as ourselves. We are committed to the principle of compromise by a partition of the territory. Shall we be justified in this enlightened and before the nations of the earth, and more especially by our own countrymen and our own consciences, in going to war for a territory in regard to which we have placed ourselves in this attitude?

Mr. Chairman, I am endeavoring to convince this committee that there is no necessity for this notice, as a means of facilitating a peaceful adjustment of our difficulties with England in relation to the controversy about the territory of Oregon. With a view to this aim, let me inquire whether there is anything in the recent advices from England to induce the belief that the Government of England is not disposed to adjust the controversy peacefully and liberally? I maintain that there is nothing in those advices to justify such a conclusion. The newspapers of England reveal to us the fact that the conduct of the Executive administration of our Government in relation to Oregon has excited feelings of animosity and resentment in that kingdom, which, under ordinary circumstances, would have displayed itself in a most imposing form. But they reveal to us also the additional fact that the people of England found their resentment about Oregon more than neutralized by that portion of the message which advises the Government to abandon that system of policy which has built up manufacturing establishments in this country, which have, to a considerable extent, driven English manufactures out of the American market, and which have entered into successful competition