

vastly greater than what we have contracted to pay. Taking the whole boundary question together, and summing up the loss and gain of the whole, including what affects Maine and Massachusetts; and he could not doubt that, regarded merely as set-offs, our gain greatly exceeds our loss—vastly so, compared to what it would have been under the award of the King of Holland, including the equivalent which our Government was willing to allow Maine for her assent. But it would be, indeed, to take a very contracted view to regard it in that light. It would be to overlook the vast importance of permanently establishing, between two such powers, a line of boundary of several thousand miles, abounding in disputed points of much difficulty and long standing. The treaty, he trusted, would do much to lay the foundation of a permanent peace between the countries—a thing so much to be desired.

It is certainly much to be regretted, after settling so large a portion of the boundary, that the part beyond the Rocky mountains should remain undisturbed. The settlement would have contributed much to strengthen the foundation of a durable peace. But would it be wise to reject the treaty, because all has not been done that could be desired? He placed a high value on our territory on the west of those mountains, and held our title to it to be clear; but he would regard it as an act of consummate folly, to stake our claim on a trial of strength at this time.—The territory is now held by joint occupancy, under the treaty of Ghent; which either party may terminate by giving to the other six months' notice. If we were to attempt to assert our exclusive right of occupancy at present, the certain loss of the territory must be the result; for the plain reason that Great Britain could concentrate there a much larger force, naval and military, in a much shorter time, and at far less expense, than we could. That will not be denied; but it will not always be the case. Our population is steadily—he might say rapidly—advancing across the continent, to the borders of the Pacific ocean. Judging from past experience, the tide of population will sweep across the Rocky mountains, with resistless force, at no distant period; when what we claim will quietly fall into our hands, without expense or bloodshed. Time is acting for us. Wait patiently, and all we claim will be ours; but if we attempt to seize it by force, it will be sure to elude our grasp.

Having now stated his reasons for voting to ratify the articles in the treaty relating to the boundary, he would next proceed to assign those that would govern his vote on the two relating to the African slave trade. And here he would premise, that there are several circumstances, which caused no small repugnance on his part to any stipulations whatever with Great Britain on the subject of those articles; and he would add, that he would have been gratified if they, and all other stipulations on the subject, could have been entirely omitted; but he must, at the same time, say he did not see how it was possible to avoid entering into some arrangement on the subject. To understand the difficulty, it will be necessary to advert to the course heretofore taken by our Government in reference to the subject, and the circumstances under which the negotiations that resulted in this treaty commenced.

Congress at an early day—as soon, in fact, as it could legislate on the subject, under the Constitution—passed laws enacting severe penalties against

the African slave trade. That was followed by the treaty of Ghent, which declared it to be irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice, and stipulated that both of the parties—the United States and Great Britain—should use their best endeavors to effect this abolition. Shortly after, an act of Congress was passed declaring it to be piracy; and a resolution was adopted by Congress, requesting the President to enter into arrangements with other powers for its suppression. Great Britain, actuated by the same feelings, succeeded in making treaties with the European maritime powers for its suppression; and, not long before the commencement of the negotiation, had entered into joint stipulations with the five great powers to back her on the question of search. She had thus acquired a general supervision of the trade along the African coast; so that vessels carrying the flag of every other country, except ours, were subject on that coast to the inspection of her cruisers, and to be captured, if suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade. In consequence, ours became almost the only flag used by those engaged in the trade, whether our own people or foreigners; although our laws inhibited the traffic under the severest penalties. In this state of things, Great Britain put forward the claim of the right of search as indispensable to suppress a trade prohibited by the laws of the civilized world, and to the execution of the laws and treaties of the nations associated with her by mutual engagements for its suppression. At this stage, a correspondence took place between our late minister at the Court of St. James and Lord Palmerston on the subject, in which the latter openly and boldly claimed the right of search, and which was promptly and decidedly repelled on our side. We had long since taken our stand against it, and had resisted its abuse, as a belligerent right, at the mouth of the cannon. Neither honor nor policy on our part could tolerate its exercise in time of peace, in any form—whether in that of search, as claimed by Lord Palmerston, or the less offensive and unreasonable one of visitation, as proposed by his successor, Lord Aberdeen. And yet we were placed in such circumstances as to require that something should be done. It was in such a state of things that the negotiation commenced—and commenced, in part, in reference to this subject, which was tending rapidly to bring the two countries into collision. On our side, we were deeply committed against the traffic, both by legislation and treaty. The influence and the efforts of the civilized world were directed against it—and that, too, under our lead at the commencement; and with such success as to compel vessels engaged in it to take shelter, almost exclusively, under the fraudulent use of our flag. To permit such a state of things to continue, could not but deeply impeach our honor, and turn the sympathy of the world against us. On the other side, Great Britain had acquired, by treaties, the right of supervision, including that of search and capturing, over the trade on the coast of Africa, with the view to its suppression, from all the maritime powers except ourselves. Thus situated, he must say that he saw no alternative for us but the one adopted—to take the supervision of our own trade on that coast into our own hands, and to prevent, by our own cruisers, the fraudulent use of our flag. The only question, in the actual state of things, as it appeared to him, was, whether it should be done by a formal or informal arrangement? He would have preferred the latter; but the difference between them