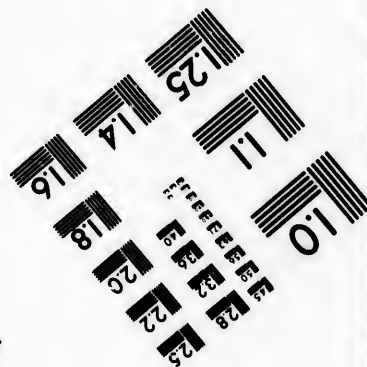
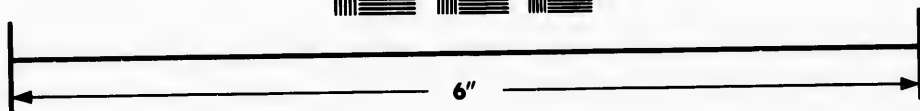
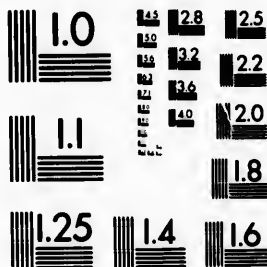


**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic  
Sciences  
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET  
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580  
(716) 872-4503

**CIHM/ICMH  
Microfiche  
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH  
Collection de  
microfiches.**



**Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques**

**© 1981**

Technical and Bibliographic Notes/Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- Coloured covers/  
Couverture de couleur
- Covers damaged/  
Couverture endommagée
- Covers restored and/or laminated/  
Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- Cover title missing/  
Le titre de couverture manque
- Coloured maps/  
Cartes géographiques en couleur
- Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/  
Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- Coloured plates and/or illustrations/  
Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- Bound with other material/  
Relié avec d'autres documents
- Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion  
along interior margin/  
La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la  
distortion le long de la marge intérieure
- Blank leaves added during restoration may  
appear within the text. Whenever possible, these  
have been omitted from filming/  
Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées  
lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte,  
mais, lorsque c'était possible, ces pages n'ont  
pas été filmées.
- Additional comments:/  
Commentaires supplémentaires:

- Coloured pages/  
Pages de couleur
- Pages damaged/  
Pages endommagées
- Pages restored and/or laminated/  
Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/  
Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- Pages detached/  
Pages détachées
- Showthrough/  
Transparence
- Quality of print varies/  
Qualité inégale de l'impression
- Includes supplementary material/  
Comprend du matériel supplémentaire
- Only edition available/  
Seule édition disponible
- Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata  
slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to  
ensure the best possible image/  
Les pages totalement ou partiellement  
obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure,  
etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à  
obtenir la meilleure image possible.

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/  
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

|                          |                          |                          |                          |                                     |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 10X                      | 14X                      | 18X                      | 22X                      | 26X                                 | 30X                      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12X                      | 16X                      | 20X                      | 24X                      | 28X                                 | 32X                      |

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

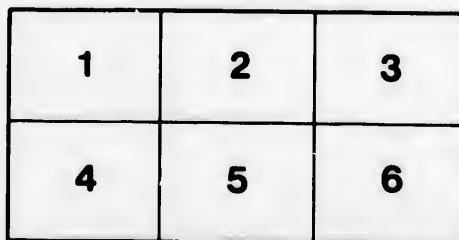
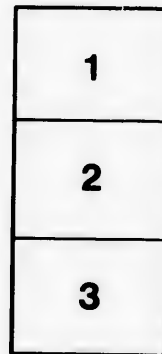
Library Division  
Provincial Archives of British Columbia

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol  $\rightarrow$  (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol  $\nabla$  (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

Library Division  
Provincial Archives of British Columbia

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole  $\rightarrow$  signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole  $\nabla$  signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.

errata  
to

pelure,  
on à



10201

9 21 36

**SPEECH**

OF

**MR. CHOATE, OF MASSACHUSETTS,**

ON

**THE QUESTION OF ANNULLING**

**THE**

**CONVENTION FOR THE COMMON OCCUPATION OF THE  
TERRITORY OF OREGON;**

**AND**

**IN REPLY TO MR. BUCHANAN.**

**DELIVERED**

**IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATE**

**March 21, 1844.**

**WASHINGTON:**

**PRINTED BY GALE AND SEATON.**

**1844.**

NW  
972 51  
CS45

CED RIC L. Rob  
\$7.50  
SEP 10 '00

[The third article of the Convention between the United States and Great Britain, signed October 20th, 1818, is in these words:

"It is agreed that any country that may be claimed by either party on the Northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with its harbors, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the present Convention, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two Powers; it being well understood, that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of the said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other Power or State to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties in that respect being to prevent disputes and differences among themselves."

The Convention between the same Governments, signed August 6th, 1827, is in these words:

"ART. 1. All the provisions of the third article of the Convention concluded between the United States of America and His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the 20th of October, 1818, shall be, and they are hereby, further indefinitely extended and continued in force, in the same manner as if all the provisions of the said article were herein specifically recited.

"ART. 2. It shall be competent, however, to either of the contracting parties, in case either should think fit, at any time after the 20th of October, 1828, on giving due notice of twelve months to the other contracting party, to annul and abrogate this Convention; and it shall, in such case, be accordingly entirely annulled and abrogated, after the expiration of the said term of notice.

"ART. 3. Nothing contained in this Convention, or in the third article of the Convention of the 20th October, 1818, hereby continued in force, shall be construed to impair or in any manner affect the claims which either of the contracting parties may have to any part of the country westward of the Stony Mountains."

On the 8th of January, 1844, Mr. SEMPLE, of Illinois, introduced into the Senate of the United States the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to give notice to the British Government that it is the desire of the Government of the United States to annul and abrogate the provisions of the third article of the Convention concluded between the Government of the United States of America and His Britannic Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the 20th of October, 1818, and indefinitely continued by the Convention between the same parties, signed at London the 6th of August, 1827."

In opposition to this resolution, Mr. CHOATE addressed the Senate on the 22d of February, in reply to Mr. ATCHISON, of Missouri. The debate was continued by Messrs. HANNEGAN, BREESE, and BUCHANAN, in favor of the resolution, and Messrs. DAYTON, MILLER, ARCHER, CRITTENDEN, and RIVES, against it; after which, this speech was delivered.]

Mr.  
It  
been  
bring  
in ex  
made  
I a  
rectly  
out s  
sure  
natur  
castic  
Si  
that v  
the C  
in six  
shall  
and c  
comm  
the e  
was  
tain  
shou  
Oreg  
tion  
my v  
war  
that  
A  
tion  
Not  
it;  
poi  
ven  
duti  
of  
I  
tion  
Sen

Rob  
7-50

States and  
s:

thwest coast of  
s, and creeks,  
ten years from  
ets of the two  
ejudices of any  
said country,  
the said coun,  
e disputes and

August 6th,

en the United  
and Ireland,  
extended and  
e herein spe-

either should  
ve months to  
uch case, be  
tice.

ention of the  
manner af-  
untry west-

uced into

British Gov-  
abrogate the  
the United  
reat Britain  
on between

enate on  
e debate  
in favor  
FENDEN,

## S P E E C H .

*Mr. President :*

It is not my purpose to discuss this subject, at large, over again. I have been once heard on it ; and, with you all, I have a very strong desire to bring such a dangerous and unseasonable debate to a close. A few words in explanation and aid of what I said before, seem, however, to have been made necessary by the speeches of the advocates of the resolution.

I acknowledge an anxiety to define and restate plainly, briefly, and directly, the position which I actually assumed upon this business. Without supposing any intention to misrepresent, which can never exist here, sure I am that no human being could form any tolerable conjecture of its nature, limits, and grounds, from all the replies, solemn, fervid, and sarcastic, that have been made to it.

Sir, my view of this matter was, and is, simply and exactly this : not that we should now determine that we will never give the notice to annul the Convention; for who can say that we may not be required to give it in six months? but that we should not give the notice *now*. Whether we shall ever give it, when and with what accompaniments of preparation, and of auxiliary action we shall do so, I said were matters very fit for a committee to consider, or for events to be allowed to develop. Possibly the course of events might render such notice forever unnecessary. There was nothing in the past or the present to indicate the contrary with certainty. Let us await then, I suggested, the admonitions of events, as they should be uttered from time to time ; keeping always a sharp lookout on Oregon, which a noiseless and growing current of agricultural immigration was filling with hands and hearts the fittest to defend it. This was my view ; that is to say, that the notice should not be given now. Towards that single point all that was urged was made to bear, and upon that all was meant to tell.

And this view met the whole question before us. What is that question? Not whether the notice shall be given now or never given at all. Not so. The alternative is not between now giving it, and never giving it ; but between giving it now, and not giving it now. That is the single point of difference. Senators upon the other side would annul the Convention to-day ; we would not annul it to-day ; and there we stop. The duties of to-morrow we can better discern and better perform by the lights of to-morrow.

It is palpable, Mr. President, upon this bare restatement of the question, that much which made the matter of the speech of the honorable Senator from Pennsylvania, (Mr. Buchanan,) much perhaps which I said

myself, was not very immediately or decisively relevant; certainly not very necessary to a suitable determination of it. He may be right or he may be wrong in unfolding himself with so much emphasis against what he is pleased to call a poetical and a self-deceiving theory of policy; I may have been right or may have been wrong in calculating so sanguinely on the unassisted enterprise and the restless nature of my countrymen; I may have been right or may have been wrong in supposing that those mysterious tendencies and energies that have carried our people to the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains would not die away there, as summer evening waves on the shore, but would carry them, with your aid or without it, to the great sea; the honorable Senator may or may not be right in predicting that Great Britain will develop some new motive and new form of resistance to our occupation of the Oregon, or that the Hudson's Bay Company will take up some new or some old habit of Indian butcheries to keep us out; you may think what you will on all this, and yet you have not settled nor very closely approached the question, whether the notice of abrogation shall now be given under the actual, special, temporary, and passing circumstances of the case and the hour.

Returning to that, the only question, I stand as I stood, upon one single, sufficient, and decisive reason against the notice; and that is, that it may by possibility produce an inauspicious effect upon the negotiation just now beginning or begun; and therefore, as you have maintained this Convention for the peaceful and common occupation of the Oregon Territory for six-and-twenty years, under all administrations, in all aspects of facts, steadily and with great unanimity of opinion, as a part of your entire Oregon policy; as there is nothing whatever in the past or the present to disclose any necessity for annulling it, or any ground of reasonable expectation of benefit from doing so; as it has operated and is operating well for you to-day; it ought not, on the eve of negotiation, to be abruptly and capriciously abrogated. Such an act may, by possibility, prevent a treaty. It may diminish the chances of a treaty. It cannot help negotiation, and it may embarrass and break it up. For this single reason, without another, I opposed and oppose the resolution.

And what does the honorable Senator from Pennsylvania say to this? Why, that the Senator from Massachusetts has declared that we have slept upon our rights for twenty-six years; and that therefore, while we are about it, we may as well have a little more sleep, a little more slumber, and a little more folding of the hands to sleep!

Now, sir, let me respectfully tell the honorable Senator that this is not even a good caricature of my reasoning. It is quite idle, I know, to complain that an opponent does not restate the position which he assails in exactly the terms in which it was propounded; and yet I always thought it a pleasing and honorable thing which I have heard said of an eminent debater in the British House of Commons, and also of a late accomplished member of the American legal profession, that they would renounce the argument to which they were replying, better than its author had expressed it, before they proceeded to demolish it irreparably. But this, sir, of the honorable Senator, tried by the rules of the noble art of logical and Parliamentary caricature, is a bad one. I made no such assertion, and deduced no such inference. I said not one word of our having slept

on o  
sleep  
claim  
and I  
stood  
your  
ever  
fore  
ever  
in g  
mak  
wise  
neve  
Eve  
Gret  
satio  
lumb  
an e  
then  
of h  
sual  
a sp  
“  
with  
with  
so im  
have  
Gray  
1814  
been  
com  
been  
the

an  
fel  
w  
ri  
co  
S  
ry  
th  
t  
s  
e



on our rights six-and-twenty years, or six-and-twenty minutes—if by sleeping on rights I am to understand the neglecting to assert and proclaim them. I was speaking of this Convention for common occupation, and I said, and said only, and exactly, that upon this Convention you had stood, all parties, all administrations, from 1818 to this hour, *as a part of your entire Oregon policy*; that you had done so with a knowledge of every fact which is now urged as a reason of annulling it; and that therefore to annul it now, when its practical operation is better for you than ever before it was, and when a negotiation is just beginning, (to carry you in good temper through which was one of the leading inducements to making and continuing it,) would be a capricious, unintelligible, and unwise proceeding. This is what I said. With sleeping on your rights I never taunted you. Every body knows that we have not slept on them. Every body knows that we have recorded them; announced them to Great Britain, and to the world; urged them in every diplomatic conversation we have had with that Government since we knew there was a Columbia river; and that we made and renewed this very Convention with an express protestation and provision that it should not impair or change them. Sir, let me, the more completely to satisfy the honorable Senator of his misapprehension of the remark to which he excepted, do so unusual a thing as to read from the Congressional Globe a brief extract from a speech which I had the honor to make in this place at the last session:

“Always this question of the Oregon has borne exactly the same relation to all our questions with England that it bore last summer. Always it has been thought important enough to be discussed with other subjects, and never has it been quite matured for adjustment, and never thought quite so important as to hinder the adjustment of other questions which were matured. How many treaties have you made with England—how much diplomatic conversation have you had with her since Captain Gray discovered and named the Columbia river? And yet, through the whole series—in 1807, 1814, 1816, 1818, and 1826—in the administrations of both the last Presidents, always there has been one course and one result with this subject. It has been treated of; formal and informal communications have been held on it; it has been found to be unripe for settlement; and it has been found to be, or believed to be, not difficult enough, or not pressing enough, to delay or alter the settlement of riper and more pressing elements of contention.”

Sir, while I hold this book open, let me digress a moment to correct another misapprehension, into which the honorable Senator inadvertently fell, in all affecting, it is true, the immediate discussion. Eager as he was to show that the American Government had never slept upon our rights, because this seemed to controvert a position I had never taken, he could not deny himself the pleasure of conjecturing that in 1842 the then Secretary of State had proposed the parallel of 49° north as the boundary; and this conjecture he founded wholly upon a sentence contained in the speech from which I have just been reading. The sentence is this:

“I desired chiefly to assure the Senator and the Senate that the apprehension intimated by him, that a disclosure of these informal communications would disgrace the American Secretary, by showing that he had offered a boundary line south of the parallel of forty-nine, is totally unfounded. He would be glad to hear me say that I am authorized and desired to declare, that in no communication, formal or informal, was such an offer made, and that none such was ever meditated.”

From this he infers that the degree of 49 was proposed. Certainly, sir, his inference is wholly groundless. The facts are these. The Senator from Missouri, (Mr. BENTON,) whom the Senate, with a general and sincere pleasure, have seen resume his seat this morning, had, at the last session, made a speech, the main effort of which was to prove that Great Britain had no color of title, at least south of 49°. He did not, certainly, concede her title so far as 49°, but his argument was almost exclusively directed to a vindication of the American title up to that parallel; that is, to the whole valley of the Columbia river. In the course of his remarks he observed that our Government had steadily refused to concede a particle of right to Great Britain south of 49°, but that he feared that a proposition had been made by the American negotiator of the treaty of 1842 to fall below that degree; and thereupon he used this language, which I read from the Congressional Globe: "And now if, after all this, any proposition has been made by our Government to give up the north bank of the river, I for one shall not fail to brand such a proposition with the name of treason."

The object of his denunciation, the Senate perceive, was a supposed proposition to run a line south of 49°. Of any proposition to adopt 49° itself, or any higher parallel, he was not thinking, and did not speak. Intending to participate in that discussion, I addressed a note to the Secretary of State, inquiring simply whether a proposition had been made to take a line south of the 49th degree? The answer was immediate, and to the precise question, that none such had been made or meditated. Not another syllable was said or written, and the writer of neither note, I may venture to say, intended to ask or answer any thing but the precise question, or had any other subject in his mind at all. I well remember that when this was announced, in the terms which the honorable Senator has read, the Senator from Missouri audibly expressed his satisfaction. Surely those terms, upon this explanation, cannot be thought to afford the slightest evidence that this Government proposed the 49th degree for a boundary, and I have been recently assured, and from high authority, that such is not the fact.

Returning from this digression, sir, and taking leave, once and for all, of the treaty of 1842, I may repeat that the assertion which I actually made in debate the other day was only, that we have continued this Convention as a means of enabling us, in one mode or another, to secure and enforce those very rights in the Oregon Territory which we have always asserted. We have kept up the Convention, not because we were asleep, but because we were awake. All the reasons now urged by Senators for abrogating it we have known perfectly well, and long ago. In 1818, we made the Convention. In 1827, we renewed it. In 1829, in February, just upon the accession of Gen. Jackson, that celebrated letter of Messrs. Clark and Cass to the Senator from Missouri (Mr. BENTON) was written, from which is derived the fact, thrice repeated, I believe, by the honorable Senator from Pennsylvania, that five hundred of our citizens, hunters, traders, and trappers, have been murdered by Indians among and on each side of the Rocky Mountains, and about the upper Missouri and Mississippi, and perhaps by the instigation of British traders. That letter was written then. This fact was made known to Congress and the country

then;  
Bay C  
ish G  
of col  
the he  
in Mr  
the sa  
the de  
Senat  
this a  
comp  
their  
subje  
the C  
our h  
the H  
abrog  
So  
reaso  
fectly  
proof  
evinc  
more  
your  
time  
emb  
ment  
gatio  
so st  
Se  
W  
roga  
S  
Ore  
wha  
his  
abe  
I  
to c  
ator  
wa  
not  
bot  
ret  
no  
ou  
en  
G  
as  
w

then; yet you did not abrogate the Convention. In 1838, the Hudson Bay Company obtained a renewal of its charter for twenty years, the British Government reserving, however, the right, as against the company, of colonizing the territory embraced by the charter; which is another of the honorable Senator's reasons for abrogation. This was six years ago, in Mr. Van Buren's term, yet you did not abrogate it. In 1839, during the same administration, elaborate reports were made to Congress from the department for Indian Affairs, upon the precise subject on which the Senator from Ohio (Mr. ALLEN) has called for and obtained information at this session, to wit, the practice of the British Government and British companies to make presents to Indians residing within our territory, and their general Indian policy, its principles, and its workings. This whole subject was fully laid open before you then, and yet you did not abrogate the Convention. Ten years ago, just as well as to-day, you knew that our hunters and trappers could not and did not contend successfully with the Hudson Bay Company for the furs of the Oregon. Yet you did not abrogate it.

So true it is, sir, that without a particle of evidence of one single new reason against the Convention, without producing one single fact not perfectly well known for years, Senators now, *now*, just when, upon the proofs which I have laid and shall lay before you, it is conclusively evinced that the Convention is operating in your favor in the Oregon, far more energetically and far more palpably than ever before, multiplying your numbers, extending your influence; now, too, just when for the first time you are able to sit down to a negotiation on this single subject, embarrassed of all other elements of controversy, this well chosen moment is that which Senators seize on to take the first step towards abrogation. I said the thing was incomprehensible and capricious, and I say so still.

So much in correction of the misapprehension of the honorable Senator.

Well, then, why would the honorable Senator give the notice of abrogation?

Sir, he tells you why. It is to induce Great Britain to make a good Oregon treaty. It is for the sake of influencing that Government to do what it would not do without. If you do not give the notice, he will risk his life that she will not give you a good treaty. If you do, she will, or she may. This is his exact and exquisite reason.

But, sir, when we, wondering and incredulous, ask how the notice is to exert so desirable an influence upon Great Britain, the honorable Senator seems to me to become far less explicit than could be wished, or than was to have been expected. What is the precise information which the notice is to give her? What is it to tell her that we mean to do? The honorable Senator does not say. I miss something here of his habitual directness and clearness of speech, and frankness of explanation. May I not even complain of this? True, we have no great difficulty in making out the ominous and energetic meaning of the notice. We make out well enough, upon the whole, that it is a declaration that unless within a year Great Britain yields a satisfactory treaty, we will at the end of that time assert by force the exclusive occupation of the contested region. This we see. But we have to make it out by argument and inference, and by

putting this part of the speech of the honorable Senator with that part, and reasoning up from consequences to causes. Sir, I complain of this. Surely, surely in a matter of such transcendent importance, those who influence the public councils and hold the public fortunes in their hands, owe the country the utmost possible frankness and truthfulness of dealing. This notice, in the opinion of all here, is to work a great change in your relations to one of the first Powers in the world; it is to modify a pending negotiation, on the course and issue of which many anxious hearts, many vast and delicate interests, are suspended; it may in its results leave you in all things worse than it found you: it may give you, for peace, a sword. Then, sir, you owe to the people the most unreserved declaration of your opinion of its exact and entire meaning; of the exact extent and nature of the information which it conveys to Great Britain; of the degree, and the way in which it commits you; of how far and in what direction it engages your pride and honor to go, if it does not happen to produce the treaty which you expect. Sir, this business of war and peace is the people's business. All measures legislative in their nature, as you assume this to be, at all tending to endanger the state of peace, are for them to judge on, from the beginning to the end. Yes, sir, this all is their business. It is the business of the farmer, preparing to scatter his seed with tears, and looking forward to the harvest when he may come bearing his sheaves with joy, his happy household unsevered around him; it is the business of the planter; it is the business of the merchant in his counting room, projecting the enterprises that bind the nations together by a thousand ties; it is the business of the fisherman on the deck of his high night-foundered skiff; of the minister of the gospel, and of all good men; of the widowed mother with her sailor child, the only son of his mother, and she a widow, the stay and staff of her declining age, whom the stern call of a country in arms may summon to the deck on which his father had fallen; it is their business! and if we deal fairly and frankly with them, excellently well will they perform it!

Nevertheless, sir, it must be admitted that Senators tell us enough to enable us to interpret the whole language which the notice speaks to Great Britain. It is exactly this: give us the Oregon by a treaty, or in a year we will take it ourselves. For the honorable Senator informs us that it is to apprise the British Government "that we at last are in earnest." In earnest, indeed! Well, what may that mean? Does not the Senator himself insist upon it, that we have been continually asserting our rights, by diplomacy and otherwise, for six-and-twenty years; that we have never slept upon them an hour; that, in and out of Congress, we have been "earnestly agitating" the question, and "earnestly urging" an adjustment of it? When he advises, therefore, to a new measure, which shall admonish England that we are indeed and at last in earnest, he means that it shall announce something more than continued assertion of title on paper—more than the harmless and vain *quart and tierce* of diplomatic conflict; he means that it shall tell her we have talked enough, and written enough; we now mean to act. I arrive at the same conclusion by an analysis of other portions of the Senator's argument. Great Britain, he says, will make no treaty while she retains possession and enjoyment, as now she does, of all she wants. She has the whole

country  
her case  
longer c  
status m  
if she d  
clear, a  
not have

Then  
us what  
we will

Now,  
fluencing  
vance v  
may ad  
to be g  
occupat  
know v  
and his  
clumsil  
therefo  
pated c  
delicac  
two na  
regret  
precious  
our no  
this vic  
sugges  
work a  
sible o  
vised,  
negoti  
thinks  
ish m  
the pr  
him.  
in thi  
nerv  
useful  
lative  
minis  
Di  
Sena  
is gi  
vent  
twel  
of O  
have  
no r  
tion

country now; and what mere should she desire, and how can she improve her case by a treaty? We must tell her, then, he urges, that she shall no longer continue to have all or any thing that she desires; that the existing *status* must and shall be displaced; that the possession is to change hands, if she does not treat in a twelvemonth. Certainly, this is reasonably clear, after all; and I wonder only, that what is so palpably meant should not have been more directly said.

Then, sir, the proposition is, to induce an unwilling Government to give us what we seek, by notice publicly communicated, that if it is not given we will take it.

Now, sir, on one point we shall all agree; and it is, that this mode of influencing the diplomacy of a foreign Government, by announcing in advance what shall be the consequences of certain determinations which it may adopt, is a thing to be pretty delicately handled. It is a prescription to be given in minute quantities, very minute quantities indeed. Homeopathic doses I think they should be. The patient should scarcely know what he takes; and the matter should be altogether between him and his confidential physician. Skillfully administered, it may do good; clumsily done, it is many thousand times worse than nothing. I said, therefore, on a former occasion that, since this matter of intimating anticipated consequences to a Government you treat with, is one of so much delicacy; since a blunder in regard to it might produce results which two nations, which the world, might have cause long and unavailingly to regret; since we hold in our hands, not sticks and straws, nor yet more precious yet perishable things, as silver and gold, but the lives of men—our more than material interests, our glory, our history; I thought that, in this view, good sense and prudence prescribed that we should leave this suggestion of consequences to be employed in some way in which it might work all the good of which it is intrinsically capable, with as little as possible of the evil from which it can scarcely be kept wholly free. I advised, therefore, and now advise, that it be all intrusted to the American negotiator, the Secretary of State. Let him deal with it. Let him, if he thinks fit, according to the courtesies of a firm diplomacy, enable the British minister to see the whole ground before him. Sir, we know from the papers of this morning who is the American Secretary. We know him. I am willing to commit this matter, and all else which is involved in this negotiation of Oregon, to that rapid and decisive intellect, that iron nerve, and energetic will. In his hands, this delicate suggestion may be usefully administered. In ours, published as it is proposed to be by legislative resolution to the world; discharged as from a battery upon the new minister as he comes ashore, how can it fail to be wholly mischievous?

Disregarding all such sublunary considerations as these, the honorable Senator from Pennsylvania thinks it of no importance how this medicine is given; for England, says he, has no right to complain; the very Convention itself reserves the power to either party to annul it at will upon a twelvemonths' notice; and she has no right or title at all to the country of Oregon. Why should she complain, then, of our giving a notice we have a right to give, and of our driving her from a place where she has no right to be? Nay, he seemed to think, that when I intimated a suggestion that the proceeding might, by giving offence, destroy one chance,

were it but one in ten thousand of our chances for a treaty, I manifested something like a sensitiveness for English honor and for the sake of England.

Now, sir, all this is well enough for the smartness of debate; but it does not touch, nor begin to touch, the difficulty. The question is not whether Great Britain deserves to be threatened, or deserves to be whipped, but whether the menace or the fulfilment will or will not diminish your chances of obtaining a treaty? It is a treaty which you say you desire. It is a treaty which the Senator from Pennsylvania desires. It is a treaty he is prescribing for. With this in view, is it wise or foolish to begin by putting the other party into a passion? Whether would you rather treat with a good natured or an angry Government? You say the former, of course. Well, is not an unreasonable passion as bad to treat with as a reasonable one? Will not a threat, felt to be deserved, or actually deserved, place the threatened party in as unpropitious a mood and situation for sweet tempered, courteous, and rational diplomacy, as a threat wholly undeserved? What is the operation of all menace? Why, it puts the object of it in a condition in which he cannot do what he would, and what he feels to be right, lest he be subjected to the imputation of acting from fear. The justice or injustice of the menace itself does not help or hurt the matter.

It is of no sort of consequence, therefore, whether Great Britain has a right to take offence or not. I mean that it is of no consequence to your objects and your interests. It is of you, not of her, that I am thinking; it is for you, for our constituents, for our country, for our peace, our honor, our fortunes, I am anxious, not hers; and it is that you may acquire what you seek and what you deserve, that I counsel you not to lessen your chances of a treaty by a menace—no, nor by any act or declaration which may by reasonable possibility be so interpreted. I hope I may caution my child not to rouse with his little whip a sleeping irritable animal, without being told that I care much about the dog, and little about my son. For your own objects, with a prudent and useful selfishness, avoid the appearance of this thing.

Sir, we must distinguish. If any other conceivable purpose was expected to be served by this notice, than that of inducing Great Britain to give us a treaty, you would not so much regard its possible effect on her temper. You might give *the notice for its other objects, and for its other operation*; and you might say that you would not presume, or, in consideration of other benefits, that you could afford to disregard, unreasonable ill nature. But you observe, that the honorable Senator from Pennsylvania urges the notice as a mode, and an indispensable mode, of getting a treaty. This is exactly and all the good it is to do. If it will not do that, if it is not certain that it will do that, if it may do more harm than good in that precise regard; if, reasonably or not, it may by possibility be misinterpreted, then, on the very principles upon which it is proposed, you will refuse to burn your fingers with it.

But the honorable Senator agrees that we should not menace. If this may probably and not wholly unreasonably be taken as a menace, then he agrees it is not to be given: Well, is it not one? Is it not certain that it would be so taken?

Sir, the lea  
ber a reading  
ber, at the extr  
as it was calle  
a New York  
that as it may,  
already stated  
Government  
most delibera  
must ensue fr

This, sir, v  
speaking to us  
Minister to a  
that debate, t  
to shadow ou  
popular outbr  
obey. Not s  
What consequ  
ish "Arliame  
corresponden  
ture of the c  
And here let  
with a friend  
lina, (Mr. Pa  
My friend con  
time, these w  
you to consid  
fusal. Certai  
say not an in  
such languag  
any reparatio

Now, sir,  
Great Britain  
territory fro  
claims; she  
deal of dipl  
said have be  
shifting, ano  
by British s  
gether, by F  
of our minist  
mean to col  
jects, they v

In this sta  
ment propos  
wrong, we s  
munications  
rainister ar  
assures us;  
portance to  
disquiet, th

Sir, the learning of threats is not recondit nor difficult. I well remember a reading on the title, by the honorable Senator himself, in this chamber, at the extra session of 1841. It was in the debate on the McLeod case, as it was called. The British minister had demanded that person, then in a New York jail, to be given up; and he did it in these terms: "But be that as it may, Her Majesty's Government formally demand, on the grounds already stated, the immediate release of Mr. McLeod; and Her Majesty's Government entreat the President of the United States to take into his most deliberate consideration the serious nature of the consequences which must ensue from a rejection of this demand."

This, sir, was not the language of the Parliament of Great Britain, speaking to us in the hearing of the whole world. It was a letter from a Minister to a Secretary; and it was thought, by some who participated in that debate, that it spoke apprehension more than menace; that it meant to shadow out beforehand a possible, uncontrollable, and unmanageable popular outbreak, of Whig, Radical, and Tory, which Government must obey. Not so the honorable Senator. He said: "*What consequences? What consequences?* After the denunciations we had heard in the British Parliament, and all that had occurred in the course of the previous correspondence, could any thing have been intended but the serious nature of the consequences which must ensue *from war with England?* And here let me put a case. I am so unfortunate as to have a difference with a friend of mine. I will suppose it to be my friend from South Carolina, (Mr. PAXTON.) I know, if you please, even that I am in the wrong. My friend comes to me and demands an explanation, adding, at the same time, these words: If you do not grant the reparation demanded, I entreat you to consider the serious consequences which must ensue from your refusal. Certain I am there is not a single member of this Senate, I might say not an intelligent man in the civilized world, who would not consider such language as a menace, which must be withdrawn or explained before any reparation could be made."

Now, sir, try this case by such a standard and such an illustration. Great Britain claims a right to the joint and common occupation of the territory from 42° to 54° 40'. She is wholly in the wrong; yet she claims; she has recorded and urged her claim; we have had a great deal of diplomatic conversation about the matter; different lines it is said have been proposed, formally or informally; there is a sort of mixed, shifting, anomalous possession, here for hunting, there for farming; here by British subjects, there by American; and elsewhere, or mingled together, by French, half-breeds, and Indians. To some intimation or other of our ministers in 1827 the British Government declared that it did not mean to colonize; but that if a forcible effort were made to expel her subjects, they would be defended.

In this state of things precisely, we by the Executive organ of Government propose to Great Britain to settle the whole by treaty. You are all wrong, we said, but let us treat. Great Britain agrees to it. Informal communications pass and re-pass for a year or two; and at length a British minister arrives; not a special minister, the Senator from Pennsylvania assures us; a general minister, but with no other subject whatever of importance to attend to than this. This alone of our British elements of disquiet, this alone, or this mainly, is left.



The negotiation is ready to begin. And let me say that all this has proceeded thus far, with the fullest knowledge, and the most entire virtual acquiescence of the National Legislature. You knew at the last session, you have known from the first day of this, perfectly well, that the Governments were negotiating on this subject. The President told us so. The chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs told you so. Yet you did not interpose. You passed no resolution forbidding negotiation, or sketching its course, or embodying an ultimatum. You have drawn no red lines or black lines, within or without which diplomacy shall not come. You have virtually consented that the whole subject of controversy be treated on, reserving yourselves to your great constitutional duty of ratifying or refusing to ratify what negotiation shall propose to you. But to negotiation you, the Legislature and the Executive, agree. To this the Senator from Pennsylvania agrees.

Well, the negotiators are taking their seats at table; the maps are unrolled; (I hope there are no red lines this time, traced by king or sage;) the publicists are doubled down in dogs ears, and all is ready. In this precise state of things, the Legislature, which in matters of pending and legitimate negotiation has no more to do than the army or navy, puts its head out of the window, and, in a voice audible all over the world, ejaculates, "God-speed your labors messieurs negotiators; treat away; we are all for a treaty; we are deeply anxious to have a treaty; we are pining for peace; but hark ye, of the British side of that table; if you do not give us the whole subject in dispute, or just as much of it as we desire to have, we mean to take it by force and main strength; in twelve months from this day." I say, sir, that looking to time, place, circumstance, to the explanatory speeches and the whole case, this is the language. And I say, further, it is menace; and nothing but my sincere respect and regard for Senators who propose and urge it prevents my saying, still further, that it is the most indecent, indecorous, unintelligible proceeding the world of civilization ever witnessed.

The honorable Senator from Pennsylvania in the course of his able and plausible speech pressed me with some inconsistencies of my argument, as he thought them. Certainly, as he construed and collated the arguments, they wore a look of inconsistency; and I felt, and feel, that they will require, before I have done, some effort to reconcile them. In the mean time, will he allow me in turn to ask him whether he and his friends have not fallen, in the warmth doubtless of discussion, into some pretty remarkable inconsistencies themselves? Sir, I have been exceedingly struck while listening to gentlemen, and particularly so perhaps while listening to the Senator from Pennsylvania, with the fact, that while the ends and objects at which they aim are all so pacific, their speeches are strown and sown thick, broadcast, with so much of the food and nourishment of war. Their *ends* and *objects* are peace; a treaty of peace; but their *means* and their *topics* wear a certain incongruous grimness of aspect. The "bloom is on the rye;" but as you go near, you see bayonet points sparkling beneath; and are fired upon by a thousand men in ambush! The end they aim at is peace; but the means of attaining it are an offensive and absurd threat. Their ends and their objects are peace; yet how full have they stuffed the speeches we have been hearing with every single topic the best calculat-

ed to blow  
The hour  
proud, po  
red line i  
on with g  
of title;  
our fault  
ther, by  
have hap  
for peace  
him, a li  
calculate  
cial com  
the Quee  
masses a

I decl  
triotism  
they hal  
in the s  
him."  
He wou  
people's  
admired  
turns ag  
and put  
of the d  
steel of  
legacy  
friend, v  
mob bre

Anth  
between  
sentim  
doubt  
or wha  
up to s  
They  
so exp  
repris  
The  
words  
every  
death  
press  
mean  
Oreg  
both  
hear



ed to blow up the passions of kindred races to the fever heat of battle! The honorable Senator from Pennsylvania is for peace, but England is proud, powerful and greedy; England sends Lord Ashburton here with a red line in his pocket, and a white lie in his mouth; England is pressing on with giant tread to the occupation of Oregon, in which she has no color of title; the English press, high and low, is vilifying, day and night, not our faults or vices, but all that we love and all that we honor! Nay, further, by a most unhappy and remarkable mere lapse of tongue it must have happened, for the honorable Senator never forgets to say that he is for peace, he tells us, that while our cities love England, as I understand him, a little too much, "not wisely, but too well"—(a remark by the way, calculated, not *intended*, to destroy altogether the influence of the commercial community on a question of peace or war)—so well as to have toasted the Queen and insulted the President—the great unsophisticated and honest masses already hate England with a precious and ancient enmity.

I declare, sir, that while listening to Senators whose sincerity and patriotism I cannot doubt, and to this conflict of topics and objects with which they half bewilder me, I was forcibly reminded of that consummate oration in the streets of Rome, by one who "came to bury Cæsar, not to praise him." He did not wish to stir up any body to mutiny and rage—O, no! He would not have a finger lifted against the murderers of his and the people's friend—not he! He feared he wronged them—yet who has not admired the exquisite address and the irresistible effect with which he returns again and again to "sweet Cæsar's wounds, poor, poor dumb mouths," and puts a tongue in each; to the familiar mantle, first worn on the evening of the day his great friend overcame the Nervii, now pierced by the cursed steel of Cassius, of the envious Casca, of the well-beloved Brutus; to his legacy of drachmas, arbors, and orchards, to the people of Rome, whose friend, whose benefactor, he shows to them, all marred by traitors—till the mob break away from his words of more than fire, with—

"We will be revenged:—revenge: about!  
Seek—burn—fire—kill—slay!—let not a traitor live."

Anthony was insincere: Senators are wholly sincere; yet the contrast between their pacific professions and that revelry of belligerent topics and sentiments which rings and flashes in their speeches here, half suggests a doubt to me; sometimes, whether they or I perfectly know what they mean or what they desire. They promise to show you a garden, and you look up to see nothing but a wall, "with dreadful faces thronged, and fiery arms!" They propose to teach you how peace is to be preserved; and they do it so exquisitely that you go away half inclined to issue letters of marque and reprisal to-morrow morning.

The argument runs somewhat thus, (I do not pretend to use the exact words of any one:—) "We are for peace—but flesh and blood can't stand every thing; we are wholly for peace—but our emotions almost choke us to death when we think of their sending Lord Ashburton here with his *suppressio veri*, and *allegatio falsi*; we are for peace by all manner of means—yet see England laying her mortmain and dishonest grasp on the Oregon, as she had before on the highland passes of Maine, enfolding both to her rapacious breast—and bear it who can! we want peace—but hear that ribald and all-libelling press, that spares neither age, nor sex,

nor the secrets of the grave! we want peace—not that we love England quite so much as the cities, whose treasures indeed, and whose interests, we hope not *all* their affections, are more abroad than at home; we would have the Executive dispositions, if we could, as sweet and peace-making as our own—but impartiality obliges us to remind him where, when, and how, his health was not drunk, and the Queen's was! we, public men, are all for peace; but how long we shall be able to rein in the great body of the people, stung and maddened by the memory of so many wrongs, Heaven only knows." So runs the argument. The proposition is peace; but the audience rises and goes off with a sort of bewildered and unpleasant sensation, that if there were a thousand men in all America as well disposed as the orator, peace might be preserved; but that, as the case stands, it is just about hopeless! I ascribe it altogether to their anxious and tender concern for peace, that Senators have not a word to say about the good she does, but only about the dangers she is in. They have the love of compassion; not the love of desire. Not a word about the countless blessings she scatters from her golden urn; but only "the pity of it, Iago! the pity of it!" to think how soon the dissonant clangor of a thousand brazen throats may chase that bloom from her cheek,

"And death's pale flag be quick advanced there."

Sir, no one here can say one thing, and mean another; yet much may be meant, and nothing directly said.

"The dial spoke not, but pointed" full upon the stroke of murder."

Let me advert now, sir, to the manner in which another topic, on which I said something before, has been dealt with by the honorable Senator. I suggested, that if you decide to give this notice, the Committee on Foreign Relations ought at once to be directed to inquire whether any and what measures are necessary now to be adopted in view of the expected annulment of the Convention. And my reason was, that if, unhappily, we should not have a treaty within the year, at the end of the year our claims and those of the British Government must come into direct and forcible collision on the contested territory. The grounds of that apprehension I had the honor quite in detail to lay before you.

Well, what has been the answer to this? Why, O! never fear; we shall certainly have a treaty. Beyond that single and satisfactory ejaculation no one goes an inch.

Now, Mr. President, this is very well. But as no gentleman knows that we shall have a treaty, I press my original question: what is to come to pass, where are we to be, what are we to do at the end of a year, with the Convention annulled and no treaty concluded? What is the theory of Senators upon such an hypothesis? Surely, it is no answer at all to say we shall have a treaty. We know nothing at all about it; we do not know, we cannot guess, whether we shall or shall not. Since, then, you would have us assume the responsibility of our deserting our settled and approved policy in this behalf, since you propose that at the end of a year the Convention which has kept the peace of the countries and slowly developed the probable destinies of Oregon for twenty-six years, shall cease to exist, are you not bound to survey the matter on all sides, and therefore to answer this question—where is Oregon, and where are

the coun  
no treat

Sir, it  
unaccom  
tice is a  
take it.  
does not  
concern  
game, a  
Northea  
will opp  
hers, yo  
not ver  
loftily s  
the sett  
by their  
will del  
signed

I tho  
quence  
er Oreg  
on the  
and wh  
Is there  
notice  
which  
concern  
talons,  
Will y  
then, a  
and th  
shatter

Yet  
proud  
energ  
withou  
the w  
tricks  
the N  
solitar  
give v  
tee so  
pen to

Sir  
this n  
pare  
side  
prepa  
I e  
the S

the countries, when that state of things arrives and brings, as it may bring, no treaty?

Sir, it did and does seem to me, that the annulment of the Convention, unaccompanied by treaty, places the Governments in collision. Your notice is a declaration that in a year, if the country is not yielded, you will take it. Great Britain has recorded her declaration, that although she does not propose to colonize, and although, as I gather, she would not concern herself in it, if the Hudson's Bay Company, the hunter, and the game, should slowly retire to the more congenial deserts of the North and Northeast, yet, that if you forcibly attempt to dispossess them now, she will oppose force to force. If you execute your threat, and she executes hers, you certainly are in collision. If you do not, you will have to retire not very magnificently from a position up to which you will have very loftily strutted. Besides, if the Convention is abrogated, collisions among the settlers, each body of them feeling that they represent and are backed by their own Government, will become inevitable; each Government will defend its own; and there is a war in the Oregon, whether you designed it or not.

I thought therefore, and now do, that in this view of possible consequences, it is not too soon, if the notice is given, to begin to inquire whether Oregon is to be defended in Oregon, or under the walls of Quebec, or on the sea; and if in the Oregon, how it is to be done; by what floating and what stationary force; at what cost; and on what ways and means? Is there a doubt that England would begin to prepare on the day of the notice? With her habits, with her means, under the apprehensions which the notice would excite, would she not begin to accumulate and concentrate a preparation which would enable her to stoop, beak and talons, upon the contested territory, on the day that the year should expire? Will you sit still, and see and hear her preparing? To give this notice, then, and go home without more, were to light a train to the magazine, and then lie down to sleep upon the deck, which in half a minute will be shattered to atoms.

Yet Senators are so sure of having a treaty, they are so sure that this proud and grasping Power, this Power which "pushes her rights with energy while we sleep on ours," this Power which will not treat at all without a menace, will treat under menace; that she will sweetly yield the whole matter in dispute in a year; that red lines, courtly diplomatic tricks, the avarice of territory, the dreams of Gibaltars and Malta on the Northwest coast, the pride of protecting all her subjects from what solitary spot of land or sea soever their cries assail the throne—will all give way; so sure are they of all this, that they will not have a committee so much as inquire what is to be done if none of these fine things happen to come to pass!

Sir, my friends and myself are willing to go before the country upon this matter. We oppose the notice; but if you give it, then, we say, prepare with a rational forecast for the consequences. Senators on the other side advise the notice, and resist even inquiry into the expediency of any preparation at all.

I come at last, sir, to that part of my previous observations on which the Senator from Pennsylvania has chiefly diffused himself.

I said, for the purpose of persuading you not to give this notice now, (for that all along is the whole subject of deliberation—shall it be given now?)—that over and above the possible inauspicious influence of the notice upon the negotiation, the Convention was actually working very well for you in the Oregon itself. I said, therefore, that so far from precipitating an attempt to abrogate it to-day, it was perhaps not certain that you would ever do so, treaty or no treaty. It would be very proper, at least, I suggested, that a committee should inquire what is the actual operation of the Convention; and whether time, the Convention subsisting, did now, and would hereafter, “fight for you or fight for England?” I said that, in my view of the facts, the actual tendencies of events were giving you the agricultural portions of Oregon; and that there was nothing now in operation in England or Oregon which was at all counteracting those tendencies. Such was the actual operation of the Convention. And then I said, that although all this might change; although England or the Hudson’s Bay Company might put into activity some new agencies of counteraction to keep our agricultural settlers out; yet I did suggest, that if things could be left as now they are, to succeed one another in their natural course; if time and chance, as now, could be continued in the control of events; if collision is not precipitated, and blood is not shed; if exasperated and mad national will, stimulated to undesigned and unreasonable action, is not substituted for the natural sequence of things; if the whole could remain, as now it is, intrusted to the silent operation of those great laws of business and man, which govern in the moral world, as gravitation among the stars; upon this hypothesis, I suggested that your people would spread themselves upon the whole agricultural capacities of Oregon, and the Hudson’s Bay Company, the hunter, and the game, would retire to a fitter region for that wild pursuit. That this would be so I could not assert, of course. Over and over again, I said the British policy might take some new direction. We may brag her into a change of it. The foolishness of debate may change it. In point of fact, however, now, for the present, the Convention works well. Continue it, therefore. But keep a constant and keen lookout upon the Oregon; and in the mean time, you are filling it with its appropriate and its natural defenders.

Such, exactly, sir, was the poetical and self-deceiving policy which so much amuses the honorable Senator from Pennsylvania. Has he adequately met the view I took? Sir, I think not.

Consider, sir, first, what is the exact question. It is this. Is the actual working of the Convention such as to afford a reason for abrogating it sufficiently clear and weighty to induce you to disregard and take the hazard of those probable inauspicious influences which the proposed notice would exert upon the pending negotiation? The effect of the notice upon negotiation, I hope I have shown, would be bad. The argument of the Senator from Pennsylvania, that notice would help negotiation, I hope I have shown, is not sound nor specious. Still the question arises, Does the actual working of the Convention afford a reason, irrespective of the effect of notice upon negotiation, for abrogating, or a reason for continuing it? Does it afford so strong a reason for abrogating it, that you should feel obliged to abrogate it *at the expense* of a treaty? I have said, and repeat, that on the contrary, the Convention operates so favora-

bly, that, with negotiation, y and when you

What, then, tendencies and with your peo cies and inst tendencies an a pure questio tion of the pa and by itself. not very usef the honorable claim, Englar

Our busine of the presen vention to-da are refuted. then we can

The first things, was t ing the agric tendencies whic tlers from an something li Springing up where, by hū ing rather, honest old A and by the possess, whe is growing, s will cover th cover the se olution. A lustrated this

“Oregon is o such were once country—’point Five thousand before another y you legislate for ered in the Hou

To the sa Illinois him

“The peopl acted. For ma the purpose of

bly, that, without the least regard to the unpropitious effect of notice upon negotiation, you should not to-day disturb it. Whether you ever shall, and when you shall, events will reveal to you.

What, then, is the actual working of the Convention? Are there tendencies and causes now actually in operation, which would fill Oregon with your people, if not counteracted; and are there counteracting agencies and instrumentalities actually in operation which overcome those tendencies and causes, and thus keep your people out? And this, sir, is a pure question of fact. It is a question of mere evidence. It is a question of the past and the present of Oregon. Examine it, then, as such, and by itself. Do not let it be confounded with the very different, and not very useful question, What is to be the future of Oregon? Let not the honorable Senator jump aside or jump forward from the fact, and exclaim, England *will* do this; the Hudson's Bay Company *will* do that!

Our business is not to guess about the future; but to discern the duties of the present, and to fulfil them. You urge the abrogation of the Convention to-day. See, then, how it works to-day. If it work well, you are refuted. And if then you guess it will work badly next year, I say then we can abrogate it next year.

The first suggestion, sir, which I made touching the existing state of things, was that causes and tendencies now actually in operation are filling the agricultural parts of Oregon with your people; causes and tendencies which, not counteracted, will fill those parts with agricultural settlers from among yourselves. There is already kindled and diffused something like a passion for agricultural emigration to that country. Springing up and spreading, one knows not how; not prompted, as elsewhere, by hunger, by pauperism, by the want of work or wages; springing rather, perhaps, from a craving of personal independence, and an honest old Anglo-Saxon appetite for land; stimulated by our large liberty, and by the feeling that we have vast tracts of new world to divide and possess, wherein each may get his share: the passion exists, is diffused, is growing, and, in the absence of insuperable counteracting agencies, will cover the whole agricultural opportunities of Oregon, as the waters cover the sea. Such, I said, was the view taken by the friends of the resolution. A vivid paragraph from a speech delivered elsewhere well illustrated this.

"Oregon is our land of promise. Oregon is our land of destination. 'The finger of Nature'—such were once the words of the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. ADAMS,] in regard to this country—'points that out.' *Two thousand* American citizens are already indwellers of her valleys. *Five thousand* more—ay, it may be twice that number—will have crossed the mountain passes, before another year rolls round. While you are legislating, they are emigrating; and whether you legislate for them or not, they will emigrate still."—*Speech of Mr. Owen, of Indiana, delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, January 23d and 24th, 1844.*

To the same effect was the less fervent language of the Senator from Illinois himself, in his speech upon introducing this resolution.

"The people of the West have not contented themselves with expressing opinions—they have acted. For many years our citizens have gone into the country west of the Rocky Mountains, for the purpose of hunting, trapping, and trading with the Indians. They have also more recently

gone for the purpose of making permanent settlements. During the last year, more than a thousand brave and hardy pioneers set out from Independence, in Missouri, and, overcoming all obstacles, have arrived safe in the Oregon. Thus the first attempt to cross the extensive prairies and high mountains which intervene between the settlements in the States and the Pacific ocean has been completely successful. The prairie wilderness and the snowy mountains, which have heretofore been deemed impassable, which were to constitute, in the opinion of some, an impenetrable barrier to the further progress of emigration to the West, are already overcome. The same bold and daring spirits, whose intrepidity has heretofore overcome the Western wilderness in the midst of dangers, can never be checked in their march to the shores of the Pacific. During the next summer I believe thousands will follow. Extensive preparations are now making for a general move towards that country. The complete success of those who have first gone will encourage others; and, as the road is now marked out, I do not think I am at all extravagant when I suppose that ten thousand emigrants will go to Oregon next summer."

Indeed, I added, the one great fact which, first, last, every where and always strikes you on a review of our history, is the noiseless, innumerable movement of our nation westward.

Setting off two centuries ago from Jamestown and Plymouth, we have spread to the Alleghanies; we have topped them; we have diffused ourselves over the imperial valley beyond; we have crossed the Father of Rivers; the granite and ponderous gates of the Rocky Mountains have opened, and we stand in sight of the great sea. He whose childhood learned his mother's tongue from her loved lips, in the utmost North and East, speaks it to-day in the tones of a man on the shores of the Pacific; speaks it to teach the truths and consolations of religion and of culture to the wasted native race; speaks it there, and is still at home! unexpatriated, unalienated, his "heart, untravelled," still turning to you! In this fact, recorded and exemplified by all our history, there was revealed a law of growth, which, in the absence of counteracting causes, would fill all that was worth filling of the country in dispute.

Such was the first of the facts I urged which make up the *actual present* of this question of Oregon.

And, now, what does the honorable Senator from Pennsylvania say to this? Does he controvert it, or any part of it? Certainly not. Does he doubt the existence of a formed, diffused passion for emigrating to Oregon? Not he, indeed! Does he doubt the agricultural capacities of the country? I understand him to go the whole length of his friends, the friends of this resolution, in their high estimate of those capacities. Does he deride, and disbelieve the law which seems to conduct our star of empire westward? O no! Hear him:

"He believed that the system of law and of social order we enjoyed was destined to be the inheritance of this continent. For this it was that the Almighty had put within this entire nation that spirit of progress, and that disposition to roam abroad and seek out new homes and new fields of enterprise. It could not be repressed; it was idle to talk of it; you might as well arrest the stars in their course through heaven. The same Divine hand gave impulse to both. Stop the American people from crossing the Rocky Mountains! You might as well command Niagara not to flow. We had a destiny, and it would be fulfilled."

Sir, how poor, flat, spiritless, prosaic, was all I said, to this! He talk of my poetry, indeed! Why compared with these arrow flights, these

eagle of  
myself

No  
untary  
pects,

Ten  
people  
questio  
and re  
out?

Hudac  
among  
West

Be  
disting  
arately

have  
there  
thing  
our ag

That  
erm  
chang

In  
that C  
the B  
tion o  
it, or

So  
such  
verte

State  
tion o  
or im

that  
Brita  
erm

priv  
soug  
field

terp  
sion  
hun

Brit  
Can  
wh

gon  
tion  
Brit

Co

eagle flights, of the soaring Senator, I crept upon the ground; I abased myself; I lay flat on my face; I hid my head in the humble reeds!

No wonder, indeed, that the topic inspires him with "thoughts that voluntary move harmonious numbers." Yet it has its sad and fearful aspects, too, on which we may, and soon, have cause to dwell.

Tendencies and causes then in actual operation are conducting your people to the occupation of the whole agricultural Oregon. The next question is, are there any counteracting agencies actually operating to check and restrain these tendencies and causes, and thus to keep your people out? Is the British Government and nation now doing any thing, is the Hudson's Bay Company now doing any thing, to prevent settlers from among yourselves taking up the entire agricultural capacities of that far West?

Beginning, then, with the British Government and nation at home, as distinct from the Hudson's Bay Company, whose policy requires to be separately examined, I said, and say, that upon all the evidence to which I have access, and to which you all and all the world have equal access, there is no proof whatever that that Government and nation is doing any thing which operates in the slightest degree to keep out or to embarrass our agricultural emigration to Oregon. Do not lose sight of the question. That question is, What is the existing state of things? What is that Government doing now? Three years, six months, the next packet, may change every thing. But what is going on now?

In the first place, then, I said, and repeat, that I see no proof that that Government and nation, or any party or association or individual of the British nation at home, are now carrying on the agricultural colonization of Oregon; or do now, or ever did, cherish the purpose of colonizing it, or any part of it, for objects of agriculture.

Some proofs and considerations having a tendency to evince that no such thing is doing, and that no such purpose is cherished, were then adverted to. In 1827 Mr. Gallatin, in a letter to the American Secretary of State, observes that the British negotiators declared "there was no intention on the part of Great Britain to colonize the country (of the Columbia) or impede the progress of American settlement." And then, through all that series of colonization and emigration enterprise, beginning in Great Britain in 1826, perhaps as far back as 1815, by which the British Government, under successive administrations, and by which associations of private persons, and by which wise and feeling individual minds, have sought to relieve the over pressure of population at home by opening new fields of British labor and new markets of British goods abroad—an enterprise which has excited so much interest and caused so much discussion in Parliament and by the press; an enterprise which has carried many hundreds of thousands of voluntary emigrants to every spot almost of British earth—to Australia, New Zealand, the Cape of Good Hope, the Canadas, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and all the isles of the sea; in the whole history of this enterprise, nobody has proposed to colonize the Oregon, and nobody has taken a step that way. The necessity of colonization on the largest scale has been admitted. It has been forced upon the British public mind. It is most energetically and successfully acted upon. Colonies are rising every where; new fields and new shops of British



labor; new markets of British manufactures; new investments of British capital, benefiting him who emigrates and him who stays at home; stimulating British production; "putting the full breast of youthful exuberance to the mouth of the exhausted parent." Yet no human being has emigrated or meditated emigration, that I can see, to the Oregon. The advantages and disadvantages of all these seats of colonization have been repeatedly and warmly discussed in Parliament, and by the whole press, high and low, but not one word that I can find has been spoken or written of the Oregon. I referred to a catalogue of books coming under the general denomination of Emigrants' Guides, just published in London, in which the roving English reader may find something to induce him to go to almost every other spot on earth or sea, and to show him the way to it, but not a puff and not a direction for Oregon. In no paper put forth by the Government, or any association of persons; in no speech, in no book, in no act of any description, or of any body, do I see a particle of proof of the existence of a design to settle that country for agriculture or for any thing. Indeed, when you consider of how vast a colonial territory Great Britain is the admitted exclusive proprietor; a territory on which her descendants may go on for ages spreading to hundreds of millions; a territory more accessible and towards which the current of emigration is already running; on which the foundations of new States are already traced, and the structures going up, it is not strange that she has not directed her wandering steps to this last home of man, where she does not pretend to own an acre by an exclusive title, and to which we are known to deny her any title at all.

Well, sir, how does the Senator meet this? Why, he says Great Britain must colonize. "What! he exclaims, not colonize? It is the indispensable condition of her existence; she must colonize." Certainly, sir. *She* had the honor to say. But she must not colonize the top of Mont Blanc; and she must not colonize the dome of St. Paul's church, that I am aware of; and whether she is colonizing or meditates colonizing the agricultural parts or any parts of Oregon is a pure and sheer question of fact, to be settled by the proofs.

Returning, then, to the proofs, the Senator has produced nothing but the renewal of the Hudson's Bay Company's charter, in which is reserved a right to colonize. It was my purpose to have remarked on this before, and to urge, as now I do, that it greatly strengthens the position that the British Government has not formed the purpose of attempting agricultural settlement in that country. But the Senator from Missouri, (Mr. ARCHISON,) to whom I was replying, not having adverted to this document, it at the moment escaped my attention.

Sir, the fact is this: In 1837 the company applied for a renewal of its license to trade and hunt. To obtain it, a good story was to be told, and the Oregon, and all the other almost unbounded territory on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, to which the license extended, certainly was described in the color of the rose. The British Government, having such an account of it thrust into their very faces, determined to introduce into the renewal a reservation of the right as against the company to colonize any part of the whole country to which the license extended, if during the twenty years for which they gave the renewal it should wish to do

so. A  
Govern  
the O  
In t  
sign.  
That  
The  
go fu  
the ot  
22d A  
propo  
purpo  
the d  
certai  
glanc  
done  
in the  
doing  
Russi  
eratic  
the S  
desig  
Ta  
betw  
Maga  
ten b  
page  
negli  
out o  
longi  
para  
say t  
mira  
right  
says  
Bay  
caus  
ernu  
help  
Ore  
ness  
I  
184  
the  
an  
ver  
no  
En  
no



so. And this is all. But does this afford a scrap of evidence that that Government had then formed, or has now formed, the design of colonizing the Oregon?

In the first place, there is no proof of any one act evincing such a design. It was a Whig administration which in 1838 renewed the license. That administration held power till 1841, and did nothing on the subject. The Tory administration that succeeded it has done nothing. But I may go further. The Senator from Indiana, (Mr. HANNEGAN,) in his speech the other day, produced and read the Morning Chronicle of 1 believe, 22d August, 1843, to prove some British opinion about the Oregon. I propose to cross-examine his witness; and will put upon the stand for that purpose the same Morning Chronicle of August 23th, 1843, six days after the date of the paper from which he read. It is an opposition paper, and certainly utters itself with a commendable wrath and freedom. After glancing at certain easy courses, by which the present ministry might have done themselves honor and the State service, the writer taunts them in the bitterest terms with pursuing a directly opposite policy; with not doing this from fear of Louis Philippe; with not doing that from fear of Russia; and, among other things, with "giving up the Oregon," in consideration of having lost the Northeastern boundary before! Certainly, if the Senator's witness is a credible one, he utterly disproves all ministerial design of colonizing the Oregon.

Take another piece of evidence. Here is an article on "the fur trade between the Northwest coast of America and China," in Fisher's Colonial Magazine, published in London, April, 1843. Very probably it was written by an agent of the Hudson's Bay Company. I read a paragraph from page 2: "It is truly mortifying to reflect on the ignorance, imbecility, and negligence, of the British Government, which is allowing us to be juggled out of this coast, one of the finest in the world, and unquestionably belonging to us by the right of priority in discovery." The last part of the paragraph contains news; but what does the Senator from Pennsylvania say to the former? He can hardly refuse the tribute of his unwilling admiration to Great Britain, for the energy with which "she pushes her rights," or rather her claims, without right. "She is rushing forward, he says, to get and keep the country!" Whereas, here is an unhappy Hudson's Bay Company proprietor, beating his breast and pulling out his hair, because he cannot move such "a dish of skimmed milk" as the British Government "to an honorable action." But which to rely on? I cannot help thinking that this writer has the best means of knowledge, both of Oregon and England; and he calls names with a copiousness and heartiness that shows him to be altogether in earnest.

I add a passage or two from the British Foreign Review of January, 1844. In an article "on the Oregon Territory," the writer says: "Upon the whole, therefore, the Oregon Territory holds out no great promise as an agricultural field." "We have seen that Oregon offers, upon the whole, very little inducement to agricultural pursuits." "For ourselves, we do not set any great value upon the country as an emigration field, either for England or America."

I submit, then, sir, that the British Government and nation at home has not formed the design of colonizing the agricultural regions of Oregon.

This reservation in the license of the company strengthens the proofs of this fact. But for that, the Senator might say, nay, has said, that the Government had no right as against the company to colonize. The right is gained, and yet the Government does nothing.

Sir, Great Britain is not in the Oregon at all, except in and by the Hudson's Bay Company. She has no fort, nor farm, nor town, nor trace of footstep there, except in and by the Hudson's Bay Company. I come now in the next place to ask, whether that company opposes the slightest obstacle, in point of fact, to the entrance of our agricultural settlers? And nothing is more indisputably certain than that it does not. In one way only does it seem to be probable that it will do so. In one way it may. Send an armed mounted force to eject those persons; drive them home, maimed and spoiled, upon the sympathies and the pride of a Government which has recorded its determination to protect them from violence, and thus indeed they may become an obstacle to the entrance of American agricultural immigration. But if, avoiding such insanity as that, you maintain the existing state of things; if under this Convention you continue to enter with ploughshare and pruning hook, and missionary, twenty years more may see them pass away, as night, to the more congenial desert. At present, I say again, that the Company does not, in point of fact, oppose the slightest possible counteracting resistance to those tendencies and causes which are giving to your farmers the good lands of Oregon.

We must distinguish when we speak of the Hudson's Bay Company. As a hunting and trading organization, it is very formidable indeed. It wields a large capital; occupies and owns a vast region on this side of the mountains, drained by the waters of the Hudson's Bay; it has a license of trade exclusive of all British subjects over that region, and over other tracts all but boundless on both sides of the mountains; employs agents of great skill, acquired by long experience, and exerts a decisive control upon many of the native races, in the business of obtaining furs, by hunting, trapping, or trade with Indians. A solitary ship, or a stranger going there once or twice in his life, stands no chance with such a body as this.

But thus far, sir, the company opposes no obstacle at all to your agricultural settlement. The truth is precisely that it is a hunting corporation exclusively; it gives no attention to agriculture; but it permits its retired servants to take up farms about and near its trading posts; and, to some extent, perhaps a hundred of these retired servants have done so. These persons are the only cultivators of Oregon, excepting your own countrymen. They are English, French, and half breeds. With them your settlers mingle peaceably; your missionaries preach to them; and they are at this moment coming within your influence; ready to receive your laws; to be blended with your countrymen; to be enfolded in your protecting arms. Meantime, the Hudson's Bay Company pursues its business of seeking furs; but these are fast disappearing; and as the game goes north, the hunter must follow. The process which is going on, then, in the Oregon, is exactly this. The hunter state is disappearing. The agricultural state is succeeding; and your settlers, the farmer, and the missionary, and the retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, its servants no longer—these, of diverse race, but with kindred objects, and soon

to be a Ki-  
are introd-  
far, the H-

Sir, the  
place, the  
ments; a  
own; is c  
nize for a  
Its whole  
mountain  
as propri  
waters of  
and nothi  
grant on-

The S  
pany for  
proof tha  
some larg  
on a clos  
charged  
company  
that in r  
it expect  
of the n

"The pr  
cupation o  
their trade,  
with the re  
is as yet of  
employem  
rive from it

"That  
ernment fo  
whataoever  
when it is  
country, o  
and, conse  
of citizens  
from the b  
ries, in th  
stockhold

"The  
and we ar  
tion for th  
of farms;

This  
out, wa  
modific  
ing an

to be a kindred colony, all sprung from you—these are the instruments who are introducing the agricultural state. And to this process, I repeat, thus far, the Hudson's Bay Company opposes no hindrance at all.

Sir, the proofs of all parts of this statement are conclusive. In the first place, that the company, as such, has no agricultural tastes or employments; and that the discharged servants are the only farmers, except our own, is certain. It is no part of its policy or even of its powers to colonize for agriculture. It is a trading company. Its charter makes it such. Its whole corporate business has been to trade and hunt. West of the mountains it has not a foot of land, by grant even from England. Its title as proprietor is confined exclusively to lands on this side, drained by the waters of the Hudson's Bay. On the west side it has a license to trade, and nothing more. It cannot, even as against England, hold; it cannot grant one acre there for independent agricultural occupation.

The Senator from Pennsylvania has referred to the petition of the company for a renewal of their license, and to the papers attending it, for proof that they meditated agricultural undertakings. Doubtless, there are some large and vague intimations of such a purpose or such a hope. But, on a closer examination, it becomes quite clear that it is through their discharged servants only that any thing agricultural is to be done; that the company remains, as from the first it has been, a hunter and trader; and that in neither capacity and in neither employment has it earned, or does it expect to earn, any profits, or any considerable profits, on the west side of the mountains. A paragraph or two will suffice to show this:

"The principal benefit the company derive from the exclusive license of trade is the *peaceable occupation of their own proper territory*, from which they draw nearly the whole of the profits of their trade, and for the protection of which they have a right to look to Government, in common with the rest of Her Majesty's subjects, as the trade of the country embraced in the royal license is as yet of very little benefit to them, and affords greater advantages to the mother country, in the employment of shipping, and in the revenue arising from imports and exports, than the company derive from it.

"That the Hudson Bay Company have the strongest possible claims upon Her Majesty's Government for a renewal of the exclusive license of trade, without any rent or pecuniary consideration whatsoever, cannot, I should hope, admit of a question, after the explanation I have given; but when it is considered that the greater part of the country to which the license applies is Indian country, opened by treaty to citizens of the United States of America as well as to British subjects, and, consequently, the license of exclusive trade does not protect the company from the competition of citizens of the United States, it must appear evident that no substantial benefit is likely to arise from the boon we are soliciting, *beyond the probable means of affording peace to our own Territories, in the tranquillity of which Her Majesty's Government ought to feel as deep an interest as the stockholders of the Hudson Bay Company.*"

"The possession of that country to Great Britain may become an object of very great importance, and we are strengthening that claim to it (independent of the claims of prior discovery and occupation for the purpose of Indian trade,) by forming the nucleus of a colony, through the establishment of farms, and the settlement of some of our retiring officers and servants as agriculturists."

This petition, whatsoever purposes of agricultural achievement it held out, was presented in 1837. But that is truth the company has not at all modified its character and objects, or become any less exclusively a hunting and trading company than before, all evidence concurs to prove. Mr.

Greenhow, in his excellent Memoir on the subject, published in May, 1840, and since then expanded into the most complete and most authoritative work on the whole Oregon question, in all its aspects, which has ever been written, and for which I hope to unite with the Senator from Pennsylvania, and the whole Senate, in remunerating the laborious and trustworthy compiler—Mr. Greenhow says, three years after this petition had been presented: "the only settlement which appears to have been made under the auspices of the company beyond the Rocky Mountains is that on the Wallamette, where a few old Canadian voyageurs are permitted to reside with their Indian wives and half-breed families, on condition of remaining faithful to their liege lords of the company. In the neighborhood of each large factory, indeed, a portion of ground is cleared and cultivated, and dwelling houses, mills, and shops for artisans, are erected; but these improvements are all entirely subservient to the uses and objects of the company, all proceedings not strictly connected with its pursuits being discouraged."

I read now from the British Foreign Review of January, 1844: "The interests of the company are of course adverse to colonization." "The fur trade has been hitherto the only channel for the advantageous investment of capital in those regions."

Indeed it is plain, that such a company, as such, can do nothing in agriculture. It cannot live in or near the agricultural state. It is not fields of grain, or grass, or cattle, or pasture, that it requires, but Indians to trade with, beaver and muskrat to kill, a vast wilderness to range in, one whole region of which it may hunt over this year, leaving it fallow the next, to replenish its growth of savage life. It cannot blend, it cannot contemporaneously conduct, agricultural and hunting occupation. There is a sort of chronological incompatibility in it. These are *successive* states, marking successive ages of man. The company must retire before the agricultural life, not enjoy it.

In the next place, sir, it is as clear, and it is an interesting and pleasing fact, that these discharged servants of the company possess very friendly dispositions to the Government of the United States, that they receive our settlers hospitably, that they listen gladly to the instructions of our missionaries, and that they anticipate with pleasure, not fear, the extension of our laws and the unfolding of our flag upon the shores of their tranquil sea. Among the documents accompanying the President's message of this session, is a letter from Dr. Elijah White, our sub-agent beyond the Rocky Mountains. He is a gentleman, as I learn from information through Mr. Crawford, of the office of Indian Affairs, of excellent character, whose appointment to his present office was warmly urged by Mr. Linn, late of this Senate. In this letter he says:

"I think I mentioned the kind and hospitable manner we were received and entertained on the way by the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the cordial and most handsome reception I met with at Fort Vancouver, from Governor McLaughlin, and his worthy associate chief, James Douglass, Esq., my appointment giving pleasure rather than pain—a satisfactory assurance that these worthy gentlemen intend, eventually, to settle in this country, and prefer American to English jurisdiction.

"On my arrival in the colony, sixty miles south of Vancouver, being in advance of the party, and coming unexpectedly to the citizens, bearing the intelligence of the arrival of so large a reinforcement, and giving assurance of the good intentions of our Government, the excitement was

general  
infant of  
"I fo  
Doubled  
with ou  
tion of  
useful,  
nation of  
"A  
Bay Co  
say, ha  
expense  
His hal  
gentle  
industr  
lished

Ar  
frien  
refer  
local  
lowe  
no ti  
influ  
canc  
quar  
adja

It  
prop  
retir  
or c  
new  
to h  
own  
Bay  
and  
be  
ove  
we  
ow  
of  
pro  
no  
an  
ste  
T  
ab  
O  
E  
of

general; and two days after, we had the largest and happiest public meeting ever convened in this infant colony.

"I found the colony in peace and health, rapidly increasing in numbers, having more than doubled in population during the last two years. English, French, and half breeds, seem equally with our own people attached to the American cause; hence the bill of Mr. Linn, proffering a section of land to every white man of the territory, has the double advantage of being popular and useful, increasing such attachment, and manifestly acting as a strong incentive to all, of whatever nation or party, to settle in this country.

"A petition started from this country to-day, making bitter complaints against the Hudson's Bay Company and Governor McLaughlin. On reference to it, (as a copy was denied,) I shall only say, had any gentleman disconnected with the Hudson's Bay Company been at half the pains and expense to establish a claim to the Wallamette falls, very few would have raised an opposition. His half-bushel measure I know to be exact, according to the English imperial standard. The gentlemen of this company have been fathers and fosterers of the colony, ever encouraging peace, industry, and good order, and have sustained a character for hospitality and integrity too well established easily to be shaken."

And this is fully confirmed by those who regard the fact with an un-friended eye. The writer in the Colonial Magazine, to whom I have just referred, thus complains: "By a strange and unpardonable oversight of the local officer of the company, missionaries from the United States were allowed to take religious charge of the population; and these artful men lost no time in introducing such a number of their countrymen as reduced the influence of the small number of British settlers into complete insignificance. Unless a speedy remedy be applied, our fellow-subjects in that quarter will soon be excluded from the Columbia river, its tributaries and adjacent countries."

It is certain, also, in the next place, that the Hudson's Bay Company proper, the hunting and trading company, finds already that its game is retiring to the north and northeast; and the hunter must follow his game, or cease to be a hunter. You have seen that in the application for a renewal of the license, it is said that no considerable profits were expected to be gathered on the west side of the mountains; that it was upon their own proper territory on this side, drained by the waters of the Hudson's Bay, that their business was to be, if any where, advantageously pursued; and that the license to hunt and trade on the west side was expected to be useful mainly as a means of extending and perpetuating that influence over the Indians, and that monopoly peaceful and exclusive range of their west, which would ensure them the a prudent husbandry and alternation own territory, and enable them, by a prudent husbandry and alternation of crops, hunting in one season on one tract, and the next on another, to prevent or postpone the total destruction of game. In point of fact, there is no doubt that, from causes wholly uncontrollable by them, the fur-bearing animals are deserting the Oregon. South of the Columbia, they are substantially extinct. They are disappearing on the north of that river. The company have bought out the interest of the Russian fur hunters, above 54° 40'; they are exploring the dim neighborhood of the Arctic sea. One age and state of man is fading away in the Oregon, and another emerges to light. There is not an acre of good land in the whole valley of the Columbia, that is not even now ready for the agriculture of civili-

zation. Sir, let me advert to a few proofs of this. A writer on the subject of furs and the fur trade, in a paper published in Silliman's Journal, concludes:

"From the foregoing statements, it appears that the fur trade must henceforward decline. The advanced state of geographical science shows that no new countries remain to be explored. In North America, the animals are slowly decreasing, from the persevering efforts and the indiscriminate slaughter practised by the hunters, and by the appropriation to the uses of man of those forests and rivers which have afforded them food and protection. They recede with the aborigines, before the tide of civilization."

In the article from the British Foreign Review, to which I made reference before, it is remarked: "Even now, the animals yielding furs and skins are said to be disappearing, and the toils of the hunters and trappers are less profitable than formerly. The Americans are not probably displeased to observe this, and would rejoice still more if the company should find it necessary to abandon these regions; but, even if such a result should take place, it would be some time before the United States could be prepared to send forth any large body of settlers to the country." You perceive that he does not suggest a doubt that the American wish will be gratified. Again: "The fur trade is incompatible with the progress of settlement, and must gradually cease as the occupation of the country proceeds." But I pass to far higher authority upon the subject. In a speech of the late Mr. McROBERTS, of Illinois, delivered in this place, at the last session, he says: "The leading inducement to the formation of the Convention, which was to facilitate the collection of furs and skins, has almost entirely ceased; and particularly in the country south of the Columbia, which is the country best adapted to agricultural pursuits. The hunter has laid by his rifle and traps, and is cultivating the land for a subsistence. If our people go there, they must pursue the mechanic arts, or be cultivators of the soil—not hunters." To the same effect, sustaining in the fullest manner my entire view, were the remarks of his colleague, Mr. YOUNG, in the course of the same debate. They bear with decisive effect upon all the positions which I have assumed.

"It struck him that it was a mistake to think that Great Britain will ever look to that territory for agricultural purposes. And herein lay a great difference between her views and ours. They are in fact different, and yet not conflicting. We want the territory for agricultural pursuits; mainly. She looks to it for the main pursuit of the Hudson's Bay Company, which is the trade in furs." "In the Oregon Territory, this company, not having for its primary object agricultural pursuits, never have encouraged more culture of the soil than necessary for the temporary support of its employees. But with our citizens, agriculture must be the primary object. We have already a number of our citizens there, engaged in this pursuit. There is no jealousy towards them on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company, so long as they make agriculture their primary pursuit."

And again:

"The most friendly feelings are evinced by the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company towards our citizens now there. They give no offence by occupying any portion of the soil they please in agriculture. The Hudson's Bay Company can have no objection, and will make room, to agricultural settlements." "There is nothing like an effort or disposition on the part of the

Hudson's Bay  
Occupation.

Mr. L.

"He felt  
tor from Il

I say,  
opposing  
Neither  
last and  
cle. Th

say, litt  
controve  
ing grai  
by the S  
of evid  
Hudson  
that fro  
farmers  
kindest  
one. T

compan  
exceed  
two hu  
and for  
have, b  
territory  
tility an

The  
to tell  
hundred  
directly  
Indians  
and ex  
fering

The  
body w  
sailed.  
ate wo  
if it be  
Sir, th  
poses

of tha  
zens g  
hundred  
der w  
was n  
ago?  
in wh  
wheth  
death

Hudson's Bay Company to make permanent agricultural settlements. There is a mere temporary occupation."

Mr. LINN followed Mr. YOUNG, and said :

"He felt it unnecessary to consume time in debate, after the very lucid statement of the Senator from Illinois, placing the matter on the plain grounds on which it should be viewed."

I say, then, sir, that the Hudson's Bay Company, in point of fact, is opposing no obstacle at all to your agricultural enterprise to the Oregon. Neither the hunter, nor the discharged servant, who is giving his few last and fatigued years to the cultivation of the land, opposes any obstacle. There is no obstacle of force, or fraud, or of inhospitality. I dare say, little controversies there may be, such as there are every where; controversies about titles; first possession; prices; monopolies of grinding grain, sawing timber, and the like; such as the memorial presented by the Senator from Missouri (Mr. ATKINSON) sets forth; but the weight of evidence, from all sources, is most decisive to show, that with the Hudson's Bay Company *proper* our settlers come into no contact; and that from the discharged *employees*, the British, French, and half-breed farmers, they have experienced generally the most hospitable and the kindest reception. Already we are, in numbers, more than two to their one. The whole number of persons, all told, in the employment of the company in the Oregon, or discharged, and cultivating the soil, does not exceed a thousand. We have, I think, seven missionary stations, from two hundred miles south of the Columbia to Paget's sound, one hundred and forty miles north of it; we have two thousand persons there; we have, beyond doubt, the best grazing and best wheat country in the whole territory, the valley of the Wallamette, which some visitors liken, for fertility and almost to extent, to New York.

The Senator from Pennsylvania, however, twice or thrice takes care to tell you that "the Hudson Bay Company had murdered four or five hundred of our citizens, as we had learned from good authority, either directly with their own hands, or indirectly through the agency of the Indians, who were under their exclusive control. They had murdered and expelled all our citizens who had gone there for the purpose of interfering with their hunting and trafficking and trading."

The Senator does not assert that they have murdered or expelled any body who went there to settle. My proposition, therefore, he has not assailed. But, from the terms of his actual statement, I apprehend the Senator would derive an impression, undesigned by him, undesigned, certainly, if it be an erroneous impression, which is utterly unsupported by the facts. Sir, the statement of the Senator has no sort of application to; and composes no part of, and throws no light on, the existing policy or purposes of that company, or on the actual circumstances under which our citizens go to that country to-day. Why, sir, when were these four or "five hundred" murdered? In whose administration? Where? How? Under what circumstances? Will it not surprise you to learn that all this was more than fifteen years—much, much of it more than thirty years ago? Will it not surprise you still more to learn that the circumstances in which it happened are such as to leave it a matter of utter uncertainty whether the company, directly or indirectly, with intention, caused the death of one of the four or five hundred? While upon the whole proof,



it will appear, that within the last fifteen years, probably a much longer period, they certainly have not caused or procured the murder of one man!

Before the year 1821, there were two great companies, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company, which contended for the furs of the northwest portions of North America. They carried the competition to the extent of an actual civil war. Affairs almost amounting to battles were fought. Blood was shed. The most painful scenes of violence, cruelty, insubordination, and selfish disregard of the rights, interests, and lives of men, were exhibited; and this disgraceful and distressing state of things was continued for years, and over almost all the unbounded wilderness which spreads itself out among and on each side of the Rocky Mountains, is traversed by the waters of the Hudson's Bay, and subsides towards the Arctic sea. The consequence was, of course, that all control of the Indians was lost. Spirituous liquors were freely introduced among them. Their treacherous and ferocious natures were stimulated by all sorts of appliances; and there is no doubt that many American citizens, hunters and trappers, among and on each side of the mountains, and about the heads of the upper Mississippi and upper Missouri, lost their lives by the hands of these wild men. It has been estimated, and I do not know that it has not been truly estimated, that between 1808, or a few years earlier, and 1821, or a few years later, but before 1829, five hundred American citizens were thus murdered. They were murdered by Indians, wearing European blankets; armed with European rifles; drunk upon European spirits. So much we know. Perhaps it is all we know.

In 1821, the two companies were united in the Hudson Bay Company. The scene was changed immediately. The white men no longer quarrelled among themselves. The Indians were subjected to a more perfect and better administered *surveillance*. Spirituous liquors were excluded. The reign of law and order was restored, and has in the main been preserved ever since. And from that time, I compute from 1821, or a few years later, 1826 or 1828, I deny that there is a particle of evidence that the Hudson's Bay Company, or any body else, civilized or savage, by their procurement, has murdered any American citizen any where.

Indian murders since that time there may have been; but what I say is, that I have not seen a scrap of proof that they were instigated, directly or indirectly, by this company. Whether the murders of that earlier period were instigated by any white trader, I have not inquired, and do not know. Let me refer you to the account the company give of this matter themselves, in the petition to which the Senator from Pennsylvania has referred:

"It unnecessary to say more of the eager competition into which this association entered with the Hudson Bay Company for the trade of the Indian districts, or of the scenes of demoralization and destruction of life and property to which it led, than to refer your Lordship to the ample details on this revolting subject in the Colonial Department; to the agreements at last entered into between the rival companies to put an end to them by the union of their interests in 1821."

"Great loss of property, and in some cases loss of life, have been incurred by savage and murderous attacks on their hunting parties and establishments, and order has only been restored and

peace maintain  
ise, on the p

"Under th  
lies from Eur  
tending to th  
breaking up o

"By that  
country in a  
property, hav  
Indians has  
much reduce  
tive populati

You se  
years ago  
no light o  
immigran  
the sligh  
obstacle  
tion of th  
will judg

Well,  
sir, only,  
not prete  
He exhibit  
no proof  
the Oreg  
lifting a f  
this is too  
new dev  
body. I

Well,  
your eye  
Watch d  
meet the  
world.

erty.

In the  
ent. Y  
den with  
des and  
when th  
books in  
trade is  
the tim  
lease fr

I do n  
rection  
ny may  
a new  
take, at



much longer  
murder of one

the Hudson's  
ended for the  
ried the com-  
amounting to  
scenes of vio-  
rights, inter-  
and distress-  
most all the un-  
each side of  
Hudson's Bay,  
was, of course,  
s were freely  
natures were  
bt that many  
ch side of the  
nd upper Mis-  
has been esti-  
ated, that be-  
ears later, but  
nered. They  
med with Eu-  
know. Per-

on Bay Com-  
men no longer  
ed to a more  
uors were ex-  
a in the main  
e from 1821,  
article of evi-  
e, civilized or  
a citizen any

ut what I say  
ated, directly  
at earlier pe-  
l, and do not  
this matter  
sylvania has

entered with the  
of demoralization  
to the ample de-  
last entered into  
n 1821."  
savage and mur-  
en restored and

peace maintained by the employment, at a great expense, of considerable force, and by the exercise, on the part of their servants, of the utmost temper, patience, and perseverance."

"Under that arrangement, his Lordship, at a very heavy expense, conveyed several hundred families from Europe to that settlement; but the evils attendant on the competition in the fur trade extending to this settlement, occasioned serious breaches of the peace, much loss of life, and the breaking up or abandonment of the settlement by the whites on two different occasions."

"By that report it will moreover be seen that the animosities and feuds which kept the Indian country in a state of continued disturbance, extending to the loss of lives and to the destruction of property, have, since 1821, entirely ceased; that the sale or distribution of spirituous liquors to the Indians has, in most parts of the country, been entirely discontinued, and in all other parts so much reduced as to be no longer an evil; and that the moral and religious improvement of the native population has been greatly promoted."

"You see then, sir, that these murders were committed from 15 to 30 years ago. By whomsoever done, by whomsoever procured, they throw no light on the existing dispositions of the company towards agricultural immigrants from the United States; and they do not impugn or qualify in the slightest degree the universality and the truth of my position, that no obstacle is now actually opposed by any body to our agricultural occupation of the Oregon. I have given you the proofs of that position, and you will judge of them.

Well, what does the Senator from Pennsylvania reply to all this? Why, sir, only, and exactly, that it is too good to last. That is all. He does not pretend that Great Britain is now colonizing the country agriculturally. He exhibits no proof that she now meditates such a thing. He exhibits no proof that she now cherishes the purpose of building forts or forts in the Oregon. He exhibits no proof that the Hudson's Bay Company is lifting a finger to keep your farmers, artisans, or missionaries, from it. But this is too good to last! Great Britain will certainly break out into some new development of policy. The Hudson's Bay Company will kill somebody. It is impossible that this state of things should last.

Well, sir, perhaps it is. What then? I will tell you what then. Keep your eye always open, like the eye of your own eagle, upon the Oregon. Watch day and night. If any new developments of policy break forth, meet them. If the time changes, do you change. New things in a new world. Eternal vigilance is the condition of empire as well as of liberty.

In the mean time, you see the existing state of things. You see the present. You are sure that you see it. Govern yourselves accordingly. Go on with your negotiation. Go on with your emigration. Are not the rifles and the wheat growing together side by side? Will it not be easy, when the inevitable hour comes, to beat back ploughshare and pruning hooks into their original forms of instruments of death? Alas! that that trade is so easy to learn, and so hard to forget! Who now living will see the time when nations shall learn war no more; when the wicked shall cease from troubling, and the weary be at rest, on this side the grave?

I do not follow Senators, therefore, a step in their speculations on the direction which any new policy of England or the Hudson's Bay Company may take in the Oregon. Where no man knows whether there is to be a new policy at all, it is vain and idle to begin to guess what shape it may take, and what details it may involve. Wait and see. Wait and see.

The Senator wonders at the "inconsistency" with which the Senator from Massachusetts told the Senate that Great Britain would go to war for Oregon, and in the next breath that the Hudson Bay Company would abandon it without a "struggle." What inconsistency? I said that the Hudson's Bay Company were hunters, not farmers; that their game was retiring northward, and inland, and that the hunter had already followed and would follow his game; and that even now he had left your agricultural settlers to lay the foundation of their colony in peace; and seen without a struggle his influence upon his own retired *employees*, and on your countrymen, annihilated by American missionaries and American predilections. I said that England did not in point of fact interfere with this; but that, if, anticipating and disturbing the natural course of things, you urge on a forcible attack upon the yet lingering company; burn their stockade forts; rob them of their peltries, and shed their blood, England had expressly declared, in the negotiation of 1827, that she would interpose, and that it was probable that she would. Where is the inconsistency of one of my views with the other?

The Senator says, also, "to imagine England was going to give up the right of colonizing in Oregon without a struggle was to imagine what seemed very strange, not to say impossible." Well, sir, if it is impossible, there is an end of it. We will wait and see. But does not the Senator himself expressly tell us that "England is too wise to risk a war for the possession of that country?" That it is a moral impossibility at this day, in the nineteenth century of the Christian era?" "That she would not go to war with us, unless upon a question where her honor was concerned?" which I understand him to suppose is not concerned. If it is impossible she should risk a war for the country, and yet also impossible to imagine she will yield it without a struggle, why, she must look to herself. But if the Senator is right in the last opinion which he expressed, which was that she would not fight unless the point of honor became involved, why may she not go on, as now she does, allowing events to take their own course? Why is it not a graceful and obvious way of disengaging herself from connexion with a subject for which she is said to be too wise to fight? On one of the Senator's views of the matter, this would seem exactly the sensible and easy policy. But again I say, wait and see!

I observe that the British and Foreign Reviewer advances the suggestion, that we, or our settlers, are welcome to all the agricultural Oregon; but the British Government will seek to retain a common use of the rivers and the harbor of Fuca. Well, now, in this I think I see the whole question *collapsing* into a pretty small and very manageable thing. In the first place, the nation that owns the land will be likely, if it chooses, to hold rivers and harbor. In the next place, as the game retires, the use of these becomes of less and less importance to Great Britain. In the third place, I do not know that permission of a temporary and restricted enjoyment of these waters, in general subordination to our right, involves any very terrific consequences. Witness the case of the St. John. And finally, by great bad luck, there is but one harbor; and the rivers are good for nothing. "The rivers of Western America," says Mr. Greenhow, "present in fact few or no facilities for commercial transportation. They nearly all

run in  
and the  
produce  
would

Sen  
about  
will ne  
beat on  
she be  
ascend  
ry new  
flag fr  
ant sta  
shall n  
Malta  
men o  
the ol  
East;  
with t  
of Eu  
Grec  
argue  
see ne  
latitud  
gent.

One  
I marv  
of Par  
in the  
achiev  
intens  
wich  
Fuca  
will h  
cient  
We  
teach  
this o  
follic  
read  
natio

In  
coun  
"H  
count  
Amer  
been  
"A  
mer t

run in their whole course through deep ravines among stony mountains; and they are frequently interrupted by ledges or accumulations of rock, producing falls and rapids, to overcome which, all the resources of art would probably be unavailing."

Senators tell us that England maintains Gibraltar and Malta on points about which she owns no agricultural settlements; and therefore infer she will never be easy till she hears that encircling and importunate drum beat on the desert coast of the Northwest. Well, sir, I cannot say. If she begins to build a Gibraltar there, do you begin too. Let your walls ascend with hers. Go up with her story by story; a tier of guns for every new one she plants; and the day when she throws out the red cross flag from the turret of her consummated structure, cast abroad the radiant stainless stars and stripes, to tell her that there "foreign dominion shall not come." In the mean time, let me say that this Gibraltar and Malta analogy does not seem to me very direct. Gibraltar and Malta are men of war harbors, where whole armadas may lie afloat, directly on both the old and both the modern routes of commerce from Europe to the East; points from which a British fleet may unmoor, and in ten days strike with thunder the walls of one or more cities of how many of the nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa! Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Austria, Greece, Russia, by the Black Sea, Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Algiers. To argue from her tenacious possession of such places a necessary desire to see new Gibaltars and new Malts rise under the 49th degree of north latitude upon the Northwest coast, does not strike me as extremely cogent.

One event there is, sir, which may change your policy and hers, which I marvel not to have heard adverted to. If in five or ten years the isthmus of Panama is cut through, and thus a new track of commerce paved out in the sea; if that great triumph of man over the world of matter is achieved; if that marriage of oceans is really celebrated, then new and intense importance may be given to new lands, and new seas; to the Sandwich Islands, to California, to San Francisco, possibly to the harbor of Fuca itself. He who lives to see that new earth, and those new heavens, will have new and appropriate duties to perform, and new and sufficient lights by which to perform them. In the mean time, we are here. We have the present to work in and provide for. Our situation is the teacher and the limit of our duty. Long, long before that day, I hope this question will have been adjusted, and have taken its place among the follies, among the trivialities, of which, a hundred years hence, men shall read with incredulity and astonishment, that, for such things, Christian nations were once near shedding each other's blood.

In the expression of this hope, Mr. President, I believe I speak for my country. It is true that the Senator from Pennsylvania has said:

"He admitted with regret that there were some very dangerous symptoms between the two countries. The whole press of Great Britain, for the last two years, had teemed with abuse of America, and all that was American—our institutions, and every thing connected with us, had been made the subject of perpetual vituperation.

"All he had read was substantially of the same tenor—the abuse was unexampled in any former time. And, on the other hand, among ourselves, though there were many, in our large cities

especially, who entertained a warmth of feeling towards England—inasmuch that on a great public occasion, in one of the largest of those cities, the health of “the President of the United States” had been drunk in silence, while that of “Queen Victoria” had been received with acclamation—yet with the great mass of our people, a very different feeling prevailed. They still remembered the wrongs we had endured in days past; they remembered these things perhaps with too deep a sensibility. And although Senators might please their ears with the terms “mother” and “daughter,” a vast majority of our people were penetrated with the conviction that to us England had ever acted the part of a cruel step-mother. It was this deep-wrought conviction, these associations of former scenes, that lay at the foundation of the national enmity, which too extensively prevailed. Injuries on one side, and their remembrance on the other, kept up this ill blood. Besides, even were it otherwise, the American people, as one man, felt that there was a calamity even greater than that of war, and that was a sacrifice of the national honor.”

But is this so? Is it so, that the great mass of the people of this country are pervaded, are “penetrated” by a deep-seated, “deep-wrought” “sentiment of national enmity” towards this particular nation England? Is it so, that our veins are filled with “ill blood” towards that country; ill blood generated and fed by the “memory of wrongs endured in days past?” This I understand the Senator to allege, and even to regret. I have repeated to you, however, exactly what he says, to be interpreted by yourselves. But thus I understand it. The cherished remembrance of wrongs endured in past days, the conviction that England *had ever* acted the part of a “cruel step-mother;” the “associations of former scenes,” these bitter memories, compose the deep foundations of a too extensive national hostility; these things make the great body of the people enemies of England, in a time of profound peace. Thus I interpret the Senator. Is this so?

Being, sir, through the favor of a kind Providence, one of the people of America myself; and having been born and bred, not in cities, which are said to love England, but in the country, which is said, as I understand the honorable Senator, to hate her; and having been astonished and pained to hear it asserted that such a people, one of as happy, generous, and kind a nature as the sun shines on, were laboring under a sentiment so gloomy and so barbarous as this, I have been revolving the subject with some care and with some feeling. Exhausted as I am, and as you are, I cannot sit down without denouncing, in the first place, the sentiment thus, as I understand the Senator, ascribed by him to my countrymen, as immoral, unchristian, unchivalrous, unworthy of good men, unworthy of “gal-lant men, and men of honor;” and without, in the second place, expressing my entire and profound conviction that no such sentiment inhabits the bosom of the American people. Sir, I thank the Senators from Kentucky and Virginia (Mr. CRITTENDEN and Mr. RIVES) for their notice of this part of the honorable Senator’s address. With my last words, if I knew I were about to speak them, would I unite my judgments and feelings on this subject with them.

Mr. President, we must distinguish a little. That there exists in this country an intense sentiment of nationality; a cherished, energetic feeling and consciousness of our independent and separate national existence; a feeling that we have a transcendent destiny to fulfil, which we mean to fulfil; a great work to do, which we know how to do, and are able to do; a career to run, up which we hope to ascend till we stand on the steadfast

and glitter  
attended  
tions of a  
such a se  
And this  
it. But  
spise. T  
tion; to  
out for its  
glory. E  
dominant  
particula  
tional pas  
and which  
ly deny.  
Sir, th  
to have  
ever sea

“The ne  
some degre  
to lead it a  
each more  
haughty an  
collisions, c  
ment somet  
Government  
reason wou  
hostility, in  
sometimes

No, s  
half nak  
have his  
deep, at  
America  
Heaven  
smear  
Poland.  
body de  
days lo  
theirs—  
this to  
on the  
she jus  
joy,” s  
happy  
firing o  
no, sir  
settled  
good b

and glittering summits of the world ; a feeling that we are surrounded and attended by a noble, historical group of competitors and rivals, the other nations of the earth, all of whom we hope to overtake and even to distance—such a sentiment as this exists perhaps in the character of this people. And this I do not discourage ; I do not condemn. It is easy to ridicule it. But “grand swelling sentiments” of patriotism no wise man will despise. They have their uses. They help to give a great heart to a nation ; to animate it for the various conflict of its lot ; to assist it to work out for itself a more exceeding weight and to fill a larger measure of glory. But, sir, that among these useful and beautiful sentiments, predominant among them, there exists a temper of hostility towards this one particular nation, to such a degree as to amount to a habit, a trait, a national passion, to amount to a state of feeling which “is to be regretted,” and which really threatens another war—this I earnestly and confidently deny. I would not hear your enemy say this.

Sir, the indulgence of such a sentiment by the people supposes them to have forgotten one of the counsels of Washington. Call to mind the ever reasonable wisdom of the Farewell Address :

“The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation prompted by ill will and resentment sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject ; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.”

No, sir. No, sir. We are above all this. Let the highland clansman, half naked, half civilized, half blinded by the peat smoke of his cavern, have his hereditary enemy and his hereditary enmity, and keep the keen, deep, and precious hatred, set on fire of hell, alive if he can ; let the North American Indian have his, and hand it down from father to son, by Heaven knowa what symbols of alligators, and rattlesnakes, and war clubs smeared with vermilion and entwined with scarlet ; let such a country as Poland, cloven to the earth, the armed heel on the radiant forehead, her body dead, her soul incapable to die, let her “remember the wrongs of days long past ;” let the lost and wandering tribes of Israel remember theirs—the manliness and the sympathy of the world may allow or pardon this to them ; but shall America, young, free, prosperous, just setting out on the highway of Heaven, “decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just begins to move in, glittering like the morning star, full of life and joy,” shall she be supposed to be polluting and corroding her noble and happy heart, by moping over old stories of stamp act, and tea tax, and the firing of the Leopard upon the Chesapeake in a time of peace ? No, sir ; no, sir ; a thousand times no ! Why, I protest I thought all that had been settled. I thought two wars had settled it all. What else was so much good blood shed for on so many more than classical fields of revolutionary

glory? For what was so much good blood more lately shed at Lundy's Lane, at Fort Erie, before and behind the lines at New Orleans, on the deck of the Constitution, on the deck of the Java, on the lakes, on the sea, but to settle exactly these "wrongs of past days?" And have we come back sulky and sullen, from the very field of honor? For my country I deny it. The Senator says that our people still remember these "former scenes of wrong with perhaps too deep" a sensibility; and that, as I interpret him, they nourish a "too extensive" national enmity. How so? If the feeling he attributes to them is moral, manly, creditable, how comes it to be too deep; and if it is immoral, unmanly, and unworthy, why is it charged on them at all? Is there a member of this body, who would stand up in any educated, in any intelligent and right-minded circle which he respected, and avow, that for his part he must acknowledge, that, looking back through the glories and the atonements of two wars, his veins were full of ill blood to England; that in peace he could not help being her enemy; that he could not pluck out the deep-wrought convictions and "the immortal hate" of the old times? Certainly, not one. And then, sir, that which we feel would do no honor to ourselves, shall we confess for our country?

Mr. President, let me say, that in my judgment this notion of a national enmity of feeling towards Great Britain belongs to a past age of our history. My younger countrymen are unconscious of it. They disavow it. That generation in whose opinions and feelings the actions and the destiny of the next age are enfolded, as the tree in the germ, do not at all comprehend your meaning, nor your fears, nor your regrets. We are born to happier feelings. We look on England as we look on France. We look on them, from our new world, not unrenowned, yet a new world still; and the blood mounts to our cheeks; our eyes swim; our voices are stifled with emulousness of so much glory; their trophies will not let us sleep; but there is no hatred at all; no hatred; all for honor, nothing for hate! We have, we can have no barbarian memory of wrongs, for which brave men have made the last expiation to the brave.

No, sir; if public men, or any one public man, think it their duty to make a war or cultivate the dispositions of war towards any nation, let them perform the duty, and have done with it. But do not say that there is an unfortunate, morbid, impracticable popular temper on the subject, which you desire to resist, but are afraid you shall not be able to resist. If you will answer for the politicians, I think I will venture to answer for the people

t Lundy's  
ns, on the  
s, on the  
l have we  
my coun-  
ber these  
and that,  
ity. How  
table, how  
orthy, why  
who would  
rcle which  
that, look-  
, his veins  
help being  
convictions  
one. And  
s, shall we

f a national  
of our his-  
disavow it.  
d the desti-  
t at all com-  
e are born  
ance. We  
new world  
voices are  
ll not let us  
nothing for  
s, for which

uty to make  
n, let them  
t there is an  
t, which you  
If you will  
the people





