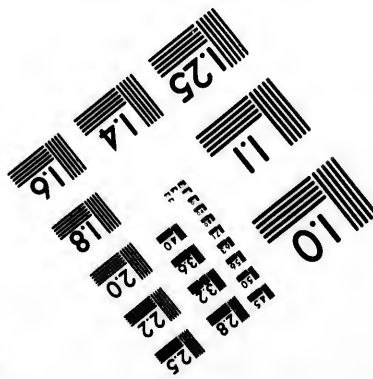
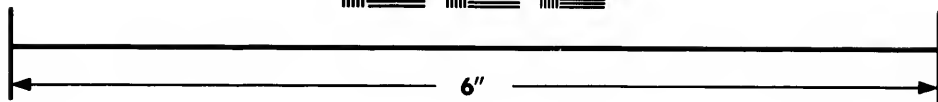
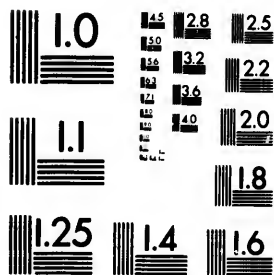


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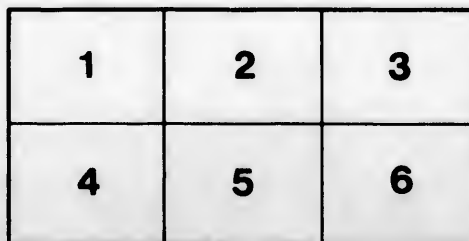
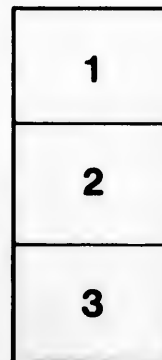
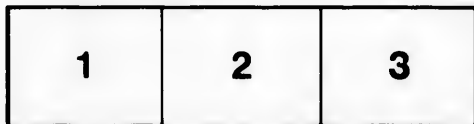
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**SPEECH**

**OF**

**MR. HAMLIN, OF MAINE,**

**ON THE**

**OREGON QUESTION.**

**DELIVERED**

**IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,**

**JANUARY 12, 1846.**

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**WASHINGTON:**

**PRINTED AT THE UNION OFFICE.**

**1846.**

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## SPEECH.

Mr. HAMLIN obtained the floor, but yielded it a moment to

Mr. J. R. INGERSOLL, who gave notice of an amendment which he should offer when in order; which was read as follows.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, authorized to open, at such time as he may deem expedient, a negotiation with the government of Great Britain for the purpose of terminating, by mutual consent, the convention which was entered into between the two governments on the 6th of August, 1827.*

Mr. HAMLIN resumed the floor, and addressed the committee during the allotted hour. He came to the consideration of the question now presented to them, he trusted, with a full understanding of its momentous importance, and of the magnitude of the interests that were committed to their hands to be affected for weal or for woe by the right or the wrong decision of this question. The eyes of twenty millions of people were watching their action, and the hearts of twenty millions of freemen were beating with anxiety as to the action at which they were finally to arrive; and it had been said by the venerable gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. ADAMS,] that for years that were there had not been, and for years to come there should not be, a question submitted to the American people equal in its moment, equal in its importance.

Before proceeding directly to the discussion of the question, he designed to refer, and in a few remarks to reply, to positions which had been taken by gentlemen who had preceded him in this debate. First, he concurred most cheerfully and most readily in the sentiments of the gentlemen who had immediately preceded him in relation to the character and the course the debate had assumed, and by which it should be diverted to no improper direction. WAR, had been shouted within these walls and abroad over our vast country, to re-act again upon the body; and by whom, and on what authority these echoes sent abroad through the land? He cared not whether the shout came up within these walls—whether it was manufactured here or where—he should not be diverted from his path by that stale and senseless cry. He had heard of it before, and upon this same subject years ago in another end of this Capitol. When this subject was there under discussion, it was the same matter that had then raised this cry of war, war to a measure extending our laws over the Oregon

territory. He referred to a bill prepared by the late and lamented Doct. Linn. Why was it that gentlemen assumed this position?—a position which neither the facts here or elsewhere justified, and a position taken in order to produce a panic. Rome had her panic wars, but it was reserved for us to have our panic wars.

Let us examine (continued Mr. H.) briefly the position of the question before us. In 1818, a certain convention was entered into between the respective governments of the United States and Great Britain, relative to the territory upon our northwest coast, known as the Oregon territory. That treaty was, by its own limitations, to remain in force but ten years. In 1827 it was renewed by a treaty which was to be terminated whenever either of the two high contracting parties should give twelve months' notice of their desire for it. And now, forsooth, because we come here in the way marked out by the treaty to exercise the power thus specially provided for in that treaty, we are to be met as the war party! I repel the imputation, and I hurl it back again, (said Mr. H.) It is that very cry in and of itself that tends more to produce a war than any other course which can be taken here. We on this side of the House are the peace-party. Timid counsels tend to war—"fear admitted to our councils betrays like treason." I cannot sympathize, then, with gentlemen who use this argument, although they may use it honestly; nor will I permit it to divert this discussion, so far as I am concerned, from its true and legitimate track. We ask nothing on this side of the House but the exercise of our constitutional rights—rights that are pointed out and defined by the very treaty under which we are acting. And is it true that the exercise of these rights, as we propose it, is any cause of war? No, Sir. "Old men see visions, and young men dream dreams," the gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. HUNTER] tells us; and my word for it, it was but the dream of the gentleman's waking hours when he made his panic-war speech, on the ground that this notice was a measure designed in any way or calculated to be a war measure. While with gentlemen in all parts of this House, he most cheerfully concurred that peace was to be desired above everything else, save the preservation of our national domain and our national honor, he (Mr. H.) did not hold war to be an evil from which they should shrink, when the preservation of our national rights and our national honor demanded it. If we were to be deterred from exercising our constitutional rights by that stale clamor, then how long would it be before we would



be stripped of every right we do possess by inviting other governments to aggressions upon us? Analyze the matter carefully and it could not be mistaken. It was such "stuff" in fact as dreams were made of. And it hardly became gentlemen, thus in terror, to sound the note of war now, when we were dealing with a nation worthy to be our foe. For it would not be forgotten, when a fear of collision with a neighboring province was anticipated—a province so miserably weak as to incur the contempt of a great nation—then there were no dreams to disturb our nerves, but action—immediate action—was the rally cry, come what might. Certainly our course should not now be retarded; for we should then suffer a just reproach. Let us be as firm and consistent in "action" now.

There was another remark to which he wished to allude. Too often within these walls, in the discussion of various measures, had he heard taunts and reproaches, either directly or by implication, cast upon various sections of this Union; and when they had been directed to that section where it was his pride and his pleasure to reside, he had felt them thrill along his nerves like an electric shock, and the impulses of his heart had been upon his lips to hurl them back again. But time and reflection had chastened these feelings, and he passed them by in sorrow that they should come from the lips of any individual on this floor; and while it was his glory and his pride to be an inhabitant of that section whose motives were so often questioned here, he had a single word to say in behalf of that people. He had no objections to interpose here in defence of what may have been the errors or the wickednesses of her politicians, but in behalf of her citizens he had a word to say. He believed them to be as patriotic as any other class of citizens to be found in our Union. They had exhibited their patriotism and their valor on many a well-fought field. Their bones had bleached on many a northern hill, and the barren sands of the South had drunk in their best blood. Sir, (said Mr. H.) I point with pride to the North, and invite you there to witness a system which has grown up with us, and which is our ornament. I point you to our system of free labor. I point you to our common schools—to our churches, with their spires pointing towards heaven—and I glory in them. They are the monuments that belong to a people who have the true spirit of citizens of a free government. These things were the glory of the north; and Mr. H. gloried in them. They were bloodless moral monuments which marked the advancing progress of a free people. But I stop not there; I ask you to go with me throughout this whole broad nation; and I point you to her—I point you to the whole Union as a monument of political grandeur towering towards the heavens, upon which the friend of freedom, wherever upon our globe he may be, may gaze, around whose highest summit the sunlight of glory forever shines, and at whose base a free people reposes, and, I trust, forever will repose. So much for New England, my home; so much for the Union, my country.

Mr. H. now advanced to a more direct discussion of the question immediately before them; and he first asked the attention of this House to the duty which they, as guardians of the public weal, owed to themselves and to our common country. He called their attention to that duty which, as a component part of this government, they owed to its citizens wherever they may be found. If there were

a single duty which rises over, above, and beyond all others, it was that of the American republic to afford protection to the American citizen wherever he may be found upon the American soil. It is one of the highest duties incident to the charge committed to their hands; wherever our national floats upon the breeze, it should be a certain in his rights of person and of property. Why, it is true (asked Mr. H.) that, in the nineteenth century, under this government, which we believe to be the best the world has ever seen—is it true that in the cry, "I am an American citizen," shall not be the sure a safeguard, and a pledge of protection, as into that cry, "I am a Roman citizen" was in the past days of Rome? It was said by an ancient philosopher that the government which feels most responsibility, and which redresses most promptly, every injury visited by a foreign power upon its humble citizen, best discharges the duties incumbent upon it. And is it not truly so? What greater degree than the strict discharge of its duty point of its citizens will call forth their affections and their alty, and will draw them forth to protect the ins and defend the standard of their common country in the hour of that country's peril? The citizen who realizes the full assurance that his rights are always defended with a sleepless vigilance, in his turn, ever be ready to discharge with proof the press and fidelity all the duties that country may require of him.

How, then, is our government to extend that protection, and that aid which are required from its citizens, to those wanderers to the distant parts of its territory westward of the Rocky mountains, whose citizens have been wrested from American soil to be tried for alleged offences by foreign powers? They have been dragged from their peaceful homes from their own domestic firesides, and have been tried and held amenable to the laws of British princes; and here, in the 19th century, from this clamor of war ringing in our ears, are we to and fold our arms about us, and say "We pause a while before we give this notice. We rouse the lion in his lair. England with her of military posts around the world may be around and we do not precisely foresee what will be consequences?" No; the notice should be given now, and protection to American citizens should be extended wherever they are found on American soil, and then that flag that had been borne aloft in triumph in the battle and in the breeze, upon the ocean upon the lakes, the emblem of protection to each and to every of our citizens, will float ever over the homes of a free and happy people. That flag which now

"So proudly drinks the morning light  
O'er ocean's wave in foreign clime.  
A symbol of our might."

This faithful discharge of governmental duty will be one of the strongest arguments in favor of the advancement of the principles of our own government. The feeling of every citizen that protection in person and property is secured to him by the laws and by the flag of his country, will be more surely than ought else to extend and widen our broad domain. Let it be done, and our government will pursue its onward course by its power, until it shall extend from the isthmus of Darien to the frozen regions of the North—from the rough, rock-bound coast of the Atlantic, back

er, above, and beyond the gentle murmurs of the Pacific. Then, in the American republic, the language of our own distinguished poet—  
"Wide shall our own free race increase,  
And wide extend the elastic chain  
That binds in everlasting peace  
State after State—a mighty train."  
Mr. H. next proceeded to the consideration of this American citizen's interest in a commercial point of view. Oregon property. Why, as ours; it belongs to us; and the question of the nineteenth century he had no disposition here to examine. It which we believe had been thoroughly, ably examined by those who are—is it true that in authority, and the result has been presented "men," shall not be the American republic. He had no disposition to of protection, as into that examination. He should be well satisfied "was in the past to rest himself on him who at least might by an ancient philosopher considered the Achilles of this question, in which feels most in position that our title was better than that promptly, every England. It was more; it was a perfect power upon its title. This being our territory, then, by laws and urged the duties already established by Great Britain herself, let them truly so? What, examine carefully into its importance in a commercial charge of its dual point of view. They were told on another occasion, and their action within these walls that it was necessary to to protect the inextend our public domain in the southwest for the of their common purpose of securing to our country a monopoly of the 's peril? The cotton-growing interest; and the argument was that his rights is broad as our Union; it came home to the feebleless vigilance, urge, to the interests, and to the principles of action charge with prompt the representatives from every section of our that country may country. Let them now weigh by the same rules, the rules established on that occasion, the commercial considerations involved in this question. The northern and the middle States are essentially manufacturing States—the northern States particularly; they are situated in a high latitude, under a forbidding climate, and yet they have the industry of their citizens, the water-power, and the facilities given them by nature to render them a manufacturing people. The South—the "sunny South"—may grow the staple produce of that country; and the West may be the granary not only of our own country, but, give it an outlet, the granary of the world. Then, he said, in a commercial point of view this matter came home to the feelings and the interests of every citizen of every section of our widely-extended country. The North must necessarily be the manufacturing section of this Union; let them have an outlet; let there be an easy mode of transportation and communication to the far West, and we would become the manufacturers almost of the world. The northern and the middle States must be that portion of our Union, which will supply not only India but China, and all the eastern portions of the world, with their manufactured articles. But he stopped not here. The matter came home equally to the interests of the South, because for the supply of those manufactured articles the South would be called upon for their staple, for increased production of that staple, which in its manufactured form is thus destined to find its way to the markets of the East. It was a question in which the West had no right to assume a particular interest. It was a question which came home equally to the North, the South, the East, and the West. It was a great national question, co-extensive with our Union. Why, we were already opening our markets in the East; we have already established our treaty stipulations with China; we have already sent our cotton and manufactured goods into the eastern empire. Last year more than six millions of American manufactures were sent to the eastern continent, and of that amount more than four mil-

lions of dollars is believed to have been of cotton goods. We have opened the Chinese market, and in opening that market, with the advance which commerce will give in that distant portion of the globe to civilization, to refinement, and to Christianity, we have opened a market which will call for untold millions of the manufactured articles of the northern and middle States—manufactured from this staple of the South. Beside, the commerce of the North was deeply interested in her whaling-ships. That ocean is now covered with nearly 700 ships, and half a hundred smaller vessels, manned by more than 20,000 of our citizens, and sending home as the fruits of their labor more than three millions of oil annually.

Mr. H. proceeded to enlarge upon the value and extent of the commerce which would grow up between the East Indies and our Pacific country, if we had possession of Oregon. The trade between the United States and the East Indies was already very important. But it would be vastly increased when we should find a route for that trade overland to the Pacific and across that ocean to India. Wherever commerce went, there the lights of civilization and Christianity would soon be found. Wherever the people of the East have become enlightened by commercial intercourse with us, she would consume a vast quantity of our products, while they would supply us liberally with theirs. Who could tell what uncounted millions of manufactured goods from the United States would be marketed in the East Indies? Commerce was therefore deeply interested in preserving the integrity of our domain. He would gladly pursue this subject further if time was allowed, and show that this question was one that concerned the commerce of the whole country, and that the whole people of the United States were interested in it. But he was limited in time, and he could not pursue the subject in all its details.

He was in favor of giving this notice, as he had already declared. He was in favor of giving it now. For this course he would give reasons. First, he trusted that by giving the notice, the danger of delay and of obstruction in our councils would be obviated. The gentleman who had immediately preceded him in the debate, [Mr. TOOMBS,] preferred the amendment of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HILLIARD,] which left it discretionary with the President to give the notice at such time as he might see fit. That would lead to serious difficulties. He would say that this proposition came with no good design, so far as he could judge of it, though he had no doubt of the honorable motives of the gentleman who offered it. It would change the issue which ought to be made. Instead of inquiring whether we would act and act now, we would, by this course, give a discretionary power to the Executive to act or not, and either now or at a later period. Some would think that the President had acted too soon if he acted now. Others would think that he had acted too late if he postponed it. It would give an opportunity to many to shelter themselves from responsibility, and to reproach the President with having acted out of time. The true question was whether we should give the notice now. Should we assume the responsibility of action, or throw it upon the President? That was an important question. Why should not we take upon ourselves the responsibility of action in the matter?

Many gentlemen wished to shift the responsibility off from themselves, and then, if the President

should act promptly, they would say, he was rash, imprudent, hasty; and if he waited for a while, they would say that he had let slip the golden moment. Why, if the subject had been referred to us, and if the power belonged to us, should we not exercise the power and give the notice at once? If there was any advantage in giving the notice at all, it was proper to give it at the earliest moment without loss of time. If we did not give it now, in what position should we be left? The whole subject would be suffered to take its chance, without an effort on our part to maintain our rights. He knew that it had been recommended to us to adopt "a wise and masterly inactivity"—that was, to do nothing. He would rather call it masterly duplicity, or masterly dishonesty, to take measures, in an indirect way, to get possession of the country, without suffering our object to be known. How long did gentlemen wish to carry on this masterly duplicity? Some of them had fixed a limit to it of twenty years. Sir, (said Mr. H.), I have a single idea on that point. We had told our people that they might occupy that country. Were they to be thus encouraged to go there and settle, and yet not be entitled to our protection? If you do not take them under your wing, can you expect to retain their affection? No. They would be faithless to themselves if they gave you any confidence or affection after such treatment. As well might a mother expect the love of her children whom she repelled from her bosom, and cast out into the world without protection. It would be a most unnatural mother that would cast off her children as we would do were we not to give this notice. Should we acquire a colony by this course of masterly dishonesty, it would make us the reproach of all nations. While he reminded the admirers of the British government that it was one of splendid palaces contrasting with squalid poverty, there was one thing in the British government that he admired, much as he despised all the venturing about her power, and greatness, and glory. He admired it for one special quality—its care of its subjects. It gave protection to its subjects all over the world. Wherever the subject of England might be, he was covered with the protection of British laws and British power. This, in his opinion, was an example worthy of imitation.

He would go a step further than the notice, and extend the protection of our laws over our citizens in Oregon. If we did not, we should fall short of our duty. After doing this, he would go still further, and create those bands of iron which were to bind indissolubly together in one union the people of the Atlantic and the people of the Pacific. He would go for a railroad across the Rocky mountains—for annihilating time and space between us and the inhabitants of the Pacific coast. In a military point of view, this railroad would be necessary. We should be obliged, for the protection and defence of the country, to establish this mode of communication. While it would afford military protection for the defence of the country, it would be the means of creating a vast trade between the eastern and western portions of the continent. The immediate consequence of such a trade would be to open a traffic in our manufactures with the people of the East Indies; next, we should be able to drive out all competition on the part of the British fabrics in that lucrative and important trade. We would, by means of this overland communication, be soon able to create immense com-

mercial depots on the coast of the Pacific. We could make voyages to the East Indies in half the time that Great Britain could. Our manufactures would thus compete in that important and increasing market, with those of Great Britain, and, indeed, drive out all competition; and thus they would become established on a firm foundation, without the aid of a black tariff to maintain them. He had ways opposed internal improvements by the general government; but he would adopt this improvement as a military work—one necessary for the public defence, though it would be used for civil and commercial purposes. In a military point of view, a defence to the country, it would be far more efficient than battlements along the coast.

Should the United States delay to do the duty to their citizens in Oregon, the British government would avail themselves of the delay to take measures for securing the territory to her subjects. Great Britain had already, by force and fraud, covered the world with more than a hundred colonies. She had done this by blood and carnage, and in violation of the rights of all nations with which she had been connected as an ally, or opposed to a foe. The history of India would tell the whole story. In the year 1600, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a charter for commercial purposes was granted to some private trading adventurers. The company have spread death and desolation over the East. Under Warren Hastings every crime, every species of perfidy, and cruelty, and rapine was perpetrated for the acquisition of territory and of wealth by the company. So fearful and prodigious was his rapacity and cruelty, that he became the means of universal execration by orators and poets. It had been remarked, in one of the invectives against him, that when some wretch, laden with horrid crimes without a name, should stalk through earth, and we want curses for him—

"We'd torture thought to curse the wretch;  
And then, to damn him most supreme,  
We'd call him Hastings."

It would be easy to run a parallel between the East India Company and the Hudson Bay Company. It would show us the necessity of taking hold of this matter in due time, and of giving this notice now.

Government after government had submitted to British power in the east—some being reduced by fraud and treachery, and others by force, until now the population brought under her sway amounted to more than a hundred and thirty millions. The Great Mogul, the former ruler of Hindostan, was at this day a pensioner on British bounty. And the British government, through the East India company now, at this time, by the force of her arms, is preparing to invade and subjugate the last province of that country. Mr. H. said he would be glad to trace the progress of this government in the East Indies; but not having time for that, he would say that from beginning to end it was stamped with infamy. He called the attention of the committee to these facts, in order to show that unless we gave the notice the Hudson Bay Company, which was formed upon principles akin to that in the east, would by gradual encroachments, become possessed of all the strong positions in Oregon, and be more difficult to dislodge. We might, as he said again, find a parallel in their progress to the corporation that has so long oppressed and devastated the East. By what waters were the Hudson Bay Company originally bounded? By those waters

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At emptied into Hudson's bay. But still that  
 company had, by virtue of a connexion with the  
 northwestern Company, stretched across to the Pa  
 cific. It was the policy of Great Britain to plant  
 to maintain colonies, and one of the modes of do  
 ing it was to operate through chartered companies.  
 His policy she was now applying to the territory  
 of Oregon, and it would succeed there as well as it  
 had done elsewhere, unless we should interfere in be  
 half of our settlers to protect them, and give the no  
 tice of the termination of the joint convention.

No longer ago than the year 1790, the British gov  
 ernment claimed the right to make settlements on the  
 Pacific coast north of the Spanish settlements.  
 It had taken place on the other side, and the  
 encroachments of Great Britain were not observed.  
 In length Great Britain had not only made settle  
 ments above the oldest Spanish settlements, but also  
 below them, and had now come down to the Co  
 lombia river. Originally, her territorial pretensions  
 are only to points beyond the old Spanish settle  
 ments; but soon she would come down to forty-

[A member here said, she is nearly there now.]  
 Yes, sir, (said Mr. H.,) she will soon be there,  
 if she is not there now. What, then, can be  
 done by delaying the notice, which is the only  
 means by which we can arrest her progress? Pro  
 phets had been said to be the thief of time;  
 in English diplomacy, it had proved to be the  
 thief of territory.

While gentlemen talked of war, which only ex  
 isted in the visions of old men, or the dreams of  
 young ones—while this bugbear was held up, we  
 were losing the opportunity to secure for our  
 selves and our children this most important  
 and valuable country. What now would arise, was  
 an inference on the part of these gentle  
 men. They had not shown how it would arise.  
 They had not shown us the *modus operandi*. But we  
 all know that the British pretensions would be  
 lengthened by our eternal delay. The longer  
 we delayed the notice, the more arrogant would the  
 British pretensions become. One point more. Our old  
 gentleman from Virginia says, see visions,  
 young men dream dreams. He was not old,  
 he could not see visions; and the dream he left  
 the gentleman from Virginia. Let those who  
 cannot imagine that a war will arise from our as  
 sertion of our rights; he did not believe it. But  
 that the aid of visions he saw a populous and en  
 vying State on the slope of the Pacific, with man  
 ufactures, and commerce, and navigation. The  
 steamers rushing down to the Pacific would turn  
 thousands of wheels and spindles. Our people would  
 go to that region, and carry with them all their  
 strength and skill in all the various branches of man  
 ufactures which we have established in this region.

due time they will supply a large portion of  
 America, as well as Asia, with their fabrics.  
 It would not be long before our settlements would  
 tend down to the Mexican boundary. He appeal  
 ed to gentlemen from the South to come up to the  
 rescue, and avail themselves of this fair opportuni  
 ty to obtain Oregon. He asked their attention to  
 a position we occupied before the American peo  
 ple and the world, in regard to this subject, and as

ured them that for us there was no retreat from  
 the responsibility of this act, without incurring the  
 just reproach of the people of the United States, and,  
 indeed, of the whole world. The Executive had  
 presented his views to Congress, and had recom  
 mended to us the passage of the measure now be  
 fore us. He had asked for our early action upon  
 it. The stale cry of war ought not to prevent us  
 from discharging this duty; and if we should falter  
 in performing it, we should be branded as unfaith  
 ful to our trust. The Executive had laid before  
 us a statement of our just claims, showing that  
 they had a solid and stable basis. The whole  
 world would be convinced of their truth and justice;  
 and would an American Congress be found slow  
 to defend and assert them? He (Mr. H.) would  
 appeal again to the South, and to the spirit of  
 their fathers—of Sumter, Marion, and Pinckney—  
 and call upon them to come up to this duty of de  
 fending our soil. Should fear of consequences pre  
 vent us from vindicating our rights from foreign  
 aggression? Should the horrors of war deter them  
 from pursuing their line of duty? Will they not  
 come up to the struggle, if need be, and like "reapers  
 descend to the harvest of death?" True, the South  
 has peculiar interests that would be hazarded in a  
 war; but has not the whole Atlantic border a deep  
 stake in the continuance of peace? We, sir, in the  
 northeast have an extensive commerce. Our ships  
 are found in every sea, and we have cities on the  
 seaboard exposed to the assaults of an enemy. But,  
 sir, we are willing to hazard everything in the de  
 fence of our country, and to lay all our wealth as  
 an offering on the altar of the public safety. But  
 who can believe, sir, that England will go to war,  
 because we do an act that we are entitled to do by  
 treaty stipulations? This was too absurd an idea to  
 be for a moment entertained by any one.

But there was another view of the subject. He  
 did not pretend to be a wizzard, nor to foretell fu  
 ture events; but coming events sometimes cast  
 their shadows before them. Judging of the future  
 by the past, he would say that the moral force of  
 our institutions would spread themselves over every  
 portion of this continent. Their progress was as  
 certain as destiny. He could not be mistaken in  
 the idea that our flag was destined to shed its  
 lustre over every hill and plain on the Pacific  
 slope, and on every stream that mingles with the  
 Pacific. What would monarchical institutions do  
 —what would tyrants do—in this age of improve  
 ment—this age of steam and of lightning? The  
 mariner's compass, the steam engine, the printing  
 press, with the aid of electricity, which has anni  
 hilated space, have made the world like the ear of  
 Dionysius. The voice of freedom in our halls of  
 worship, in our temples, and the knowledge of our  
 schools, may be heard in distant lands, and will be  
 echoed back. Let there be no holding back, no  
 folding of arms in quiet; but let us rather, in a calm  
 and dignified manner, meet the crisis in a way  
 worthy of our country, and as American states  
 men:

"And the gun of our nation's natal day,  
 At the rise and set of day,  
 Shall boom from the far northeast away  
 To the vales of Oregon;  
 And ships on the sea-shore luff and tack,  
 And send the peal of triumph back."

