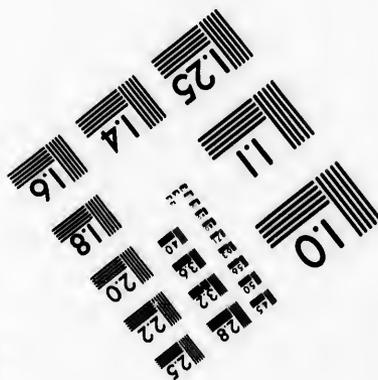
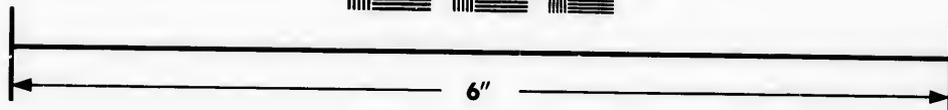
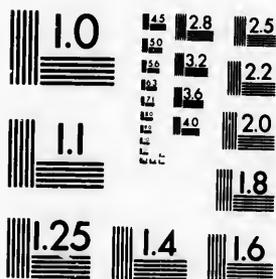


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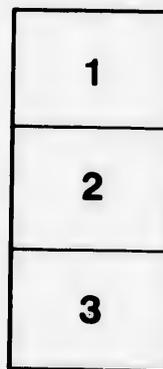
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SPEECH

OF

MR. LINN, OF MISSOURI,

IN

REPLY TO MR. McDUFFIE, ON THE OREGON BILL:

DELIVERED

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

JANUARY 26, 1843.

WASHINGTON:

PRINTED AT THE GLOBE OFFICE.

1843.

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MR. LINN said the opposition to the measure which he had had the honor of introducing, had confined itself, except on the part of the Senators from South Carolina, to the grant of lands. One of those Senators made that his chief objection; but was averse, in addition, to all present action upon the matter. The other, who spoke yesterday, [Mr. McDUFFIE,] took still wider ground—blamed the bill as to all its incidental parts, as well as its objects, and declared his fixed repugnance, not only to this scheme of settlement, but to all expansion of our population whatever. Certain remarks of the latter eloquent Senator demand a particular reply; and, in answering them, if I can sufficiently, I shall have met whatever else has been further objected to the bill.

It is with a want of consideration, of meditation, and preparation of the measure, that he more directly taxes it. To this objection, the history of the bill, and of its repeated introduction here, is the best answer. The measure was first introduced some twenty-two years ago, in the House of Representatives. It has, therefore, had all the time necessary to reach the legal age of discretion. A bill of like form and objects was urged again upon Congress in 1823, with much ability and research, by a distinguished member, (the late Governor Floyd,) one of whose favorite objects it continued to be up to the close of his honorable congressional career. Though he did not induce the Legislature to embrace his views, yet the measure commanded the attention of President Monroe, and was strongly recommended in his last annual message. His successor, (Mr. Adams,) in like manner, viewed it as a proper part of our national policy, and pressed it upon the attention of Congress. This was followed up by two reports from the accomplished pen of Mr. Baylies in support of the President's recommendation. In 1828, it was once more introduced, in a regular legislative form, by Governor Floyd, and passed the House of Representatives by a large majority, but failed in the Senate by a plurality of two votes. Since then, it has repeatedly, in one form or another, been the subject of executive attention and legislative discussion.

In 1836, Mr. Slacum, a young gentleman admirably fitted for this difficult service, was commissioned by General Jackson to examine the country, and report upon its inducements to occupation, state of the fur trade, commercial advantages, &c. The information which that gentleman personally

collected was placed before Congress in 1838. In the mean time, (October, 1837,) during the extra session, I made a call upon the Executive for whatever it could communicate, in its possession, upon this interesting subject. The answer, besides other matter, brought us, at the regular session, the report of Mr. Slacum of his several journeys and voyages from Mexico to California, to the Sandwich Islands, and to the Territory of Oregon. I then moved the reference of the whole subject to the Committee on Foreign Relations, which was *then* opposed strenuously by gentlemen who are *now* in favor of its reference to that committee. Finding this opposition, I moved its reference to the Committee on Military Affairs, which was also strenuously opposed by all who took any part in the debate. It seemed to be the opinion of the Senate, that it should be referred to neither of the committees, but that it appropriately belonged to a select committee; which was accordingly adopted. Being the author of the proposition in regard to the Territory of Oregon, I was selected as the chairman of that committee. On the 6th of June, 1838, the committee submitted a report, accompanied by a bill.

While these proceedings were going on in the Senate, Mr. CUSHING, a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House of Representatives, presented the question to that body, followed up by a report made by him—a report which, it may be said with truth, exhausted the subject. Neither the Senate nor House bill was reached that session. Then came the Maine boundary excitement, and the political and party agitation of the years 1839 and 1840, in the midst of which there was so little hope of commanding the attention of Congress in a measure in no manner connected with the presidential election, that it was thought unnecessary to press it upon the consideration of the Senate. Notwithstanding this, I was not unmindful of its importance; and in January, 1840,* a resolution was, at my instance, sent to the War Department, as to the expediency of a line of military posts ex-

*About the same period, I introduced another resolution in the Senate, calling for further information from the State Department. In reply to which, Mr. Greenhow's admirable Memoir, Historical, Political, and Geographical, of the Northwest Coast, and drawn up at the request of Mr. Forsyth, was sent in; and 3,000 copies were printed by order of the Senate. Mr. Greenhow's Memoir contains the most careful and correct information that could be obtained up to that period, including even the best British authorities; and it clearly proves, beyond all possibility of doubt or cavil, that the title of the United States to the country is incontrovertible.

tending to the Rocky Mountains, upon which a favorable report was returned by Mr. Poinsett. That report I have already had the honor to cite to the Senate in my opening remarks upon this bill, when it first came up for consideration this session. When next I brought it forward, the foreign negotiations with Lord Ashburton, which ended in the late treaty, were about to be set on foot; and I was urged by all political parties not to embroil them with another difficulty, by a renewed effort to bring about the occupation of the territory. To these wishes I reluctantly yielded, consenting to wait for the results of the promised diplomacy. That diplomacy has suffered the occasion to pass almost without an allusion to the subject; and still, as before, the cry is, "Not now! wait a little longer! presently! By-and-by we are certain to bring the whole business happily through, if you will not press it now!" Such has ever been the encouragement, or the argument, with which the measure has, for above twenty years, been met; and the Senator from South Carolina will, therefore, see that the purpose has been pursued with everything that could give it forecast, and that no indiscreet measure or issue has been pressed against Great Britain, or urged upon the Senate. It has been held back not only until it became, in point of time, appropriate, but indispensable, if we are ever to accomplish the object at which we aim.

The main subject was urged on the attention of Congress in President Tyler's first annual message, where it is also strongly sustained by the auxiliary reports of the Secretaries of War and the Navy; and the same recommendation was once more presented to Congress in the reports of Secretaries Spencer and Upshur, at the beginning of this session. The country is indebted to Mr. Pendleton for an excellent report in 1842, to the House of Representatives, accompanying a bill even stronger than the one now under discussion.

This succinct history of the measure must certainly acquit the committee of any indiscreet haste, any inconsiderateness, any precipitateness of plunging Congress into premature debate, or a rash issue with Great Britain; particularly as both Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison had originally been in favor of some action.

As to the apprehended effects of debate here, the Senator, I think, exaggerates to himself the national irritation which may be so produced. Great Britain—herself accustomed to the most unrestrained parliamentary discussion—surely better understands how debate, and the heats into which it naturally runs, are to be viewed. It is by our action—not our speeches—that Great Britain will be influenced. I shall therefore continue to speak, as I have spoken, freely; well convinced that what we say of her here will be of no more serious consequence in London, than what she says of us, in her legislative wrangling, is of weighty influence upon us.

I understand the Senator's objections to the bill to be three-fold: first, that it would, in its main provisions, be an infraction of the conventions of 1818 and 1827; secondly, that, when carried into effect, it must plunge us into all the expense of a remote military occupation; thirdly, that the territory itself is valueless, and must prove a disadvantage, not only through the enormous expense it must entail upon us, but by dispersing our population, from whose concentration alone a progressive and an elevated civilization is to be expected.

The Senator will pardon me if I say that the fire scope of his remarks yesterday proves greatly to undervalue a territory as yet little known in his quarter. There is a mass of documents and information in regard to it, in which I am compelled to suppose him not versed. Even putting the minutest facts out of view, however, and supposing surface sterile, there are in its favor high and various elements of commercial value, of future mercantile greatness, which I thought certain to strike a mind as capable as his of embracing these important considerations. It is plainly, at no distant day, the destined avenue of a great trade from our territories to the Pacific and the East. It does he less overlook its present and past importance. The inertness of our policy has already forfeited to us more than ten millions of legitimate trade. By the sheer neglect of our Government, our trade on that coast—formerly affording at least a million—has been snuffed, under the operation of the existing treaty, to dwindle to some two thousand dollars a year. Examine, sir, the returns of our fur-trade, from the first settlement on the Columbia, by Astor, down to the present time; and you will find that it has sunk to the paltry amount here mentioned, and that all the auxiliary commerce which was connected with it—the trade from that coast to China—is extinct.

These are matters easily established by documentary evidence before me, so copious that I do not tax the patience of the Senate with its reading. I will venture only to cite a single document at letter, addressed to me by Mr. Pierce, while engaged in this trade of the Northwest:

"Boston, May 1, 1842

"Sir: Thinking it may be interesting or important to you to know some of the late operations and present plans of the British Hudson Bay Company in the North Pacific ocean, I beg leave to present to your notice some facts in relation to the same, and which have come to my knowledge from personal observation, or from sources entitled to the fullest credit.

"All that extensive line of coast comprehending the Russian possessions on the northwest coast of America, from Mount Elias south to the latitude of 54 deg. 40 min. north, (the last being the boundary line between the Russian and American territories,) together with the sole and exclusive right or privilege of frequenting all ports, bays, sounds, rivers, &c. within a territory, and establishing forts and trading with the Indians, has been leased or granted by the Russian-American Fur Company to the British Hudson Bay Company for the term of five years from January, 1842, and for which the latter are to pay annually, four thousand fur seal skins, or the value thereof in money, at the rate of thirty-two shillings each—say £6,400 sterling, or \$30,720.

"In the abovesaid lease the Russians have, however, reserved to themselves the island of Sitka, or New Archangel; which place, you probably are aware, the Russians have large settlements—the depot and headquarters of their fur trade to the Fox Islands, Aleutian Islands, and the continental shore westward of Mount St. Elias. All the trading establishments of the Russians lately existing at Tungass Stickene, and other places within said territory, leased to the Hudson Bay Company, have of consequence been broken up. Thus the Hudson Bay Company, not content with monopolizing the heretofore profitable trade of the Americans, of supplying the Russian settlements on the Northwest coast, have now completely cut the off-also from all trade with the most valuable fur regions in the world.

"Whether the arrangements made between the Russians and English, above alluded to, are conformable to the treaties stipulating between the United States on the one part, and those nations respectively on the other, I leave to your better knowledge and judgment to determine.

"With the doings of the Hudson Bay Company at Pugget's sound and the Columbia river you are doubtless fully informed; but those, however, lately commenced by them in California, I do not admit of my saying a few words.

"At San Francisco they have purchased a large house, situated for a trading establishment and depot for merchandise; and they intend this year to have a place of the same kind at each of our principal ports in Upper California. Two vessels are building in London, intended for the same trade—that is, for the coast

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ing trade; and, after completing their cargoes, to carry them to England. These things, with others, give every indication that it is the purpose of the Hudson Bay Company to monopolize the whole hide and tallow trade of the coast of California—a trade which now employs more than half a million of American capital.

At the Sandwich Islands the company have a large trading establishment, and have commenced engaging in the commerce of the country, with evident designs to monopolize it, if possible, and to drive off the Americans who have heretofore been its chief creators and conductors.

"I have been informed by one of the agents of the Hudson Bay Company that the agricultural and commercial operations of the English at Puget's sound, Columbia river, California, and Sandwich Islands, are carried on, not actually by the Hudson Bay Company, but by what may be termed a branch of it—by gentlemen who are the chief members and stockholders of said company, and who have associated themselves under the firm of Polby, Simpson, & Co. in London, and with a capital of more than \$15,000,000.

"Seeing these companies, then, marching with iron foot upon the possession of the most valuable portion of country in the Northern Pacific; and considering, too, the immense amount of their capital, the number, enterprise and energy of their agents, and the policy pursued by them, great reason is there to fear the American commerce in that part of the world must soon lose its life. But sir, it is to be hoped that our Government will soon do something to break up the British settlements in the Oregon Territory, and thereby destroy the source from which now emanate the most dire evils to American interests in the Western world. In the endeavor to bring about that desirable object, you have done much; and every friend to his country, every person interested in the commerce of the Pacific, must feel grateful for the valuable services rendered them by you.

"With great respect, your obedient servant,
 "HENRY A. PIERCE"

*FURS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
 Register's Office, May 21, 1842.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose the statement of furs exported to Canton. I have the export in the direct trade, and the general trade, as far as returns have been made.

Hon. N. G. PENDLETON.

Value of furs exported to Canton on American account, annually, from 1821 to 1840.

Years.	Direct trade.	General trade.	Remarks.
1821	\$112,399	\$340,991	
1822	78,158	490,081	
1823	100,090	319,221	
1824	8,959	569,449	
1825	34,139	270,415	
1826	45,110	258,335	
1827	100,936	255,809	
1828	101,761	-	No return.
1829	80,180	-	Do.
1830	11,396	-	Do.
1831	42,396	-	Do.
1832	129,579	-	Do.
1833	109,635	133,687	
1834	8,783	140,348	
1835	49,504	131,518	
1836	51,888	10,000	Estimated.
1837	561	95,162	
1838	37,894	51,832	
1839	16,794	49,900	Do.
1840	2,568	-	No return.

Boston, May 1, 1842
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The Senator from Kentucky gave the other day a very striking sketch of the vast and widespread operations of the Hudson Bay Company. They may be yet more visibly traced in a map of their possessions before me. Here Senators may cast their eyes over a territory, stretching from the bay of the north Atlantic which has lent its name to the association, to the Pacific and the borders of Mexico. Over this wide dominion, dotted with their frequent forts, settlements, and factories, and over its many Indian tribes, they hold undisputed rule, as complete as was ever exercised in Hindostan by the great company which was the skillful instrument of England in seizing upon her present empire there. The red spots on this map designate the various forts; the others, the settlements of the company's retired servants.

What landmarks, what signs of dominion or possession, has this Government affixed to the soil? None. How have your claims been vindicated? What care have you had of even the subordinate matter of your trade, usually not slighted by active commercial nations? Your fur trade, as I have said, is gone; that with the Russian possessions has been suffered to pass into foreign hands; that with the Sandwich Islands lies at the mercy of your watchful rival; and not a step is taken to stay her encroachments upon your soil, or her inroads upon your commerce!

It is not, sir, because I am a Western man, or because my immediate constituents take a deep concern in this matter, that I urge it. I regard it only as a national question. It is as a great and acknowledged interest of the whole Union that I would preserve it, let it directly benefit what section of the country it may. Nothing local, nothing sectional, enters into my feelings, or shall sway my judgment. I view it—and trust that every other Senator will view it—only in its broader relations to the whole country, and have aimed to treat it only in that way.

In regard to the particular interests involved in the question, I could read many documents, with which I will not weary the attention of the Senate. They will permit me, however, to cite from the excellent report of Mr. Pendleton to the other House, the following important letter of Captain Spalding, of the ship Lausanne, of New York, addressed to myself:

"At present, the company cultivate about three thousand acres of land, and raise about eighteen thousand bushels of wheat, fourteen thousand bushels of potatoes, three thousand bushels of peas, and have both flour and saw-mills; they have seven thousand head of cattle, two thousand sheep, hogs, &c., and have engaged to supply the Russians with eight thousand bushels of wheat annually, and I do not know how many thousand pounds of butter and tallow per annum; they have a large number of men in their employ, four ships, two schooners, and a steamboat; they have several forts on the south side of the California, and take out of the river probably not less than five hundred thousand dollars in value per annum; while our Government remains perfectly passive and unconcerned. I must

dearly worthless the object for which we have so long contended. If the successful and beneficial assertion of our right shall ever be made, it must be made now. Further acquiescence in the exclusive possesson of the Hudson Bay Company, (for north of the Columbia, it is in fact exclusive,) if not an absolute surrender of our claim, is what is almost equivalent to it—an abandonment of the game, which constitutes its principal value, to the annihilation of worthless hunting and indiscriminate slaughter.

From six to eight hundred men annually go to the Rocky Mountains, on hunting and trading expeditions who collect a large amount of furs; the value of which, however, the company has no means of ascertaining with any degree of accuracy. This trade would greatly and rapidly increase under the protection which the contemplated post will afford.

This table, exhibiting a gradually diminishing trade in furs, from the period that the hunting and trading of British subjects in Oregon was authorized by the convention of 1818, is the best commentary upon the principles and provisions of that convention. Individual indiscretions or generosity may surrender general participation the advantages and privileges of an ex-clusive right; but the wiser, safer, and more general rule of national action, is in every grant to demand an equivalent. The convention of 1818, was a departure from this salutary rule, and consequences we read in the above table—the uncompensated transfer to the Hudson Bay Company of all that trade which our own citizens have lost. This simple statement affords a lesson by which we shall do well to profit in time, before our own indifference, forbearance, and neglect shall render us

confess, when I saw all this, I felt ashamed that I was an American. I am convinced that no other nation under heaven would submit to it, or could be so negligent of the interests of its people. The company have all the cattle, sheep, &c., but will not sell to a settler a single cow or a sheep; they will, I believe, sometimes sell a pig, but nothing else *alive*—not even a horse; nothing that breathes. They have now contracted to supply the Russians at Sitka, and all the northern parts, with goods of all kinds that the Russians require at twenty five per cent. advance on the London invoice, to be delivered at the ports where they are wanted, without charge for freight or expense of any kind; thus driving the Americans off the coast. It is also well understood that they purpose taking possession of the Sandwich Islands, which the British Government claim under an old grant from *Tamahmah*. There is too good reason to believe (indeed the opinion is prevalent at Oregon) that the grasping ambition of the British will not with all this be satisfied, but that they intend to add even *California* to their possessions; meaning and intending thereby to obtain possession of the bay of San Francisco, which is decidedly the best place on the whole west coast of America for a naval depot, and where the combined galleys of the whole world could anchor with perfect safety; being accessible at all times for vessels of any draught of water.

"The colony from the United States is situated on the Wallamet, a branch of the Columbia, about ninety miles from the mouth of the river, which is, undoubtedly, the finest grazing and wheat country in Oregon. At present, it consists of about seventy families, who raise considerable grain, and have about three thousand head of cattle. The mission last year raised one thousand bushels of wheat, and made butter, cheese, &c., enough for their own use. They have five hundred head of cattle and two hundred horses, and last year they sowed four hundred bushels of wheat, one hundred and twenty bushels of pease, and planted a large quantity of potatoes and vegetables of all descriptions. They have hogs, poultry, &c., in abundance. Last year they raised over fifteen hundred bushels of potatoes. The extent of the country comprising the Wallamet Valley is about three hundred miles long and two hundred broad, interspersed with ravines of wood, generally of sufficient quantities for fuel and tanning. The land in its natural state is usually ready for the plough, and is very fertile, producing from twenty-five to forty bushels of wheat to the acre; and the climate is so mild that the cattle subsist in the fields without fodder or shelter of any kind being prepared or provided for them through the winter. Salmon can be taken at the falls above) with little trouble, from May to September, in almost any quantity. I have no hesitation in saying that ten thousand barrels might be taken per annum. Probably no place in the world offers greater inducements for emigrants. Provisions might readily be had to support one thousand emigrants at any time. Flour is at season high, in consequence of a want of mill—a difficulty that is now obviated by the erection of two new ones, viz. one by Mr. McKey, and one by the mission; as also two saw-mills. Wheat is nominally worth one dollar per bushel, beef six cents per pound, pork ten, cows fifty dollars each, oxen sixty, horses thirty-five. Potatoes bring about twenty-five cents per bushel. Labor is worth about thirty-five dollars per month, the laborer being found by his employer."

I have repeatedly alluded to the commercial and territorial cupidity of the Hudson Bay Company, its unjust encroachments, its unwholesome rapacity, the spoliation of our legitimate trade, and even the murders which have tracked its course as a company. But, in simple justice, let me say that these acts and this character belong to them only in a corporate capacity. As individuals, many of them are men highly humane and honorable. It is abundantly known, in particular, that there lives not a more generous, benevolent, and kind hearted gentleman than Dr. McLaughlin, the individual at the head of the company's affairs on the Columbia. His acts of voluntary kindness towards our citizens; his courtesy towards whomsoever of our officers or public agents may have visited that country; the ready and liberal good offices which he has ever extended wherever they were needed, do him great honor, and should not be mentioned without thanks. I make, then, my charges against the collective company and its policy, not the individuals of whom it is made up. Let me, on the other hand, as freely remark, without desiring to

diminish anything from this individual praise, that, as a company, they can well afford to be generous to us of the fruits of our own soil. An annual half million in the fur-trade may well mitigate a good many national prejudices. Out of this abundance which should be ours, they may well dispense some hospitality to our citizens and accredited agents. For training on their dependants to waylay our wanderers, to burn our settlements, to exterminate the settler, to shut out our traders from all participation in their traffic, these civilities are, after all, but a cheap equivalent. True it is, however, that in the former rivalry between the two companies, before they were merged into one, they were as rapacious and sanguinary towards each other. And why should they be more just or more merciful towards the alien race?

Of these deeds the Senator from South Carolina may have some recollection, and of the time which in their contest for the supremacy of that region the employees of the two companies were led to mutual outrages as detestable as any to which they now jointly instigate the savages against our helpless citizens and traders. He may perhaps recall the tragedies of 1819; when the Northwest Company made regular war upon that of Hudson's Bay, to drive them from the trade; pitched battles being fought as between two fiercest Indian tribes, with a loss of twenty men in a single affair; Governor Semple and Mr. Kevenny (another leading man) perishing in the contest.

I surely have not need to urge that they who the sordid love of gain could thus urge to imbue their hands in the blood of brother Englishmen, would little hesitate to inflame the natural antipathies of the savage, and turn his secondariness into a ready and general instrument for effecting those dark deeds by which the citizens of a rival power were to be put out of the way when they came between them and their gains.

I do not speak idly of these matters, but hold my hand to the names of men who personally knew the influence and the arts practised against us by men as Governors Clarke and Cass, whose judgments and knowledge in Indian affairs were beyond dispute. They show that, up to 1820, at least five hundred of our people have been destroyed in this way, and that the rate of subsequent destruction has not changed. All the evidence shows that, wherever the British fur trade is pushed, the Indians are subsidized. The terms of the subsidy have an index in the murders committed on our people. Trace up the butcheries in the Rocky Mountains and their plains, the ravage of our exposed settlements, and you will find them uniformly committed by Indians clad in British blankets and armed with British tomahawks and scalping-knives. Is not this proof enough of whom this work of blood is done? How, then, sir, shall this innocent blood of our citizens to you in vain? How long shall it be before you interpose to arrest these crimes? Are the lawless pursuits of your people to be thus left the spoil of the prey of foreign rapacity? Does not the treaty which is so often pleaded, declare these pursuits legitimate; or is it, then, but an idle form, legitimate, you are bound to protect your citizens who engage in it; and the question of greater or less profitability than other occupations, is not one to be considered, except by those who engage in it. The Senator from South

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a, to disparage the trade, said yesterday that men have grown rich in it. Now I apprehend that, comparing great things with small, his remark is equally true of manufactures. In these, there is a disproportion between the few capitalists who get rich, and the multitudes of poor operatives who never can? It is but the same thing in either suit: the operatives amass not the splendid fortunes, nor does every hunter and trapper become rich as Jacob Astor. Chance or taste leads them to the pursuit, and it forms one of those national interests which we are bound to protect, in common with even the humblest branch of your industry or commerce. Whenever your sails are sent to the sea, in no matter what clime, against no man whom, the national arm stretches out its protection. Everywhere but in this unhappy territory, the persons and the pursuits of your citizens are watched over. You count no cost when other interests are concerned, when other rights are asserted; but you recoil here from a trifling appropriation to an object of the highest national importance, because it enlists no sectional influence. In contrast, for instance, your supineness about the Oregon Territory with your alacrity to establish, regarding the slave coast and Liberia, a squadron costing \$600,000 annually, and which you have sent yourself by treaty to keep up for five years, in great exposure of lives and vessels. By stipulation, eighty guns (one-twelfth of your force total) is kept upon this service; and, as your national expenditure amounts to about seven millions year, this (its twelfth part) will make, in five years, three millions bestowed in watching the coast of Africa, and guarding the freedom of the great race! For this you lavish millions; and you charge \$100,000 to the great American and national object of asserting your territorial rights and settling your soil. You grant at once what furthers a slave policy of a rival power, and deny the means of rescuing from its grasp your own property and soil!

[Here Mr. L. referred again to the letter of Mr. Bolding, which we have given at large.*]

To show the operations of the Hudson Bay Company, in its American fur trade, public attention is called to the following extract of Mr. Townsend's excellent remarks upon the territory of Oregon, recently published in the National Intelligencer. Within a few years, several Americans (of whom the writer this notice is one) have crossed the Rocky Mountains to the mouth of the Columbia, with objects entirely unconnected with trade or commerce. Mine was the desire to see a new country, and to adventure for its own sake, and an enthusiastic fondness for natural history. The party with which I travelled left Independence, Missouri, about the latter part of April, 1831, and arrived at the British Fort Vancouver in September, having performed the whole journey on horse-back. From this time until October, 36, (with the exception of the first winter, which I passed at a Sandwich Islands,) my residence was in the Territory of Oregon. Dr. McLoughlin, the chief factor, treated me with uniform and singular kindness, supplying all my wants, and facilitating me with every facility in the prosecution of my affairs. This is, I believe, the uniform character of the superintendents of British forts in that country. Travellers, mariners, and all who are not traders, are kindly and most hospitably treated; but the moment the visitor is known to trade a beaver skin from an Indian, that moment he is ejected from the community, and all communication between him and the officers of the company ceases. When Captain Wyeth, with his party, arrived at Walla-Walla fort, on his passage down the Columbia, he was required by the superintendent to promise that during his journey from thence to Vancouver—300 miles—he would not buy a beaver skin; the functionary assuring him that, unless he consented so to bind himself, he would send a party ahead of him which should be instructed to purchase every beaver skin from the Indians on the route, at a price which he (Wyeth) could not afford to pay. It is a fact, notori-

The general objection to the bill has been confined to the grants of land. The South Carolina Senators alone have viewed the establishment of military posts as a violation of the convention. And I understood one of those Senators to assert even that, under the treaty, we could not extend over the territory our legal jurisdiction, as Britain has done.

[Mr. McDuffie here assured Mr. L. that he had misapprehended him: he held that we could extend our jurisdiction over the Indians and our own citizens.]

Mr. LINN. Well, sir, I stand corrected. I now hold in my hand a copy of the contract which the Hudson Bay Company passes with its employees, by which it is agreed that when the employee has served a certain number of years, and wishes to retire, he shall have a grant of fifty acres of land, a suit of the company's clothes, &c., he binding himself to a sort of feudal tenure to muster and bear arms when needed.

Now, sir, does not this contract incontestably establish, on their part, everything which it is denied that we can do? Is it to be supposed that the company does not keep these engagements? That cannot be; and we know that their retired servants have for some time had settlements and occupied lands, in conformity with these agreements. I ask Senators, then, are we always to argue against ourselves—always to interpret our national duties in favor of other nations, and to our own detriment? Was it not thus in 1823, when gentlemen contended that we could not establish military posts in the territory, nor extend our jurisdiction over it? This, too, when Great Britain had already taken those steps over the whole northwest, and even over a part of our territory on this side the Rocky Mountains.

But gentlemen surely mistake when they imagine that this British jurisdiction can be confined to British subjects alone. Pray, sir, were an American to commit murder on an employee of the company, does anybody believe that he would not be tried and hanged under this British law? The English ministry, I know, has said (as Mr. Gallatin tells us) that it was not intended to be applied to any but British subjects and Indians. But what then? What will the opinion of this or that minister signify, a case having actually occurred? By settled law, any denizen coming within its jurisdiction, and committing a crime, will be punished; and if there is a British judge or justice of the peace there, he will be bound to execute this law, to its letter, against Americans as well as others.

My friend from Vermont [Mr. PHELPS] made it clear that, under this law, controversies likewise as to land titles between citizens of the two countries would pass under this jurisdiction. If so, why not as such criminal offences? But as to such scrupulous limiting of their legal assumptions, they are far more likely to enlarge them. I never heard of an Indian being hung under that law; but I have lately learned the occurrence of a case

in that country, that the honorable company has a sum of money, amounting to several thousand pounds sterling, laid aside at Vancouver, for the sole purpose of opposing all who may come to interfere with its monopoly, by purchasing at exorbitant prices all the furs in possession of the Indians, and thus forcing the settler to come to terms, or driving him from the country. If it be an individual who is thus starved into submission, he then usually clears a piece of land on the Wallamet river, takes an Indian wife, and purchases furs of the natives, which, by previous contract, he is bound to sell to the company at an advance which is fixed by the Governor."

where a half-breed Indian, for the murder of an Englishman, was tried, convicted, and hung—a mode of death the most repugnant to all an Indian's prejudices. Why should this not have been done upon an American citizen? What have you done to insure his surrender to your own courts?—what to protect his pursuits, doubly legitimate both by your territorial title and the stipulations of the convention?

You do not, probably, know the number of men of Massachusetts, of New Hampshire, of Missouri, and of other States, who would push their fortunes in that territory, and carry civilization thither, could they but expect from you the protection and the favor which *England, through the Hudson Bay Company, grants to her people*. Your States of the East and the West will not send forth their swarms, because they believe their Government too timid or too niggardly to protect or to assist them. They never will believe you in earnest till, by some measure as positive as this, you prove to them that you regard your title as indefeasible, and give them a pledge of your intentions that cannot be retracted. I have seen many letters to this effect, and know that such is the general doubt which holds back numbers who desire to go. Your people require *action* of some kind; and I will feel that I have not lived in vain, if this bill should have the effect of bringing the subject to some definite conclusion.

These are the views of those who look only to the earthly rewards of hazardous enterprise. But the Eastern States furnish others, whom a sacred call has led to trace the pathless wilderness, careless of all human protection; who, in the true spirit of Christian philanthropy, have braved every privation and danger to carry to the valleys of the Oregon and the Wallamet the light of the Gospel, and its attendant, civilization; accomplishing there, by individual devotedness, those noble benefits which it was your part to have performed. The Christian spirit of men has outstripped the tardy policy and goodness of the Government; and these Gospel-bearers have at once formed a paradise, where your statesmen imagine nothing but sterile sands, or a surface blackened by volcanic fires.

Of the horrors of such a sojourn the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. McDuffie] seems to have formed a particularly lively conception, and has conveyed it (as was to be expected) in a very powerful form. Had he (he said) an honest or deserving son, who desired to migrate thither, he would say to him, "Don't go! stay where you are!" But, had he one fit for a convict-ship or Botany Bay, he would tell him, without hesitation, "Go, by all means!"

Now, for the Senator's information, I beg to read a few well-authenticated descriptions of this blasted land of his. The reports of the missionaries, and the narratives of Captain Wilkes and of Mr. Peale, the naturalist, give a very different picture. They agree that, for picturesque beauty, for exuberant fertility, and for salubrity of climate, no region of the earth, of equal extent, surpasses the vales and the table-lands of the Oregon. There, too, they tell you, instead of the dissoluteness of such a population as the Senator thinks it only fit for, are seen gentleness, piety, intelligence, and peace, which seem to have their chosen seat in the beautiful valley of the Wallamet. They are law-abiding and law-loving; they are active, yet quiet; no strifes or broils, suicides or murders. No

compulsion of the law is needed to make them pay their debts—a contrast, on this verge of civilization, (as the Senator supposes it,) at which a man of his constituents, not to say my own, might well blush. He is not less mistaken as to the motives which, he thinks, can alone induce these wanderers so far. Was it such a prospect as brought our sturdy ancestors to the rock of Hudson's farthest West with like visions of some noble settlement to be realized? There is a fascination in the half-real dreams which I have witnessed among the men of the West, and had I wealth to pay, or could such things be bought, I know not what I would give to have the wild and strange rapture with which the Americans must have gazed, for the first time, from the summit of the Cumberland mountains over the level plain of Kentucky; or yet, again, when he passed through that Eden-like wilderness, from the top of one of the mounds of a departed race, looked, in bewildered delight, over the magnificent banks and streams of the Ohio.

These, sir, are sensations not to be purchased in any other way. There is in them no touch of anything mercenary, and they animate men to ventures which no man can repay, but which surely, in finding or forming empires for us, deserve encouragement and praise, as much as any labors of that more common kind which seek, and make themselves in a state of rewards at home. There are men who go forth from the wilderness like our first parents, when they came forth from the garden of Eden to subdue the earth. Such feelings, to our own immediate interests, are an ideal beauty over the barrenness of Plymouth, one day, under their all-subduing spirit, to blossom like the rose. The same influence yet animates their race, and will bear them to the deserts, as of old across the deep, give them the protection of your laws and the countenance of the Government.

I recollect, Mr. President, at the last session of Congress to have heard a venerable and respectable lady say that, when she removed, at the close of the Revolution, from Annapolis to Cumberland Maryland, she was looked upon as having come out of the world, and as about to become a savage. In such a light were your forefathers [BATES of Massachusetts in the chair] viewed when in their forlorn search for freedom, they abandoned the ease of civilized life, and, for freer hopes, braved the dangers of the deep and the terror of a savage shore. They but obeyed the instinct of their peculiar race—that invincible longing for liberty and space which impels those of Anglo-Saxon descent to trace the rudest tracks, the wildest ranges the Atlantic and the Indian waste of waters, to explore the vast Pacific, and break through icy barriers of the polar oceans. With a spirit renewed from our virgin soil, and from Nature in this untamed continent, it looks back to the day of our forefathers, half ready to spread there the *regeneration* which constantly agitates itself. Nations may enlarge themselves by physical conquests; but we (I thank God for it) can subvert only by the dominion of mind the moral empires of neighboring countries. If, at a future time, to be added to our Union, it will be those who will have sought the blessings of our institutions; not we who will have coveted the enlargement of our territory by conquering fleets and armies.

[Here Mr. LINN proceeded to read a series of

needed to make them facts from the documents to which he had referred; in this verge of civility (as the letter from Alvan F. Waller, one of the missionaries on the Wallamet, dated 6th April, 1812, and not to say my own, published in the Christian Advocate and Journal, mistaken as to the date of December last; which, after speaking in the highest terms of the agricultural, commercial, and far. Was it such other advantages of the country, refers to the distance to the rock of water which have already occurred between the descendants of the Hudson Bay Company and the recent American settlers. The company claim, under the right of pre-emption, some of the choicest spots now occupied by American settlers; which proves, conclusively, the intentions of the company to occupy the best parts of the territory, to the exclusion of the Americans. Will not these land disputes, as first time, from the well as all others, be brought under the operation of the British act of Parliament of 1821?

yet, again, when the series of thermometrical observations from Doctor Forry, by Mr. Ball, which may be found in the 25th and 26th volumes of Silliman's Journal; they show the average winter temperature at Fort Vancouver to be 41½ degrees of Fahrenheit; the spring 48 degrees; the summer 65 degrees; the fall of 52½ degrees. This is probably a little milder than the climate of Norfolk, Virginia. Mr. L. also read in finding or forming a descriptive letter of Mr. Titian Peake, dated here on the 25th ultimo; another from Major Robert Moore, dated at Wallamet, (Oregon,) March 8, 1842; a statement from Mr. Waldron, in a late letter from the same place; a letter of Capt. Steen, of the United States dragoons, from Fort Leavenworth, in which he says: "I have lately had some conversation with Col. Baitson of Jackson county, Missouri, who has returned a short time since from the Oregon Territory, and several other gentlemen from Missouri; they speak in the most exalted terms of the country, soil, climate, water-power, health, fine timber, and many other advantages that country has over Missouri."

A letter of the Messrs. Benson, of New York, transmitting the statement of Captain Spalding. All these are documents, not merely important, but interesting in themselves, though beyond our present command of space. He also referred to the well-known voyagers, Cook, Vancouver, Portlocke, Dixon, Krusenstern, Langsdorf, as well as Lewis and Clarke, and some others. But, interesting as the matter becomes, in the view of the present national question, and important as are the materials thus brought together, we are compelled here to break off.]

So little before 1813 or 1814 did Great Britain ever doubt your claim to the lately-contested territory in Maine, that in 1814 she proposed to purchase that part of it which she desired. She next treated for a right of way. It was refused; and she then set up a claim to the soil. This method has speeded no ill with her; for she has got what she wanted, and MADE YOU PAY FOR IT. Her Oregon game is the same. She has set her heart upon a strip of territory north of the Oregon, and seems determined to pluck it from us, either by circumvention or force. Aware of the political as well as legal advantages of possession, she is strengthening hers in every way not too directly responsible. She is selecting and occupying the best lands, the most favorable sites. There she secures to the settlers under contracts. For any counteraction of yours, she may take, and is taking, possession of the whole territory. She has appropriated sites for mills, manufactories, and farms. If one of these has been abandoned for a better, she reverts to it, if a citizen

of yours occupies it, and ejects him. She tells her people she will protect them in whatever they have laid, or may lay, their hands upon. If she can legitimately do this, why may not we? Is this a joint occupation of which she is to have the sole benefit? Had you as many citizens there as she, you would be compelled to protect them; and if you have not, why is it but because she keeps them off, and you refuse to offer them the inducements which she holds out? Give them a prospective grant of lands, and insure them the shelter of your laws, and they will soon congregate there in force enough to secure your rights and their own.

The Senator from South Carolina somewhat inconsistently urges that the country is bleak, barren, volcanic, rocky, a waste always flooded when it is not parched; and insists that, worthless as it is, Great Britain will go at once to war for it. Strange that she should in 1818 have held so tenaciously to what is so worthless! Stranger still that she should have stuck yet closer to it in 1827, when she had had still ampler time to learn the bootlessness of the possession! And strangest of all, that she should still cling to it with the grasp of death! Sir, I cannot for my life help thinking that she and the Senator have formed a very different estimate of the territory, and that she is (as she ought to be) a good deal the better informed. She knows well its soil, climate, and physical resources, and perfectly comprehends its commercial and geographical importance. And knowing all this, she was ready to sink all sense of justice, still all respect for our clear title, and hasten to root her interests in the soil, so as to secure the strong, even when most wrongful, title of possession.

As proof, among other things, of the worthlessness of the territory, the Senator yesterday maintained that, in the upper country, rain never falls; and in the lower, hardly ever ceases. Now, the facts derived from intelligent residents show that in those parts of the country where it seldom rains, copious dews supply the necessary moisture for vegetable life; while the streams and rills which on all sides descend from the mountains, entertain a perpetual freshness in the arable and pasture lands. It is shown, too, that, on the coast and lowlands, what is called the rainy season is one of gentle showers, not of deluges of rain. If they have more rain, they have less frost and snow than other countries, more fertility, and not less health.

But the documentary information accumulated here for some years past makes all who are conversant with it aware that the Senator mistakes the character of the plains on the east as well as the west side of the Rocky Mountains. He imagines that the vast plains which stretch from the base of that chain to the borders of our inhabited territories are desert sands, destitute alike of vegetation and water. We all know that this is not so; that these great plains are principally rich prairie lands, sustaining countless herds of antelopes, deer, and buffaloes, and capable of most profitable cultivation. They are intersected by great rivers, fed by innumerable streams, supplied by lesser tributaries, diverging in every direction. Timber certainly is scarce; but it springs up and grows with the population, and the banks of the streams afford everywhere strips of wood, quite sufficient to supply any population that can, for a good many years, fix itself there. Mistaken, as the Senator is, as to

what lies comparatively near, I am not surprised that he should misconceive what is so remote—the country of the Oregon. He appears, also, not to be aware that, from the lower Ohio to the eastern skirts of the Rocky Mountains, it is one vast coal-field, in its lower altitudes, intermixed with other mineral regions, whose value seems almost without a limit.

Sir, I confess that this wealth of the surface, and the still vaster natural treasures that lie beneath, unmined but not unknown, have awakened in me, and seem to me to justify, the expectations which the Senator considers so visionary. Over such a region, the passage from the richest valley in the world—that of the Mississippi—to a new and wide commercial empire, that must presently start up on the Pacific, I cannot think railroads and canals mere day-dreams. The wonders which have, within the last twenty years, been achieved in those things, may well excite those who look upon the results I have mentioned as possible, even within the compass of the present generation. All predictions, even the most sanguine, have in this country been so distanced by the actual progress of its prosperity, that gentlemen who foretell the other way should beware of the error of the Millerites, and not lay the accomplishments of their prophecies too close at hand. Even in the faith of the bold enthusiasts who landed at Plymouth Rock, was there one ardent enough to imagine that their descendants would, in five centuries, perform what has been effected in two? It was said by General Cass, in his discourse before the Historical Society of this city, "that he had conversed with those who had talked with the children of the pilgrims." In that mere space of time, what amazing changes! What an empire has risen up, like an exhalation from earth! A new people has been added to the great household of nations, and is already among the first in the world! There are those amongst us who have talked with Daniel Boone, that overland Columbus who first explored the recesses of that immense wilderness in which we now count many States, teeming with population and wealth, and glad with all the joys of civilization. What imagination has yet outstripped the gigantic pace at which improvement marches amongst us? Sir, I can well conceive the tumult of delight which must have swelled the bosom of Clarke, when, from the bluff he had gained, he first heard the roar of the great ocean, and saw the surges of the Pacific bathing the territory he had explored. In the vision of that moment, he saw through the dim vista of the future rising States of his countrymen spreading along that shore, and the white sails of their commerce wafting along the bosom of that peaceful sea the barbaric wealth of the East, in return for the more solid fruits of our own industry. One cannot read the warm and striking description of what he saw and felt, without sharing in his enthusiasm. Some of us now here have shaken hands with Boone, with Clarke, with Cass, who had often conversed with a relative, a contemporary of the first-born of the Pilgrim fathers. What a picture does this present for the contemplation of the statesman and philosopher! The chain is complete from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean—from the first-born of Massachusetts, to Clarke on the borders of the Western ocean.

But the Senator from South Carolina thinks the

Rocky Mountains impracticable to road making. He is mistaken. Even in a state of nature, there are easy passes, well known for the last thirty years to our traders and travellers. They will venture unprotected, perform the journey readily in wagons, with their women and children, over beaten routes—by one principal one especially, established for the last fifteen years, along the smooth, even surface of the inclined plane of the river Platte. Along this many families have gone, threading the mountain defiles, descending the western slope, and arriving at the Walla-Walla or Fort Vancouver, within three months of the departure from the Eastern prairies.* These things have escaped the Senator's attention, and he sees only arid sands or volcanic rocks, and stern impassable barriers. Without meaning anything ridiculous, I would invite him to contrast these regions, as to their soil, climate, and natural advantages, with some of the old thirteen States they now are. Oregon has its belts of sand, so has South Carolina. Oregon has its mountain so has Carolina. Oregon has its rainy seasons, South Carolina has its hurricanes. Oregon in its season when dews alone supply moisture to the soil; but it has not the death-breathing swamps of South Carolina. Oregon has a genial climate, neither parched nor frozen; South Carolina has fierce summer heats and her fatal fevers.

But I will not pursue the parallel; for all countries offer something which patriotism in each has as a peculiar blessing denied to other lands. Though the world, however, of the climate of Oregon. From actual observations, skillfully recorded, its winter temperature, near the coast, is about that of August in Georgia. It has its stated seasons of wet and of dry weather. Like the entire western coast, from 40 degrees north to Chili, it has a much milder climate than the same parallel on the eastern shore of our continent. There is no part of the territory in which lands fit for cultivation do not abound;† for

*There are four passes through the Rocky Mountains. The best one was discovered, twelve or fifteen years since, by our traders and is described in reports to the War Department by Messrs. Ashley, Picher, Sublette, Jackson, Smith, and others; but the one here given is from Missionary Park.

†On the 10th of August, they were in the passage of the Rocky Mountains, at an opening recently explored, in latitude 42 degrees north, about 3 or 4 degrees south of the place where Lewis and Clarke crossed and recessed with great difficulty, at above thirty years before, under the direction of Governmental officers. The passage through these mountains is in a valley, so gradual in ascent and descent, that I should not have known that the heights were passing them, had it not been that, as we advanced, that the atmosphere gradually became colder, and at length we found the perpetual snows upon our right hand and upon our left, elevated many thousand feet above us—in some places to over a thousand. The highest parts of these mountains are found in the mountain to the westward, about a thousand feet above the level of the sea. This valley was not discovered until some years since. Mr. Hunt and his party, more than twenty years ago, went near it, but did not find it, though in search of some of the worst passages. It varies in width from five to twenty miles, and, following its course, the distance through the mountains is about eighty miles, or four days' journey. Though there are some elevations and depressions in this valley, yet, on the whole, it is a level. There would be no difficulty in carrying in the way of constructing a railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean; and, probably, the time may not be far distant when trips will be made across the continent, as they have been made to Niagara falls, to see nature's wonders.

†I call the attention of the reader to the following extract of a statement of Mr. Townsend, the ornithologist attached to the National Institute, at Washington:

"The face of the country from Fort George (Astoria) to Vancouver—a distance of eighty miles—is very much of a uniform character, consisting of a gradual ascent along the river banks, alternating with forests of pine, oak, &c; while behind are ex-

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able to road making a state of nature, the town for the last thirty travellers. They will perform the journey for women and children the principal one, as last fifteen years, also the inclined plane many families have in defiles, descending along at the Walla-Walla three months of the prairies.* These things attract attention, and he sees rocks, and sternly meaning anything to contrast these in late, and natural world thirteen States its belts of sand, and has its mountainous as its rainy seasons. Oregon supplies moisture to the breathing swamps is a genial climate South Carolina has fatal fevers. parallel; for all competition in each harbor to other lands. of Oregon. From recorded, its winter about that of Augustous of wet; and of the western coast, from a much milder climate the eastern shore t of the territory do not abound; for the Rocky Mountains. These are to remain filled during the whole summer. The pine trees are very extensive, the trees being of great size, and the timber of the War Department extraordinarily beautiful, straight, and free from knots. Jackson, Smith, and the founder of the genus *pinus*, of which there are a great number of species, is gigantic, when compared with our trees in this part of the world; but occasionally one is met with, huge most beyond comparison. I measured, with Doctor Gaillet, the trunk of the tree of the fort, a pair of the species *Douglasii*, which had with great difficulty feet, and its circumference forty five feet! Large as was in a valley, so gradual the river, measured by the late Mr. David Douglas, as we advanced, and its height of this tree was, I think nearly three hundred feet, according to Mr. Douglas, were from twelve to fifteen inches in length, resembling in size and form sugar-loaves. On the some places to be of various kinds, and of the first quality, is abundant along the river, as well as the buttonwood, (*Salicaria occidentalis*.) above the level of the salmon plover, (*Opiparus lufumiferus*.) fish, sweet corn, (*Citrus*.) and many other useful kinds, but a search of some kind. The Governor of Port Vancouver, who is an active agriculturist, has exerted his efforts for several years in raising whatever appears to be a capital to the soil, and I can therefore only make known the results of his experiments so far as I had an opportunity of observing them. Wheat, rye, barley, pease, and ordinary vegetables of all kinds, are raised in ample quantity. The wheat is particularly fine; tall, with long and well-filled heads. I had an opportunity subsequently of seeing the Chinese wheat, which is so celebrated; but I consider it decidedly inferior to the grown on the Columbia. Fruits of various kinds, apples, peaches, plums, &c., do remarkably well. I remember particularly struck, upon my arrival at Vancouver in the autumn, with the display of apples in the garden of the fort. The trees were crowded with fruit, so that every limb required to be sustained by a prop. The apples were literally packed along the branches, and so closely that I could compare them to nothing more aptly than to ropes of onions as they are sometimes exhibited for sale in our markets.

tracts where rains do not fall, abundant dews enliven them; and great facilities for irrigation Abundant and beautiful rivulets descend, sides, from the snow-capped mountains, all in view; and one gentleman—whose peculiar talents and fitness to form a correct judgment the Senate knows—declares that it is the finest rural country he has ever seen; and he has seen of the singular beauty of its scenery, unrivalled any in the United States. As to maritime enclaves, where has South Carolina a port parable to that of Puget's and others within the is of De Fuen; where, well-sheltered, and in only inconveniently deep, close to the sea-wall, a thousand men-of-war may lie? South Carolina a river like the Oregon? If Columbia has impediments as its mouth, so has any harbor on our Eastern and Southern coast. I re not to disparage other States, but only to w of what Oregon is capable for national and vidual purposes, were its resources called out on its great river shall have fleets of pilot-boats, ters, barges, steam tow boats, light-houses, and the commercial appliances of a busy population, impediments of its entrance will grow no more rming than those of New York, or of our other stern harbors. The loss of the Peacock at its ulti, for want of a proper knowledge of the chan- does not stamp it as a dangerous entrance or safe roadstead. Though these statements have taxed both the le and the patience of the Senate, I could not oid them. They were indispensable, to coun- act the discouraging and disparaging opinions strongly pronounced by the Senator from South rolina. To these allegations of mere opinion d authority, it was necessary to oppose the well- bstantiated facts furnished by intelligent eye- nesses. river plains, some of which receive estuaries of the river, and others are watered by lakes or ponds, many of them so ge as to remain filled during the whole summer. The pine trees are very extensive, the trees being of great size, and the timber of the War Department extraordinarily beautiful, straight, and free from knots. Jackson, Smith, and the founder of the genus *pinus*, of which there are a great number of species, is gigantic, when compared with our trees in this part of the world; but occasionally one is met with, huge most beyond comparison. I measured, with Doctor Gaillet, the trunk of the tree of the fort, a pair of the species *Douglasii*, which had with great difficulty feet, and its circumference forty five feet! Large as was in a valley, so gradual the river, measured by the late Mr. David Douglas, as we advanced, and its height of this tree was, I think nearly three hundred feet, according to Mr. Douglas, were from twelve to fifteen inches in length, resembling in size and form sugar-loaves. On the some places to be of various kinds, and of the first quality, is abundant along the river, as well as the buttonwood, (*Salicaria occidentalis*.) above the level of the salmon plover, (*Opiparus lufumiferus*.) fish, sweet corn, (*Citrus*.) and many other useful kinds, but a search of some kind. The Governor of Port Vancouver, who is an active agriculturist, has exerted his efforts for several years in raising whatever appears to be a capital to the soil, and I can therefore only make known the results of his experiments so far as I had an opportunity of observing them. Wheat, rye, barley, pease, and ordinary vegetables of all kinds, are raised in ample quantity. The wheat is particularly fine; tall, with long and well-filled heads. I had an opportunity subsequently of seeing the Chinese wheat, which is so celebrated; but I consider it decidedly inferior to the grown on the Columbia. Fruits of various kinds, apples, peaches, plums, &c., do remarkably well. I remember particularly struck, upon my arrival at Vancouver in the autumn, with the display of apples in the garden of the fort. The trees were crowded with fruit, so that every limb required to be sustained by a prop. The apples were literally packed along the branches, and so closely that I could compare them to nothing more aptly than to ropes of onions as they are sometimes exhibited for sale in our markets.

Allow me, to the same effect, to cite a description of the country lately communicated to me by Mr. Titian Peale, an accomplished naturalist, who is well known in science for the part which he bore in Long's expedition, as well as in the late exploring voyage under Lieutenant Wilkes. He recently favored me with the following letter: [Mr. Peale says to the following effect: That the Hudson Bay Company has several extensive farms, with mills, &c., on the north side of the Columbia. They are in a very flourishing condition; supply usually about 2,000 bushels of wheat to the Russian colony, much lumber and produce of the dairy to the Sandwich Islands. He mentions their herds of cattle and sheep, kept on the south side of the river. Of the latter, 2,000 had been brought by land from California, just before the arrival of the exploring squadron. The retainers (*employees*) of the company have numerous farms on the Wallamet, south of the Columbia. He had seen the contracts under which these lands are granted. They are to the effect which we have before recited. He speaks very favorably of the Americans whom he found settled there. They cannot embark in commerce, for the powerful monopoly of the company would always crush them. They say, however, that, personally, it treats them very honorably. The soil, climate, and productions are such as will, at no distant day, give the country the same commercial importance on the Pacific, as we hold on the Atlantic. For grain or lumber, it is nearly equal, if not quite, to the United States. These command ready markets on the Mexican and South American coast, and in the many islands. The salmon-fishery of the Columbia can, he thinks, in a few years, be rendered as valuable as the fisheries on our Eastern coast. In this, he is supported by a united stream of testimony. The country (he says) only wants the protection of our laws, to render it a desirable home for our hardy countrymen of the interior.] Mr. Linn continued. In addition to the agricultural wealth which would be rapidly created in this fine region, the noble timber which it affords, its fisheries, and its general advantages of commercial position, its value as a resort for our marine in that distant sea, where we have such great interests at float, should not be forgotten. Of these last, under the late events in China—certain as they are to bring about the most important commercial changes—it behoves us to be careful, in common with the other great trading nations. That France is already on the alert, we see in her late seizure of the Marquesas. As to the question of expense, the Senator from South Carolina may have already seen that only half the sum he yesterday supposed—\$100,000, not \$200,000—is proposed to be employed. Whether or not the country is worth that sum, may, in addition to all other testimony, be judged from the report of your recent exploring expedition; of which (costly as it was) one of the most definite objects was minutely to ascertain the condition, value, resources, and capacities of the territory. Mr. Wilkes speaks in the most enthusiastic terms of all its elements of wealth and greatness. The Senator from South Carolina yesterday asked, "What do we want with this territory?" To me, sir, it seems answer enough to say, that your just rights grossly neglected, commercial interests

of great magnitude, and the wishes of your people, demand its occupation. They have pressed upon you petitions of two or three thousand persons at a time, anxious to migrate thither if assured that you will maintain your title. Nothing but distrust of your tardiness and timidity withholds them. I myself, while urging the measure—always, however, with that moderation of which I have, for my own justification, been forced to speak—have always felt that nothing but reiterated discussion would ever prepare minds here for action, until it became, perhaps, almost too late. At that last stage of procrastination I look upon ourselves as now arrived. Our foreign relations—and especially such as can be artfully spun out—are little likely ever to be, in the lapse of many years, in a situation that will better allow us to proceed. Yet, gentlemen still answer me, as of old, "Wait! war!" They still, after twenty-two years of postponement, find the moment inauspicious, the movement precipitate. As ever, there is "*action in the path.*" When were ever such dilatory proceedings safe against a powerful, an active, a politic adversary, rapid to grasp, and slow only to relinquish? If we are ever to assert our rights, it must be most speedily, before they lapse into the hands of others, from long undisputed possession. For, mark, that be your reserves of treaties what they may, England has long enjoyed, and is every day completing and guarding, her exclusive possessions.

I have no personal interest in this measure—no motive but such as I have in common with all who are jealous of the rights and careful of the interests of our country. Political capital, it affords none; and if it did, I am no political capitalist. Whether it can carry any advantage or disadvantage to this or that section, I have not considered, and I shall not consider. Not even reputation do I expect or desire from my efforts, except the legitimate one of having faithfully discharged my duty to such a question, whether as a Senator or a citizen.

As to this easy and most culpable policy of eternal delays, however, have you not already by it quadrupled your difficulties and your eventual losses? Had you at once, on recovering possession of Astoria in 1818, built military posts and provided for settlers, you never would have heard of the British pretensions since started. The same policy of indecision gave you the difficulties of your Northeastern question and the disadvantages of its late adjustment. Sir, the country of an offensive policy (like England) always gains, and that of a defensive one (like ourselves) always loses, by these delays.

But the Senator from South Carolina says this is the first instance of a proposition, under this Government, to found a colony at the public charge. No; but we bought them ready made to our hands—and splendid acquisitions they were; and, strange to say, as powerful arguments, and as strong language, were used against the purchase of Louisiana, as are now used against the occupation of Oregon.

Now, in the first place, no such idea has been put forward as founding a colony at the public expense. No boon is asked, but a very limited one of lands, to be redeemed from the wilderness; and such a gift has, with all the nations of the globe, been a common feature in the first planting of remote settlements. Except this, and the protection of your laws, nothing is claimed. To such a

method you owe it that you are the owners of a broad Union. Of Oregon, you can never wisely take possession; and the only fault is, that you have been so tardy to put it in practice. Had you before the time of Commodore Porter, secured your foothold there, by fortifying a point on the Columbia, you might have saved millions in property and commercial advantages, now forever and forfeited. Twenty millions of dollars, offered by your citizens in the whale fisheries along these seas, yet admonish you that you have moment to lose in securing there the shelter of a commodious harbor. All these things—the treaties you are establishing with the Sandwich group—the long and rich coast-trade of the Pacific—the honor and the rights of the country—upon you to pass this bill.

For such objects, you are started at an appropriation of \$100,000. Mean time, for an expenditure of your late treaty, (Britain telling that if you did not carry out your laws for repressing the slave-trade, she would do it for you) you gladly pay an annual \$600,000, with high praise to the great negotiator whose transactions and abilities brought about such an arrangement.

So much for the enormous cost of this colonization; and now as to its novelty. Sir, we never before colonized? Have you not, at an expense of millions, removed the Indians from your settled States, and colonized them beyond the Rocky Mountains? I do not complain of that measure. I rejoice at it, as one full of humanity; but I often had occasion to point out to you the policy which it imposes upon you of guarding the exposed parts of Missouri, Arkansas, and portions of your Western frontier from the dangers of that Indian population; to which in check, many of the provisions of the bill are indispensable.

Certainly there are interests, deemed paramount in some parts of this Union, which gentlemen conceive as likely to be affected by this bill. I know not whether the growth of this new colony (if you choose to call it such) is to give a future donderance to the free States, or not. I look upon the territory only as the common home of citizens from every part of the Union. When numerous enough to form a distinct sovereignty, it will allow them to choose whether they will obey, or not, the great law of consanguinity and of similarity of freedom which so strongly impels towards each other even the fragments of our peculiar Union. By that sort of yearning, we see Texas seek to reunite herself to us, in spite of distance and dispersion. So much, indeed, do the facilities of intercourse and concentration outweigh the separation and dispersion, that if Texas were a free State instead of a slave State, I do know if I should, on the other score, regret to wish to become a member of this Union.

The Senator from South Carolina thinks that any compression within narrow limits can give a high state of civilization. This is true, or false, according to the idea which is to be affixed to the term *civilization*. Is it formed by the loftiest intellectual results among a certain class? or by the purest moral culture of all classes? Can a family, aided only by ordinary intelligence, be done more to humanize and to elevate mankind than all the intellectual glories of Paganism can ever for a moment effect. That Christianity does not shut itself up in narrow bounds, or nurture

onal selfishness. Broad, diffusive, and full of the charities of man to man, its principle is universal brotherhood. The spirit of the age itself bids the shutting up within narrow limits the things which our institutions are so fit to diffuse—things which the active and expansive spirit of the Anglo-Saxon race seems fitted and destined to spread over the whole earth. I care not for high civilization whose standard is wealth or power; or that other, which erects upon partial laws the superiority of the few. I am not a lover of civilization which takes for one of its main elements great corporate associations—contrivances for enabling one set of men to lord it over their. None of these is the high civilization which I desire for this country; but the moral culture, the general intelligence, the careful domestic education and discipline, the Christian brotherhood of a whole happy and virtuous nation. When we give scope and encouragement to this virtuous activity, we best perform our legislative duty as to the work of civilization.

to talk of the Rocky Mountains as an impassable barrier, is, sir, but to speak as folks did of the Alleghany fifty years ago. Distance is almost annihilated by the existing state of things; and, vastly our limits have been extended, they have, in the course of time and difficulty, contracted almost as much, since the formation of our Government; so that the attendance here of delegates from beyond the Rocky Mountains really involves nothing absurd, or even improbable.

Mr. L. here laid before the Senate a copy of the tract usually passed between the Hudson Bay Company and its employees, or servants. He referred to it as conclusive proof of permanent settlement, if not of permanent land grants, and of the reliance which the company has in the pledges of the British Government.]

He went on to argue that the proposition of the British ministers to Mr. Gallatin in 1826-'27, was a palpable admission of our rights, and rendered devoid by the attendant circumstances. They then proposed to insert, in the renewed convention then under negotiation, provisions that neither party should assume or exercise any right of sovereignty or dominion over any part of the country for ten years; and that no settlement then existing, or which might thereafter be formed, should be adduced by either party in support of any claim of sovereignty or dominion. This proposition was referred, by our negotiator, to the President (Mr. Adams,) and rejected, on the ground that it would preclude our exercising our rights of dominion and sovereignty. The proposition, on our part, is more than a tacit admission, and its rejection by us, upon such grounds, an assertion of our right to exercise the sovereignty, while their assent as to that reason forms a fresh assent to it.

no part of the negotiations is there a word to be said, on either part, a doubt was entertained our right to plant military posts. Great Britain, indeed, clearly, though indirectly, admits it. For Mr. Gallatin says, in his letter to Mr. Clay, dated London, 7th August, 1827, that "there was no objection on the part of Great Britain to colonize any country, or to impede the progress of our settlements. But Great Britain owed protection to her subjects in that quarter, and could not admit that she should, so long as the permanent boundary was not settled, be liable to a foreign jurisdiction, or to have her interest, or a due regard to national

character, permit her to acquiesce in an exclusive military occupation of the country, on the part of the United States."

The utmost objection, then, which can be inferred to the bill, is the possibility that Great Britain, by a future adjustment, may prove entitled to territory within which may lie lands assigned to our citizens under these prospective grants. But it has been already abundantly proved that Great Britain does this through her Hudson Bay Company. They, in their contracts, grant the soil—a sovereign act to which they themselves are not competent, and which, therefore, supposes the delegation and consent of their Government—a Government certainly not unaware of what they are doing in this behalf, and notoriously promising them its support in whatever interests or settlements may grow up there.

In everything, Britain interprets the convention for herself. She has told you what she would not and what she would permit you to do. She says you must not set up a distinct State or Territorial Government there; but that you may do as she has done—extend to that territory the laws of one of your other Territories or States. Well, that is all that this bill proposes. Never before was the treaty interpreted as tying up our hands from the exercise of our sovereignty; that construction is now thrust upon us for the first time, by the fear of making an issue with Great Britain. An issue with Britain! Methinks, sir, there is small need of furnishing issues to a power so capable of erecting pretensions out of anything; and little policy in starting claims for her, to whose claims you always succumb. Seizing upon your Northwest coast, during the last war, she has ever since kept you out of it, from year to year, until she is now able, by the control which she has established over the Indians, to take possession of your rivers and harbors, and virtually exclude you from the trade of your own shores.

Senators have enlarged upon the pacific, and even the fraternal feelings which Great Britain manifested towards us in the late treaty. I am sorry to say that I can discover, in that adjustment, nothing to indicate any desire of peace, except upon condition of our yielding her everything that was in contest. You gave her all she wanted; and now you are in raptures of amazement at her moderation and humanity in not going to war! For her violations of your territory and vessels, you took an apology which she did not design to offer as such. Of the anomalous McLeod case, she complained loudly, calling lustily upon you to take it out of the hands of the State authorities. You complied as far as you could, and apologized for all that you could not; taking care, meantime, not to irritate her by too much mention of your own greater wrong—that of the Caroline and the death of Duffee. She has openly told you to carry out your own laws for the suppression of the slave-trade; or she would do it for you; she has plainly told you that if you did not enforce your laws for the preservation of neutrality on the Canadian borders, she would do it for you; and you have meekly submitted, promising at once to keep up, on the African coast, a force of eighty guns. She complains, and you make amends; she claims, and you yield; she requires, and you comply. And lo! you are delighted and amazed at her wonderfully pacific temper! War, sir! Why, what excuse could she have for talking of it, when, to stop her mouth, you have given her all she demanded; and

when, to gratify her, you incur an expenditure of three millions in five years; while we are told that, for this important bill, the treasury cannot burden itself with a single outlay of \$100,000.

I should deplore a war, however necessary; but, deploring it, I should none the more shrink from it, if the rights, the interests, or the honor of my country demanded it. When any of these were decisively at stake, not even before the formidable power of Great Britain would I hesitate for a moment.

But, Mr. President, I do not anticipate any result from the passage of the bill. Its probable effects will be to bring the two Governments to a necessity of promptly and definitively settling a long-discussed and long-agitated subject, British and American interests in the Territory of Oregon become so commingled, yet so far as to close the door to any other method of settlement, but a resort to arms.

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OREGON BILL AS IT PASSED THE SENATE.

A bill to authorize the adoption of measures for the occupation and settlement of the Territory of Oregon, for extending certain portions of the laws of the United States over the same, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is hereby authorized and required to cause to be erected, at suitable places and distances, a line of stockade and blockhouse forts, not exceeding five in number, from some point on the Missouri and Arkansas rivers, into the best pass for entering the valley of the Oregon; and, also, at or near the mouth of the Columbia river.

That provision hereafter shall be made by law to secure and grant six hundred and forty acres, or one section of land, to every white male inhabitant of the Territory of Oregon, of the age of eighteen years and upward, who shall cultivate and use the same for five consecutive years; or to his heir or heirs-at-law, if such there be, in case of his decease. And to every such inhabitant or cultivator (being a married man) there shall be granted, in addition, one hundred and sixty acres to the wife of said husband, and the like quantity of one hundred and sixty acres to the father for each child under the age of eighteen years he may have, or which may be born within the five years aforesaid.

That no sale, alienation, or contract of any kind, shall be valid, of such lands, before the patent is issued therefor; nor shall the same be liable to be taken in execution, or bound by any judgment, mortgage, or lien, of any kind, before the patent is so issued; and all pretended alienations or contracts granting such lands, made before the issuing of the patents, shall be null and void against the said person himself, his wife, or widow, or against his heirs-at-law, or against purchasers, after the issuing of the patent.

That the President is hereby authorized and required to appoint two additional Indian agents, with a salary of two thousand dollars each, whose duty it shall be (under his direction and control) to superintend the interests of the United States with any or every Indian tribe west of any agency now established by law.

That the sum of one hundred thousand dollars be appropriated, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, to carry into effect the provisions of this act.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the supreme court and district courts of the Territory of Iowa be, and the same is hereby, extended over that part of the Indian territories lying west of the present limits of the said Territory of Iowa, and south of the forty-ninth degree of north latitude, and west of the Rocky Mountains, and north of the boundary line between the United States and the Republic of Texas, not included within the limits of any State; and, also,

over the Indian territories comprising the Rocky Mountains and the country between them and the Pacific ocean, south of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes of north latitude, and north of the forty-second degree of north latitude; and justices of the peace may be appointed for the said territory, in the same manner, and with the same powers, as now provided by law in relation to the Territory of Iowa: *Provided,* That any subject of the Government of Great Britain, who shall have been arrested under the provisions of this act for any crime alleged to have been committed within the territory westward of the Stony or Rocky Mountains, while the same remains free and open to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the United States and of Great Britain, pursuant to stipulations between the two powers, shall be delivered up, on proof of his being such British subject, to the nearest or most convenient authorities having cognizance of such offence by the laws of Great Britain, for the purpose of being prosecuted and tried according to such laws.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That one associate judge of the supreme court of the Territory of Iowa, in addition to the number now authorized by law, may, in the discretion of the President, be appointed, to hold his office by the same tenure and for the same time, receive the same compensation, and possess all the powers and authority conferred by law upon the associate judges of the said Territory; and one judicial district shall be organized by the said supreme court, in addition to the existing number, in reference to the jurisdiction conferred by this act; and a district court shall be held in the said district by the judge of the supreme court, at such times and places as the said court shall direct; and the said district court shall possess all the powers and authority vested in the present district courts of the said Territory, and may, in like manner appoint its own clerk.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That any justice of the peace, appointed in and for the territories described in the second section of this act, shall have power to cause all offenders against the laws of the United States to be arrested by such persons as they shall appoint for that purpose, and to commit such offenders to safe custody for trial, in the same cases and in the manner provided by law in relation to the Territory of Iowa; and to cause the offenders so committed to be conveyed to the place appointed for the holding of a district court for the said Territory of Iowa, nearest and most convenient to the place of such commitment, there to be detained for trial, by such persons as shall be authorized for that purpose by any judge of the supreme court, or any justice of the peace of the said Territory; or where such offenders are British subjects, to cause them to be delivered to the nearest or most convenient British authorities, as hereinbefore provided; and the expenses of such commitment, removal, and detention shall be paid in the same manner as provided by law in respect to the fees of the marshal of the said Territory.

