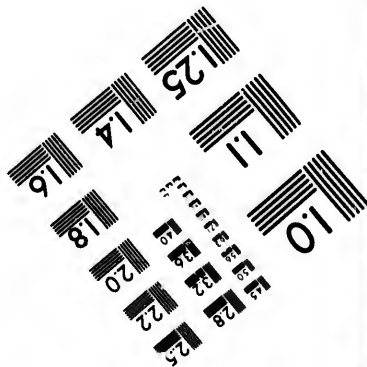
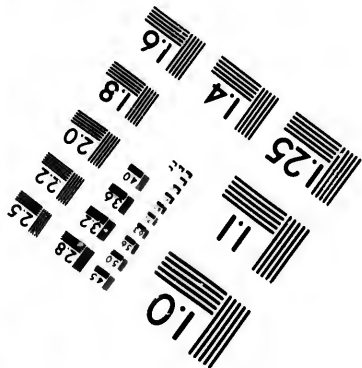
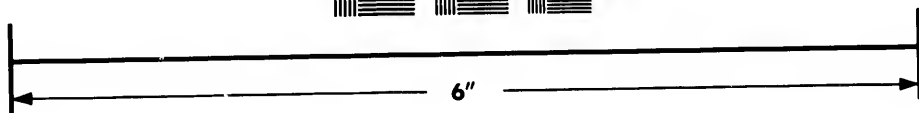


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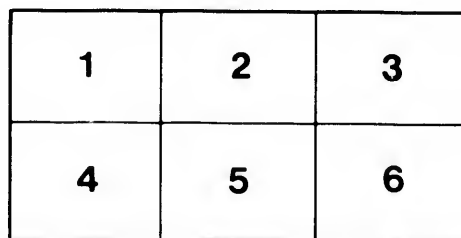
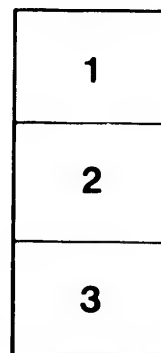
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SPEECH

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OF

MR. ATCHISON, OF MISSOURI,

ON

THE RESOLUTION OF MR. SEMPLE

IN RELATION TO

THE OREGON TERRITORY:

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

FEBRUARY 22, 1844.

WASHINGTON:

PRINTED BY BLAIR & RIVES.

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SPEECH.

The following resolution, offered by Mr. SEMPLE, being under consideration :

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

Mr. ATCHISON addressed the Senate as follows:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I will not long trespass upon the forbearance of Senators, in giving my views on the subject of this resolution. The great delay and apparent reluctance to enter upon its discussion, had rather led me to despond of any action whatever.

But, for the last few days, despondency has yielded to hope, particularly since the remarks of a Senator from Massachusetts, [Mr. BATES,] on another subject, when he vindicated, with so much zeal and fire, the interests of the manufacturing portion of his constituents. When a subject involving no principle but that of profit and loss, dollars and cents, will elicit from Senators so much zeal, so much eloquence,—what may we not expect from them when they approach a question of national interest, of national honor, and upon which an empire is at stake?

Before I proceed to the discussion of the resolution just read, I must be permitted for myself, and those Senators who act with me upon this important subject, to repel some imputations or misconceptions as to the motives which prompt us to action.

The Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, (the Senator from Virginia,) in his remarks upon this resolution, said: "That the Senators from the western States were resolved on having this territory; whether the whole is incontestable or not, were they resolved to have it, at the cost of the peace of this nation. He did not mean to use discourtesy, but he could not help declaring that it had pressed itself on his mind, that they had so highly excited and inflamed their imaginations on the subject, that even

if an arrangement could be made with Great Britain to surrender peaceable possession of the country, the gentlemen would be almost unwilling to accept it, because it was not obtained at the expense of a war with England. That it was not so much a desire for the territory itself, as a feeling of chivalry—a desire to run a muck at Great Britain—no matter which side came off victorious.” Again—the Senator says: “This was a confession of peace he was willing to make—although born south of Mason and Dixon’s line—that he would rather obtain the rights of the nation, in relation to the Oregon Territory, without war, and without any *vaporizing spirit*, not called for by the occasion,” &c.

I have read the Senator’s remarks, as I find them reported in the Congressional Globe; and which, from my own recollection, I believe to be substantially correct. Had these remarks been confined to this chamber, I would now let them pass; but they have gone forth to the world. Western Senators have also been denounced in some of the most influential and widely circulated journals published in the United States, as having conspired together to plunge this country into a war with England—and that, too, for the sordid and inglorious purpose of reaping pecuniary advantage. The imputation is unfounded, and carries its refutation on its face. Who will believe, for one moment, that such cold blooded and heartless sentiments should harbor in the breast of an American Senator, or should be entertained by an American citizen—that, for the sake of gold, we would subject our beloved country to all the ravages and misery attendant upon war!

I do not believe that the honorable Senator intended to impute such motives to us: his remarks were made under the excitement and in the heat of debate, when there was no time to weigh the full import, meaning, and force of words and phrases; but they have gone forth to the world, and such has been the construction put upon them. The remarks apply to the west alone—no Senator from any other section of the Union being noticed—though others are equally favorable to the measures proposed. In answer to the Senator, I will ask him, whether the trade and commerce of the west will not suffer equally with that of every other portion of the Union, in the event of war? Will we not be compelled to contribute our proportion of men and money to the defence of the country, and the prosecution of the war? I will refer the Senator to the history of our last war with England. Was the west then exempted from the ravages of war?—did western men dwell in peace, secure from the operation of British arms? No, sir. The north-west and the south-west were the great battle fields of that war. It was in the remote regions of the then infant west, and by western arms, that our most glorious victories were won—our brightest laurels achieved; it was there

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that our country sustained the most disastrous and bloody defeats. But, sir, it is said that the seaboard would be exposed to all the hazards and disasters of the conflict. In answer to this, I will refer gentlemen to the map of North America. Will not the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, and Arkansas, together with the Territories of Iowa and Wisconsin, in the northwest, be as much exposed to the operations of British arms, and those of her savage allies, as the seaboard?

The Senator from Virginia says that "it is not so much a desire for the territory itself, as a feeling of chivalry—a wish to '*run a muck*' at Great Britain—no matter which side comes off victorious." I suppose the Senator, by this, means to say that we would madly and unadvisedly adopt such measures as must inevitably lead to war; that our "chivalry" exceeds our discretion; that we go farther than he is willing to go; that he would rather have the territory without war, and without any "*vaporing*" spirit, not called for by the occasion.

History teaches us that chivalry, if it is constituted of courage, fortitude, justice, courtesy, a spirit of enterprise and adventure, is not confined to any parallels of latitude or longitude. Those qualities are not engendered by either heat or cold; they are moral qualities, that flourish in all climes, and are to be found under every garb. They are possessed by the great body of the people of the United States—whether to the north or to the south of Mason and Dixon's line—whether west or east of the Alleghany mountains.

We have not conspired together to plunge our country into a war with England; but, sir, *we have conspired together* to maintain the unity of our territory, and the rights of our country; we are resolved that our territory shall not be dismembered, either by negotiation or by force, if we can prevent it; and I trust that branches of this conspiracy extend to the north and to the south.

The Senator from Virginia says that we are unwilling to obtain the country by negotiation, or other peaceable means; we must have it at the expense of the peace of this nation; we must have it at the price of a war. No, sir, this is not our object. We are of the opinion that the country is ours; that we have an indefensible right thereto, a title without a flaw; we believe that the honor and the interest of the country, and justice to our citizens, demand that this Government should adopt measures that will encourage and lead to the occupation of the Oregon Territory by our citizens.

We believe that the first step proper to be taken, although not absolutely necessary, is to give the notice to the British Government, required by the treaty of 1827; then will the right of British subjects to occupy the Oregon

Territory, in common with American citizens, cease—a right acquired under the convention of 1818. We will then be thrown back upon our undoubted title to the country; then, and not till then, will we have regained all the advantages we have lost by our unfortunate negotiations in relation to that country. This Government can then adopt such measures as shall be deemed right and proper, without fear of a breach of faith, without violating any treaty obligation.

We are assured that if we stand still with our arms folded—if we will but wait a little longer, it will all be settled by negotiation. This we have been told for the last twenty years, time and again. We have been deceived; we are tired of this kind of diplomacy.

What have we to gain by negotiation with Great Britain? Experience teaches us that we have all to lose, and nothing to gain, by negotiation with that power; and that, too, whether our demands be just or unjust, whether our title be good or bad. What can we expect from a negotiation concerning a remote territory—a territory near forty-five hundred miles from this city—when we, but a short time since, surrendered a large portion of the territory of one of the States of this Union? I allude to the State of Maine and the Ashburton treaty—a treaty made in this city, and ratified in this chamber. We have but little hope of obtaining anything like justice, or even the semblance of justice, by a negotiation with England.

The treaty made between this Government and Great Britain in the year 1818, so far as it relates to our claims on the northwest coast of America, was unfortunate for the interests of this country; so was the treaty of 1827, and so has been every proposition to treat upon this subject. At almost every step we have committed a blunder. Our title, which was perfectly good, perfectly clear, before negotiations commenced, has now, by reason of those very negotiations, become somewhat complicated.

The treaty of London, entered into on the 20th of October, 1818, the third article of which this resolution proposes to annul and abrogate, is in these words:

"Art. 3d. It is agreed that any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with its harbors, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open for the term of ten years, from the date of the signature of this present convention, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two powers: it being well understood that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the two contracting powers may have to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and differences among themselves."

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The first and second articles of the convention between this Government and Great Britain, entered into in the year 1827, are as follows:

"Art. 1st. All the provisions of the 3d article of the convention concluded between the United States of America and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the 20th of October, 1818, shall be, and they are hereby, continued in force in the same manner, as if all the provisions of the said article were herein specifically recited.

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

The only saving and beneficial clause in either treaty, so far as the interest of this Government was concerned, is the clause authorizing the abrogation of the treaty by giving twelve months' notice. We should avail ourselves without delay of the benefits of that clause. We can only do so by passing this resolution. The reasons for entering into the treaty of 1818, were much stronger than those for entering into the treaty of 1827. At the time the convention of 1818 was ratified, our title was not perfected; but, even then, it was indisputably good *against England*, although there was an outstanding title in Spain, *good against all the world*. We claimed the country, and based our title, as against England, upon our right acquired from France by the purchase of Louisiana in the year 1803, and from the discovery of the mouth of the Columbia river by an American citizen, (Captain Grey, of Boston,) in the month of May, 1792. He sailed up the river some distance, surveyed the coast on both sides of the river, and bestowed the name of his vessel upon it, which it has borne from that day until this. In the years 1805 and 1806 the river was also explored by Lewis and Clark, American citizens in the service of their Government, from its sources in the Stony mountains to the Pacific ocean. But I do not propose to discuss the title, further than to mention the sources from whence we derive it. By a treaty with Spain in the year 1819, we acquired her title to all the country on the northwest coast of America, north of the parallel of 42 degrees of north latitude, and extending as far north as 61 degrees of north latitude. Spain acquired her title by a series of discoveries, commencing in the year 1592, a short time after the conquest of Mexico, beginning at the Gulf of California, and extending her discoveries as far north as 61 degrees, performing every act necessary to be done by the law of nations to give her a good title to the countries discovered by her. This can be shown conclusively when the proper time arrives.

The treaty of 1818, without any consideration whatever, granted to British subjects a joint right to occupy the Oregon Territory with our citizens; but this occupancy has been joint only in terms, but several in fact. The benefits of the provisions of this treaty have enured solely to British subjects; and, from the very nature of things, could not be otherwise. In the year 1810, Mr. Astor, a merchant of New York, established at the mouth of the Columbia river a depot for the purpose of carrying on the fur trade; and in the years 1811, '12, and '13, his trading establishments were extended to several points on the Columbia river and its tributaries, and a successful trade established. In the mean time, war having been declared between the United States and Great Britain, in the year 1813 Mr. Astor's establishments on the Columbia river and its tributaries were broken up, and surrendered to a British armed force; and then, *for the first time*, the country fell into the possession of the British Government, and American citizens were expelled from the country. Between the year 1813 and the year 1818, the Hudson Bay Company took possession of the whole country, established posts for the purpose of trade in almost every part of it, and consequently obtained an influence over the various Indian tribes not to be shaken; and, by means of their great capital, their influence with the Indians, and the additional advantages of bringing their merchandise free of duty into the country, they broke down all competition. Our citizens, notwithstanding their perseverance and enterprise, were unable to compete with the British fur companies, and were compelled to abandon the country; so that the joint occupancy resulted to the almost exclusive benefit of British subjects. Indeed, the only occupancy on the part of American citizens, until within a few years past, has been confined to a few fur-trappers and missionaries. With all these facts before them, our rulers negotiated the treaty of 1827. British subjects have had the almost exclusive enjoyment of that territory—and that, too, by virtue of negotiation, not of right.

Efforts have been made by our Government to settle our rights to the Oregon Territory with England, at various times. The territory in dispute between the two Governments, lies between the parallels of 42 and 54° 40' north latitude, extending from the Rocky mountains on the east, to the Pacific ocean on the west. Both Governments having by treaty ceded to Russia all their claims north of 54° 40', in 1823 Mr. Adams (then Secretary of State) instructed our minister to offer to the British Government the parallel of latitude 51° north, as our northern boundary in the Oregon Territory, for the reason that it included the entire valley of the Columbia river. This proposition was rejected; then the parallel of 49° was offered; and this proposition, made with a view to conciliate, was also rejected with

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contempt. And let it be borne in mind that England set up no *exclusive* claim to the territory; she only insisted that the country *was open to the whole world*; whilst the United States claimed the exclusive right to the country, under the various titles heretofore stated. When all propositions made by our Government were thus uncereemoniously rejected, the question was asked of the British Government, What portion of the territory will satisfy you? The answer was: Although we set up no *exclusive* claim to the country, we are willing to extend the 49th parallel of latitude due west, until it intersects the most northeastern branch of the Columbia river, and from thence, with the river, to its mouth. A very *modest* and *reasonable* proposition, indeed, to come from a party who set up no *exclusive* right to the country! A proposition leaving the United States with a front on the Pacific ocean of $4^{\circ} 18'$ —and that, too, without a harbor on the whole coast that *would shelter a canoe*! reserving to herself $8^{\circ} 22'$ of latitude, extending along the coast of the Pacific, and embracing some of the best harbors on the western coast of America, the complete command of the mouth of the Columbia river, and which would give them an island almost as large as Great Britain itself! This proposition was too monstrous to be entertained by even *this most pacific* of all Governments; though I have reason to believe that the proposition was rejected by the then administration, as is plainly intimated, lest the people should not approve, and the Senate refuse to ratify the bargain.

But, sir, England preferred the joint occupation of the country—a partnership—rather than the proposition submitted by herself; for she knew that this joint occupation would exist nowhere but upon the parchment on which the treaty was written—that the entire use and control of the country would be hers in fact.

Another objection urged by the Senator from Virginia—for, in his brief remarks the other day, he embraced all the objections urged to this resolution—is, that courtesy forbids its adoption, or any other action on the part of this Government at *this* time. And why? The British Government, upon our own invitation, he says, has sent a special minister with full powers to settle all this matter; he comes clothed in the white garments of peace, bearing the olive-branch in his hands. Sir, I, for one, fear (and I believe that the people of the United States fear) a British "*negotiator*" more than I or they fear British arms or British power. We have been met with this argument, or similar ones, for the last quarter of a century. Whenever we propose action upon this subject, the ready answer is, that we are *precipitate*; the matter, *if left alone*, will be settled to our satisfaction by *negotiation*—a negotiation "about to be commenced," or "pending; or, that we will violate some treaty stipulation already existing; or, that the country is not

worth contending for; or, that the representative form of government is not adapted to so wide-spread a territory—we are already *too unwieldy* for our form of government! Such arguments are but mere pretences to avoid action. Why do not Senators at once avow their unwillingness again to struggle with British power; that we will yield our rights to the territory—that we will yield our interests, our honor, rather than again encounter the claws of the British lion?

I will tell Senators that western men will not be satisfied nor convinced with such arguments. Sir, I have witnessed the deep anxiety, the intense feeling exhibited by the pioneers of the Far West—men who live upon the very verge of civilization—when the contest about our northeastern boundary was in progress; when men were looking to their arms as the most appropriate means of settling that question. On post days, when the mail was expected to bring news from the east, the hardy and chivalrous sons of the Far West would assemble around their post offices, and with the deepest anxiety inquire the news from Maine. A deeper anxiety could not have been felt, or expressed, if their own beloved State had been threatened with dismemberment. Maine had our deepest sympathy, and we would gladly have rushed to assist her in repelling the invader from her soil.

If an honorable Senator now upon this floor could have heard the commendations heaped upon him by the honest yeomanry of the west, for the manly position he had taken and occupied during that controversy, and knew the deep interest they take in the Oregon question, he would not content himself with barely voting for this resolution, but he would advocate it. I allude to the late Governor of the State of Maine. I cannot describe the burst of indignation—the deep feelings of mortification—which were exhibited when it was understood that a treaty had been ratified, and that we had yielded one inch of the territory in dispute. We are—we should be—tired of negotiation, when it is attended with nothing but loss and disgrace.

But I confess that I do not see in what manner the passage of this resolution can affect negotiations; I see no want of courtesy to England, or to the British minister. This resolution was offered in the Senate long before we heard of a special minister; and shall the action of the American Senate depend upon the going and coming of British ministers? The treaty of 1827 expressly provides that, when either party becomes dissatisfied with the bargain, they may annul and abrogate it by giving twelve months' previous notice. In my humble opinion, instead of retarding or preventing negotiations, it will hasten them; it will be one evidence that the United States is in earnest—that we are resolved to assert our rights to the Oregon Territory. I have my doubts whether there is the least desire on the part

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of England to treat at all upon the subject: let her alone for a few years, and the country will be hers—and that, without negotiation; she will then be in a condition to hold it. Trapping and trading for furs has, in a great degree, ceased to be profitable in those regions; agriculture and commerce is the business to which British subjects are now turning their attention. Let either England or the United States settle the Oregon Territory with a population of ten or fifteen thousand arms bearing men, and it will be a most difficult matter to dispossess them. This England is doing; this we can do—and that in a very short time—by adopting the proper measures, and such measures as England cannot complain of; such measures as she herself has adopted; and measures, too, that will not trench very deeply upon the treasury. Give us the countenance of our Government—give us your protection—give us government and laws, and we will soon fill up the country; we will take possession of it, and will keep that possession: do but assure us that we will not be traded off—that we are not to become British subjects—that we are to remain members of this still glorious republic, we will take possession, and we will keep that possession in defiance of British power. The great mass of the American people are still uncorrupted: trade, commerce, speculation, and the love of dollars and cents, have not as yet become the all-absorbing passion: such sentiments as national honor, national glory, and patriotism, still reign paramount in their bosoms.

You may tell them that the Oregon Territory is a desert waste; you may tell them that the only road to that country is through vast plains of burning sands; of the broad and deep rivers in their way; of the snow-capped mountains that must be scaled; you may array before them the countless bands of fierce and savage warriors to be encountered:—all this will only hasten their preparations; men, women, and children, all partake of the common feeling—all are governed by the same noble impulses. The deep and broad river, the trackless wilderness, the snow-capped mountain, the war-whoop, the tomahawk and scalping knife, danger and peril, only nerve them to the enterprise. This spirit of adventure and enterprise alone has settled this vast wilderness of the west with her now teeming millions; and this will settle all that immense territory of ours to the Pacific ocean—and that, too, before this generation passes away. "Let Congress only take some step towards the occupation of Oregon," writes an intelligent farmer of the Far West, "and the prairies of the west will present the scene of the crusade of Peter the Hermit; our wagons and people will be strung along the road in one unbroken column, from the frontiers of Missouri to the Rocky mountains, like the Goths and Huns of old; a nation will emigrate, not for the purpose of destroying, but of building up empires."

Mr. President, I will vote for this resolution, because it will leave us free to act untrammelled by treaties; but, at the same time, I am of the opinion that we can establish military posts in the Oregon Territory, and march an army there, without violating any treaty. This right, if I mistake not, has been admitted by England, but accompanied with the threat, that if the United States sent soldiers there, England would do the same. We can grant land to our citizens, without disturbing the joint occupancy authorized alone for the purpose of trade; we can organize a government for civil purposes, without disturbing the rights of British subjects under the treaty. Sir, this England has done; she has extended her laws, not only over the Oregon Territory, but over the whole territory east of the Rocky mountains, to the frontiers of Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas. This act of the British Parliament was passed in the year 1821. The 6th section of the act reads as follows: "*And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act, the courts of judicature now existing, or which may be hereafter established in the province of Upper Canada, shall have the same civil jurisdiction, power, and authority, as well in the cognizance of suits, as in the issuing process, mesne and final, and in all other respects whatsoever, within the said Indian territories, and other parts of America, not within the limits of either of the provinces of Lower or Upper Canada, or of any civil Government of the United States, as the said courts have, or are invested with, within the limits of the said provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, respectively,*" &c.

The same section provides that actions relating to lands, not within Upper Canada, shall be decided according to the laws of England. The 8th section of the same act provides that persons residing in the Indian territories, who shall refuse to obey process, shall be committed and conveyed to Upper Canada, &c. The 10th section authorizes his Majesty to appoint justices of the peace for said territories. The 11th section authorizes his Majesty to issue commissions, under the great seal, empowering justices to hold courts of record for the trial of *criminal and civil offences*. Section 12 defines the jurisdiction of the courts established in the preceding sections; their civil jurisdiction is limited to £200; and where the offence committed shall subject the offender to *capital punishment or transportation*, then the territorial judges are required to send the offender to Upper Canada for trial. I will ask Senators whether England has not violated the treaty by that act. Oh, no, sir; but if this Congress should propose any measure of like character, we should hear the cry raised in this chamber that we were about to violate a solemn treaty—the alarm would be sounded—war would be the inevitable consequence—our *seaboard* would be endangered—we should be about "to run a muck at England."

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England has extended her laws over a country to which she did not pretend to have jurisdiction; and those laws, in their operation, are not confined to her own subjects; but an American citizen may, felon-like, be dragged in chains to Upper Canada upon a charge of having committed an offence against British laws upon American soil! And will our Government longer permit such things to exist? The honor of our country forbids it.

But it is said that our rights to the Oregon Territory will soon be settled by negotiation. What assurance have we for that, when the President himself seems to be in a state of uncertainty in regard to this matter? In his message to Congress, in 1842, we are informed that this subject was about to be negotiated; at the same session, this was assigned as a reason for not answering a respectful call made upon him for information, by the Senate, in relation to this very matter. The President, in his message to this Congress, informs us that negotiations are about to commence at London; and now we are informed by the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, that the British Government has appointed a special minister, or a minister with full powers, to settle this dispute; and that the subject will be entered upon in a very short time at Washington. In the early part of this session, a resolution was introduced by an honorable Senator from Ohio, asking the President for information upon this subject; but this resolution was voted down, and now we are left to grope our way in the dark. I can see no good reason why this negotiation should be carried on in the dark—should be concealed from the Senate. I hope that our Government will ask nothing but what is right and just, and that no propositions will be entertained but such as are based upon just and honest principles.

But, sir, this phantom of war seems to haunt the imaginations of Senators opposed to this resolution. The goddess Bellona—the horrid goddess—clothed in her most awful garb, seems constantly to flit before their eyes; this distressing idea seems to have taken as complete possession of the imaginations of some Senators, as *chivalry* has that of others.

If, in the prosecution of our just designs, upon our own soil, in our own country, we should be so unfortunate as to incur the wrath of England, and war should follow, *let it come*—ay, sir, *let it come*, in all its most destructive forms. It may so happen that, whilst England is warring for a remote corner of the globe, to which she has not the shadow of a claim, she may lose what she has upon this continent.

Instead of indulging myself in drawing pictures of our cities stormed, sacked, and burnt, and the *scaboard* ravaged, and my ears stunned with the thunder of British cannon and the clash of British bayonets, I indulge

in other and brighter visions. We will drive the English from this continent, and from the islands appertaining to it. I see American arms triumphant in every battle, both by land and sea. I further imagine that England has filled the measure of her iniquity; and, like all other nations which have gone before her, grasping at universal dominion, in the midst of her pride and her power she must speedily fail.

Sir, I would war with England, in the defence of our just rights, until she was shorn of all her power on this continent; and then we would have vindicated the great principle laid down by Mr. Monroe, in his seventh annual message—that the “American continents were no longer open to European colonization.” The very power of England is a reason, with us, to submit to no wrong from her. Suppose we substitute a sister republic (Mexico) for England, as to her right to the Oregon Territory: what would then be the state of affairs? The President, perhaps, would have recommended to Congress to provide the means, and give him the authority to take immediate possession of the country; and we should then, perhaps, find eastern Senators as full of *chivalry*, and as *warlike*, as western Senators. I would submit to wrong and injury from no nation of the earth, but least of all from England. I will, upon this floor—in this hall—candidly avow, that if, in the course of events, we must have war, let it be with England, our ancient and inveterate enemy. I think we could strike a harder blow, and with more hearty good-will. We could encourage each other with the recital of the many wrongs and injuries which we have received at her hands, in peace and in war, in youth and in manhood. Yes, sir; if we are to have war, let it be with England; she is a foe worthy of our arms.

Whether this Government will assist and encourage her citizens, or not, in the settlement of this territory, they will do it—your power cannot check it. You might as well attempt to turn the waters of the Missouri river back upon its sources in the Rocky mountains, as to turn back the flood of population from the shores of the Pacific ocean; the Alleghanies may be piled upon the Rocky mountains, and our people will scale them. The march of empire is westward; nothing will, nothing can check it!

Unless this Government shall take some decisive step very soon, a contest between American citizens and British subjects will be inevitable. The germs of a collision already exist, and it requires but a little more to bring about the conflict. The first scalp that shall be taken, the first drop of blood that is shed, will bring about that very war which is so much dreaded.

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