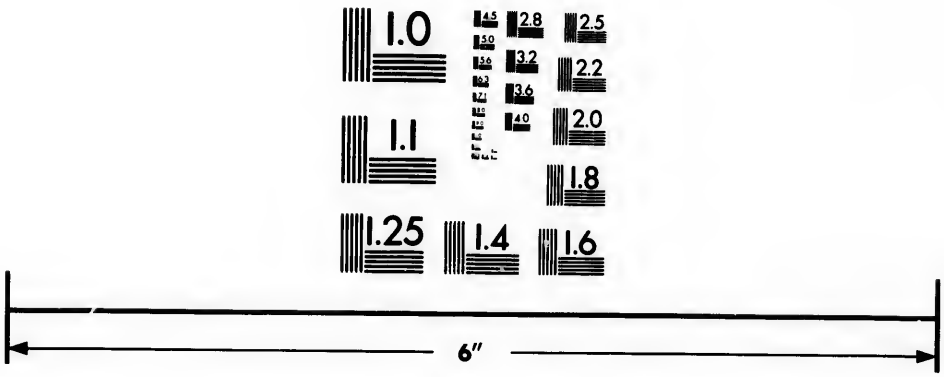
IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

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

Technical and Bibliographic Notes/Notes techniques et bibliographiques

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

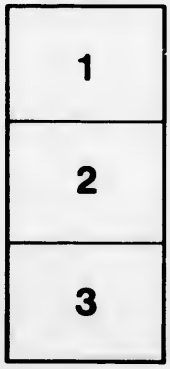
L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués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

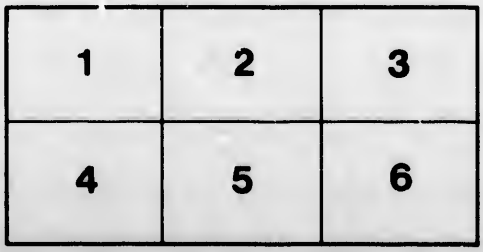
- [ ] Coloured covers/ Couverture de couleur
- [ ] Covers damaged/ Couverture endommagée
- [ ] Covers restored and/or laminated/ Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- [ ] Cover title missing/ Le titre de couverture manque
- [ ] Coloured maps/ Cartes géographiques en couleur
- [ ] Coloured ink (i.e.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

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

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

10X		14X		18X		22X		26X		30X
	12X		16X		20X		24X		28X	32X





8.p

MF

IN

SPEECH

OF

MR. KENNEDY, OF INDIANA,

ON THE

OREGON QUESTION.

DELIVERED

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

JANUARY 10, 1846.

WASHINGTON:
PRINTED AT THE UNION OFFICE.
1846.

In the re

Mr. KEN
ows:

Mr. CHAIR
oken, shoul
d with the s
d to believe
ration of v
ave argued
ation have
bably lead t
a question of
hese resolut
aid treaty m
ty, giving tw
abrogate it.
not do what
ther party, w
ly rushing o
and desolati
seeking a wa
not believe t
this questio

But be thi
and so far a
of those wh
peace or wa
termined it s
Oregon belo
fact preclud
ny result
of the terri
too long sle
in peace. T
suffered En
territory in
poses, for a
peaceable
that our pe
strength an
the masses
have not co
ty treaties
found, and
but while th
title, they v
by diploma

Now the
and argum
come satisf

SPEECH.

On the resolution giving the twelve months' notice for the termination of the joint occupancy of the Oregon territory.

Mr. KENNEDY addressed the committee as follows:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: From the course this debate has taken, should a spectator enter this hall, unacquainted with the subject that gave rise to it, he would be apt to believe that the question pending was a declaration of war against Great Britain. All who have argued against the resolutions under consideration have declared that to pass them would inevitably lead to war. Now, I submit that this is not a question of peace or war. The very treaty which these resolutions propose to annul, provides that said treaty may *at any time* be annulled by either party, giving twelve months' notice of their intention to abrogate it. And has it come to this, that we cannot do what the treaty stipulates *may* be done by either party, without incurring the charge of wickedly rushing our country, unprepared, into a needless and desolating war? Sir, I hurl back this charge of seeking a war upon those who make it, for I will not believe that war must necessarily grow out of this question.

But be this as it may, so far as I am concerned, and so far as I understand the feeling and opinions of those whom I represent, this is not a question of peace or war, but a question of right, and I am determined it shall be so treated. Does the territory of Oregon belong to the United States? If it does, that fact precludes the question whether peace or war may result from our action or from the occupation of the territory. But it has been said that we have too long slept upon our rights to assert them now in peace. That does not result from our having suffered England jointly to occupy this magnificent territory in common with us, for commercial purposes, for a quarter of a century. This long and peaceable joint tenancy has resulted from the fact that our people were not made acquainted with the strength and clearness of our title. Thousands of the masses—the bone and sinew of our country—have not conned over all the old records and musty treaties in which our record of title is to be found, and learned therefrom its nature or extent; but while they were in doubt or ignorance as to our title, they were willing to see what could be done by diplomacy.

Now the case is altered, and we have, by proofs and arguments that have been laid before us, become satisfied that our title to the whole of Oregon, from 42° to 54° 40' north latitude, is "clear and unquestionable."

I call upon gentlemen from the South, who go against the notice, to recall the irresistible arguments made, and the clear and inextinguishable light which has been shed upon our title by their "great statesman," before they ask us to surrender *one* inch of the Oregon territory, which he has so conclusively shown to be ours. Are we to read the masterly arguments of John C. Calhoun and James Buchanan, which have made our title to the whole of Oregon as clear as sunlight, only for the purpose of making our surrender of what they have shown clearly to be ours the more disgraceful?

We of the West are not "bookish" men. What little education we have we received after the labor of the day had been done, in the school of adversity, in the Far West, and almost on the verge of civilization, where our struggles have been with the Indian, and our wrestling with the bear—now no common occurrence. We have, therefore, left it to our agents to settle the question to whom, by the record, Oregon belongs. This they have done, and done well. Our part of the task, which is to maintain and defend our rights, is now to commence; and by the remembrance of the deeds of our fathers, and the strong affection we cherish for our wilderness homes, we will defend them or perish in the attempt; we do not want war, and you slander us when you say that our hands are itching to grasp the steel of strife, and our hearts panting for the deadly conflict. No people more highly appreciate or value peace and brotherly love, that should bind in one unbroken chain all the families of man, than the people of the West. We know that our free institutions flourish best in the mild and genial atmosphere of peace; but, when it comes to the surrender of the patrimony of our fathers—to receding from, or yielding up our just rights upon our own soil, then, we say, peace can no longer be honorable; and *we* shall not hesitate when it comes to the question of *dishonorable peace, or honorable war.*

The honorable member from South Carolina [Mr. RHETT] has warned us against the consequences which may follow a combination of the European monarchies against what they may please to call an effort on our part to push the principles of our free government beyond the boundaries thereof. Sir, we are no propagandists. We do not wish to spread

our principles by conquest; we desire to force our institutions upon no people under the sun, however much we might be pleased to see all mankind, not only appreciating, but enjoying their inestimable blessings. But when it comes to this, whether we shall plant them upon our own soil, and within our undoubted territorial limits, it is quite another question; in such a case, we cannot stop to count the cost, or look at consequences.

Another honorable gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HUNTER] has told us that "before we succeeded in wresting Oregon from England by conquest, we must prepare to chase the British lion around the world in his blood and slaver." Sir, I have no disposition to engage in the chase of such a beast, but this I will say, that if the British, or any other lion, lays down in our path, whilst we are peaceably pursuing our own business, within our own territory, that he will be soon be chased from that lair.

Conquest is not our object, and surrendering our territory is still farther from it. If any gentleman here, be he from the North or the South, the East or the West, who believes our title to Oregon is not good, he shall be excused from voting for this notice; but the man that tells me that he believes that Oregon is ours, and still shrinks from asserting our exclusive rights there, will allow me, in all kindness, to tell him to look to it, that he does not place himself in an attitude that will not only make him uncurrent *coin* among his constituents, but neglect a duty, the non-performance of which he will deeply regret during the remainder of his life.

If Oregon be ours, is it not a blasting, withering shame that the cross of St. George should now be floating over any portion of it?

[Here Mr. SIMMS, of Missouri, exclaimed aloud—"Yes, it is a burning shame, and it will blister our foreheads, like the mark set by God upon Cain."]

And are we to bear this reproach—and shall a brand like this be burnt into the foreheads of the sons of the "Old Thirteen," because, if we attempt to remove it, we may provoke a war? Suppose your fathers, of glorious revolutionary memory, had been thus timid—suppose that before they commenced that struggle for liberty, they had, as gentlemen say, counted the cost, had numbered the ships and bayonets of their insolent oppressors, where would you have been, Mr. Chairman? Instead of presiding, as you now do, over an American Congress, you would have been a vassal of the British crown.

And has the blood of those men which now flows through our veins become so pale—has it degenerated so soon that in less than one century—and whilst a few, alas! too few of those noble patriots are still lingering among us—we are prepared to surrender to the same haughty power, a portion of the glorious legacy achieved by their valor, for fear we may be startled by the sound of their war-trump, or the rattle of their artillery? Forbid it, Heaven!

Gentlemen have argued this is a western question. It is a national question. Every portion and section of this country is interested, and deeply interested, in the possession and occupation of Oregon. Yet, on account of its locality, western gentlemen have frequently been appealed to in relation to it, and western feeling inquired after. If the West is to be consulted as to the settlement of Oregon—and I believe they ought—I declare it to be my firm belief that in that vast and mighty valley, not one man in twenty will ever consent to surrender one inch of what they believe rightfully to belong to the United States. They will neither surrender it for fear of a war, nor sell it for a pecuniary consideration. All the bayonets of England cannot win, nor all the gold of Peru purchase it.

But the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. YANCEY] admonishes us to wait until we are prepared for strife, as though strife must necessarily follow action. He says, and says truly, that when the western people are once aroused for the struggle, needs no prophet to predict the result; and seeming to believe me as one of the spirits he described panting for war, said, in compliment, that I, Mr. Chairman, with rifle in hand, would lead to the deadly breach. Why, sir, he has wholly mistaken my character; I am a "man of peace;" I belong to that ancient, war-hating and peace-loving people called *Quakers*, who detest war in all its forms. Notwithstanding the prejudices that my education necessarily engendered, I have yet to learn that can surrender any portion of the inheritance left by the fathers of the republic without dishonor; and I hope I am not prepared for that.

Some of our friends of the South who prefess to be for Oregon, say to us of the West, "the course you are pursuing will lose you Oregon, and we against the resolution giving the notice to save the country for you." I feel under great obligations to them for their kindness; but will they be so good in this matter at least, as to let us of the West determine for ourselves what our best policy is, and to pursue it? I recollect on a former occasion, when there was another question before this body—not question of extending our laws over and taking possession of our own soil, but whether we should admit into the circle of our glorious Union a free and gallant people, who, like our fathers, had achieved their freedom in the fiercest contests, and at the point of the bayonet—then our Southern brethren said, "this is the *golden moment*," and this is the approved mode. If a northern or western man presumed to question the *mode*, or object to the time he was denounced as recreant to the best interests of his country, and suspected of secret hostility to the measure. I then thought this language unkind and the suspicion unjust to long-tried and faithful friends and therefore will not repeat or apply them here to our brethren of the South. We went with them then, and, I might almost say, we went it blind. That great measure is now consummated; our union is complete and glorious; and it now remains to be seen whether our friends, who then led the way with a zeal deserving of a noble cause, and an energy that knew no abatement, will at this time play us false, and turn us off with the traitor's sneer. If so, *I* shall not reproach them; they no doubt do what they think their duty. But this much I will tell them, that their hesitation and opposition will not deter us from discharging our duty to our constituents and to our country. We will enter the breach alone, and should all but the West hang back, she alone would feel competent to meet and overcome every emergency; and in peace they will not rest until no flag but our own glorious stars and stripes shall wave over every inch of the American soil.

Some one, I believe it was the gentleman from South Carolina, in speaking of the calamities of war, and the only causes that would justify a nation in appealing to that dread tribunal, said, that wounded honor would alone justify a resort to arms, and compared it to the once common, but now disgraceful, resort to arms between private individuals to

y will neither wipe out a stain from wounded honor. I think the
ll it for a pecuniary comparison a bad one. Duelling is at best but a re-
s of England cannot to deadly conflict, to gratify personal vanity or
rchase it. wounded pride; there is nothing national, noble,
ama [Mr. YANCEY] ring, or patriotic about it; its very nature or ele-
are prepared for them are false pride and base selfishness. War in
essarily follow only cases, when justifiable, is not to secure a great
ally, that when good immediately but remotely.
for the struggle, It is to break the shackles which otherwise might
result; and seeming our posterity in chains too strong to be broken.
ts he described was it to avoid the payment of a two-penny tax on
iment, that I, Mr., which induced our fathers to unsheath the sword
would lead to the the revolution? Or was it not rather a resistance
s wholly mistaken that species of legislation and policy, which, if
peace;" I believe submitted to, would have made themselves and their
ence-loving people children instruments of British tyranny, and pup-
all its forms. Bits of a British Parliament? And can any sane man
hat my education impare that noble appeal to the God of battles, to
yet to learn that the call one individual may make upon another to
inheritance left to meet him upon what is called by some the field of
out dishonor; and honor—where, in too many instances, the only mon-
uments left to mark the spot of the barbarous
nth who prefess conflict, and to tell of the wrongs inflicted upon the
West, "the courtesy dow and the orphan, is the soil which drank the
Oregon, and we victim's blood? Sir, I live in a country where they
notice to save their either fight duels, nor sacrifice national rights; but
great obligations where he who falls in the defence of his country's
they be so good rights is believed to slumber in the patriot's grave.
of the West do Most of those who go against these resolutions,
est policy is, and that they do not design to surrender Oregon,
er occasion, when that they only wish to settle the question
this body—not peaceably. "Masterly inactivity" is the cry of
over and taking time. Let the convention or treaty stand—have
hether we should no discussion, and make no question about it *now;*
ious Union a free but encourage emigation, push your settlers into
hers, had achieved Oregon, and when you have strength enough *there*
tests, and at the to hold forcible possession, then let it be known that
Southern brethren you intend to assert your rights. This to me seems
and this is very much like stealing into your own territory, taking
or western man advantage of a *pretence* of peace to fortify yourselves
bject to the time for war. If this view of the subject be right, you
e best interests will allow me to say, that although I may not *exactly*
et hostility to the comprehend what is meant by national honor, yet
uage unkind and I feel that such a policy would bring upon us na-
d faithful friends tional dishonor, and subject us to the charge of base
ly them here to duplicity. If we believe that Oregon is ours, we
went with them ought to have courage enough to tell England so; and
went it blind that we intended and were prepared to maintain our
nated; our union rights there by immediate occupancy of the whole
remains to be territory after the twelve months' notice shall have
n led the way been given. We owe it to ourselves, we owe it to
ise, and an end the honor of our country, to tell England in plain
at this time play republican terms what we intend to do. I would
itor's sneer. I scorn to take *our own* by stealth, or their's by force.
y no doubt do The giving this notice is further objected to for fear
is much. I will it may bring dire calamities upon our citizens in
opposition will Oregon. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HUN-
uty to our country TER] predicts, that the effect of a war (which he in-
e will enter the sists will follow the giving this notice) will be to put
he West hang all our citizens in that territory to the sword, or sub-
nt to meet and ject them to the tomahawk and scalping knife of the
peace they will merciless Indian. Let that gentleman calm his fears
rious stars and on that subject; that people will never ask you to
the American stain the escutchion of this government in order to
protect them from either red coat or red skin. I
entleman from know some of the people of that far-off territory; with
e calamities of some of them I have warmed my feet at the same
justify a nation family hearth; with them I learned my letters in the
id, that wounded same log school house, and with them have I passed
t to arms, and through scenes of hardship and suffering in the un-
now disgrace- cultivated wilds of the West, that have fitted them
individuals to for every enterprise however hazardous, and every danger however threatening. They went to Oregon with their eyes open; and all they ask of you is, to untie the fetters which this treaty of joint occupancy has thrown around their manly limbs. This is all they ask at your hands; and should they fall in asserting our right to the *whole* of Oregon, they will sink, covered with honorable scars, a rich legacy to their sons who will arise to avenge their father's wrongs.

I have been pained to hear, during this debate, allusion made to the western people as a war-loving and peace-hating people, who delight in blood and carnage, and who were anxious by their course to embroil this country in a war. Who are those men thus unkindly alluded to and unjustly assailed? They are sons of revolutionary sires, and spirits of noble daring, who have cleared the way for you into the heart of this magnificent empire. They have gone before you like the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night, rolling back the Indian of the forest to give passage to civilization, as the waters of the Red sea were rolled back by the Great Jehovah to give passage to the children of Israel; and however scornfully you may treat them, or whatever estimate you may place upon them, I verily believe they are as pure and patriotic as the citizens of any other portion of this Union. While they are on the frontiers, where their instincts and duty lead them, upon the very soil designed by Providence as their inheritance, they will remain in peace and quiet, giving you no trouble, and making no unnecessary demands upon your government. But I warn you from the consequences of an effort to stop their onward progress. Do not let the British get possession of Oregon, and block up the passes of the Rocky mountains against their western flight. Should you do it, and thereby turn back into the valley of the Great West those whose disposition and choice it is to mingle in border scenes of hardship and suffering, you may introduce into our society an element that may tumble it into ruins, as did Samson the temple of Dagon when he seized its pillars at the city of Gaza.

What is our exact position in relation to this matter? The President, during last summer, made a proposition to Great Britain to divide the Oregon territory on the 49th parallel of latitude. This offer was rejected by the British minister without a reference to his government, and was as promptly withdrawn by the Executive, who now frankly tells us, that, in his opinion, no offer of compromise that this government ought to accept, will be made by England; and, therefore, this notice, in his opinion, ought to be given. I am not disposed to censure the President for having made this proposition, surrounded as he was by many difficulties and embarrassments, growing out of former negotiations, and the position in which he found the question when he came into office; but I am free to say, that I congratulate him, not only for his own sake, but for that of the country, that his offer was rejected. And I think I may venture to predict, that such an offer will not again be made; and certain I am that, situated as we now are, the country will not sustain any executive or administration in repeating it. No obstacle can now be thrown in the way to prevent our holding the territory up to 54° 40', unless her Majesty's government should disavow the action of her minister, and now propose to accept the President's offer. This I think will not be done; if not, we are at length clear of the shackles which previous negotiations have flung around us, and free to exercise

our exclusive rights to the whole of Oregon. But suppose we neglect to carry out the recommendation of the President, and refuse to give the notice: will it not be an intimation to the British government and to the world, that Congress does not concur with the executive branch of the government, as to the clearness of our title to that territory—or yet, a still more humiliating acknowledgment, that we do not feel ourselves able to vindicate our rights thereto?

What do gentlemen promise themselves from further negotiations, whilst this joint occupancy lasts? Great Britain is now in possession of all she ever claimed, and while this treaty lasts, I assure gentlemen she will never settle this question, for the very good reason, that her condition can never be better, but may be, and unquestionably would be, worse. It would, therefore, be an act of folly on her part to allow it to be changed so long as she could keep it in *statu quo*. Give this notice—abrogate this treaty—and then she will see and feel the necessity of immediate and effectual negotiation; till that is done, your negotiations will be all twaddle. The gentleman from South Carolina, [Mr. RHETT,] for the purpose, as I thought, of frightening us from the performance of what we honestly believed to be our duty, has intimated the probability of a combination on the part of the monarchs of the Old World to crush us as propagandists. On this subject, I want him, as well as all others who do me the honor to listen to my remarks, to understand what I think to be the duty of this government in relation to this matter. I hold it to be the bounden duty of the government of the United States, from the performance of which she cannot shrink without dishonor, to see that her institutions are set up and maintained within her entire limits; here her duty ends; but added to this, she has a privilege, from the enjoyment of which no government or combination of governments can or shall [illegible] her—that is, when any contiguous nation w[illegible] to unite her destiny with ours, and become on[illegible] constellations of free States, we will pull up the latch-string and let her come in, to share with us in all the privileges and immunities of our glorious confederacy. We claim no right to force within our circle any people who do not desire to sit at our family hearth; but we do claim, and will exercise, the right to choose our own company; and this right we will relinquish only with our national existence. We do not wish, as Rome did, to extend our borders by the force of arms, but choose rather the rule of right than of might. In the end such a policy will be seen to have been wise; for as Rome expanded, acquiring one possession after another by conquest, she was obliged to maintain herself by rapine and plunder wherever she could carry her arms; and the consequence was, that when she could no longer retain the possessions she had acquired by force by the same means she used in their acquisition, she fell. We, on the contrary, accept only those who come voluntarily, and from choice. And those who desire admission into our confederacy need no force to retain them there. Each additional State, admitted under such circumstances, adds another new and permanent pillar for the defence and ornament of the temple of liberty.

Another new, and to me a very strange argument, against these resolutions is, that if we, by asserting our rights to Oregon, are unfortunately plunged into a war, the consequence would be, a depression of democratic, and a rise of federal principles; that centralism will grow on the ruins of State-rig[illegible] Mr. Chairman, I am a democrat, and as the say[illegible] is, dyed in the wool; I have always to the utmos[illegible] my ability opposed centralism, banks, funded deb[illegible] and protective tariffs; indeed it has been a comm[illegible] remark, that I was so radical, that it placed me [illegible] century in advance of my own party. But, be[illegible] known that I am not the man to maintain my po[illegible] ical party in the management of internal affairs, [illegible] the surrender of external rights. And I now decl[illegible] in the presence of this House, and in the face of t[illegible] world, that if it be necessary to the maintenance [illegible] our national rights, and country's honor, that [illegible] political opponents take the reins of government [illegible] am this day willing to make to them the surrender [illegible] believing, as I from my soul do believe, that [illegible] everything that pertains to the honor of our cou[illegible] try, they are as patriotic as we are, and that o[illegible] differences as to administrative measures grow o[illegible] of honest differences of opinion, as to what will be[illegible] promote our country's weal. But I utterly repu[illegible] ate the gentleman's argument; it is false in theor[illegible] and equally false in fact. Democracy can grow, a[illegible] has grown, whilst the storm of war raged in all [illegible] fury; the seeds of democracy were cast into the ear[illegible] by the hand of the revolution; it was cradled in [illegible] storms, and nursed in its fiercest conflicts; there a[illegible] then was the tree of liberty planted; and the tempes[illegible] of war only loosened the earth about its roots, th[illegible] it might grow the faster and spread the wider; [illegible] roots have been plentifully moistened by the war[illegible] life's blood of those who defended it against the fur[illegible] ous assaults of the wild boar of legitimacy, seekin[illegible] to whet his tusks against its inner bark. And [illegible] now tell gentlemen, that if it is occasionally mois[illegible] ened by the blood of the patriot, honestly shed in [illegible] defence, it will not grow a whit the worse, nor ca[illegible] a leaf on that account. Has not the West, th[illegible] whole of that beautiful inland paradise resound[illegible] with the clank of arms, and has not its soil, a[illegible] every furlong thereof, been stained with the blood [illegible] the pioneer and Indian commingling as they fell i[illegible] deadly strife? Will any man tell me that libert[illegible] in its most comely and unobtrusive form, does n[illegible] flourish there? Sir, it is the very place where [illegible] may be truly said, we have liberty without licen[illegible] tiousness, and order in the absence of law.

We have again and again, in the course of th[illegible] debate, been reminded of the power and greatne[illegible] of the government with which we are likely to com[illegible] in conflict. I do not desire to speak harshly of th[illegible] British government; but I despise this consta[illegible] vaunting of the greatness of England. Who, an[illegible] what is she? The seat of her power is situated o[illegible] a little island stuck down in the North sea. True[illegible] she has spread her arms like seas, to grasp in a[illegible] the shores; but still she is not so terrible as to mak[illegible] the nations tremble. All of her greatness now de[illegible] pends upon her commerce. Clip her wings of tha[illegible] and, like the bird of Jove, she falls to the earth [illegible] lifeless carcass. I seek no conflict between my[illegible] country and Great Britain. Let each pursue he[illegible] path alone, and unmolested by the other. We wil[illegible] not go out of our way to attack the British lion; bu[illegible] if he chooses to lay himself across our path, and re[illegible] fuses to remove at a peaceful summons, then there[illegible] will be no alternative—the American eagle wil[illegible] strike her talons into his nostrils, and you will se[illegible] his blood spout as though a whale had been har[illegible] pooned.

There is, I repeat, no occasion for war; and there[illegible] will be none, unless the government of Great Britain[illegible]

ins of State-rig
, and as the say
ays to the utmos
banks, funded de
has been a comm
hat it placed m
n party. But, b
maintain my po
f internal affairs,
And I now decl
nd in the face of
he maintenance
's honor, that
s of governmen
em the surrende
do believe, that
honor of our co
are, and that o
neasures grow o
as to what will b
t I utterly repu
is false in theor
racy can grow, a
ar raged in all
e cast into the ea
was cradled in
conflicts; there a
d; and the tempe
about its roots, th
ead the wider;
ened by the war
l it against the fu
egitimacy, seeki
ner bark. And
occasionally mois
honestly shed in
he worse, nor c
not the West, th
aradise resound
not its soil, a
l with the blood
ing as they fell
l me that liberti
ive form, does n
y place where
rty without lice
of law.
the course of th
ver and greatne
are likely to co
ak harshly of th
ise this consta
and. Who, an
ver is situated o
North sea. Tru
as, to grasp in a
errible as to mak
reatness now de
ner wings of tha
ls to the earth
ict between my
each pursue he
other. We wil
British lion; bu
our path, and re
mons, then there
rican eagle wil
and you will se
le had been har

r war; and there
of Great Britai

are war with this country. If she does, she may ke this question the pretext. Whether she wants remains to be seen. If it is the design of Providence that she shall decline, as she arose, by decrees, no conflict will come. If, on the other hand, her destiny to pay in blood the debt of blood owes the world, then I have no objection to be to the nation and to live in the age that shall tise her for the evils she has inflicted on the human race. She is old and worn within; the blood ges stains her skirts. If she is mad enough to ck the young giant of the western world, whose shadow is already beginning to eclipse her glory, her head be the consequences; and let those who not engaged in the conflict stand from under, and pare to hear a crash "as if the ribs of nature ke."

ome gentlemen scoff at what has been called the tiny of nations—or what is the same thing, the vidence of God in the affairs of men. Sir, re were we two centuries ago? We were a dful of pilgrims landing upon Plymouth rock, a small band of cavaliers planted on the sunny s of the South. From this small beginning, and his short time, what have we become? We have anced by steady and peaceful strides, covering continent with independent and industrious citi, following up the red man foot by foot, driving from haunt to haunt, until, like a small and ken cloud that skirts the far-off horizon, he now s along the shores of the western ocean, ready to his last plunge, and leave the graves of his fath to be visited no more forever. Is there no des in this? Is not the finger of God as plainly seen when he first set in the heavens the star of Beth m? The man who sees it not must be either d or infidel.

is said by some that we do not need the Ore territory for purposes of settlement. This is a t mistake; and that you may clearly see the r into which some have fallen, I invite you to o the West, and visit one of our log cabins, and mber its inmates. There you will see a strong, t youth of eighteen, with his better half, just mencing the first struggles of independent life. rty years from that time, visit them again; and ead of two, you will find in that same family nty-two. This is what I call the American mul cation table. Multiply this and the next gen ion by this table, and where, without Oregon, you find room for our people? The greater ion of this multiplying mass of humanity have r faces turned towards the setting sun. "West d ho!" is the cry; and you can no more stop n this side the shores of the Pacific than you can up the mighty waters of the Missouri, whilst snows are melting on the Stony mountain in ch it takes its rise. Where, I repeat, without gon, are we to find room for our people? What we to do with the little white-headed girls and s—God bless them!—who throng our western eys, bright and blooming as the flowers that our illimitable prairies?

an it be true, as suggested by the gentleman South Carolina, [Mr. RHETT,] that there is ger of a combined alliance of European powers nst us? Do they exhibit a disposition to form nholy alliance, to prevent the spread and crush growth of our free institutions? I repeat, there o other danger of war growing out of our pres attitude upon the Oregon question. In that nt, it may be made the *pretext* for the onslaught, but can never be the real cause of war. England has no rights in or to Oregon; at least, her diplomatists have failed to show them, whilst ours have clearly negatived the existence of any such right.

Let us take a short retrospect of the past, in order to judge correctly of the future. Liberty, failing to find a foothold upon the old continent, took her flight to the New World. The causes which produced, and the consequences which followed, the American revolution, planted deep in our soil the tree of liberty.

The formation of our constitution linked closely together a chain of free republican States, as a rampart around that tree, to protect it from the outward pressure occasioned by the hostility of European governments to the liberal principles which lay at the foundation of our system of government. For half a century the representatives of legitimacy looked upon this experiment with great concern, and not a little fear of its consequences upon their own ill-gotten power, which must melt under the glowing light and scorching rays of the sun of liberty, casting back his bright effulgence upon the Old World, teaching man everywhere that God has given him rights, and demands that he should maintain them. At first it was hoped that this experiment would prove a failure; that rivalry and heartburnings would grow up between the North and the South, the East and the West, which would finally burst the bands of union, throwing the country into anarchy and confusion. Thank God, time has dissipated this hope; the last twenty years has convinced the world that our institutions are as stable as time, and as firm as the decrees of destiny. No sooner are the governments of Europe convinced of the stability of our institutions, than they are startled by the exhibition of our principle of expansion, by the admission of a free republic into the American Union. This, to them, was the passage of the Rubicon; it was the beginning of what will end in placing under the protection of the broad pinions of the American eagle the entire continent, stretching from Cape Horn to Behring's straits, and from the shores of the Atlantic to the waves of the Pacific.

This is what my friend from Illinois, [Mr. BAKER,] who I hail as a worthy representative of western whigs, calls our "manifest destiny;" and with him I say, if the representatives of legitimacy in the Old World, for the purpose of preventing its consummation, choose to put themselves in battle array, either singly or collectively, let them do it, and upon their heads be the consequences. We cannot, we will not recede. We neither seek for, nor will we avoid the conflict; if it comes, we will enter the arena strong in the assurance of a good cause, firmly relying upon the providence of God, which has thus far stood by and protected us in our onward march! Knowing that, as heretofore, each crisis in the affairs of nations has produced men equal to the occasion, so hereafter in every emergency, brave spirits will be found capable of "riding the whirlwind and directing the storm."

And why, after all, should we so much dread this conflict? Death in some form or other is the destiny of all of Adam's race; life at longest is but a span; this generation is but dust on the wheel of time. What boots it, then, whether we are shaken from it an instant sooner or later? Ay; and who, of all that now hear me, would not rather, when the clangor of Gabriel's trump shall summon the pale millions of the dead to the congregation of

ages, appear in that vast assembly clothed with the bloom of youth, bearing upon your front the death-gash received in defence of your country's honor and the rights of man, than covered with the wrinkles of dishonored age?

Against the English people I have no hostile feeling; on the contrary, I love them for their aspirations after freedom, and I only reproach them that they do not tear away those feudal cobwebs which have so long galled their manly limbs, and cast among the lumber of ages, those principles of legitimacy which disgrace the country and age in which they live. But the English government is quite another thing. To my mind it is the very worst government upon earth. It has some pretence to liberty without any of its substance. It tears the sinews, and drinks the sweat of its laboring millions to fatten a stall-fed aristocracy. Our first conflict with England was in the revolution, which ended in tearing from the British crown thirteen of its brightest jewels, and wringing from her stubborn heart the acknowledgement that these colonies were, and of right ought to be, free.

The second was the war of 1812, which is called the second war of independence. It humbled the pride of the British navy, and ended in a blaze of glory on the plains of New Orleans, by making thousands of her bravest troops bite the dust in conflict with the raw militia of the western States. The third and last conflict is not yet. No man can doubt but that it will come. When the history of that war is written, it will record the downfall of the British empire. Fall she must, and fall she will, as sure as Adam fell. She is now standing in the twilight of her glory; and a sharp vision may easily discern, written upon her front, the inscription traced by an invisible hand upon the palace wall of the Babylonish king.

As I said before, England's greatness now rests upon her commerce. She has three hundred millions of tonnage, which guages her shipping. We have already two hundred millions, and are now gathering upon her with the strides of a swift courser. When we pass her, her downfall by peaceable means will be rapid and sudden.

Oregon is therefore all important in a commercial point of view. It is the inch of ground upon which we can place a fulcrum, giving us the lever by which to overturn the world of British commerce. It will give us a cluster of manufacturing and commercial States on the Pacific correspondent with our New England States upon the Atlantic. Then the inhabitants of the great Mississippi valley, who have in their possession the garden of the world and the granary of the universe, will stretch out one hand to the East Indies through the Pacific chain, the other to Europe through the Atlantic channel, grasping the trade of the civilized earth as we now hold in possession the means of subsistence for the whole human family.

There is in this discussion, to me, a new and very agreeable feature. The discussion indicates and the vote will prove, that this is no "party question." There sits an aged and venerable man [pointing to JOHN QUINCY ADAMS] of the whig party who has spoken and will vote with us, because he feels it his duty so to do. Whatever may be said of the hot haste of my youthful blood, I am confident that whilst I follow the lead of one whose locks are whitened by the snows of eighty winters I can do nothing rashly. On the other, hand there are some equally respectable friends on the democratic side of the House who think duty calls to "inactivity," and therefore will vote against Oregon. So I would have it, that the world may know that this is not a question of a party in America, but an American party.

I have attempted, Mr. Chairman, in my feeble way, to show the committee that duty calls, and interest points, to the assertion of our rights to Oregon. I cannot, I will not, doubt but that the House will respond affirmatively. This is the war feeling and the only war feeling in the West. If war must come, let it come; and those who provoke it will have to abide its consequences.

r downfall by pea
dden.

portant in a comm
inch of ground u
, giving us the le
orld of British co
ter of manufactur
Pacific correspond
s upon the Atlan
great Mississippi
on the garden of
universe, will stre
s through the Pa
through the Atla
the civilized ea
n the means of s
mily.

, to me, a new
discussion indica
is is no "party qu
and venerable n
us.) of the whig p
ote with us, beca
Whatever may
outhful blood, I
e lead of one wh
s of eighty wint
he other, hand th
riends on the de
nk duty calls to
ote against Oreg
orld may know
in America, bu

irman, in my fe
t duty calls, and
f our rights to O
but that the Ho
s is the war feel
the West. If
ose who provok
ces.