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SPEECH

OF

HON. LEWIS F. LINN,

OF MISSOURI,

ON HIS AMENDMENT TO THE LAND DISTRIBUTION BILL,

PROPOSING TO

APPROPRIATE THE REVENUE FROM THE PUBLIC LANDS

TO

THE NATIONAL DEFENCES.

IN SENATE, AUGUST 11, 1841.

WASHINGTON :

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1842.

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SPEECH.

Mr. LINN, on rising, referred to the notice he had given, some days since, that he had an important amendment to offer to the bill under consideration, and would seize the opportunity now afforded to propose it for the decision of the Senate. He asked the Secretary to read from his table the amendment, which he did, as follows:

"Strike out all of the first nine sections of the bill, which relate to distribution, and insert: 'That, from and after the passing of this act, the nett proceeds of the sales of the public lands, so far as the same shall not be needed to defray the expenses or to pay the debts of the General Government, shall be, and the same are hereby, pledged to the common defence of the Union, and shall be faithfully applied to that object, from time to time, according to the plans of defence which Congress shall adopt, until the United States are placed in that state of security which is due to the honor and independence of the country, and to the protection of the rights and interests of its own citizens. And it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury, at the commencement of each stated session of Congress, to report to each House of Congress the amount of the nett proceeds of the public lands for the current year, and which were not required to defray the expenses or to pay the debts of the United States, and the amount so reported shall be, and the same hereby is, appropriated to providing such means, and constructing such works of public defence, by land and water, as then may be in progress, or which Congress shall order and direct; and such appropriations shall continue until the defences of the Union shall be completed, and shall be in addition to the ordinary annual appropriations for such objects.'"

Mr. LINN said, that a high sense of public duty had induced him to pre-ent this proposition, and would compel him to urge upon the Senate its adoption. He was free to confess he saw but little hope of success; crowning his efforts; knowing, as he did, that the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands was an old and favorite measure of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CLAY] and of a large portion of the political party now in the ascendant in this and the other branch of the National Legislature. He was fully sensible also, that the Senate was worn out by constant labor and confinement to the heated and contaminated air of the Capitol during a summer session, and must feel indisposed to listen to arguments which it was predisposed to reject. But an imperious duty—a solemn sense of what was due to his constituents, and to the whole country, required of him some observations, which he would make with all the brevity the nature of the subject will permit.

It was scarcely necessary to call up the past history of these United States, for the purpose of bringing to the recollection of those he addressed, the fact that our national independence was not achieved without an immense sacrifice of treasure and blood. It would be readily admitted, that much of that expenditure was caused, mainly, by a want of power in the old Congress, under the Articles of Confederation, promptly to provide the means, in men and money, necessary for the prosecution of the war vigorously, and providing for the common defence and the numerous demands of the general welfare. The old thirteen States were often near dissolution from the refusal of some to furnish, and the tardiness of others in furnishing their respective quotas, required for the

defence or salvation of the most exposed and harassed members of the Union.

If gentlemen would turn to the history of our glorious Revolution, and again read the eloquent and thrilling appeals of the immortal Washington, amid the most pressing embarrassments from disasters and defeats, growing out of the cause mentioned, during that period which tried the souls of men, it would revive impressions, perhaps somewhat dimmed by time, but which can never be effaced, and convince all of the necessity of making suitable preparations for the hour of trial and adversity. In the letters of this distinguished general, statesman and patriot, can be clearly traced the primary defect of the old Confederacy to which he now alluded; namely, the want of sufficient power to enforce the means necessary for the common defence of all its members. His first message to the first Congress, under our present Constitution, was a memorable evidence of the deep impression this subject had made upon his mind. Having premised these remarks, he should proceed at once to the consideration of the amendment; and at the very threshold he would say, that he could not imagine any constitutional objection to it, for there could be none—it had that merit, at least, which could not be said for the original bill.

It was impossible that gentlemen, as well informed on questions of constitutional power as those whom he addressed, could entertain a doubt as to the entire control of Congress over the national domain; as a source of means for national defence. That such application of the public lands is the first duty of Congress, would be the principal ground, for the present, on which he would place his objections to the passage of the distribution portion of the measure, leaving it to others to dispute its passage as being opposed to the letter and spirit of the Constitution. It was the necessity for the existence of a controlling and enforcing power, for the purpose indicated by his motion, that finally led to the adoption of our present Constitution; and it stands, accordingly, among the reasons in the preamble, which says:

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

President Washington, on taking the chair of state, did not forget the trials he had undergone as Commander-in-Chief of our armies, or the useless sacrifices often made by the country. In his first, and in all his messages to Congress, he calls its attention to the defences, but dwells particularly on it in his Farewell Address—an emanation of human wisdom and exalted patriotism, which every American should commit to memory, and engrave its wise and salutary maxims on his heart.

He says, in his message of December 3, 1793:

"I cannot recommend to your notice measures for the fulfilment of our duties to the rest of the world, without again pressing upon you the necessity of placing ourselves in a condition of complete defence, and of exacting from them the fulfilment of their duties towards us. The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion, that contrary to the order of human events, they will forever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms with which the history of every nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States, among nations, which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are, at all times, ready for war. The documents which will be presented to you, will show the amount and kinds of arms and military stores now in our magazines and arsenals; and yet an addition even to these supplies cannot, with prudence, be neglected, as we should leave nothing to the uncertainty of procuring of warlike apparatus in the moment of public danger.

"Nor can such arrangements, with such objects, be exposed to the censure or jealousy of the warmest friends of Republican Government. They are incapable of abuse in the hands of the militia, who ought to possess a pride in being the depository of the force of the Republic, and may be trained to a degree of energy equal to every military exigency of the United States. But it is an inquiry which cannot be too solemnly pursued, whether the act more effectually to provide for the national defence, by establishing a uniform militia throughout the United States, has organized them so as to produce their full effect; whether your own experience in the several States has not detected some imperfection in the scheme; and whether a material feature, in the improvement of it, ought not to be, to afford an opportunity for the study of those branches of the military art which can scarcely ever be attained by practice alone?"

Again, in his Farewell Address, or testament to his beloved constituents, he says:

"As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasion of expense by cultivating peace; but remember also, that timely disbursement to prepare for danger, frequently prevents much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debts, not only by shunning occasion of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your Representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate."

These two addresses were peculiarly applicable as arguments, he thought, in favor of his amendment. He (Mr. L.) could not, after reading them, allow the occasion to pass without appealing to every Senator, and asking them whether, in the present juncture of our foreign affairs, and taking into full view all our relations with Great Britain, he can account himself justified to his conscience and country in voting to pass this measure in the form presented to the Senate by the chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, [Mr. SMITH.] or find it possible to vote against his (Mr. L.'s) proposition, to devote the money arising from the sales of our public domain to the defences of the country by land and water. He would ask the friends of this Distribution bill—have you ever examined carefully into all the causes now operating, to disturb the peace of the country? Have you reviewed these causes, and marshalled them before your judgment for the purpose of estimating the probable duration of our peaceful relations with the English Government? Sir, the elements of discord are, unfortunately, serious in character, and annually increase in number. They are—

1st. Northeast boundary line of Maine, involving the jurisdiction of a sovereign State of the Union.

2d. Title to the territory of Oregon: its posses-

sion by the United States of great importance to the valley of the Mississippi and to American commerce in the Pacific ocean.

3d. Exercise of British influence over Indian tribes living within the States and territories of the United States, which influence is maintained by the distribution of arms, ammunition, presents of various kinds, and regular pensions to chiefs and head men, with serious injury to the American traders in time of peace, and resulting in scenes of blood and horror revolting to humanity in time of war.

4th. Seizure of American merchant ships on the coast of Africa, accompanied by insults to the crews of some, to the plunder of others, and of great loss to the owners in all the cases.

5th. Invasion of the territory of the United States, the murder of peaceful citizens, and burning their property—as in the Caroline affair.

6th. Case of McLeod, growing out of this very transaction, and threatening immediate hostilities.

7th. Refusal of the English Government to pay for, or surrender to their owners [our citizens] a number of slaves, cast by stress of weather or by shipwreck on the Bermuda or Bahama islands.

By the treaty of '83, the boundaries of our North-eastern States were considered as settled with great precision—yet the war of 1812 showed that these were to become a fruitful source of contention, when it suits the grasping love of dominion which Great Britain has never failed to display. It was not the paltry value of a few hundred thousand acres of barren land that excited her cupidity, or awakened her desire to be possessed of the territory in dispute; but she discovered, during the war of 1812, that a portion of Maine [then Massachusetts] was indispensably necessary to a direct communication between her colonies of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and her Canadian provinces during the winter months, when the river and Gulf of St. Lawrence were bound up in icy fetters. In order to transport troops and munitions of war during the inclement season, from Halifax to the Canadas, she coveted and laid claim to our soil—making her necessity the rule of right. That it was so, you had only to look at the facts of the case—even English authority could be produced in abundance, but at present he would only quote the November No. of the Edinburgh Review of 1814. The able writer of the article headed "War with America," was intimately acquainted with all the causes that led to the quarrel between the two nations, viz: imprisonment of our seamen, the seizure and confiscation, under British orders in council, of American merchant ships engaged in lawful commerce on the ocean, the highway of nations, &c. &c. After treating these grave matters with skill, he animadverts with just severity upon the change of tone of the English authorities, and the new elements introduced into the negotiations at Ghent, by the British envoys, after the downfall of Bonaparte, such as the free navigation of the Mississippi, independence of certain Indian tribes within the jurisdiction of the United States, surrender of territory, etc. and that, too, in reference to a conference, to which we were invited by the English Government. The writer says, page 250:

"At the time when this proposal was made, it certainly will not be pretended that we had any view to an increase of territory, or to any other thing than the adjustment of those questions as to neutral and maritime rights, which formed the whole original subject of contention; and as little can it be doubted that peace would have been instantly and joyfully accepted, had America been then disposed to withdraw her pretensions upon the points of search and impressment, or to leave those and the other relative questions as to the law of blockade, to amicable and deliberate discussion. The great doubt and difficulty was, whether America would abandon any part of her pretensions, and whether we would consent to such modifications of our practice, as to lay a ground for immediate pacification. Before the commissioners met, however, all these difficulties seemed to be providentially removed; for peace was restored to Europe, and with the state of belligerent, vanished all the grievances and all the pretensions of the neutral. As there was no longer to be any impressment at all, it became quite unnecessary to settle under what limitations impressments should take place out of the trading ships of a neutral, and as all blockade, and prospect of blockade, was abandoned, it was equally idle to define the conditions on which it should be enforced against third parties. It could scarcely be pretended, and could never for a moment be seriously believed in any quarter, that it could be of any use to settle these general questions, with a prospective view to future cases of war and neutrality, which all the world knew would make rules or exceptions suited to their own emergencies; and, at all events, it was obvious that such a settlement upon abstract principles would be gone about with much better hope of success, if deliberate consultations to be entered into after the cessation of hostilities, than by the ruler logic of force. It was confidently anticipated therefore, that America would consent to the waiver of all her neutral pretensions, and that the war would die a natural death upon the removal of all the objects and causes by which it had been excited. This anticipation, it appears, was fully realized on the part of America, who instructed her commissioners to allow all these points to be over, and to let the secondary and relative hostilities, which had arisen out of the wars in Europe, cease with the wars which had occasioned them; and we are now at war, because England will not agree to that proposal, but insists upon gaining certain advantages by the war, which she had not in contemplation when she herself first suggested the negotiation, and which, to all ordinary observers, she seems to have but a feeble prospect of obtaining by force.

"What these advantages are, it is not necessary very minutely to explain. They amount, in one word, to a demand for a cession of territory; and the war which is now going on is neither more nor less than a war for the conquest of that territory. By the treaty of 1763, the BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN the United States and Canada was settled with the utmost precision; and for the greater part it was made to run through the centre of the great chain of lakes, and their connecting waters, with a joint right of navigation to both parties. The territory of certain Indian tribes, who are now dignified with the name of our allies, is within the country (I solemnly relate to America, in so far as England had any power to cede it, in the same way as the territory occupied by many other Indian tribes was included in the country then finally ceded to England. We now insist on the exclusive military occupation of all those waters, on a guarantee for the perpetual inviolability and independence of the territory of our Indian allies—and on the unqualified and absolute cession, without compensation, of part of the State of the State of Massachusetts, (now Maine) in order to establish a more convenient communication between Halifax and our settlement of New Brunswick—besides some smaller matters; and we refuse to make peace unless terms are complied with.

"On the justice of the pretension—on the fairness of our *causa belli*—we have scarcely a word to say, after we have again repeated that it is undeniably, and almost professedly, a war of conquest upon our part. The territory we now insist upon taking from America, was solemnly ceded and secured to her by the Treaty of 1763, when we knew, or ought to have known, as well as we do now, what was necessary for the security of the provinces retained."

History may be silent or fail to condemn, or diplomacy may gloss over these arrogant demands, at the moment of her greatest strength—when her armies, flushed with success from the overthrow of the Emperor Napoleon, were to be precipitated on our shores to carry death and destruction in their course. But the people of the United States, if true to themselves, will not soon forget these movements. What Great Britain then failed to extort from our weakness or fears, she has since

obtained, by military possession, and by spinning the thread of negotiation to an almost interminable length. He (Mr. L.) would ask the Senator from Maine, [Mr. EVANS,] whether the question of these British claims to the territory within the Northeastern boundary line of his State, is any nearer, or, indeed, so near, being settled this day, as it was in 1783. Was there not, twenty-five years ago, a more rational prospect of adjustment than there is at present? He would ask that Senator if, in his opinion, it would be proper for Congress to recede from the pledge which had been given to the State of Maine? or, if Maine would recede from her own pledges—will she yield up tamely? and without using every means that she possesses, for protecting that portion of her territory covered by Great Britain? In addition to those questions, he would also ask, if Great Britain persists in the course she is now taking, of locating her military forces within the borders of Maine for the evident purpose of obtaining and maintaining possession, will not Maine resort to force to expel intruders? and if she does, how is a war with Great Britain to be avoided?

[Mr. EVANS said, that thus appealed to, he should say in reply to the question, whether he thought Congress would recede from the pledges given to Maine, his firm conviction was, that Congress never would retreat from these pledges. He could also say, that it was equally his conviction, that Maine never would recede from her promises, or her duty to herself and the General Government. If Maine had been inactive of late, it was in consequence of the last message from Mr. Van Buren having informed Congress that there was every prospect of an amicable adjustment of the difficulty between this Government and England, in relation to the disputed territory. How the fact was, he did not know.]

Mr. LINN said, of that fact it was not now necessary to say any thing; but the Senator's answer as to the pledges of the General Government to Maine, and those of Maine herself to the whole country, was sufficient for his (Mr. L.) present argument. The Senator believes that neither Congress nor the State of Maine will recede from resolves solemnly made. What the head of the late Administration thought on the subject of an amicable adjustment, was not now the question; it was, whether there was a better prospect of adjustment now than there was twenty-five years ago. That it was not only not so good, but daily growing worse and worse, was the position which he (Mr. L.) maintained. He would take upon himself the responsibility of saying, in his place in the Senate, that this boundary question never was in a more hopeless condition; and he believed it never would, permanently, be arranged, till Great Britain either gave independence to the Canadas, or was compelled, by the valor of American arms, to yield up her unjust pretensions.* And when

* Mr. Fairfield, the Democratic candidate for Governor of Maine, makes the following remarks on the boundary question, in reply to a letter asking his views on that subject:

"In regard to our boundary question, patience is exhausted. The hope of an amicable adjustment is nearly extinguished. After years upon years of waiting, we seem to be as far from a restoration of our entire territory as we were

or where has Great Britain ever given away without compulsion? Has it not been the invariable policy of England to hold on—to maintain her footing, right or wrong, as long as she has a foot of ground to stand upon? So long as she retains her Canadian possessions she will never surrender her claim to the territory within our boundary i. e. Was not that disputed question a source of imminent danger? But that, great as it was, was not the only one of the kind. There is another of the same nature in the Far West to be settled. He alluded, he said, to the Territory of Oregon.

As this Territory of Oregon had been the subject of protracted negotiation between the United States and Great Britain, and would, probably, like the Maine controversy, furnish material for much more a brief notice of the grounds on which we we place our claim, seems to be required from the nature of the proposition under discussion.

The country on the Pacific Ocean, extending from latitude 42 deg. the boundary line between the United States and the Republic of Mexico, to latitude 54 deg. 40 min. North, is claimed by this Government and Great Britain; Spain and Russia having formally, by treaties, renounced their Great Britain claims a modified jurisdiction, not an exclusive one, founded upon the Nootka Sound convention with Spain. By the treaty of Paris of 1803, the United States acquired the noblest province in the world, without the cost of one drop of blood—the fairest portion of the Valley of the Mississippi, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the sources of the “Father of Waters,” the Missouri river, the Rocky Mountains, and, by consequence, the unexplored regions west of these mountains.

Mr. LINN said that this was not the proper time to enter, minutely, into a history of all the treaties which related to this part of the discussion; from that of Utrecht in 1704, to those with Spain in 1819, with Mexico in 1824, and with Great Britain in 1818 and 1827. But if the United States raised its claim to the territory in dispute, upon priority of discovery alone, it would be as inalienable as the Rocky Mountains, which overlook its lovely plains and valleys. In the year 1791, the mouth of the Columbia river was first seen by Captain Grey of Boston, in command of the ship Columbia, sailing under the flag of the United States. In the month of May, 1792, he entered the river; he gave to it its name, and continued to explore it from the 14 to the 7th of the month. Having fixed its latitude, and distinctly

marked the topography of the neighborhood, the bearings of the various headlands around the bay, which lies within the embouchure of the river, he returned to the United States and announced his important discovery. Thus was this great river discovered by the United States from the sea. After the splendid and peaceful acquisition of Louisiana in 1803, the philosophic mind of Mr. Jefferson was turned anxiously to laying open its hidden treasures, tracing to their sources its great rivers, and penetrating the regions of the unknown West, as far as the mouth of the Columbia. According to his suggestion, an exploring expedition was fitted out by the Government, to ascend the Missouri to its source, and penetrate, overland, to the mouth of the Oregon, which had been previously discovered by Grey. Every body knows the signal success which crowned this admirably conducted enterprise, which opened to the world the extensive regions of the Upper Missouri, the Rocky Mountains, and added to geography the magnificent Valley of the Oregon. Ten years before this event, McKenzie had penetrated to the Western ocean; but his route did not touch any of the waters of this grand basin, being several degrees north of it. In 1805, Lewis and Clarke took formal possession of the country, and passed the winter there, in a fort built by themselves, over which floated the stars and stripes of their country. And thus, by both sea and land, does this discovery belong to the United States. This occupation by Lewis and Clarke was, beyond question, the first settlement made by civilized man on that river, and it is an important incident to our title. It was notice to the world of our claim, and that solemn act of possession was followed up by settlement and occupation by that intelligent and enterprising merchant, John Jacob Astor, under encouragement from this Government. Thus, it will be perceived that our title has all the requisites prescribed by European powers making settlements in this continent, and by Great Britain among the number: 1st. That the discovery and occupation of the mouth of a river, gives title to the region watered by it and its tributaries, as in the case of the Hudson, James river, &c. 2d. That the discovery and settlement of a new country gives title *half-way* to the nearest settlement of a civilized power. Either of these principles would carry us beyond the 49th parallel of latitude, independent of any claims derived from France by the treaty of Louisiana, or by the Florida treaty of 1819. Mr. Astor, from his long and intimate acquaintance with the operations of the British Northwest Company, and close connection in business with the English Macinnaw Company, perceived, at an early day, the great political and commercial advantages to be derived to himself and to his country, by extending his operations in the fur trade to the waters of the Missouri river, to the Rocky Mountains, and to the country watered by the Columbia. He therefore planned expeditions, by land and water—doubled Cape Horn with his ships, which entered the mouth of the Columbia in the month of April, 1811, and established a factory called “Astoria,” amid volleys of musketry and the roar of artillery. The overland expedition, under the command of Wilson P. Hunt, ascended the Missouri river

at the commencement. Our forbearance has but served to excite the hopes and increase the arrogance of those who are contending with us. A mere diplomatic *ruse*, by lapse of time, has become a serious and perilous affair. An offer to purchase, a quarter of a century ago, a similar strip of land on our northeastern border, anon ripened into a *claim of title*—and from that day to this, has been swelling and expanding, until now, it covers *one-third* of the territory of a State, larger than all the rest of New England. A single mail carrier, wending his solitary way through the passes of the highlands, is followed by small companies of poor peasants, gathering merely a subsistence by cutting and sending down the streams to a market, a few of the trees standing upon the margin. These are succeeded by formidable bands of plunderers, under the pay of wealthy and respectable merchants, sweeping our forests, and accumulating fortunes by the spoils. And last comes a foreign soldiery, who, under the authority of “her Majesty,” build forts and erect barracks, make permanent and military establishments, and claim to hold possession.”

in boats to the Arickaree villages, from whence he took up his line of march across the great Western plains. After suffering the extreme limits of hunger and thirst and the attacks of savage beasts, and still more savage men, he succeeded in forcing his way through snow and ice, over the stern barriers of the Rocky Mountains, and joined his countrymen who had already established themselves at the mouth of the Columbia. Notwithstanding the multiplied disasters which had befallen the expeditions by land and water in this perilous undertaking, Mr. Astor's anticipations of success would have been more than realized, but for the war of 1812. The Northwest Company, jealous of the control this movement would give the Americans over the fur trade and over hundreds of thousands of Indians, despatched Mr. Thompson from one of their trading posts, as a secret emissary, who reached the northern branch of the Columbia, which he descended to Astoria, which had been, months before, established. The Northwest Company had, for years, been under the direction of clear sighted Scotchmen; and many of Mr. Astor's associates were also natives of Scotland. The news of the declaration of war was brought to Astoria by a detachment of the Northwest Company, who, while Mr. Hunt was absent on business to the Sandwich islands, entered into negotiations with Mr. Astor's Scotch friends, which resulted in a transfer to the Northwest Company, of all Mr. Astor's effects and possessions. This had scarcely been completed, when the British sloop of war *Raccoon* appeared off the place, and compelled its surrender. The Northwest Company hoisted the British flag, which was replaced by the American in October, 1813, under a stipulation of the treaty of Ghent. This is the foundation of British possession. Their claim, by right of discovery, is not so strong as the one by possession, inasmuch as the United States, by the treaty of 1818, consented to a joint occupation, and to leave the title undecided. The Northwest Company promptly improved the advantages acquired by accident or treachery, and by the improvidence of our rulers. For a long series of years a bitter rivalry had existed when the Hudson Bay Company, chartered by Charles the Second in 1670, and the Northwest Company, which often led to bloodshed. This caused Parliament to pass an act which united the two into one, under the name of the Hudson Bay Company, and by another act, extended the criminal law of Canada over the boundless region west of the organized States and Territories of this Union. The wisdom of those measures, soon became apparent. From that time the affairs of the company began to prosper; its stock rose from sixty per cent. below par to two hundred above par, and this mostly from an encroachment upon our Indian trade and territory. This great corporation, under the direction of the British Government, exercises almost absolute sway over countless tribes of savages, from the Atlantic Ocean and the great lakes on the east, to the Pacific Ocean on the west, from the Polar regions on the north, to the confines of Mexico on the south. Over this vast area are dotted her forts and factories; she enlists armies of soldiers, and calls them "employe'es," builds ships of war and names them "coasters;"

establishes strongly fortified places, bristling with cannon, as at Vancouver, and nicknames them "Trading Posts," with many less important works east to the mountains and south to the borders of California. By exemption from the payment of any duties on her merchandise, through intrigues, her arts, and arms, the American hunter and trapper have been driven by this powerful and well organized company from any participation in the fur trade west of the Rocky Mountains, and hundreds have fallen victims, in their gorges and passes, to the rifle and tomahawk of the merciless Blackfeet under British influence. Within the last two years shepherds and farmers have been brought from England, by way of Cape Horn, and lands allotted them as colonists; and within twelve months four hundred emigrants have been transferred from the frozen borders of the Red River of Lake Winnipeg to the fertile plains and mild climate of the Valley of the Columbia. From their large farms and extensive mills, the "company" furnishes breadstuffs and provisions to the Russian settlements of the North; lumber to the Californians and Sandwich islands; and the richest furs and peltries to China and Europe; amounting in the aggregate to several millions of dollars in value per annum—thus realizing the brilliant anticipations of Mr. Astor. Understanding thoroughly the advantage they possess, this lordly corporation now openly proclaims its determination never to abandon the country north of the Oregon until compelled by force of arms. Mr. L. said he had in his possession much recent information, which went to prove that the British Government was bent earnestly upon strengthening itself in the Pacific ocean, by holding firmly in its grasp the Territory of Oregon and the Sandwich islands, and if possible acquire from Mexico the fine province of Upper California, with its capacious harbor of San Francisco. He would, from the mass, select the following from a highly respectable source, which went to show some of their doings on that quarter of the continent.

"AFFAIRS IN OREGON.

"The author of the letter below is a citizen of Boston—at the present time a resident at Honolulu, the chief town and mart of the Sandwich Islands, where he owns considerable shipping, and carries on an extensive trade.

"For several years he was engaged in a profitable commerce on the shores of Oregon. About the year 1833, he, with other American merchants, withdrew from the coast, their trade being almost entirely broken up by the monopolizing of the H. B. Company.

"Mr. P. is a true American; I have had much acquaintance with him. I saw and knew much of him while at the islands in 1835. Others, with myself, can bear honorable testimony to his worth—his public examples of generous and noble action. It is due Mr. Peirce and the country, to speak thus particularly of his character—a knowledge of the facts in his letter, as well as of others which may follow in a subsequent paper, being of real importance to the interests of our citizens. They are true, and should be published throughout the land.

H. J. KELLEY

"Honolulu, Oahu, Sandwich Islands,
March 13, 1840.

"HALL J. KELLEY, esq. Boston:

"DEAR SIR: I have received the pamphlet of documents relating to the action of Congress on the Oregon Territory. Please receive my thanks for the same. Is it not astonishing that our Government should show so much apathy on a question involving our national rights, honor, and pride? The British have taken possession of, and are colonizing, a territory clearly ours, by discovery, by purchase from the Indians, and by former settlement of Jacob Astor's people. Our countrymen are little aware of the monopolizing, grasping, and ambi-

tious spirit of the British Hudson Bay Company in this part of the world.

"Look at what they have done, are now doing, and intend to do. They have, for two years last past, been increasing the number of their men at their establishment at Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia. A month since a vessel of theirs took from here eighty natives of these islands, ostensibly for the purpose of farming, &c. but really to increase their military force at the Columbia, and to resist any attempts on the part of our people or Government from dispossessing the company of the occupancy of that place.

"A large number of Saxony sheep have been imported into the Columbia for the breed. Last year they imported 800 sheep from California for the like object.

"It is reported here, and generally believed, that the Hudson Bay Company intend to establish a colony in *Puget's Sound*, Straits of Juan de Fuca. Two more ships are to be added to the company's marine in the North Pacific; for the purpose of extending their operation to these islands and to China, and if possible, to monopolize the trade of the *whole North Pacific!* You well know they have already succeeded in respect to the *fur* trade of the Northwest coast; and I have to tell you that they have now succeeded in monopolizing the trade to the Russian settlements at the Norfolk Sound, &c. The company have contracted to furnish them with any production of England and Europe, at about 30 per cent. on the prime cost, an advance hardly sufficient to cover the charge, but the object of the company will be obtained, viz. to *destroy American commerce on the whole coast of the Northwest.*

"A Company's vessel will leave this, and each succeeding year, from the Columbia to Norfolk sound, with a large contract of flour, wheat, beef, pork, butter, &c.—*actually realizing some of your mad projects!* Last year a fine coal mine was discovered somewhere near Puget's sound, and 150 or 200 tons of the same was taken to England for sale by one of the Company's vessels, as much probably for ballast as for profit.

"I might write a volume on the subject of this letter. But enough has been stated to show, that unless some of the energetic character of the old General is shown by the present President, our trade in this part of the world, instead of increasing, must be destroyed by the overpowering capital of the Hudson's Bay Company, our rights as to the sovereignty over the Oregon territory laughed at, and our character as a nation become a by-word to the world. Do, for the honor of our country, what you can to rouse our Government to the great importance of an immediate military occupation of the Oregon territory, and the establishment of its northern boundary.

"You may make such use of this letter (written in haste) as you think proper. Your friend,

HENRY A. PIERCE."

The foothold the company acquired, as successor to Mr. Astor, was artfully secured to it for ten years by the third article of the treaty of October, 1818, between the United States and Great Britain, and prolonged for an indefinite period by the treaty of September, 1827, the parties reserving the right to put an end to it by giving twelve months' notice. The Senate will perceive at once some of the evil consequences flowing from permitting ourselves to be entangled in the meshes of diplomacy in regard to our title, which we never should have allowed ourselves to discuss with any European power whatever. These treaties have prevented any legislative action, on the part of the United States, to encourage emigration by making grants of land to settlers, building towns, custom-houses, or any governmental act which would have the appearance of permanent possession or exclusive jurisdiction, whilst the title was thus placed in abeyance. They proved a stumbling block to Doctor Floyd, and to every other member of Congress who may have attempted any thing of a legislative kind, with a view to the occupation and settlement of this territory.

These treaties should be put an end to by the President, and the subject opened again for discussion or final settlement in some way. Delay only weakens us, and strengthens the claims of our adversary, as in the Maine boundary. The United States is now the second commercial nation in the world, and in another quar-

ter of a century, will probably be the first.—The genius and enterprise of our countrymen carry them to the utmost bounds of the earth, our canvass whitens every sea, and our flag floats on every breeze. In no portion of the world has this commerce increased faster than in the Pacific ocean, the capital invested being not less than twenty millions of dollars, and giving employment to twelve or fourteen thousand seamen. To this commerce the Territory of Oregon is of the highest importance in times of peace, and during the period of war is indispensable. Had we possessed some strongly fortified port on the Northwest coast as a place of refuge during the late war with England, Commodore Porter's daring enterprise and efforts would have been crowned with entire success; instead of injuring materially, he would have completely cut up the enemy's commerce in that quarter, and saved himself and gallant crew from the melancholy fate which befel them at the hands of a perfidious foe, who attacked them in Valparaiso, a neutral port, in opposition to the laws of nations, and in defiance of every principle of chivalry. The possession of Oregon, independent of the protection and enlargement it would give to trade in the North Pacific, is of primary importance to our expanded and dangerous Indian relations; to our intercourse with the Northern Provinces of Mexico; to our fur trade; but above all, as an outlet to the Anglo-American family, destined, in the progress of time, to carry across the Pacific Ocean, to the land of the First Parents of all mankind, the blessings of free principles in Government. For ages past, England has pursued one uniform line of policy; and that was, by conquest or otherwise, to lay hold of all the strong points of the globe, from which to annoy or ruin the commerce of others and protect her own. She overawes the East India trade from the Cape of Good Hope—flanks it from St. Helena, the Marattius, Malagascars and Ceylon—commands the entire commerce of the Mediterranean Sea by the impregnable fortress of Gibraltar and the scarcely less impregnable Island of Malta—flanks the trade of North America from Halifax and the Bermudas; commands the Gulf of Mexico and a portion of South America from the Islands of Jamaica and Trinidad; and in less than twenty years the Isthmus of Darien, the Sandwich Islands, Upper California and the territory of Oregon, will be added to the overgrown dominions of the British Crown, unless this Government, by suitable preparation, takes that stand its lasting interests require. Under cover of the East India Company she has subjugated kingdoms in Asia, and threatens to augment her conquests by the overthrow of the Chinese Empire. Under the mask of the Hudson's Bay Company she is insiduously at work to engross the fur trade; gain a predominating influence over all the Western Indians up to the very borders of Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa; and acquire actual possession of some of the fairest portions of this continent. He said he would not dwell longer on this subject, nor attempt to delineate the many evil effects which would follow the continued possession of the territory of Oregon by the English.

If parted with, its price ought to be blood. In all times and countries, the fiercest conflicts between

individuals and the bloodiest wars between nations, have grown out of disputed claims to land or territory; and he very much feared that we were about to furnish another example.

Are these two vexed questions, so long under discussion, in a fair way to be amicably adjusted? No, sir; they are not. Will members of this body rise in their places and say they are? Every hour widens the breach. And, if so, who can tell at what moment some outbreak may take place along the extended and excited borders, on either side, which may plunge us suddenly into a state of hostilities with the mightiest power of the world?

Are we prepared to repel aggression or to enforce our rights in either of these cases of disputed territory? No, sir, we are not; nor will we ever be, so long as we continue to squander, by dividing to the States the revenues which should be appropriated to the army and navy, and the defences of the country. On the one hand, we are plundered of our territory by a foreign power, and on the other, we rob the Treasury of our common country of the means necessary to its recovery, and necessary to the defence of the whole Union. Is this patriotic or statesman like? Can such conduct be justified by the letter or spirit of the Constitution? Will our constituents justify it?

Mr. LINN said, he would call the attention of the Senate to a subject somewhat connected with the last, which he thought of great magnitude, and which seemed to him to have been treated with unmerited indifference for years past by most of our public men, and indeed by the American people generally—that was, the influence Great Britain exerts over Indian tribes within the jurisdiction of the United States. Against this enormous evil a prompt remedy should be provided. During the war of the Revolution, and down to the present period, the British Government has uniformly resorted to the barbarous policy of subsidizing savages, in war and in peace, within and beyond the boundary line of the United States. To perpetuate this influence, for the purpose of using them against us in the event of hostilities, has never been lost sight of by her statesmen; and probably never will cease until such representations are made against its continuance as cannot be mistaken. It was not his intention, on this occasion, to open the bloodstained pages of our Revolutionary history, filled as they were with accounts of the frightful atrocities of a savage enemy, acting under the influence of the English authorities. But with the treaty of 1783, which secured our independence, peace was not restored between the Indians and the whites. On the contrary, the most destructive war, excited by foreign influence, was kept up for many years. History says, that from 1783 to 1790 not less than three thousand persons were murdered, or dragged into captivity from the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky. The scalp and the prisoners travelled the old war-paths. The British Indian department was both strong and active. A personal inspection was made by Lieut. Gov. Hunter, and a fort was commenced on the Miami. The hopes of the Indians were elated by the celebrated war talk of Lord Dorchester. Profuse issues of clothing, provisions, and ammunition, were made to them. Several intercepted letters of

British officers were published, which leave no doubt of the influence exerted upon the Indians. General Wayne, in his official report, says that he had obtained a victory over the combined forces of the hostile Indians, and a considerable number of volunteers and militia of Detroit, [then occupied and held by the Canadians.] And this, too, in time of profound peace between the American and British Government. The savage wars spirit, stimulated by this influence, and encouraged to continuance by the terrible disasters which befel the armies of Harmar, St. Clair, and others, was ultimately subdued in the memorable defeat of the Indians, in a battle with General Wayne, fought under the guns of an English fort, erected within the territory of the United States, and held in defiance of a solemn treaty! After the convention of Greenville, a general calm ensued among our red neighbors, which was occasionally interrupted by the incursion of some predatory band, with the usual accompaniments of conflagration, robbery and murder. But it must not be supposed, that during this general cessation of hostilities, the English Government, its agents or traders, were idle. Pensions were granted and regularly paid to Indian chiefs and warriors; and arms, ammunition and clothing, distributed to all whom they could reach, who a trade or co-operation might be useful within or without our jurisdiction. A long series of insults and injuries upon the ocean and upon the land, followed up by the attack upon the Chesapeake frigate, in our own waters, and within sight of our shores, roused the whole country from its lethargy, and for a moment the spirit of our fathers flashed across the land. A point seemed to have been reached, when forbearance ceased to be a virtue. From that time new life and activity were infused into her Indian affairs by the British authorities, in anticipation of coming events; and Indian outrages upon our defenceless frontiers, kept pace with the increased activity of the prime movers of them.

The restless, enterprising, and chivalrous spirit of Tecumseh was put in motion; he flew from nation to nation, and for years exerted his great abilities to form a coalition among all the tribes unfriendly to the United States. These efforts, to a great extent, were successful. The battle of Tippecanoe, fought in November, 1811, whilst he was on a mission to the Southern Indians, and the declaration of war against the English, in 1812, prevented the completion of his great design. At the same time that the Indian chief was at work on the borders, exerting every where his red brethren to a united effort against the Americans, the English emissary and spy, John Henry, was carrying on his operations in the bowels of the land, to promote strife and disunion. No sooner did hostilities commence, than we again find the combined force of the British and Indians enter the field as our enemies.

The massacre at the River Raisin, of Dudley's army, and the midnight conflagration and murder along the frontier, will attest how faithfully their red allies performed the work assigned them. The Indian of the desert was true to his engagements, and in return his civilized, polished, christian friend clothed, fed, and paid him from his abundant stores; and during the negotiations for peace

at Ghent, he was not forgotten, as will be seen from the following proposition made by his Britannic Majesty's ministers to the American ambassadors. The enormity of this demand will be perceived at once by tracing the lines on a map.

"The next important point to be attended to in a treaty of peace with the United States, is a new boundary for the Indians.

"The boundary line which appears best for the protection of Indian rights, and which would add to the security of Canada, would be to run a line from Soudusky, on Lake Erie, to the nearest waters falling into the Ohio; then down that river, and up the Mississippi, to the mouth of the Missouri; thence up the Missouri to its principal source, confining the United States to the Rocky Mountains as their western boundary, and excluding them from all the country to the northward and westward of the lines here designated, which, from those lines to that which should be agreed on as the British boundary of Canada, should remain wholly for the Indians as their hunting grounds. The boundary between the United States and the Indians, as fixed up by the treaty of Greenville, before alluded to, would perhaps answer as the new boundary line for the protection of the Indians, if extended so as to run up the Missouri to the Rocky Mountains; provided that all the reservations and conditions in that treaty relative to the various tracts of ground within that line, for the advantage of the United States, and all other conditions attached to them by it, be wholly done away, and the American Government (and probably, also reciprocally the British) excluded from having any forts, military posts, territorial jurisdiction, or public prospects of any kind, within the Indian line; but the bona fide property of white people in lands within that boundary, where the Indian titles shall have been fairly extinguished previous to a new treaty with America, might perhaps be safely allowed under the territorial jurisdiction of Great Britain.

"This would, of course, obviate the necessity of any reservation as to the right of the British to carry on trade with the Indians, whose independence being thus established, they would have the right to admit or interdict whom they please; and we well know to whom they would, both from inclination and interest, give the preference. This is the more desirable, as the intercourse with the Indians of that quarter by the British, being carried on by permission, as it were, of a jealous and hostile nation, has been the fruitful source of innumerable excursions, continued disputes, and incessant broils.

"For men whose friendship has been recently shown to be of such great importance to us, we cannot be too much. We should see all their wrongs redressed, their territory restored to them, and themselves rendered forever secure from American encroachment. But the independence of the Indians cannot be effectually preserved by the articles of any treaty which shall provide security for the Indian territory or Indian rights, unless what is indispensable for their due execution, Great Britain become the avowed guarantor and protector of those rights and that territory, so as to have both the right and the power to instant interference, in case of any encroachments and violation, and not, as hitherto, be a silent spectator of wrongs and injustice, more immediately injurious to the aborigines, but eventually as ruinous to the security of the Canadians."

This was the basis of the *modest* proposition to divide the Union, and form from a portion of it an Indian territory under the guardianship of England, which was firmly and successfully resisted by the American commissioners—although presented as a *sine qua non*, and in lieu of it, they returned a counter project, having for its object a prohibition against the employment of savages by either country, in the event of any future wars between them. The English envoys rejected this philanthropic proposition as inadmissible. What admirable consistency, humanity and justice Great Britain exhibits to the world! By her social system of laws she taxes one portion of her citizens to support another—liberates black slaves in the West Indies, and impresses her sailors and drags them in fetters on board her floating dungeons to fight the country's battles in distant seas, far from home or friends—holds "world's conventions," to emancipate slaves in the United States, and tramples under foot the conquered peninsula of Hindos-

tan, and noble, generous Ireland—invasades China for seizing and confiscating English contraband opium, and pays a premium to savages to burn, murder and scalp her own flesh and blood in the United States—has no law on her statute books for punishing her own people for a breach of neutrality, but threatens war if the laws of neutrality are not strictly enforced by us—demands imperiously indemnity for injuries done to the persons and property of her subjects, yet refuses indemnity, or satisfaction for the violation of our territory the destruction of the Caroline and the murder of our citizens.

As before stated, after the treaty of 1783, the northwest Indians, instigated by English means and agents, continued their cruel and destructive war against us until their complete overthrow by Gen. Wayne, in 1793. So also after the treaty of Ghent, in 1814, the Southern Indians, by similar means, were urged to hostilities equally desolating to that frontier, until the Seminoles were signally defeated by Gen. Jackson in 1818. Reports on your files from Governors Cass and Clarke, and from Indian agents, as Fulkerson, Schoolcraft, Hughes, Dougherty, &c.—from traders and travellers, as Ashley, Gordon, Farnham, Pichei, Sublette, &c. &c. all conclusively prove that the exercise of this British influence is destructive to the property and lives of our people. Nor will it be permitted to cease, as is apparent from the following. Lord Glenelg, in a despatch addressed to the Earl of Gosford and Sir F. Head, of 14th January 1836, says:

"The annual expenditure incurred by this country [Great Britain] on account of Indians in Upper and Lower Canada has been limited, since the year 1820, to £20,000; of this sum, £15,500 has been considered applicable to the purchase of presents, and £4,500 to pay and pensions of Indian Departments.

"Deferring for the present any observation on this latter branch of expenditure, I feel bound, after much consideration, to express my opinion, that the time has not yet arrived at which it would be possible, consistently with good faith, altogether to discontinue the annual presents to the Indians. It appears that, although no formal obligation can be cited for such issues, there is yet ample evidence that on every occasion when this country has been engaged in war on the North American continent, the cooperation of the Indian tribes has been anxiously sought, and has been obtained. This was particularly the case in the years 1777 and 1812; and I am inclined to believe that it is from these periods respectively that the present annual supplies date their commencement.

"Of the sum expended in presents, there is, however, a portion which would appear to be placed under peculiar circumstances. It has often been represented, and lately on official authority, that of the Indians who receive presents from the British Government, a considerable number reside within the United States, and only resort to Canada at the periods of issue."

That American Indians resorted annually to Canada for their presents, could be easily proved. An officer in our service, stationed at Fort Brady, informed him that he counted 8,000 who passed that post in 1840 to receive their accustomed presents, which supports the statements of our Indian Agents. If the two Governments should ever open negotiations with a view to a final settlement of all the points in dispute between them, he hoped this would be made a prominent one; yes, a *sine qua non*.

With but little aid from the States east of the Alleghany mountains, the Western States have increased in wealth and population in obedience to the eternal laws that direct and govern their onward march. Every thing

that Government could do has been done to encourage and expand maritime commerce, and afford it ample protection. Let a ship be plundered and the crew murdered in Java, or in any of the far distant isles of the ocean, and one of our national vessels is promptly despatched to demand redress, or punish aggression; whilst murder and devastation on the frontier sometimes pass unheeded, and our claims to indemnity are often treated with neglect and indifference. As yet, the General Government has done but little to encourage the trade and intercourse between the people of the West and the interior provinces of Mexico; and nothing to increase the trade between the whites and Indians. The erection of a line of military posts from the Missouri to the Columbia, and allowing a drawback upon such articles of merchandise as are used in both trades, would go far towards placing us on an equal footing with the English or any foreign power. In vain, year after year, has Missouri sent her memorial after memorial, relating to the subject of drawback. A deaf ear was turned up in all our representations, until within the last three years, when a committee was found favorable to the measure, which reported a bill that passed the Senate twice in succession, but which was buried beneath a mass of other business accumulated by the perpetual strife and waste of time spent in President making. Some of the evil effects of this long delay, and want of proper attention on the part of the United States, have been, that the American traders on the Santa Fe route, and the hunters and trappers on the Rocky Mountains, and on the Upper Missouri and Mississippi, are oft shot with British rifles, knocked on the head with British hatchets, and scalped with British knives, in the hands of Indians wearing British blankets. He said that if he had dwelt at some length on this subject, it was because he felt as a Western man should feel, the blood of whose friends and relatives had been poured out like water by the red man upon the soil of almost every State and Territory in the valley of the Mississippi, and as a representative from Missouri, whose interests are deeply and immediately involved in this and Oregon affairs; and were his voice potent enough, it should reach the ear of every man in the Republic, and rouse him to a due sense of the importance of this species of foreign influence. Leaving out of the account the forced acknowledgment of our independence, and her debts upon the ocean, and by our armies during the last war, if England were to embody all her causes of complaint against this country, they would be but a feather in the balance, when weighed against her Indian enormities.

The next in point of importance, if not the most pressing in its nature, was the searching and capture, by British ships of war, of a number of our merchant vessels engaged in legitimate trade on the coast of Africa, under the plea that they were concerned in the slave trade. These captures were made under circumstances well calculated to stir the blood of Americans, and revive the recollection of outrages committed in years long since passed, when, under British orders in council, secretly sent forth to their naval commanders, our ships were seized upon the high seas, without

warning or notice, and plundered, or burnt, or confiscated by their Courts of Admiralty. He was the more anxious to have the attention of the Senate to this matter, as it had begun since the outrage upon the *Caroline*, he believed, and was growing to an extent which seemed to increase in proportion to the impunity with which it was suffered to exist. Disturbed, as the harmony of the two countries unquestionably was, nothing could be better contrived to widen the breach than this *practical revival* of the unjust and exploded doctrines of the right of search, and nothing seemed wanting to complete the circle of our wrongs but a renewal of the practice of impressing American seamen into the English navy. And if these captures are not promptly disavowed or atoned for, he thought the United States would be justified in the eyes of the world in commencing hostilities at once. Mr. L. said he regretted to see the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations [Mr. RIVES] was not in his seat, as he desired to ask him some questions touching this subject. His absence would compel him to make use of Doc. No. 34, which had been laid on our tables, since July 14th, without once being alluded to by that chairman, or any member of the body, so far as his memory served him. As this document was long, he would content himself with reading a few passages from the able and spirited letter of our Minister, Mr. Stevenson, addressed to Lord Palmerston, but would make free use of these communications in his printed remarks, that his constituents might have the information it contained in their possession. Mr. Forsyth, in a despatch, calls the attention of our Minister to the seizure of the *Jones*, *Seam*, and *Egros*, under the pretence of their being engaged in the slave trade, and to the outrage committed on the *William and Frances*—he says: "the persistence in these unwarrantable proceedings is not only destructive to private interests, but must inevitably destroy the *harmony* of the two countries." These cases were formally laid before the English Ministers, in addition to others of a similar nature, and no answer returned. Again: Mr. Stevenson complains to Lord Palmerston of the capture of the *Jago*, of New York, under circumstances of an aggravated kind, such as breaking open trunks of the captain and sailors, plunder of clothing, nautical instruments, &c. &c. and in the case of the *Hero*, of New Orleans, in the following words:

"It appears that this schooner sailed from the Havana in June, 1810, with a cargo of assorted merchandise, bound to Wyah on the African coast. That, on her voyage on the 9th of August, she was boarded by her Majesty's brig the *Lynx*, and brought to anchor, her hatches were broken open and overhauled, and the commander of the *Lynx* then determined to send her into Sierra Leone. That after removing a part of the crew of the schooner on board the cruiser, and sending his own men to take charge of the *Hero*, who robbed her of a part of her supplies, the commander of the *Lynx* determined to surrender the schooner and permit her to pursue her voyage. That, on the arrival of the schooner at Wydah, her cargo was found to have been greatly damaged by the crew of the *Lynx*, during her capture and detention by the British commander.

"These are the material facts in relation to the two cases now submitted. The previous communications which the undersigned has had the honor heretofore of addressing to Lord Palmerston on subjects of a similar character, will relieve him from the necessity of recurring to the peculiar circumstances under these repeated outrages upon the vessels and commerce of American citizens have been perpetrated, or discussing the principles under which her Majesty's officers have attempted to justify their conduct."

To these oft repeated complaints of captures and outrages, no answer was returned, though pressed for one, as will be seen from the following letter:

Mr. Stevenson to the Secretary of State—Extract.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
LONDON, April 19, 1841.

"In compliance with the instructions received from your predecessor, I addressed to Lord Palmerston a note upon the subject of the seizure on the African coast, of four vessels—the *Tigris*, *Leamew*, *Jones*, and *William and Frances*." A copy of my note I have the honor to transmit. My previous despatches will have informed you of the steps I had taken on this subject previous to your taking charge of our foreign relations. Most of the cases which have been submitted to this Government, you will see, have remained unanswered, notwithstanding every effort on my part to obtain justice for the claimants and get a decision."

Again, under date of April 16, 1841, he sends another official note to Lord Palmerston, and as it covers the whole ground, he would, with permission, read it to the Senate.

[ENCLOSURE.]

Mr. Stevenson to Lord Palmerston.

32 UPPER GROSVENOR STREET,

April 16, 1841.

"MY LORD: It is with unfeigned regret that I have the honor of acquainting your lordship that I have been made my duty again to invite the attention of her Majesty's Government to the subject of the continued seizure and detention of American vessels by British cruisers on the high seas, and to express the painful surprise with which the Government of the United States have learned that the repeated representations which have heretofore been made on the subject, have not only remained without effect, in obtaining a favorable decision, but have failed to receive the attention which their importance merited. That a series of such open and unprovoked aggressions as those which have been practised for the last two or three years by her Majesty's cruisers on the vessels and commerce of the United States, and which were made the subject of complaint, would have been permitted to remain so long undecided, was not to have been anticipated.

"On the contrary, my Government had confidently expected that the justice of the demands which had been made would either have been acknowledged or denied or satisfactory reasons for the delay adduced.

"This was to have been expected, not less for the justice of her Majesty's Government than the respect which was due to that of the United States. Her Majesty's Government, however, have not seen fit to adopt this course, but have permitted a delay to place of so marked a character as not only to the individual injuries which have been sustained, but to become a fit subject of complaint. It is in this view that I have been specially instructed to make another appeal to your lordship; and, in doing so, to accompany it with four additional cases of seizure of American vessels on the African coast of character more violent and aggravated than those which I have before had the honor of presenting to the notice of her Majesty's Government. These are the cases of the brig *Tigris* and ship *Seamew*, of Massachusetts, and the brigs *Jones*, and *William and Frances*, of New York. For the more clear and satisfactory understanding of each particular case, I beg leave to refer your lordship to the document which I have received, copies of which I have now the honor of transmitting. These papers require no comment. I shall therefore refrain from troubling your lordship with a recapitulation of the details which they contain. The only inquiry which I presume it will be necessary to make, will be, whether the vessel were the property of American citizens, under the protection of the United States, and were actually seized and detained by her Majesty's cruisers. How of the national character of the four vessels, your lordship, will at once perceive that the evidence is conclusive.

"They were documented, according to the laws of the United States, are the property of their citizens, and were under the protection of the American flag at the time of seizure. In the case of the *Tigris*, she was not only literally captured, but sent with a prize crew from the coast of Africa to the United States for condemnation, upon the alleged ground of having on board an African boy, whose Lieutenant Watson chose to consider as sufficient evidence of her being engaged in the slave trade, and consequently liable to capture and condemnation. This he admits in a letter addressed by him to the officer of the circuit court of the United States, under date of the 19th of October, 1840, a copy of which will be found amongst the papers transmitted. Now, I do not mean to enter into the discussion of the right of her Majesty's officers to enforce the existing treaties for the suppression of the slave trade against the vessels and citizens of the United States on the high seas. The subject

has been too repeatedly urged upon the consideration of your lordship and her Majesty's Government to render a recapitulation of the arguments necessary or proper. The determination of the United States has been distinctly announced, that they could admit no cognizance to be taken by foreign ships of those belonging to their citizens, on the ocean, and under their flag, either for the purpose of ascertaining whether their papers were genuine or forged, or whether the vessels were slavers or not. That the admission of any such pretension would, in effect, be surrendering the right of search.

"This opinion, your lordship will find, has been repeatedly made known to her Majesty's Government, not only in the communications which I have had the honor of addressing to you, but in those of the Secretary of State to Mr. Fox, her Majesty's Minister, and which doubtless were communicated by him for the information of his Government. It becomes my duty, therefore, again, distinctly to express to your lordship the fixed determination of my Government, that *their flag* is to be the safeguard and protection to the persons and property of its citizens and all under it, and that these continued aggressions upon the vessels and commerce of the United States cannot longer be permitted. Nor is there in this course any thing which can justly be considered as at all in conflict with the laws and policy of the United States on the subject of the African slave trade. In prohibiting, under the severest penalties, the participation of their citizens and vessels in that trade, there is no preference for the exercise of a right of search on the part of foreign nations. The violation of the laws of the United States is a matter exclusively for their own authorities, and however sincere the desire of their Government may be, as in truth it is, to punish those of their citizens who participate in the trade, it cannot permit foreign nations to interfere in the enforcement of their penal laws. Yielding, as the United States readily do, to other nations the undoubted and full exercise of their sovereign rights, their own dignity and security require the vindication of their own. For the abolition of the slave trade, the United States have adopted such measures as were deemed most efficacious and proper. If they had not been such as her Majesty's Government wished to have been adopted, it may be cause of regret, but not for intervention. Each nation must be left to judge for itself. Each be the arbiter of its own justice. This, it is needless to remind your lordship, is an essential right of sovereignty, which no independent nation will yield to another. It should also be borne in mind that, in making the slave trade piracy, the Government of the United States have not thereby made it an offence against the laws of nations, inasmuch as one nation cannot increase or limit the public law. Reluctant, then, as the United States must always be to take any course which, in the opinion of her Majesty's Government, might have the effect of throwing obstacles in the way of the total abolition of this inhuman and detestable traffic, it can never consent, even for such a purpose, to allow foreign vessels the right of entering or searching those of the United States, or violate the freedom of her flag.

"I have accordingly been instructed to bring the subject again under your lordship's notice, and to express the confident expectation of my Government, that these outrages upon the vessels and property of its citizens, by her Majesty's naval officers, will not only be disavowed by her Majesty's Government, and the individuals concerned in their perpetration punished, but that ample redress for the injuries sustained will be made with as little delay as possible. In making this appeal, I need not again remind your lordship of the length of time which has elapsed since many of these cases were presented, or how repeatedly and earnestly they have been pressed upon the consideration of her Majesty's Government. It must now be apparent, that neither the dignity of the Government of the United States, nor the duty which it owes its citizens, can justify any further delay in their final disposition. Indeed, such continued and unprovoked aggressions upon the rights and persons of American citizens, contrary to every principle of common justice and right, and in violation of all the principles of public law, is becoming a matter of so much importance as to involve considerations of the deepest interest to both Governments, and cannot fail, if longer delayed, to interrupt the amicable relations of two countries, which it is so much the desire and interest of both Governments to cultivate and preserve.

"I pray your lordship to accept assurances of the distinguished consideration with which I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,
A. STEVENSON."

To this forcible communication no written answer, as far as we have any knowledge, had yet been returned. Her Britannic Majesty's ministers appear as reluctant to write upon this, as upon the subject of burning the *Caroline*, the violation of our territory, and the murder of our people; although Lord Palmerston manifests a strong dislike to committing himself on paper in regard to this matter,

he was not quite so repugnant to holding a conversation. Mr. Stevenson says, in a note to Mr. Webster, dated March 14, 1841:

"In the course of the interview, I took occasion to draw Lord Palmerston's attention to the subject of the African seizures, &c. He said, in the course of the conversation, in reply to Mr. Stevenson, 'THAT THE RIGHT EXISTED OF ASCERTAINING, IN SOME WAY OR ANOTHER, THE CHARACTER OF THE VESSEL; AND THAT BY HER PAPERS, AND NOT THE COLORS OR FLAG WHICH MIGHT BE DISPLAYED.'

"I at once assured him that, under no circumstances would the Government of the United States consent to the exercise of the right, on the part of any foreign nation, to interrupt, board, or search their vessels on the high seas. That, to admit the right of a foreign naval officer to decide upon the genuineness of the papers of American vessels, by boarding them, or bringing their captains on board of British cruisers, was, in effect, allowing the right of search, and therefore utterly indefensible; that my Government would never consent to it, under any form, however limited or modified. His lordship said that it could not be regarded as a right of search—that was not desired by her Majesty's Government. That it was the wish of both Governments to see the traffic in slaves abolished; and he did not see how it ever could be accomplished, unless some mode was adopted of ascertaining the real character of vessels suspected of being slavers, and preventing the abuse of our flag. This was the substance of a brief conversation on the subject."

Mr. L. said, that if the English Government was as anxious to preserve the peace of the two countries, as its statesmen seemed to indicate was its earnest desire, he must be permitted to say, that some very strange methods were taken to prove that love of peace, and to prove its friendship for the United State. To him, it rather seemed as if they were calculating the number of stripes this country would bear without resistance, and these seizures were as unkind and deep a cut, as this nation could have received.

It has been repeatedly urged on this floor, that the peace of the two countries was in no danger of being broken, it being their mutual interest to preserve it; that peace was still more important to the interest of England than to the United States. Gentlemen may find themselves greatly mistaken. In 1812, during the gloomiest period of her history, when the power of Bonaparte overshadowed all Europe, and almost every continental port was closed on her commerce, England forced this country, by a long list of injuries, into a declaration of war rather than avert it by making a timely concession to justice, which would neither have violated her interests nor lessened her dignity. If, under such circumstances, she refused concession or justice, what have you to expect now, when her arms and policy are carried in triumph over the world. Her statesmen are far-seeing and far-reaching, and pursue a cold, stern, unbending line of policy, *always* having in view the aggrandizement of their own country.

It may be her interest to acquire by conquest what she cannot acquire by diplomacy—the territory of Oregon and the connecting link between her North American colonies. It may be her interest to divert public opinion at home from pulling her aristocratic institutions to pieces, by giving a new field of enterprise to restless spirits. Twenty-five years ago you had but one cause of dispute, your Maine boundary question; now you have piled up cause upon cause, till with the accumulation war appears inevitable. He, (Mr. LINN,) in view of this almost inevitable result, must resist this bill, for he could not consent to part with the sinews of war till he was assured his country was safe. Let her defence be first provided for,

and cease taxing and borrowing money, before you talk of distribution. It would cost fifteen millions of dollars to put the fortifications of the city of New York, Boston, Portsmouth, Philadelphia, Narraganset Bay, Baltimore, and the Delta of the Mississippi river, in a proper state of defence. It would cost millions for the protection of our coast bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, and near a million for the exposed Western frontier. The whole charge of our national defence could not fall short of eighty millions; and twenty millions more would be required for armaments, armories, foundries, and for steamships of war and batteries to compete with the offensive power of England.

During the session of 1835, in view of the exposed situation of the Western frontier, crowded with Indians from the old States, and the destitution of soldiery to garrison some of the principal seaports—so destitute in consequence of the Florida war as not to be able to fire a salute from the forts on the appearance of a French national vessel of war, he had moved a resolution, in reply to which a favorable report was made from the War Department to the Senate. The subject was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, whose chairman [Mr. BENTON] reported a bill to increase our little army from six to twelve thousand men, and which finally passed Congress, notwithstanding strenuous opposition from leading Whigs.

Will any say now this increase was not necessary? With an overflowing Treasury, during the same session, gentlemen in the Opposition (with some exceptions) opposed important appropriations, presented by his distinguished colleague, for national defences, to augment the sum to be distributed among the States. And now, when the Treasury is empty, and it is found necessary to resort to loans and taxes, they give from three to five millions from your lands to the States, can it be pretended that we are not now in as much need of ships and fortifications as we were of men in 1836 or '7? Can the course be reconciled to a reflecting people?

That we are on the very eve of hostilities with Great Britain it seemed folly to doubt. He for one could not see clearly how it was to be avoided; one after another, black and portentous clouds rise above the horizon, which must soon congregate into one dense mass and burst in a tempest upon our happy country. Others may perceive, beneath the folds of the gathering storm, a bright line of tranquillity and peace. For one he could not—others may repose upon the unsubstantial vision of hope, or be lulled to rest by the sweet tones of her voice—he would not listen to her syren songs while he saw danger ahead. In all his conversations with gentlemen of opposite politics, he never heard one deny but that there was imminent danger of an immediate collision—yet, in this chamber, for political effect he presumed, they had nothing on their lips but peace, peace. Sir, there is no peace to be feared, for us. If the signs of the times were not such as indicated by the political position of this country and England, have you not, in the rest of the world, evidence that a cycle of war and peace follow each other in regular succession, like the epidemics which afflict mankind, and require us to provide against the evil to come?

In the natural revolutions of the world, a period of war and peace seemed necessary to the present fallen state of man, and this would probably continue until the benign influence of Christianity had softened all hearts and the torch of science illuminated all minds; it may be ages upon ages in its progress to perfection, but it was a glorious prospect to contemplate, although veiled in the womb of time.

Philosophers may sigh for it, and the Christian wait in meekness to hail its advent—but turn now to which side you will, to the Eastern or to the Western world, to the North or to the South, and you hear of wars and rumors of wars—even in our own peaceful land, the elements of strife seem in frightful commotion.

While the party now in possession of the administration of the Government has been busy in concocting schemes to distribute the public lands, the proceeds of which should be devoted to the national defences; while it has been deluding the people with false promises of high wages and abundance; while it has been laboring here, day and night, to erect an enormous bank machine, the effects of which would be to enable the rich to grind the face of the poor and unsuspecting, while it contemplates relieving the people from pecuniary distress by taxing them twenty per cent on articles of general consumption, to supply the deficiency created, or to be created, by the passage of this bill; the English Government has been drawing round the territory of the United States a cordon of military power, which she can tighten at a moment's warning. And may not that moment be near at hand? If McLeod is hanged, Mr. Fox, it is said, will demand his passports and quit the country; and the next you will hear will be the sound of the British cannon reverberating along your Atlantic border, and the savage Indian's warwhoop along another. Yet all these admonitions, so rudely given for years past, are unheeded; and you go on making your paltry distributions of the means entrusted to you for the nation's safety and honor. Mr. Fox says in effect to the Secretary of State, that if McLeod is not given up, the consequences will be of the most serious character. It will not, cannot be denied, that this is the language of intimidation. If he (Mr. L.) had no other motive for hanging McLeod than this, it should be done, if proved guilty of the crimes of which he is charged. But it was not the life of a mere man that could wipe out a nation's wrongs. Whether he was punished or not, this Government is bound in honor to have atonement for its deep injuries. *It must insist on retraction and indemnity.* And this threat is superadded to the murder of your people, almost in cold blood. What may have been the number of the living freight of the Caroline, which English violence committed to the flames and sent booming over the cataract of Niagara, Heaven alone now can tell. This deed still cries aloud for redress. Your territory has been violated, your citizens assailed in their beds and slaughtered, and their property destroyed and burned; and, to crown all, when the hand of the law is laid upon one of the murderers and despoilers, a nation, professing relations of amity, attempts to throw the mantle of her power and au-

thority over the criminal, and avows, in the face of truth, the crime itself: and when it is said, we have the murderer—let him give satisfaction to the offended laws! that nation insults you by a threat, and it is borne as tamely as the original outrage! That proud nation, which never admits an equality, domineers now, as she always has done, and proclaims to the world, as she always has done, that her individual subjects shall be protected by her power, no matter whether injured by sea or by land, in the territory of friend or foe. No expense of treasure or blood is permitted to stand in the way of this great and uniform line of policy. And when that proud nation holds such language to you—language never uttered by her without a meaning, nor difficult to be understood—is it a time to be paltering with your more than questionable party measures, instead of looking to the timely and legitimate preparations for the gathering storm? How are you to avert it? Certainly not by standing idle with folded arms—certainly not by pursuing a tame, truckling policy towards our haughty mother—certainly not by squandering your vast public domain for ignoble purposes! What sort of atonement or indemnity can you receive for the seizure of your merchant ships on the coast of Africa, the burning of the Caroline, the invasion of our country, and the murder of our citizens? How can the people of the United States get rid of the responsibility of not acting with promptitude, or of the odium of being the inactive, quiescent recipient of these gross violations of their national rights? *If the British Government is so tangible with regard to national honor, and so sensitive as respects the lives of its subjects as to threaten us with hostilities because the laws of the State of New York endangers the life of one man, what ought this Government to feel, when citizens of the United States have been murdered, with the superadded indignities of property destroyed and territory invaded? War, with all its concomitants, is a terrible scourge to a nation—dishonor is worse.*

Gentlemen will probably say, that he was mistaken in regard to the beligerent aspect of our affairs. He solemnly, before God, hoped it might be so. He had, however, formed his opinion from facts as they now exist. In this opinion he was supported by the course pursued by the British Government; for it was strengthening itself at every point—you see it in the increased activity of her dockyards, in preparing heavy line of battle ships, and in building and arming additional steam vessels; in the number of veteran troops stationed on our borders, aided by well organized provincial militia, with 20 or 30,000 black troops in the West Indies, and clouds of Indian warriors on your frontiers. But suppose that he was in error, it was still a paramount duty we owe the country to place its defences on a formidable footing—it was a duty we should neither postpone nor evade. He most sincerely desired never to see this a military Government; or that it should ever be infested with a spirit of conquest. We should only wish our principles to dominate. Their inherent beauty and strength would prove more powerful in changing the political condition of the world than conquering fleets and armies. Notwithstanding, the country should possess the necessary armaments to defy sudden

assaults, punish insulting threats, and enable it to take that stand among the nations of the earth to which our numbers and resources entitle it. His amendment, if adopted, would contribute greatly to these desirable objects, and at the same time go very far towards tranquillizing the public mind in reference to the national domain, as every man, woman, and child, in this broad land, was deeply interested in seeing its defences perfected. From the days of Washington down to the present moment all your Presidents have united in the same opinion, in peace prepare for war. In this line of policy every Secretary of the Navy and of War have coincided.

Your printed documents are full of reports from these departments relating to the defences by land and water. The report of 1836 is a monument of wisdom in many respects, and that of 1840 is distinguished for its ability. By adding the proceeds of the public lands to the sums usually appropriated annually by Congress to the army, navy, and fortifications, they will in a few years, under the direction of skillful officers, be perfected according to a just and equal system, which is due to the most exposed portions of the Union. There would be then no partial legislation for the benefit of one portion, at the expense of another. Pursue this course, and in twenty years you may defy the united powers of Europe, if not of the world.

The board of officers selected by the War Department to examine the subject of our fortifications, reported in 1840 that the sums annexed were necessary to fortify the following named places:

THE NORTHERN SECTION OF THE COAST.

Eastport and Machias,	\$100,000	
Mount Desert Island	500,000	
Castine	50,000	
Penobscot Bay	150,000	
St. George's bay, Broad bay, Damariscotta, and Sheepscoot	500,000	
Kennebec river	300,000	
Portland harbor {	Fort Preble,	155,000
	House Island,	48,000
	Hog Island channel,	145,000
The mouth of the Saco, Kennebunk, and York,	75,000	
Portsmouth harbor,	500,000	
Newburyport harbor,	100,000	
Gloucester harbor,	200,000	
Beverly harbor,	50,000	
Marblehead head,	318,000	
Boston harbor,	2,337,000	
Plymouth harbor,	110,000	
Providence harbor,	600,000	
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	\$6,118,000	

MIDDLE SECTION OF THE COAST.

Martha's Vineyard sound,	250,000
New Bedford and Fairhaven harbor,	300,000
Narragansett bay,	2,050,000
Gardiner's bay,	400,000
Sag harbor, New York,	100,000
Stonington, Ct.	200,000
New London harbor,	314,515
Mouth of Connecticut river,	100,000
New Haven harbor,	90,000

Towns between New Haven and New York, on both sides of the Sound,	200,000
New York harbor,	5,369,824
Delaware and city of Philadelphia,	1,121,000
Hampton roads, James river, and Norfolk,	723,188
Harbor of St. Mary's	300,000
Patuxent river,	505,000
Annapolis harbor,	250,000
Baltimore harbor,	1,517,000
Mouth of Elk river,	300,000
Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria,	300,000
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	\$14,390,527

SOUTHERN SECTION OF THE ATLANTIC COAST

Mouths of Cape Fear river,	258,000
Georgetown harbor,	250,000
Sanee river and Bull's bay	160,000
Charleston, S. C.	800,000
Stono, North Edisto and South Edisto,	50,000
St. Helena sound,	150,000
Broad river or Port Royal roads,	500,000
Savannah and mouth of Savannah river,	1,800,000
St. Augustine,	50,000
Key West and Tortugas	3,000,000
Charlotte harbor, Espiritu Santa bay, Appalachicola, Apalache bay, St. Joseph's bay, and St. Rosa's bay,	1,000,000
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	\$7,758,000

GULF OF MEXICO FRONTIER.

Pensacola bay,	610,000
Perdido bay,	200,000
Mobile bay,	905,000
New Orleans and the Delta of the Mississippi,	517,000
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	\$2,232,000

WESTERN FRONTIER.

Forts Jessop, Town, Gibson, Smith, Leavenworth, and the new works to be erected at Spring river, Marais des Cygnes, &c.	\$850,000
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RECAPITULATION.

The Northeastern section,	6,118,000
“ Middle “	14,390,527
“ Southern “	7,758,000
“ Gulf of Mexico Frontier	2,232,000
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	\$30,498,527

Add—Western Frontier, 850,000
Lake Frontier, about, 2,000,000

It may be, on a strict review of the list, that many of the places named might be dropped as not requiring defensive works; but no one can doubt the absolute necessity of ample fortifications for the large commercial cities and best harbors, under the protection of which your ships can ride securely when overpowered by superior numbers at sea.

But above all, we must look to the Navy as the right arm of the national defence. The reputation it acquired for the country more than counterbalanced the expenses of the last contest with Great Britain. Standing as we do, the second commercial nation in the world, and soon to be the first, our navy should increase *pari passu* with

the increase of commerce, and in proportion to the increase of the power of other nation to injure that commerce and to harass the Atlantic border. The remarks of the Secretary at War in a report to Congress, in 1836, on this branch of the defences of the country, are so apposite that he must beg to be excused for reading them to the Senate.

"But it is upon maritime frontier that we are most exposed. Our coast for three thousand miles is washed by the Ocean, which separate us from those nations who have made the highest advances in all the arts, and particularly those which minister to the operations of war, and with whom, from our intercourse and political relations, we are most liable to be drawn into collision. If this great medium of communication, the element at the same time of separation and union, interposes peculiar obstacles to the progress of the hostile demonstrations, it also offers advantages which are not less obvious, and which, to be successfully resisted, require corresponding arrangements and exertions. These advantages depend on the economy and facility of transportation, on the celerity of movements, and on the power of an enemy to threaten the whole shore, spread out before him, and to select his point of attack at pleasure. A powerful hostile fleet upon the coast of the United States presents some of the features of war, where a heavy mass is brought to act against detachments, which may be cut up in detail, although their combined forces would exceed the assailing foe. Our points of exposure are so numerous and distant, that it would be impracticable to keep, at each of them, a force competent to resist the attack of an enemy, prepared by his naval ascendancy, and his other arrangements, to make a sudden and vigorous inroad upon our shores. It becomes us, therefore, to inquire how the consequences of this state of things are to be best met and averted.

"The first and most obvious, and in every point of view the most proper method of defence, is an augmentation of our naval force to an extent proportioned to the resources and necessities of the nation. I do not mean the actual construction and equipment of vessels only. The number of those in service must depend on the state of the country at a given period. But I mean the collection of all such materials as may be preserved without injury, and a due encouragement of those branches of interest to the growth of a navy, and which may be properly nurtured by the Government; so that on the approach of danger a fleet may put to sea, without delay, sufficiently powerful to meet any force which will probably be sent to our coast.

"OUR GREAT BATTLE UPON THE OCEAN IS YET TO BE Fought, and we shall gain nothing by shutting our eyes to the nature of the struggle, or to the exertions we shall find it necessary to make. All our institutions are essentially pacific, and every citizen feels that his share of the common interest is affected by the derangement of business—by the enormous expense—and by the uncertain results of war. This feeling presses upon the community and the Government, and is a sure guarantee that we shall never be precipitated into a contest, nor embarked in one, unless impetuously required by those considerations which leave no alternative between resistance and dishonor. Accordingly, our history shows that are more disposed to bear, while evils are to be borne, than to redress by appeals to arms. Still, however, a contest must come, and it behooves us, while we have the means and opportunity, to look forward to its attendant circumstances, and to prepare for the consequences.

"There is as little need of inquiry now into our moral as into our physical capacity to maintain a navy, and to meet upon equal terms the ships and seamen of other nations. Our extended commerce, created and created by those resources which are essential to the building and equipment of fleets, removes all doubt upon one point, and the history of our naval enterprise from the moment when the colors were hoisted upon the hastily prepared vessels at the commencement of our Revolutionary struggle, to the last contest in which any of our ships were engaged, is equally satisfactory upon the other. The achievements of our navy have stamped its character with the country and the world. The simple recital of its exploits is the highest eulogium which can be pronounced upon it."

Since the date of this communication, the disputed problem of crossing the Atlantic ocean by steam has been solved; and as time is distance, we are now near neighbors to Europe. This must produce a decided change in our relations to that con-

tinent, and will demand new and extraordinary expenditures to place our defences, particularly the naval, upon a formidable footing. The entire strength of the navy at this time is sixty-seven ships of war, of all classes, including four steamers; while that of Great Britain, of all grades of sailing vessels, was upwards of four hundred, with about three hundred steamships of war, including packets, which are built for warlike purposes, commanded by regular officers of the royal navy, which now vapor through every sea, and penetrate even to the very interior of Africa, by the River Niger, to open a new world for commercial enterprise to operate in. The expenditure of this Government for years to come, must be great on this branch of the service, to make it equal to the objects contemplated in its creation, and to keep pace with the new discoveries made in the art of destruction by European powers.

Then, sir, if gentlemen are determined to take this great fund, won by the treasure and blood of our fathers, out of the Treasury of the nation, what better disposition can possibly be made of it than its application to the army, navy, and fortifications of the whole Union? Will gentlemen frankly answer this question? There was something truly appalling to see so many measures of the deepest import concentrated, and to be forced through these halls in the short space of an extra session of Congress—AN EX POST FACTO LAW, interfering between man and man, and sponging out the debts contracted in many years past—a bill to repeal the Independent Treasury; that law which effectually guarded your money, punished defalcations, and separated the purse and the sword—a bill creating a national debt—a bill to collect taxes with one hand and give away money with another—a bill creating a National, or Fiscal Bank, to regulate by a few favorite individuals working in secret, the value of every man's labor and every man's property within the bounds of this wide-spread Republic.

But above all, it created a profound melancholy feeling in him, to see abandoned FOREVER, PERHAPS, YOUR GREAT NATIONAL DOMAIN, stretching away, over mountains, and plains, and rivers, and lakes, from cape Florida to the mouth of the Oregon—from the sources of the Missouri and Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico—from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans. By this bill a fund will be squandered upon British and other foreign bond holders, or for uncertain projects at home; an annual income which would enable this Government to borrow and pay the interest on one hundred millions of dollars in time of war, or for other great national purposes. Reject his amendment and pass this bill, and the public domain is gone FOREVER, unless the people come to the rescue within two years. Pass it, and every struggle for liberal or just pre-emption and graduation laws will be vain and futile. Pass it, and the claims to lands owned by private individuals under treaties with France and Spain will be silenced—a contest will commence about the augmentation of the price of land between the old States and the new, and between the tariff and anti-tariff portions of the Confederacy.







