

Terms.—Two Dollars per annum in advance. Advertisements inserted at 25 cents for the first, and 20 cents for each subsequent insertion. Court Orders charged 25 per cent higher. A deduction of 33 1/3 per cent. will be made to those who advertise by the year.

DEBATE IN THE SENATE, Friday, Dec. 30, 1845, on the Resolutions of Mr. Hannegan of Indiana, declaring our right to the whole of Oregon Territory.

The following resolutions, offered yesterday by Mr. HANNEGAN, coming up:

1. Resolved, That the country included within the parallels of forty-two degrees and fifty-five degrees forty minutes north latitude, and extending from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, known as the Territory of Oregon, is the property, and part and parcel of the territories of the United States.

2. Resolved, That there exists no power in the Government to transfer its soil and the allegiance of its citizens to the dominion, authority, control, and subjection of any foreign Power, Prince, State, or Sovereignty.

3. Resolved, That the abandonment or surrender of any portion of the Territory of Oregon would be an abandonment of the honor, character, and the best interests of the American people.

The resolutions having been read—
Mr. HANNEGAN rose and said that, as the Senate was not at present full, he would ask that these resolutions be made the special order for some future day, and he would name next Monday week as the day.

Mr. ARCHER suggested to the Senator from Indiana that sufficient time ought to be allowed, before the resolutions were brought up for final action before the Senate, that they might be printed and rejected upon, not only by Senators, but by the community. He thought it would be better to prolong somewhat the time named by the Senator, and to order that the resolutions be printed.

Mr. HANNEGAN thereupon moved that the resolutions be printed, and made the special order for the third Monday in January.

Mr. CALHOUN said he did not rise to oppose this motion, but to request that the Senate would permit him to make a few prefatory remarks before submitting the amendments he intended to move to the resolutions now before the Senate.

Mr. President, (said he,) though I cannot give my support to these resolutions, I am very much gratified that they have been moved by the Senator from Indiana. Whatever objections there may be to them they have at least the merit of being direct, open, and manly. They deny, in direct terms, the authority of this Government to make a treaty in reference to the Oregon territory, and denounce, as I understand them, by implication, the propositions that have been already made by our Government to settle the boundary by a division along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude. If the Senate should support these resolutions, it is clear that the question can only be settled thereafter by force of arms; and should this be the case, and a war be commenced between this country and Great Britain, no peace can ever take place between the two countries but by our dictation at the cannon's mouth.

Mr. President, the vote upon these resolutions will draw a broad line, which cannot be misunderstood, between those who are in favor of settling the question by an appeal to arms, and those in favor of a more pacific course. "I myself am in favor of a pacific course—of an adjustment, if possible, by negotiation; and under these views and impressions, Mr. President, I have prepared a series of resolutions antagonistic to those of the Senator from Indiana, and asserting the opposite principles, which I propose to move by way of amendment to the resolutions of the Senator, and ask also that they be printed. I think it is a proper occasion for avowing the sentiments which I entertain upon this subject. I am for peace, if peace can be honorably preserved. I am in favor of adjusting the difficulty, if it can be adjusted, by negotiation; if it cannot be adjusted by negotiation, I am in favor of that course to be pursued by this Government which shall throw the onus of a war from our own shoulders upon Great Britain. I approve of the course taken by this Government in offering the 49th parallel, under all the circumstances of the case, as the boundary. I believe that the course of the Executive is, like my own, for peace—for an honorable peace; but if an honorable peace cannot be preserved, if we are to have war, I will still stand by my country in every emergency. I shall never be found antagonist to her, though overruled by those who take an opposite view from my own. But should a war take place, it is not going to be an ordinary war; and while I will give every support, I will hold those responsible who rashly precipitate the country into a war. Sir, on a deliberate view of the question, I hope that whenever it comes fairly before the Senate for discussion, we shall discuss it in the calmest manner, and when its true grounds are clearly seen and understood, we shall come to the conclusion to avert a war if possible; but if not, that we shall be united as one man in support of the country.

Mr. C.'s resolutions were then read as follows:

Resolved, That the President of the United States has power, "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties providing two-thirds of the Senate present concur."

Resolved, That the power of making treaties embraces that of settling and fixing boundaries between the territories and possessions of the United States and those of other Powers, in cases of conflicting claims between them in reference to the same.

Resolved, That, however clear their claims may be, in their opinion, "the country included within the parallels of 42° and 54° 40' north latitude, extending from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, known as the Territory

THE CAROLINA WATCHMAN.

BRUNER & JAMES,
Editors & Proprietors.

"KEEP A CHECK UPON ALL YOUR
IS SAFE."



RULERS. DO THIS, AND LIBERTY
Gen'l Harrison.

NEW SERIES,
NUMBER 38, OF VOLUME II.

SALISBURY, N. C., JANUARY 16, 1846.

of Oregon," there now exists and have long existed, conflicting claims to the possession of the same between them and Great Britain, the adjustment of which have been frequently the subject of negotiation between the respective Governments.

Resolved, therefore, That the President of the United States has rightfully the power, under the Constitution, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate provided that two-thirds of the members present concur, to adjust by treaty the claims of the two countries to the said territory, by fixing a boundary between their respective possessions.

Resolved, that the President of the United States, in renewing the offer, in the spirit of peace and compromise, to establish the 49 degree of north latitude as a line between the possessions of the two countries to the said territory, did not "abandon the honor, the character, and the best interests of the American people," or "cede the power vested in him by the Constitution to make treaties.

Mr. HANNEGAN observed that the two first propositions of the Senator from South Carolina he supposed would not be contested by any one. All that was stated in them was perfectly correct. He, for one, at least could have no sort of objection to any thing that they contained. As for the residue, however, they presented matter for serious consideration, at least with him, for they directly conflicted with the principles which he had laid down. His only intention at present, however, was to make a few remarks in reply to what had fallen from the Senator from South Carolina, who had stated that the resolutions introduced by him, (Mr. Hannegan,) by implication at any rate, conveyed a censure upon the President of the United States. (Sir, said Mr. H.) I had no intention of casting a censure upon the President.

Mr. CALHOUN observed that he had not charged the Senator with any such intention. He had merely said that, by implication, the resolutions conveyed a censure upon the President, on the ground of being willing to surrender a portion of the territory of Oregon.

Mr. HANNEGAN resumed. The Senator would certainly not deny that the whole aspect of things had changed since the time when, in consequence of the peremptory and almost insolent refusal by the British negotiator of the proposition for a division at the 49th parallel, that proposition was withdrawn by the Government of the United States; but if it were not so, if at any time and upon any question he found himself differing from the Executive, he was a free man, and entitled to the free exercise of his own opinion, and though he was the political friend of the President, and expected always so to continue, yet if the President, on any occasion, should assume a ground which he could not endorse, he claimed for himself the same right, and he would exercise it, to express his opinions, as the President had to communicate his own to Congress, without intending, wishing, or desiring to cast any censure upon him. He was the representative of a portion of the people of this Union, and, as such representative, he had a right to express his views in relation to all matters pertaining to the Government; but he would repeat that he meant to convey no censure upon the President.

The Senator from South Carolina had said that the resolutions were plain and direct, coming at once to the point, and that the adoption of them, if he had understood the Senator, would necessarily involve this country in a war. Sir, said Mr. H., if the adoption of resolutions which contain the immutable principles of truth bring war upon us, let war come. What American is there who, through fear of war, would hesitate to declare the truth in this Chamber? I am also for peace, sir. I shrink back from the thought of war as much as the Senator from South Carolina himself can. I love peace, but when peace becomes degrading and dishonorable, a war even of extermination would be preferable.

The Senator says that war, when once commenced, can only be terminated at the cannon's mouth. Sir, I for one proclaim here, that if a war with Great Britain upon the Oregon question should occur, I should wish it never to be terminated until at the cannon's mouth we ourselves shall dictate the terms of peace. The Senator intimates that, if we pursue the course indicated by these resolutions, we are to be plunged rashly into a war. If it be rashness so to bring on war, and the supporters of these resolutions are to be held responsible, I for one fear not the responsibility. Sir, there has been a singular course pursued upon Oregon matters, and I must detain the Senate one moment in relation to it; it contrasts so strongly and so widely with the course pursued upon a precisely similar question, the annexation of Texas. Texas and Oregon were born at the same instant, and cradled in the same cradle—the Baltimore Convention. They were adopted at the very same instant throughout the land, and not a moment was allowed to be lost while Texas was hurriedly brought into the Union, while the peculiar friends of Texas did all they could to strangle Oregon.

Sir, the country is not blind; the people see and comprehend. It is a most singular state of things; and here we are told that we must be careful, and not come in collision with Great Britain about a

disputed boundary! But if it were with feeble Mexico that we were about to come in collision, we would then hear no such cautions. There was a question of disputed boundary between this country and Mexico, and those who have a right to know something of the history of that boundary told us that our rights extended only to the river Nueces. How did we find the friends of Texas moving on that occasion? Did they halt for a moment at the Nueces? No, sir, at a single bound they cross the Nueces, and their war-horses prance upon the banks of the Rio del Norte. There was no negotiation then—we took the whole; but when Oregon is concerned, it is all proper and right to give away an empire, if England asks it. So far as Oregon is concerned, I, for one, representing the people I do, will never vote for any treaty yielding an inch of ground below 54 degrees and 40 minutes north.

Mr. CALHOUN said he merely rose to allude to a single remark which applied to himself personally. The Senator from Indiana had endeavored to draw a contrast between his (Mr. C.'s) course upon the Texas question, and his course upon this. The views which governed me (said Mr. C.) upon that question, govern me also upon this. I pursued in reference to Texas what I conceived to be the best course. If I acted boldly and promptly on that occasion, it was because boldness and promptness were necessary to success. It was the golden opportunity; and one year's delay would have lost Texas to us forever. If I am for more deliberate measures on this occasion, it is not because I am not a friend to Oregon. On the contrary, Oregon has no better friend than myself; there is no one who would venture more to save it. But it is asked why I do not pursue the same action as in regard to Texas. If the gentleman will refer to my remarks in 1813, he will find that the views which governed me then are the same with those which govern me now. I believe that precipitancy will lose you Oregon forever—no, not forever; but it will lose you Oregon in the first struggle, and then it will require another struggle hereafter when we become stronger to regain it.

I will not go into this question now; I am prepared, when it comes up for discussion, to show, if argument can show, that the principle involved in these resolutions, so far from gaining Oregon, will for the present lose every inch of that territory; and it is not on that account, as much from the fear of losing Oregon as from the desire of avoiding war, that I have proposed amendments to the Senator's resolutions. Sir, if my advice had been pursued we should never have been involved in this controversy at all. I now act under circumstances not produced by myself, and I will do the best I can to save the territory of Oregon, which I hold as valuable as the Senator from Indiana himself can do. If you institute a comparison between Oregon and Texas, I would say that the former is as valuable to us as the latter, and I would as manfully defend it. If the Senator and myself disagree, we disagree only as the means of securing Oregon, and not as to its importance. Sir, I intend to say nothing about censuring the President; I simply said that, by implication, a censure would be conveyed. I do not suppose that the Senator intends to reflect upon the President; but there can be no difference, as far as this question is concerned, between the time when the proposition for division at the forty-ninth parallel was made and now. It was as sensible then as it would be to repeat the offer now.

Mr. HAYWOOD said he rose merely to submit a motion that the subject should be made the special order for a given day. After having given a great deal of attention to the subject, he had arrived at the conviction that it did not become the Senate to interfere in the matter at present. He had a reasonable confidence in the President, and inasmuch as the Constitution of the country had conferred on him the power of conducting the negotiations, therefore, until he saw proper to call in the aid of the Senate, or until the Senate thought it incumbent on them to advise him to surrender all negotiations, and the subject should be transferred to the Senate legitimately, and the Executive should have washed his hands of it, he thought until this took place the Senate would be acting improperly to interfere in the matter. But when once legitimately transferred to the Senate, he would then be ready, in the love of country and the fear of God, to take part in the settlement of the question. But until then he should oppose all proceedings which would have the effect either of censuring or of lauding the President pending the negotiations. In making this remark he did not mean any more than what the Senator from S. Carolina himself meant in reference to the original resolutions—namely, that a censure might be understood to be conveyed by implication; that the passage of a resolution declaring it a violation of honor to surrender any part of Oregon was an implied censure upon the President who had authorized a proposition for such surrender.

He was, on this ground, adverse to the original resolutions, and he was quite as much opposed to the amendments; because they might be considered as con-

veying a species of praise, which he was not prepared to administer to the President. When the question should come up hereafter, he intended to make a motion which would, if it prevailed, preclude all further proceedings upon the subject. He intended to move that the whole subject be laid upon the table.

Mr. CALHOUN disclaimed any intention of lauding the President, nor did he accuse the gentleman from Indiana of any intention to censure him. It was very certain, however, that the sense of the Senate, when taken upon the original resolutions and the amendments, would show very clearly the views entertained with reference to the settlement of the Oregon difficulty. Those who agreed with the honorable mover of the original resolutions would reject all further negotiations; those on the opposite side would be disposed to continue the negotiations. That was the whole amount of the matter—and his sole reason for moving the amendments was that the sense of the Senate might be fully taken.

Mr. ARCHER said it seemed to him to be a matter of no great importance what disposed the Senate might finally make of the two propositions now before them. He considered it chiefly of consequence as displaying the views entertained by individual Senators; and he merely rose at this time for the purpose of expressing his profound satisfaction at the course taken by the distinguished Senator from South Carolina. He had had occasion to express his views upon the subject heretofore. He came here imbued with apprehension, but he hailed the attitude taken by the Senator as an undoubted omen of peace. And from his place there he proclaimed the glad news. And why? They of that side of the House found on the other side members enough to sustain them in the ground which they were going to take.

Sir (said Mr. Archer) when I speak of peace, I disdain to say that the word means no other than an honorable peace. If there are any in this Senate who are willing to make any sacrifices of national honor, they will not, after such a delinquency dare to exhibit themselves in the face of the popular indignation which will meet them on all sides. Sir, the good and had men here, if there by any of the latter description, will equally be found to concur in this. But who ever heard until a few days ago that the honor of the country was involved? Was not President Jackson sedulous enough for the preservation of the honor of the country? During the eight years of his administration it was thought no dishonor that the Government should allow a question of this nature to be arbitrated. What has produced so great a change now? Are we more sensible of public honor than our predecessors in the Government of this country? Sir, there is no dishonor in conducting of pacific negotiations. Nay, in my opinion there will be more honor in continuing the negotiation than in interrupting them by hasty and ill-advised conduct upon this floor. What is the aspect which we should present to the country supposing the case reversed, and the question brought up in the British Parliament and language of insult and contumely indulged in? Would any one under such irritation be disposed to listen to conciliatory terms of peace? We ought not, then, to do that which, if done by others, we should be disposed to resent as the highest indignity. Let us apply the argument to ourselves. If we seize every occasion, at the commencement as well as in the progress of the controversy, to heap every sort of contumely upon our adversaries, what are we to expect at their hands? Why, that they should refuse all just conciliation.

Sir, I repeat, it is not for the purpose of entering into an exposition of any opinions of my own that I now address you. Let the proceeding of this morning go abroad, as they of course must do, and they will be hailed as an omen of peace; and that peace cannot fail to be secure unless we, by some egregious act of folly, disturb the relations at present existing. The controversy can be terminated, and with honor to the country, in the progress of further negotiations. I believe as firmly as I do any thing which exists that such will be its termination.

Sir, I am indifferent whether the resolutions be now laid upon the table or discussed at large. And I put it to Senators on both sides of the Chamber, how can it possibly be of any importance? Suppose the resolutions should be laid upon the table, in conformity with the motion of the Senator from North Carolina, does he suppose that will interrupt the progress of the consideration of the subject? Discussion must come, and I hope it will come; for I am gratified to find that it will not produce a similar degree of alarm in the country to that which a debate a few days ago produced.

Mr. J. M. CLAYTON then rose and observed that the Senator from North Carolina had said he would move to lay the whole subject upon the table. He assured that honorable Senator that whenever he did so, his motion should receive at least one other vote besides his own. He fully concurred with him that it ought to be so disposed of, and that it was highly improper for the Senate to proceed to the discussion of this matter, except in Execu-

tive session, while negotiations were going on. He trusted the Senator would either make the motion which he had proposed or else submit a proposition to remove the subject from the Legislative to the Executive records. He would not object to the discussion of it there, for that was the appropriate place; but he regretted every effort, every attempt that was made to discuss the question at this crisis before the country, especially if it were the object of any person on that floor to "prepare the hearts of the people for war." In his opinion the resolutions necessarily involved an advisory power. The Executive was entitled to the initiative in all these matters, and it did not become the Senate to assume it. It was the duty of the Senate when negotiations were opened, or expected to be opened, to wait until the President informed them whether he had made a treaty, and if so, until he had presented the treaty to them. If they were to express an opinion in favor of the resolutions or of the amendments they would stand committed—committed by their legislative vote in the face of the whole country. It must be manifest to every one that, whether they decided for the forty-ninth parallel or for the whole of Oregon, it would be prejudging of the question. If they should act upon these resolutions before the Executive had acted and had recommended action to them, it would be assuming the initiative, which did not belong to them under the Constitution of the United States. Put the case that the resolutions were voted down and the amendments submitted, (it could not be by a very large vote, by the way) what would be their position? A majority would have said or recommended a settlement of the question by the parallel of forty-nine. And suppose that the President could obtain better terms; or suppose, in the exercise of his discretion in conducting the negotiations, he should determine to accept twenty-eight degrees twenty minutes as the boundary, taking half of Oregon, would it not be involving the matter in difficulty and embarrassment? He would not hesitate to meet the question when presented fairly and properly, but let it not be forced upon them; let it come from the President; for on him devolved the whole responsibility. Let the Senate not take from him any portion of the responsibility which properly belonged to him, nor assume his office. He repeated that, according to the letter as well as the spirit of the Constitution, the Senate had not the initiative; and it did not become them to express an opinion; they should leave the matter where the Constitution had placed it.

Mr. HANNEGAN said that he entertained the most profound respect for the opinions of the distinguished Senator from Delaware, but it certainly seemed to him strange to hear from a gentleman of his learning and experience the declaration that the Senate had no right to assume the initiative under any state of facts. It seemed to him that the Representatives of the sovereign States of this Union have a right to take the initiative upon any question involving a right to American territory. It seemed to him that there could be no power behind which they were bound to conceal or to hide themselves until the strings should be pulled and they allowed to proceed to action.

The Senator from Delaware said it would be interfering with negotiations. What negotiations? Had not the President in his message informed them that there was no proposition now pending; that the last proposition from this Government had met with a cavalier rejection, and had been instantly withdrawn? Had not the President told them that the negotiations, for the present, at any rate, were at an end? Negotiations could now only be resumed by an offer from the British Government, for he felt assured, from the high and manly ground assumed by the President in his message, that he at least would not renew them. The President now called upon the Senate to aid him in the settlement of the question, and published to the world the entire diplomatic correspondence upon the subject, thereby showing conclusively that negotiations had ended. What would be thought of any Government which would make public diplomatic correspondence before the negotiations were at an end?

In reference to the remarks of the Senator from North Carolina, he had but a single word to say. He had already disclaimed an intention to cast any imputation upon the President; and it was unnecessary to repeat it, as, in all the ordinary transactions of life, if one explanation be not sufficient, he could go no further. How could it be an attack on the President, with this language of his own before them? [Mr. HANNEGAN here read a portion of the President's message.] What had he done more than re-assert what he had himself asserted? The title to Oregon must be sustained, as it had been already nobly sustained by the Senator from South Carolina and by the present Secretary of State. And he would ask, in what quarter of this country would they find an assembly of American citizens who would go for the relinquishment of a single foot of it? With the irrefragable testimony of our title, which existed there would be as much propriety in the surrender of Florida, or of Maine, or Massachusetts. Gentlemen talk about the rights

of England; he had yet to hear the substantial argument or proof in favor of England's title beyond the right of a tenant. No man could produce any such proof. No man could do more than what Pakenham had done to establish English title, and he had, after all, signally failed. The Senator from South Carolina told them that he was as warm a friend of Oregon as any man that could be found in the country. Doubtless he so believed; but, if he were a true mother, he would not be willing to cut the child in two, and give away one half. Look at the map of Oregon; the whole control of the north Pacific lies above the forty-ninth parallel—the whole maritime control, every labor worth possessing. And yet he would give it away.

The Senator declares (continued Mr. HANNEGAN) that he has always been a devoted friend of Oregon. He congratulates himself upon the fact, and I congratulate you to see that a portion of the press of this country has iterated and reiterated, in relation to his views, that beautiful expression embodying the Fabian policy, and, I believe, by Lord Chatham, "A wise and masterly inactivity." I must say I regret to see this policy so highly lauded in connexion with this question. I respect the talents as well as the high standing which that distinguished Senator occupies among the members of the human race; but I have, I confess, little admiration for the course which the Senator pursued on this question. Had the bill to which the Senator alluded passed through Congress and become a law, Oregon would have been ours; twenty thousand miles would have secured it; but you refused to act; you held back, when you might, despite every hazard, have secured it right.

The masses were waiting in expectation of your movement; they were waiting in the expectation that the Government would back them; but they were in vain, and this is the result of your "wise and masterly inactivity." This "wise and masterly inactivity" has ruined Oregon. I assure you I say this in no unkindness; I say it sorrowfully; for I lament its results. Sir, I was about to say, and do not know whether it be out of place at this time, that the precipitancy of the Senator in relation to Texas presents a remarkable contrast to his "wise and masterly inactivity" in relation to Oregon. I charge no improper motives upon any Senator, and least of all upon the distinguished Senator from South Carolina; but it appears to me that when a question of territorial acquisition arises upon the west there is not the same readiness on the part of Southern gentlemen to precipitate. Precipitancy, the Senator says in relation to Texas, was wise, but not so in the case of Oregon. Heaven knows that he has been time enough for maturing plans; it is now time for action. The two countries stand front to front; and, may I say it, if it were a question with Mexico, would be the golden moment; if it were for the acquisition of Cuba, or some possessions further still amid the burning regions of Panama, it would be the golden moment. Sir, I hope a majority in the Senate will not reject these resolutions. They assert only what the President has asserted, and no more.

Mr. CALHOUN said he was no general advocate for the acquisition of territory in the South than in the North. The honorable Senator was perfectly aware of sentiments upon this subject. While he was a member of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet he had always been averse to distant possessions of Spain in Cuba; he was now; he would be the last man to suggest such a movement. When the proper time should arrive, and this subject be brought up for discussion, he thought he would be able to show, beyond all doubt, that reasons which governed him upon the Texas question, governed him also upon this question; and that if there were a difference between the Senator and himself, it was only as to the means to be employed in effecting the same result. He desired more particularly to make some remarks in reference to the observations of the Senator from Delaware. He agreed with the Senator that he was as much averse to forcing a discussion as the Senator himself could be; but he thought the Senator was entirely mistaken in supposing that this was not a case in which the Senate was called on to exercise the power of discussion and of action. With deference for the opinions of the Senator, he thought there ought to be no doubt upon this point, either here or before the world, as they were called upon to give a yes or nay in good faith before the world.

Under such a declaration as that contained in the resolutions submitted by the Senator from Indiana, acted on and adopted by the Senate, the inference will be that if you make a treaty in relation to Oregon, that treaty can have no obligatory force, because you declare that you exist no power in this Government to yield or transfer any part of the territory. Now, what is the character of my amendments? Are they advisory? No; they are simply a denial of the position assumed by the resolutions of the Senator. And hence, though I am averse to discussing upon these matters generally, yet I think this is the proper occasion for discussion, and deciding the point, so there may be no hesitancy or doubt in the mind of the Executive, or of those with whom we may have to treat upon this question, as to the views entertained by the Senate in relation to it. And I think it the more necessary, because there has been a growing tendency to deny the authority of the Government to settle by treaty questions between us and other Powers relating to territory. Sir, my last resolution, to which the Senator has alluded, as lauding the President, simply negatives the implication that in making the offer of the forty-ninth parallel