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THOMAS RITCHIE & JOHN P. HEISS,
PROPRIETORS AND PUBLISHERS.

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By WM. MARSHALL, Auctioneer.
MAHOGANY Veneers and Board at Auction.—On Wednesday afternoon, 12th inst. at half-past 4 o'clock, I shall sell at my store—
500 feet inch-mahogany board
700 do half-inch coffin board
10,000 do veneers, curled and shaded.
Sale positive.
WM. MARSAALL,
Aug. 8—dtd Auctioneer.

By A. GREEN, Auctioneer.
VALUABLE Building Lots at Auction.—On Wednesday, the 12th instant, I shall sell on the premises, at 6 o'clock, p. m., the following described lots, viz:
Lots Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8, in square No. 413, containing 3,054 square feet each. The above described lots are handsomely situated, fronting on 9th street west, between F and G streets south, and need no recommendation. Title indisputable.
Terms: One-fourth of the purchase money cash, the balance a credit will be given of six, twelve, and eighteen months, for notes bearing interest.
Aug 8—3tSTaW A. GREEN,

FOR RENT, and possession immediately given, a comfortable brick dwelling-house, on C, between 3d and 4½ streets, recently occupied by Pinkey Thompson, esq. Said house being near the churches, courts, centre market, &c., renders it a desirable residence.
Also, a brick dwelling-house on Capitol Hill, near the residence of John H. Houston, esq., and recently in the occupancy of Mr. Stuart, in the coast survey service. This house has connected with it a brick stable and carriage-house, large yard, a well of good water therein, dry cellar, &c.
Terms for both houses reasonable. For the latter apply to Mr. Houston; or for either to
JAMES LARNED, 13th street west, for the owner.
August 8—3td&c

WANTED, by a lady, a situation as a governess in a gentleman's family. She is competent to teach English, French, music, and drawing, needlework, writing, &c. The applicant has had several years' experience in the training up of youth, and can give most satisfactory testimonials as to her abilities, &c. For further particulars please apply to H. R., south side Pennsylvania avenue, near 7th street—at Mrs. Thorp's.
Aug. 1—3t*

OLD POINT.—There will be a grand fancy ball at Old Point Hotel on Friday, 14th of this month.
Aug 6—3t

CURE FOLLOWS CURE!
MORE proofs of the efficacy of Dr. SWAYNE'S Compound Sirup of Wild Cherry, the original and genuine preparation. Consumption, coughs, colds, asthma, bronchitis, liver complaint, spitting blood, difficulty of breathing, pain in the side and breast, palpitation of the heart, influenza, croup, broken constitution, sore throat, nervous debility, and all diseases of the throat, breast, and lungs; the most effectual and speedy cure ever known for any of the above diseases is
DR. SWAYNE'S COMPOUND SIRUP OF WILD CHERRY.
A truly wonderful cure.
Dr. SWAYNE: dear sir: In October last, while engaged with Mr. Joseph Smith, in a saw-mill, near Waynesburg, I was attacked with a cough, from being exposed at night, which gradually increased, attended with spitting of blood and a severe pain in the breast, loss of appetitite, fever, &c., &c., which was scarcely supportable. I had a family who were wholly dependent on my exertions for support, yet was obliged to leave my business and return home. I was then attended by several physicians, but still grew worse, until my medical attendants gave up as incurable. Subsequently, my wife observing in one of the public prints an advertisement of Dr. Swayne's Compound Sirup of Wild Cherry, procured me one bottle from Francis McClure, your agent in Lewistown, which relieved me. I continued until I had taken five bottles. I am now able to return to my work again. I write this to offer you my sincere thanks, and you are at liberty to make it known, so that if any human being is suffering as I have been, he may have recourse to your invaluable medicine. Yours,
Lewistown, Del. JOHN. P BOYNE.
CONSUMPTION, which has baffled the skill of eminent medical practitioners, where invalids have been given up hopeless, by having recourse to, and persevering in, this unequalled remedy, have been radically cured. There are now in the hands of the proprietor numerous certificates of cures, which would astonish credulity itself were they made known to the world. To those who are afflicted with any of the above diseases, we say, give this medicine a fair trial; you will then be convinced this is no miserable compound, but a safe and powerful remedy; and that its curative powers stand alone and equalled by none.
Dr. Swayne's Sirup is the only true and genuine article of Wild Cherry before the public, and we would say to the afflicted, always look for the written signature of Dr. Swayne on each bottle before you purchase. Beware, and be not deceived!
Some persons may tell you that some other preparation is as good. Heed them not. One trial of the genuine Dr. Swayne's Sirup of Wild Cherry will convince you that it is the most valuable medicine ever discovered.
From the increasing demand for the above article, druggists, merchants, and dealers generally, will find it to their advantage to have a full supply of this valuable medicine. Remember to inquire for Dr. Swayne's Compound Sirup of Wild Cherry, as there have been some individuals with the assumed name of physician making great efforts to push a spurious article into the market under a fictitious name.
The (original and only) genuine article is only prepared by Dr. Swayne, N. W. corner of Eighth and Race streets, Philadelphia.
Let the advice be repeated, do not neglect a slight cough; if you do, you may have occasion to regret it. Why run any risk? Delay has, and may again, lead to serious consequences.
TO THE AFFLICTED!
Dr. Swayne's Compound Sarsaparilla and Ext. of Tar Pills, a mild and gentle purgative unsurpassed by any medicine for removing the bile, cleansing the stomach, and effectually purifying the blood, dyspepsia, sick headache, and female complaints generally.
Robert Farnham, corner of 11th street and Pennsylvania avenue, wholesale and retail agent for Washington, D. C.; Stabler & Bro., Alexandria; G. M. Sothoron, Georgetown; Coulson & Co., No. 4, Liberty street, Baltimore, Md.
July 24—d&e1y

Superior Tone Pianos.
MEMBERS of Congress and others requiring a first rate piano forte, are respectfully informed that the subscriber has seven of them for sale on very reasonable terms, three of which are the best that was exhibited at the recent national fair, and far superior in tone and finish to any other instruments for sale in the District. They will be packed free of expense at Stationers' Hall.
July 28—taw3w WM. FISCHER.

150 infants' French worked dress bodies will be sold at 37½ cents to close up.
July 31 D. CLAGETT & CO.

ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD
LOST, in this city, on Thursday, the 16th instant, a leather wallet or pocket-book, containing, one *thousand dollar bill* of the Merchants' Bank; Boston; one fifty dollar bill of the same bank, ten fifty dollar bills of the Mariners' bank, Wiscasset, Maine; and two five dollar bills. The above reward will be paid on delivery of the above to J. M. Johnson, the postmaster of the House of Representatives in this city, or the finder may retain the above reward by remitting the balance to Mr. Johnson.
July 16—tf

SHORES of the Mediterranean, with sketches of travel; by Francis Schroeder. For sale by F. TAYLOR.
July 22

The Daily Union.

VOLUME II. "LIBERTY, THE UNION, AND THE CONSTITUTION." NUMBER 86.

WASHINGTON CITY, MONDAY NIGHT, AUGUST 10, 1846.

CONCORD ACADEMY.--The session of this institution commenced the first of July, at which time some of the students, having completed their academic course, have left vacancies for others. The course of instruction comprises the languages and sciences generally. The Latin and Greek languages and mathematics are taught by the principal in person.
The French, Spanish, and Italian languages are taught by M. Isidore Guillet, a native of Paris, and an experienced and distinguished teacher of the modern languages. The terms for board and tuition for the session of five months will be $100, payable in advance.
Communications addressed to the subscriber, and directed to Concord Academy, Caroline county, Virginia, will receive prompt attention.
P. W. COLEMAN, principal.
REFERENCES.—Hon. John Y. Mason,* Attorney General; Kr. Ed P. Scott,* Speaker of the Senate of Virginia; Thomas J. Randolph,* Albemarle; Dr. Armistead Cook,* Norfolk; Wm. H. Taylor,* Mount Airy; Hon James A. Seddon,* M. C.; Dr. Thomas Newton,* Norfolk; Col. Wm. R. Johnson,* Petersburg; Wm. H. Harrison,* Brandon; Captain Thomas H. Ellis, Richmond; Wm. C. Rives, Esq., Albemarle; Hon. Robert M. T. Hunter, M. C.; Rt. Rev. Nicholas Cohos, D. D., Alabama; Judge Daniel Coleman, Alabama; Richard Baylor, esq.,* Essex; Wm. A. Gibbons,* esq., New Jersey; Robert C. Stanard, esq., Richmond; General Bernard Peyton,* Richmond; Wm. M. Harrison,* esq, Richmond; Hon. Thomas H. Bayly, M. C.

Testimonials of the professors of the University of Virginia.
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, Dec. 9, 1844.
The undersigned take pleasure in stating that they have found the young gentlemen prepared for the university by Mr. Frederick W. Coleman, remarkably well taught, and coming quite up to the expectations which their knowledge of Mr. Coleman's ability and zeal as an instructor, have led them to form of the results of his teaching. Certainly no students in the academical departments have come to the university from any quarter better prepared. It is due to Mr. Coleman that they should say further, that these young gentlemen have done not less credit to their teacher and themselves by their habits of diligence, and their gentlemanly and respectful deportment, than by the progress made in their studies and by their mental discipline.
GESSNER HARRISON,
Prof. of ancient languages.
WILLIAM B. ROGERS,
Prof. of nat. philosophy.
GEORGE TUCKER,
Prof. of moral philosophy.
ED. H. COURTENAY,
Prof. of mathematics.

I take pleasure in stating, that I have for some years been acquainted with the character of Mr. Coleman's school, and that I consider him as one of the most successful teachers in our State. The rapid progress which some of his pupils have been enabled to make in our mathematical and classical schools, affords the most satisfactory evidence of his thorough and complete system of instruction in those departments.
T. R. DEW,
Pres't of William and Mary College.

The excellent preparation and subsequent success of several young gentlemen who received their elementary education at Mr. Coleman's school, and who came afterwards to this college, justify me in expressing the opinion that the school is one of very high order.
ROBERT SAUNDERS,
Prof. of mathematics in Wm. and Mary College.

Since my connexion with William and Mary College, only one case has come under my observation, by which I have been enabled to form an opinion concerning the school of Mr. Coleman, independently of the general reputation in which it is held. The qualifications of one young gentleman, who received his education there, and afterwards attended my classes, were of so high an order, that they not only insured him the most honorable success, but convinced me of the high character of Mr. Coleman's school, as well as of his own superior acquirements and talents as a scholar and as an instructor, who, not satisfied with mere routine and learning by rote, makes his pupils enter into the spirit and true understanding of the subject taught.
CHARLES MINNIGERODE,
Prof. of humanity, Wm. and Mary College.
July 24—d6t

*Gentlemen who either have had, or who at present have, sons or wards at this institution.

SANDERSON'S FRANKLIN HOUSE, Chestnut street, between 3d and 4th, Philadelphia.—The subscriber having purchased of the Messrs. Sandersons the lease, furniture, and fixtures of this popular and central hotel, desires to inform his friends and the public that it will be reopened for their reception on the 1st day of July next, having been, during the recess, greatly enlarged, thoroughly renovated and furnished. There has been added a very large and convenient dining saloon for gentlemen, a private ordinary for ladies, several new parlors and commodious chambers, with other important improvements, which will greatly conduce to the comfort and convenience of visitors.
The catering and culinary departments will be exclusively under the control of Mr. JAMES M. SANDERSON, whose ability to manage that portion of the establishment, it is well known, is unsurpassed in this country. The celebrated "Chef de Cuisine" Pelletier is also retained, together with a numerous corps of capable and obliging assistants; and the undersigned pledges himself that nothing shall be wanting on his part to make the "Franklin" the "*ne plus ultra*" of comfort, convenience and good eating.
July 6—3m DANIEL K. MINOR.

FRENCH LAWNS and splendid balzarines will be sold 25 per cent. less than they can be had in this market. Those two articles must be sold for cash.
July 31 D. CLAGETT & CO.

THE Probe.—To those who are able and willing to aid a long afflicted family, three of whom are now under medical treatment, and who lost their all at the great fire in Pittsburg, this valuable book is offered for sale at all the book stores on the avenue, and by the author, at the Exchange hotel. Immediately needed, it is hoped the benevolent will purchase without delay. Refers to Hon. D. Wilmot, M. C., and Hon. S. R. Hobbie, First Assistant Postmaster General.
Washington, June 27

MARSHAL'S SALE.—In virtue of a writ of *fieri facias*, issued from the clerk's office of the circuit court of the District of Columbia for the county of Washington, and to me directed, I shall expose at public sale for cash on Saturday, the 22d of August next, at the front of the court-house door of said county, at 12 o'clock m., the following property, viz: All the right, title, interest, and claim of James C. Deneale, late of said county. That piece or parcel of ground being lot No 12, in square No. 1,043, as laid down on the ground plan of the city of Washington, with the improvements thereon, being an old framed house, one and a half story high, seized and levied upon as the property of said Deneale, and sold to satisfy judicials No. 44 to November term, 1843, in favor of William Clarke.
ALEXANDER HUNTER,
Marshal of the District of Columbia.
July 22—dts

EUROPEAN HOTEL,
City of Washington, near the Treasury building.
THE subscriber, having fully prepared and replenished his well known hotel, renewedly solicits the patronage of his friends and the public. His tables will always be supplied with the best the seasons afford; and whilst no effort will be spared to give entire satisfaction, his terms will be found so moderate as to command attention from residents and strangers. There are several elegantly furnished suites of apartments and single rooms ready for immediate occupation. Those who wish permanent board will find it highly advantageous to call. For persons having business with the departments the location of the hotel is most convenient. Foreigners will find their language spoken at this house, and their comforts strictly considered. Parties accommodated with refreshments of all kinds at the shortest notice. Dinners sent to all parts of the city as usual.
L. GALABRUN.
June 27, 1846—4meodif

CONGRESSIONAL.

MESSAGE

From the President of the United States, communicating documents not heretofore communicated to the Senate relative to the Oregon Territory, in answer to the resolution of the Senate of 17th June, 1846.

[CONCLUDED.]

Mr. Buchanan to Mr. McLane.

[No. 20.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 13, 1845.

SIR: You will receive by the Cambria a copy of the President's message, and the documents accompanying it, in relation to Texas and Oregon. These are all which have yet been printed.

You will observe that whilst the President has recommended that the necessary notice shall be given to abrogate the convention, he has carefully avoided to recommend any legislative measure which could, in the meantime, conflict with its provisions; and it is not apprehended that Congress will adopt any such measure.

The message has been well received throughout the country, and its doctrines generally will, I think, meet the approbation of Congress.

The President sincerely desires to preserve our friendly relations with Great Britain. His policy with that and all other nations is peace, so long as this can be maintained consistently with the national rights and honor. The Oregon question is now approaching a crisis. It is hardly probable that the British government will suffer it to remain upon its present basis; and it is clear that if there should be any new movement towards its adjustment, this must originate with Great Britain. Should that government take any further step with a view to settle the controversy, the President would judge of the character of the proposition when made; and if, in his opinion, it should be such as to justify this, he would feel inclined to submit it to the Senate for their previous advice, before taking any other action upon it. As the determination on any such proposition might involve the issue of peace or war between the two countries, he would feel it to be his duty to consult his constitutional advisers before a final decision. I deem it necessary to give you this information, not that you may make any such suggestion to the British government, but to enable you to regulate wisely your conversation and conduct in the critical position in which you are now placed. What the result might be in the Senate, I cannot anticipate.

The President has received information, from a variety of sources which he cannot disregard, that G. Britain is now making extensive warlike preparations. As her relations with all the powers of Europe seem at present to be of a peaceful character, the prevailing and natural inference here is, that these preparations look to a rupture with the United States on the Oregon question. It is of vast importance that this government should, as early as possible, ascertain their true character. You are, therefore, instructed to embrace the first opportunity of bringing this subject to the notice of the Earl of Aberdeen in such a manner as you may deem most expedient. It is true, that on more than one occasion Mr. Pakenham has informed me in conversation that these warlike preparations had been commenced some time before the existing difficulties between the two countries had assumed their present serious aspect, and had no connexion whatever with the Oregon question; but yet it would be satisfactory to receive such an assurance in a more authoritative and authentic form. The President is also anxious to learn your own opinion upon this subject with the least practicable delay.

I am, &c.,
JAMES BUCHANAN.
LOUIS MCLANE, esq., &c. &c. &c.

Mr. Buchanan to Mr. McLane.

[No. 21.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, Dec. 29, 1845.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches to No. 34, inclusive.

The Senate having unanimously, as I am informed confirmed your appointment as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America at the court of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, I now transmit to you your commission in that character.

You were correct in supposing that the British government would again offer to refer the Oregon question to some friendly power. On Saturday last Mr. Pakenham delivered me a communication making an offer to refer this question, of which I transmit you a copy. You will not fail to observe that he does not propose a reference of the title to the whole question, [territory,] but merely the subject of "an equitable division" of it between the parties. It is strange that such a proposition should have been submitted by the British government in the face of the President's claim to the whole territory, after it had been so recently enforced in the most solemn manner by my letter of the 30th of August last, withdrawing our proposition for a compromise by the 49th parallel of latitude. To accept the proposition under such circumstances, would be for the President to admit that he had committed an error in asserting the American title to the whole territory, and to acknowledge, in the very submission of the question to the arbitrator, that Great Britain had a right to a portion of it, and that his functions should be confined to an "equitable division" of it between the parties. In this respect, the present proposition is unlike the former offer of the British government, which was a general proposition to arbitrate. If no other reason existed for declining the proposition, this would be deemed sufficient by the President. You may therefore consider it certain that it will be rejected. I presume that the British government could not have anticipated a different result; and from my conversation upon the subject with Mr. Pakenham on Saturday last, he will doubtless undeceive them, if they had any expectation that his offer would be accepted.

I am, &c.,
JAMES BUCHANAN.
LOUIS MCLANE, esq., &c., &c., &c.

Mr. Buchanan to Mr. McLane.

[No. 22.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 29, 1846.

SIR: Your despatches to No. 31, inclusive, have been duly received at this department. Having already communicated to you a copy of Mr. Pakenham's note of the 27th December last, proposing to arbitrate the Oregon question, I now enclose, herewith, a transcript of my reply to that note, dated on the 3d instant.

On the 17th instant, Mr. Pakenham called at the department, and delivered me a note, of which I transmit you a copy, renewing his proposition to arbitrate, but changing the terms. This note has not yet been answered. This delay has been occasioned, not by any doubt as to the propriety of rejecting the proposition, but from a desire, before preparing my answer, to ascertain the impression which had been made on the British ministry and people by the President's message and the accompanying correspondence. I had anticipated a visit from Mr. Pakenham soon after the arrival of the Hibernia; but he has not since called at the department.

Mr. Pakenham's last proposition to arbitrate is liable to the same objection which was prominently presented in my answer to the first. It is true that he now proposes to refer to arbitration "the question of title in either of the two powers to the whole territory;" but yet, annexed to this offer, there is a condition "that if neither should be found, in the opinion of the arbitrator, to possess a complete title to the whole territory," then he shall divide it between them "according to a just appreciation of the respective claims of each." If the government of the United States should consent to an arbitration upon such terms, this would be construed into an intimation, if not a direct invitation, to the arbitrator to divide the territory between the parties. Were it possible for this government, under any circumstances, to refer the question to arbitration, the title, and the title alone, detached from every other consideration, ought to be the only question submitted. If not confined to this single point, we should have another compromising award like that of the King of the Netherlands.

But arbitration in any form is out of the question. The title of the United States to the vast territory on the northwest coast of America, with all its commercial advantages, can never be placed in jeopardy by referring it to the decision of any individuals, whether sovereigns, citizens, or subjects. To Great Britain it would be a distant possession, of comparatively small value, and which, from the nature of things, she cannot very long enjoy; but to the United States it is invaluable. Whilst arbitration is, therefore, out of the question, it is probable that, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, and from an anxious desire to preserve peace, the Senate, if the question were submitted to them, might advise the President not to insist upon the full extent of our rights; but we could never place it in the power of any arbitrator to deprive us of a foot of the soil on the continent south of the 49th parallel of latitude, and of the valuable harbors of Puget's sound. Such is the fixed determination of the President.

Again: even if this were not the case, and a treaty should be submitted to the Senate for arbitration, it could not, by any possibility, obtain the necessary majority in that body.

Upon the whole, the pursuit of arbitration by the British government can produce no other effect than to involve the question in new difficulties, and, perhaps, by the delay, render an amicable adjustment of it impossible. The fact is not to be disguised that the feeling of the country is becoming daily more unanimous and intense in favor of asserting our right to the whole territory; and the debates in Congress, and their delay to act in accordance with the recommendations of the President, only serve to increase the popular excitement. Resolutions of State conventions and State legislatures are now in succession being adopted, in favor of adhering to the line of 54° 40'. If the British government intend to make a proposition to this government, they have not an hour to lose, if they desire a peaceful termination of the controversy.

Notwithstanding all you may have seen in the public papers, the notice, unless I am greatly mistaken, will pass Congress in some form or other, by large majorities of both houses, as well as the other measures recommended by the President.

The President will never abandon the position he has taken in his message. Clearly convinced of the right of the United States to the whole territory in dispute, and relieved, by the refusal of the British government to accept this offer of compromise, from the embarrassment in which the acts of his predecessors had placed him, he would not now authorize the conclusion of a treaty on that basis. But the Senate, his constitutional advisers, are now in session. The question of peace or war may be involved in the issue. They are a branch of the war-making as well as of the treaty-making power. In deference to the Senate, under these circumstances, he would, in the first instance, feel it to be his duty to submit such a proposition for their previous advice. It is manifest, therefore, that the British government should at once present their ultimatum. If Mr. Pakenham should offer less, in the hope that, having thus recommenced the negotiation, he might, in its progress, induce me to say what the President would consent to accept, he must be disappointed. The President will accept nothing less than the whole territory, unless the Senate should otherwise determine. The only question which he will decide is, whether the new proposition, should any such be made, be of a character to justify its submission to the Senate for their previous advice.

Under all the circumstances by which you may be surrounded, it is left to your sound discretion whether any such communication or intimation shall be made to Lord Aberdeen.

I am, &c.,
JAMES BUCHANAN.
LOUIS MCLANE, esq., &c., &c., &c.

Mr. McLane to Mr. Buchanan.—Extract.

[No. 34.] LONDON, February 3, 1846.

SIR: * * * * * *

Notwithstanding these difficulties, I still entertain the opinion that it would be in my power, without any improper commitment of the President, to lead to a renewal of the negotiation by this government, and to the submission, unless another mode would be more desirable, through its minister at Washington, of a proposition adopting that directed by the President on the 12th of July last, with some modifications not inconsistent, according to the sense I entertein of it, with our national honor. Of this I should feel quite certain, if I could officially know that the proposition would probably be acceptable at Washington; and I should attempt it informally, and upon my individual responsibility with scarcely less confidence of success, if, while acting in that way, I could encourage a like result.

It is due, however, to my own position, and to those with whom I am brought into intercourse upon this subject, to state that the opinions I have thus expressed are not founded upon any direct communication from those in official station; but are rather the result of a series of facts and inferences, entitled, however, in my judgment at least, to not less weight.

After these observations, I owe it more particularly to myself to state that, believing, from the history of our previous negotiations as to the Oregon question, that it may now be settled upon the basis of compromise, and with reference to interests which have grown up during the joint occupation of the territory, without a violation of any duty which a public man owes to the rights and honor of his country, I would not be unwilling, taking the President's proposition of the 12th July as a basis, to urge a final adjustment of the question according to that proposition, but conceding to the Hudson's Bay Company a continuance of the privileges of joint occupation, including the navigation of the Columbia, for a period of seven or ten years longer; and I hope I may be allowed to add, that I would be willing to assume the responsibility of assenting to an adjustment by extending the boundary to the Pacific by the 49th parallel and the straits of Fuca, with free ports to both nations; or by extending the free navigation of the Columbia river for a longer period, provided similar advantages upon the St. Lawrence could thereby be secured to the United States.

I believe that upon one of these grounds, perhaps upon either, an adjustment may be concluded; and I have a strong conviction that the mode first indicated is entirely practicable.

I am, however, constrained at the same time to state, from all that has come to my knowledge here, that I have no reason to believe that more favorable terms than those I have above adverted to would, under any circumstances, be consented to by this government.

Mr. Buchanan to Mr. McLane.—Extracts.

[No. 23.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 26, 1846.

SIR: Your despatches to No. 34, inclusive, have been received, and laid before the President.

I transmit herewith a copy of my answer, under date of the 4th inst., to Mr. Pakenham's last proposition to submit the Oregon question to arbitration.

Independently of the reason prominently presented in my reply, that the President "does not believe the territorial rights of this nation to be a proper subject for arbitration," there are other powerful reasons against such a course, which might have been stated had it been deemed proper in a communication to the British minister. These you can use as occasion may require.

In the first place, without pretending to know the opinions of individual senators, I hazard but little in asserting that no treaty for arbitration could obtain the constitutional majority of the Senate necessary to its ratification. Several of the senators who might assent to a compromise upon the parallel of forty-nine degrees, would not be willing to jeopard by arbitration the possession of the harbors on Admiralty inlet and Puget's sound south of that parallel. Indeed, for commercial purposes, the United States might almost as well abandon the whole territory as consent to deprive themselves of these harbors; because, south of them, within its limits, no good harbor exists. The rejection of such a treaty by the Senate would involve the question in far greater embarrassments than exist at present, and would render its amicable adjustment still more difficult.

2. But even if such a treaty were now ratified by both powers, the process towards a final termination of the controversy would be exceedingly slow. Experience has taught us this truth. The necessary delay in selecting the arbitrators, in organizing the board, in submitting the proofs and arguments of the parties, would probably postpone the final award for several years. Meanwhile the tide of emigration from the United States to Oregon would be constantly swelling; and the danger of collisions between British subjects and American citizens in that territory would be constantly increasing. In my opinion, in order to secure a peaceful, there must be a prompt settlement of this controversy. There never was a question in which delay will prove more dangerous.

3. I shall merely advert to the difficulty of selecting suitable arbitrators. There would be objections to any of the sovereigns of Europe on account of their intimate connexion with Great Britain, and objections equally strong against committing such vast territorial rights to the arbitrament of individuals.

It was for these and other considerations which might be stated, that, in the spirit of frankness and friendship, the intention of the President to decline the proposition of arbitration, should it be offered, was early made known to the British government in unofficial conversations between Lord Aberdeen and yourself at London, and Mr. Pakenham and myself in this city. That government must, therefore, have anticipated the result of its propositions to arbitrate, before they were presented.

It appears that in your interview with the Earl of Aberdeen, on the 29th ultimo, his lordship complained of the terms and manner in which I had declined to accept Mr. Pakenham's first proposition to arbitrate; and "apprehended that, from the nature of the answer, and the character of the recent debate in the House of Representatives, it would be difficult to prevent the conclusion that the President had determined to discourage any new proposition on the basis of compromise, and to concede nothing of the extreme demand."

The view of this subject presented by you to his lordship is the correct one. My answer was not intended either to encourage or to discourage a renewal of the negotiation. The President has at all times been prepared to receive and to treat with the utmost respect any proposal for a compromise which might emanate from the British government. Whilst he has not deemed it proper to invite such a proposal, he has ever manifested an anxious desire to preserve amicable relations with Great Britain. To accomplish this purpose he would sacrifice every consideration except the national rights and the national honor. Lord Aberdeen has drawn an inference from my language of which it is not, in my opinion, fairly susceptible. Of this he will be fully sensible upon perusing the concluding paragraph of my answer to the second proposal of Mr. Pakenham for arbitration. It is there declared that "the President cordially concurs with the government of Great Britain in desiring that the present controversy may be amicably adjusted. Of this he has given the strongest proof before the whole world. He believes that as there are no two nations on the earth more closely bound together by the ties of commerce, so there are none who ought to be more able or willing to do each other justice, without the interposition of any arbitrator."

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[This omission relates exclusively to a portion of a previous despatch of Mr. McLane relative to a conversation between him and Lord Aberdeen on the subject of the warlike preparations by Great Britain. Mr. McLane, in a subsequent despatch, states that the Secretary of State had misunderstood his meaning, and therefore the paragraph, written under this alleged mistake, is not communicated, in justice both to Lord Aberdeen and Mr. McLane.]

You strongly express the opinion, notwithstanding the existing difficulties, "that it would be in my [your] power, without any improper commitment of the President, to lead to a renewal of the negotiation by this [the British] government, and to the submission, unless another mode would be more desirable, through its minister at Washington, of a proposition adopting that directed by the President on the the 12th July last, with some modifications not inconsistent, according to the sense I [you] entertain of it, with our national honor. Of this I [you] should feel quite certain, if I [you] could officially know that the proposition would probably be acceptable at Washington."

The concluding paragraph of my despatch to you of the 29th ultimo, (No. 22,) which you will have received shortly after making this suggestion, is perhaps sufficient to indicate the course which the President would pursue, in case such an offer should be made through the British minister at Washington.

The President, since the date of his message, has seen no cause to change his opinion either in regard to our title to Oregon, or to the manner in which it ought to be asserted. But the federal constitution has made the Senate, to a certain extent, a co-ordinate branch of the treaty-making power. Without their advice and consent, no treaty can be concluded. This power could not be intrusted to wiser or better hands. Besides, in their legislative character they constitute a portion of the war-making, as in their executive capacity they compose a part of the treaty-making power. They are the representatives of the sovereign States of this Union, and are regarded as the best index of the opinion of their constituents. A rejection of the British ultimatum might probably lead to war; and as a branch of the legislative power, it would be incumbent upon them to authorize the necessary preparations to render this war successful. Under these considerations, the President, in deference to the Senate, and to the true theory of the constitutional responsibilities of the different branches of the government, will forego his own opinions, so far as to submit to that body any proposition which may be made by the British government, not in his judgment wholly inconsistent with the rights and honor of the country. Nor is the fact to be disguised, that from the speeches and proceedings in the Senate, it is probable that a proposition to adjust the Oregon question on the parallel of 49 degrees would receive their favorable consideration.

But it is necessary to be more explicit. In your despatch you have presented three propositions, either of which you believe the British government would be willing to make for the adjustment of the controversy; and you express "a strong conviction that the mode first indicated is entirely practicable." The first would offer an adjustment of the question on the basis of the President's proposition of the 12th July last; "but conceding to the Hudson's Bay Company a continuance of the privileges of joint occupation, including the navigation of the Columbia, for a period of seven or ten years longer." The proposition made by the President, to which you refer, was, "that the Oregon Territory shall be divided between the two countries by the 49th parallel of north latitude from the Rocky mountains to the Pacific ocean; offering at the same time to make free to Great Britain any port or ports on Vancouver's island, south of this parallel, which the British government may desire."

The President would feel no hesitation in presenting to the Senate, for their previous "advice and consent," this proposition, modified according to your suggestion.

It is necessary, however, that there should be a clear understanding of what is meant by "a continuance of the privileges of joint occupation." If this be understood as securing to the Hudson's Bay Company, during that limited period, no more than the privilege of enjoying all their existing establishments, together with that of hunting, fishing and trading with the Indians, and using the harbors and rivers south of the parallel of 49 degrees, this would not prevent the President from submitting such a proposition to the Senate. Of course, similar privileges would be extended to American citizens north of 49 degrees, if there be any such north of that parallel, which is doubtful. But no concession could be made to this company which would, in the meantime, deprive the United States of the power to establish a territorial government over the whole country south of 49 degrees, and to make grants of land south of this parallel. The President cannot, however, anticipate any possible change of circumstances which would induce him to submit such a proposition, if it should contain a surrender to Great Britain of the perpetual right to navigate the Columbia. A grant of the free navigation of the St. Lawrence to the United States would be no equivalent for such a concession. Indeed, this has become comparatively valueless, in consequence of the construction of the railroads and canals leading to the harbors of New York and Boston, which have rendered these the great channels of import and export for the region within the United States watered by the St. Lawrence and its tributaries.

The President is desirous so to adjust the Oregon question as not to leave open any source from which might proceed new difficulties and new dangers, again to threaten the peace of the two countries. If the free navigation of the Columbia were granted to Great Britain, this would become a perpetual cause of strife and collision between the citizens and subjects of the two countries. It would be almost impossible, by any vigilance which could be exerted, to execute their respective revenue laws and prevent smuggling on either side of the river. Besides, there are several portages around the falls and rapids of the river and its branches, the use of which would be necessary to the enjoyment of its free navigation. This would introduce the subjects of Great Britain, with their merchandise, into the heart of the country, and thus greatly increase the mischief beyond what it would be if they were confined to the channel of the river. To estimate the evils which would attend such a concession, we have but to imagine what would have been the consequences had the British government succeeded in securing for its subjects the free navigation of the Mississippi from its source to its outlet in the gulf of Mexico.

The President would, also, consent, though with reluctance, to submit to the Senate the second proposition suggested by you, dividing the territory in dispute between the two countries "by extending the boundary to the Pacific by the forty-ninth parallel and the strait of Fuca," but without the superadded words, "with free ports to both nations." These words are indefinite, and he cannot infer from them the extent of your meaning. In case the first proposition to which you refer should be made by the British government, the President would not object to the terms of his offer of the 12th July last, "to make free to Great Britain any port or ports on Vancouver's island, south of this parallel, which the British government may desire." If the cap of this island should, however, be surrendered to Great Britain, as would be the case under the second proposition, then he would consider the question in regard to free ports as terminated. I need not enlarge to you upon the inconvenience, not to say impossibility, under our system of government, after one or more States shall have been established in Oregon, (an event not far distant)—of making any of their ports free to Great Britain, or any other nation. Besides, our system of drawbacks secures to other nations the material advantages of free ports, without their inconveniences.

There is one point which it is necessary to guard, whether the first or the second proposition should be submitted by the British government. The strait of Fuca is an arm of the sea, and, under the public law, all nations would possess the same right to navigate it throughout its whole extent as they now have to the navigation of the British channel. Still, to prevent future difficulties, this ought to be clearly and distinctly understood. It is rendered the more necessary when we recollect that the Russian government not many years ago asserted a claim to the exclusive navigation of the northern Pacific ocean between its Asiatic and American territories, on the principle that it was "a close sea."

From what I have said, you will perceive that the third proposition to which you refer will not meet the approbation of the President, even to the extent of submitting it to the Senate.

Thus I have presented a frank and unreserved exposition of the views of the President on this important subject. To what extent you should communicate them to Lord Aberdeen, is left entirely to your own discretion. The President relies with implicit confidence on your sound judgment, prudence, and patriotism.

I am, sir, respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
JAMES BUCHANAN.
LOUIS MCLANE, esq., &c., &c., &c.

Mr. Buchanan to Mr. McLane.

[No. 26.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 28, 1846.

SIR: Your despatch No. 35, dated on the 3d, was received the 21st inst.

My despatch No. 23, of the 26th February last, was so full and explicit in relation to the Oregon question as to leave nothing for me to say upon that subject, except merely to answer some of the inquiries contained in your No. 35, which had not been anticipated.

You understand Lord Aberdeen to have stated that if no sufficient encouragement to renew the negotiation on the basis of compromise should be held out by my answer to the last proposition of the British government for arbitration, in such case one of the alternatives left him might be to offer a proposition through yourself to this government. Should the contingency occur, his lordship may adopt this course, if he think proper. You are authorized to receive and transmit to this department any proposition made by him; but in no event will the President consent to transfer the negotiation to London. The reasons against this are, in his opinion, conclusive, and will readily occur to your own mind.

We have but little information to be relied upon in regard to the navigableness of the Columbia river and its branches north of the parallel of 49 degrees; but there is no reason to doubt that they are navigable for boats and batteaux of a few tons burden. We understand that it is by this mode that the Hudson's Bay Company convey furs and other articles from several of their remote stations to their general depot at Fort Vancouver, and receive their supplies from thence.

For information upon this subject, I refer you to Senate document No. 39 of the 2d session of the 21st Congress, and especially to the report of Joshua Pilcher (a highly respectable man) to the Secretary of War, (volume 1, January 25, 1831.) You will doubtless find this volume in the library of your legation; but lest it might not be there, I shall transcribe a few sentences from that report. He says (page 10:) "I set out from Fort Colville the 21st of September, 1829, in company with six men of the post, carrying the annual express or packet across the continent. Our route was up the main river Columbia; our conveyance a batteau of four or five tons. In this batteau we ascended the river about three hundred miles, where the river divides into three forks; the main one being still navigable to its head, which issues from a lake in the Rocky mountains. At the three forks, which is called the Boat Encampment, because it is the place where the boats are left, and the portage across the mountains commenced, we began our overland journey. We arrived at the Boat Encampment on the 4th October, and remained there until the 21 November waiting for the arrival of a party from Hudson's bay," &