

BY W. LEWIS:

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SPEECH OF THE HON. LEWIS CASS, of Michigan, On our Relations with Great Britain.

P

DELIVERED IN 'THE SENATE JANUARY 28, '56.

[CONCLUDED.] Why, sir, it is a well-known historical fact, that when the message of Mr. Monroe reach-ed Europe, it excited a great sensation among the politicians, and nowhere a greater one than in England. Mr. Canning had propo-sed to Mr. Rush that the United States should take ground against the extension of the schemes of the Holy Alliance to the Spanish-American States, and promised the cooperation of England. The proposition reached here, when, as we have seen, Mr. Montoe was about to submit his doctrine to Congress. He accepted the suggestion of Mr. Canning, as to the particular case, which was all the British Government wanted, but he also accompanied his action with a declaration of the principles, which he thought should guide his country thereafter. Now, sir, Mr. Can-ning did not partake of the mistake, which prevails here. He saw that the special interposition was temporary, but that the doctrine itself was perpetual. I am informed by one who knows, that no man in Europe was more surprised than was Mr. Canning, when he found that the American Government had gone so far beyond his wishes and expectations. And we see, sir, to this day, that the point is perfectly understood in England; for Lord Clarendon, in his statement, said to Mr. Buchanan, but the other day, that the anti-colonization declaration of Mr. Monroe was "but the dictum of the distinguished person, who declared it, but her Majesty's Govern-ment cannot admit that doctrine, as an international axiom, which ought to regulate the conduct of European States." Here is no at-tempt to avoid the principle, nor is there any take the task of justifying the wisdom and sound policy of the Monroe doctrine, in reference to the nations of Europe, as well as those of the American Continent." I wish our Minister had been called upon to do, this work. He would have done it well and conclusively, and in a manner, which, I doubt not, would have been satisfactory to his 'own countrymen, if not 'to European politicians, and which might have silenced objections at .home. Mr. Canning, sir, arrogated the credit of one great measure to himself, to which he had no just claim. Let him not have the merit of another, to which he advanced no pretensions. He said, in quite a grandiloquent vein, in the British House of Commons, that he had called the Spanish-American Republics into being, and his words fell with proud assent upon English ears. But, sir, the boast had no foundation. At the verv time he made it those Republics had achieved their own independence, and were beyond the reach of Spanish resubjugation, and that independence had been formally acknowledged by the United States. I think I am correct in the statement of this fact. Mr. SUMNER, (in his seat.) It is so. Mr. CASS. I believe, sir, that to Mr. Clay, more than to any other statesman, American or European, was due the entrance of those States into the family of nations. But, after all, sir, this inquiry into the origin of the Monroe doctrine has but a speculative interest. To adopt an expression, familiar to the ears of Senators, it is well "to vindicate the truth of history," and to vindi-cate it upon this point; but this great cis-Atlantic principle does not now derive its strengh from its origin or its author; it rests upon a surer loundation, upon the cordial concurrence of the American people, and is destheir policy. One motive with some of usperhaps with many of us-in the Senate, for supporting the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was, withat, if carried out in good faith, it would peaceably do the work of the Monroe doctrine, and free an important portion of our continent from European interference. That "as well as a fault, on the other, will depend

land, I considered Lord Palmerston the most unfriendly to our country, and that his exer-tions would never be wanting in any effort to oppose us. This opinion was received with some surprise, and a good deal of incre-dulity, but I believe his sentiments are now prety well understood here, and nothing fa-against our institutions, our progress, and our prospects; and there is hardly a well-infor-med American. returning from the San Juan, savs, that this, and med American, returning from Europe, who route of the San Juan, says, that this, and will not confirm this representation. His other circumstances, had injured the British observation to Mr. Castellon, the Nicaraguan interests, and that the country "will be over-Minister, is indicative, not only of his senti-ments towards us, but of his estimate of our firmness. He said :

"We have been disposed to treat the United States with some degree of consideration; but, in reference to this question, it is a matter of total indifference to her Majesty's Government what the matter of my country, and desire of its what she may say or do."

Very complimentary, this, to our national rom the beginning, he has been no friend of this treaty; nor do I believe it would have been formed, had he directed the Government We have here a k at the time. And I believe, now, sir, that these difficulties would be adjusted by an honest interpretation being put upon this convention; within one month after the ac-cession of a liberal statesman to the station now held by Lord Palmerston. Till that event takes place, it will be the dictate of true wisdom not to anticipate, though we will still hope for, an amicable arrangement -but to take counsel from the duty we owe to ourselves. The treaty, from its commencement, has been set at naught upon the most flimsy pretexts.

It is evident that Lord Clarendon has adopted the views, and participates in the feel-ings of Lord Palmerston upon this whole subject, as also that the pretensions they have advaced will be tenaciously adhered to. For myself, I do not see how they are to be abandoned without coll statisfaction by to be abandoned without self-stultification by those, who have thus far so strenuously maintained them. The attempt to torture language to the accommodation of preconceived purposes was never more palpable than in this case. Let any one compare the able and frank opinion of Mr. Johnson, who was our Attorney General, when this treaty was negotiated, with the opinion given by the Queen's Advocate, the law officer of the British Covernment in its communication guage to the accommodation of preconceived British Government in its communication with other Powers, and he cannot but be struck with the contrast. Before I sit down, Struck with the contrast. Before i sit down, I shall ask to have Mr. Johnson's opinion read at the Clerk's table. It is entitled to high commendation for its clearness and ability; and I am happy to have this opportu-pity of testifying my respect and regard have been a foregone conclusion, and just high commendation for its clearness and ability; and I am happy to have this opportu-nity of testifying my respect and regard for that able and accomplished gentle-man. And what says the Queen's Advocate, that high legal counselor? Why, that the treaty provides that neither party shall occu-py, or fortify, or colonize, or assume; or ex-ercise any dominion (Mr. CLAYTON.) Ann. dominion meaning any dominion in the answer of Mr. Buchanan, who frank-ly avows his adhesion to the "dictum," and adds, with true American spirit, that "if the occasion required, he would cheerfully under-take the task of justifying the wisdom and the cluster of islands in its neighborhood, take the task of justifying the wisdom and the cluster of islands in its neighborhood, take the task of justifying the wisdom and vast region, if it abstains from occupying, or fortifyng or assuming, or ex-ercising dominion therein, Now, sir, all this, I repeat, is not less an insult to common sense, than to the position of our country before the world. It is equally in defiance of the spirit, and of the text of the arrangement. -Here is a mutual convention, entered into, for the purpose of securing an important region from the control and influence of the conclusion of a treaty. The King was honcontracting parties, professing to leave it to estly inclined, and hesitated to give his asits own management and its own fate; and sent. Mr. Fox, then one of the Ministers, now it is maintained that fleets and armies undertook to remove his objections. He urmay invade that country, (I do not speak of ged, that it was in their power to, put; their a just war; that is without the treaty; but of own interpretation upon the words; "Contiarmaments sent far protection, as it is called,) nent Espagnol,? and to determine, upon pru-provided they exercise no dominion. I de- dential considerations, (that is the term,). sire to know how a British army could en- "whether the Mosquito shore came under that camp upon the soil of Nicaragua without oc- description or not." And this expedient cupation and the assumption of dominion? prevailed; and, though Mr. Fox and his asso-They might not choose to interfere with the ciates knew full well, to speak in plain laninternal administration of the country; but guage, that they were cheating the Spaniards, that voluntary forbearance would not affect who thought, as every body else thicks, that their power or influence in the slightest de-gree. You might as well say, that the Aus-portion of the American continent, yet the trians exercise no dominion at Ancona, nor treaty was-concluded and ratified, and pruthe French at Rome, because the local police dential considerations excluded, the Mosquito at both places is left to do its own ungracious shore from its operation. The King, while work. "Dominion," says the great English he gave his consent, did so with hesitatton, lexicographer, "is power;" and to contend and considered the "circumstance a very un-that an English army, with the panoply of toward one." He might have truly qualified, war, could traverse one of those feeble Central it by a much harsher epithet. I am under American States without power-powerless the impression, that the same prudential rule indeed !-- is to say that language has lost its would have been again applied, to retain the force, and that conventions for the accommodation of national differences are but waste the Clayton-Bulwer treaty had been less equipaper, to be read, as the purposes of interest vocal upon this point than they are, if that or ambition may dictate. It was not difficult, it appears to me, to anticipate the present state of things. Cer- of the Senate, that some two years since, P tainly, I thought I foresaw it, and I predicted had a discussion with the Senator from Delait three years ago. Lord Clarendon' kindly ware upon this treaty, when I took exceptions tined to be a broad line upon the chart of wrote a dispatch to Mr. Crampton, dated to a portion of its phraseology, as well as to tract with another, that he will hold no pos-May 27, 1853 a gratuitous one for our bene. other circumstances, connected with it. I fit, designed upon its face for publication, in never doubted, nor did I ever express a doubt which he said: "As great misconception ap-t of, the patrioiic purpose of the Senator; and pears to prevail, not only among the people T renew an acknowledgment." I then made, of the United States, but also among persons that during the progress of the negotiation, placed in high and responsible situations in the did me the honor to consult me, as well as the governments of that country, respecting" other Senators, and that I warmly approved it has so far signally failed is no fault the lengagements of Great Britan under the his effort. Now, sir, Thave nothing to say on our side. Whether it is to be a triamph case well as a fault, on the other, will depend on the firmness and self-respect, which may direct and accompany our course. I am well Queen's Advocate, to which I have already the course and conduct of a functionary of the direct and accompany our course. I am well aware, that, during the premiership" of Lord referred, and which proves, that a weak our own. But now we are drawn into a Palmerston, an amicable arrangement, or country may be traversed by an unresisted discussion with a foreign Government, rerather a fair fulfillment of the treaty, agreea- army exercising no power, and occupying specting the honest interpretation of the treably to its obvious import, and the avowed ob- no space; and that such a warlike expedition ject of the parties, is an event hardly to be is the fair fulfilment of a treaty, which sought; hoped for. I have nothing to say of that dis- with jealous vigilance, to exclude both partinguished English statesman, incompatible ties from the exercise of any influence by one, with his own high position, or this high which might be turned to the injury of the place, where circumstances have given to other. Lord Clarendon, in this letter to Mr. his views, to his temperament perhaps, an Crampton, went over the whole matter, and importance rarely attached to a, public man this was-my conclusion as to the course of out of his own country. But he is not only the British Government; "They will hold on the official head of the British administration; to all their pretensions, and will not sacrifice otism. he is also its guiding 'spirit; and his proba-ble course is no matter of indifference to the is Cord Clarendon's term for our construction people of the United States. Some time of the treaty." The fulfillment has come. since, sir, in this Chamber, I took occasion to say that, of all the active public men of Eng- of the British Government to obtain an as-and the proof of that fact is, that no complaint is performent, that it insisted upon the illegal act. Apply such a case to us, and suggests better reasons for the adoption of

"The welfare of my country, and desire of its obtaining the control of so desirable a spot in the

commercial world, and free it from the competition of so adventuresome a race as the North Americans, impelme to address your lordship

We have here a key to the whole line of policy, which dictated, and yet dictates, the course of England. There was little necessity for the consul to deprecate the displeasure of Lord, Palmerston. The proposition went, no downt, to the head and heart of his lordship—perhaps it was followed by promo-tion. The prospect that a route across the continent, by canal or railroad, would be undertaken and accomplished by our citizens, unquestionably led the British Government, or such portion of it as favored the measure, to enter into this treaty, with a view to in-sure a participation in the advantages. The parties jointly agreed, in the words I have already quoted, that neither should "occupy or fortify, or assume, or exercise dominion over Cantral America, including Mosquito," &c. I observed, on a former occasion, that I could not conceive why the word "occupy" would not have fulfilled the intention of the parties, and why these pleonasms were introduced into the treaty, rendering it perhaps doubtful, by overloading it with words. I

dered it proper to yield though inclined against it. But I must also make the amende honorable,

ment, rendered such by prudential consider a-tions, producing a palpable breach of faith. What are the complaints we prefer against England in relation to this treaty? I will

enumerate them as succinctly as I can: 1. We complain, as a general allegation, that constructions are put upon it so mani-festly inconsistent with its purpose and lan-

guage, that the very assumption is felt by us to be an insult, and seen to be such by the world.

2. But to come to specific statements, we further complain, that these constructions are destructive of the objects of the treaty. It is

arrangements. But, by prospective operaion, Lord Clarendon means that, in some most important particulars, it has no operation at all. He claims, that it passes over America at the time of its conclusion, and

gations are perpetual. This claim, that the British possessions the first time, so far as I know, and so says Mr. Buchanan; and this very circumstance is a strong presumption, unfavorable to the as-commi the first time, so far as I know, and so says Mr. Buchanan; and this very circumstance is a strong presumption, unfavorable to the as-somption, especially considering the investi-gatious the treaty had undergone, and the many minds that had been at work upon it. Mr. Buchanan takes up this point, and dis-many circumstance is a strong presumption, especially considering the investi-gatious the treaty had undergone, and the many minds that had been at work upon it. Mr. Buchanan takes up this point, and dis-this region "by right of conquest." But when it was conquered and when ceded he sive, as to their opinion upon this pretension. The treaty went to England, without any declaration, excepting the Honduras settle-ment from its operation. If the construction now contended for, under the term prospec-intervaluation and solutions contained the benefit. These, in a posticity claimed the benefit. These, is a posticity of the construction is a posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the is a posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the is a posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the is a posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the is a posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the is a posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the is a posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the is a posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the is a posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the is a posticity of the is a posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the is a posticity of the is a posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the posticity of the is a posticity of the posticit now cantended for, under the term prospec-tive operation, be the correct one, there was no need of providing for the exclusion of that investigation of the term prospection of the providing for the exclusion of that investigation of the term prospection of the prospective operation. If the construction investigation of the investigation of the term prospective operation of the term prospective operation. If the construction investigation of the term prospective operation operation operation operation operation. If the construction is a set of the term prospective operation ope

3. The third article in our list of grievan-

This branch of the subject has been so

interpretation.

was "a settlement for certain purposes, in ed with this occupation ? In brief, they are the possession, and under the protection, of these: In the year 1804, Colonel Henderhis Majesty, but not within the territory and son, the British commandant at the Belize,

ion over it, as over any other part of her ter-ritories. She does not merely hold the usu- that Government was dissolved, and when fruct-and that confined to the logwood trade -but the country is exclusively hers, for all the purposes of peace and war. It is a per-

now said by Lord Clarendon, that this instru-ment is prospective in its operation. And so it is. If it had but a retroactive bearing, it would be but of little value. It necessarily operates in thefuture, like almost all national compension of a limited right into an absolute proprietorship, Great Britain has greatly en-And besides this change of tenure, and the conversion of a limited right into an absolute proprietorship, Great Britain has greatly enlarged the extent of the settlement beyond the boundaries assigned to it, to the injury of the State of Guatemala, to which the invaded country belongs, as successor to the the British pretensions existing in Central rights and possessions of Spain. The most and the communication along the coast of America at the time of its conclusion, and remote southern limit of this settlement. Central America. And their adaptation to America at the time of its conclusion, and reindle solutient hint of this settlement, leaves them untouched by its provisions.— We contend, that it embraces all the country named in it that is not expressly excepted; and that its operation commences from the moment of its ratification; and that its obli-and fifty or two hundred miles still further south, and as clearly in the State of Guatemala as the James river is in Virginia. Some maps held at the ratification of the treaty were ex- represent her encroachments as having reachcepted from its stipulations, is now heard for ed the Golfo Dolce, still further down the

cusses it with great force and clearness. Be-fore the treaty was ratified, there was an act fails to tell us. The fact is, it has been gainof the British Government, which is conclu- ed by successive acts of encroachment, sometimes individual and sometimes colonial, of which, till now, the British Government has settlement; because; being held by the British necessary to explain by what right the authorities exercised jurisdiction over the coun-try between the Siboon and the Sarstoon rivers; and said "it was neither by grant nor conquest, but by occupation." Occupation is a title resting upon discovery, and is ap-plied to a region, which had belonged to Sprain or her emanying the colony since the since the the commerce of the world. No man can fail to admire the judgment and precau-tion with which these and other stations have been selected, girding the globe with seats of power-places, at once, of attack and refuge-and especially their establish-ment upon great lines of communication. Spain, or her emancipated colony, since the ment upon great lines of communication,

second voyage of Columbus. Doctors often

had been maintained, that Great Britain had in the Bay of Honduras, and consider it a abandoned all dominion over the whole of palpable violation of the treaty. And in the very face of that treaty, and after its ratifica-Central America, was incorrect, at least in regard to the Belize and its dependencies .--tion, a colonial government was established The Belize and its dependencies were, as the there, called the Colony of the Bay Islands, Queen's Advocate says, expressly excluded in contempt of the stipulation, that neither from the treaty by a declaration, accompany-What are the facts in relation to this aging the act of ratification; and the expresgression-for it is undeniably such-and what sion, " at least as regards the Belize," is suffiare the objections to the claim ? ciently indicative of the opinion, that allother portions of Central America came with-1. Roatan is said by Lord Clarendon to be one of the group of islands excepted in the region. This is conceded by Lord Clarendon, note to the treaty, and described as "the who adds, however, that the treaty does rec-small islands in the neighborhood of the ognize the right of both the United States in the treaty, and are not protected by this prospective discovery; operating upon exist-ing claims. And Lord Clarendon himself, in Belize settlement, and known as its depen- and England to afford protection to the Cenhis letter to Mr. Crampton, of May 27, 1853, dencies." Now, there is a cluster of islands tral American States, including Mosquito.--places the exemption of the British posses -islets, rather-about three leagues from This phraseology is too indeterminate. The sions-meaning the Belize-upon the declathe Siboon river, which are dependencies of allusion in the convention to this important ration of the negotiators, and not upon this the Belize, and are beyond all doubt the ob- matter is a mere incidental one. It is, that recently announced and prulential canon of jects of this provision in the note; while Roa- neither party shall make use of any protectan is a large, important island, four or five tion it may afford to either of the said States, hundred miles from the Belize. A cause for any purpose inconsistent with the treaty. What 'is the language of the treaty upon this subject? That the parties shall not ocmust be weak, indeed, which depends upon 1 think now, as I thought at first, that the incupy Central America. How can this stipsuch support. Roatan is only some thirty troduction of this provision was unfortunate ; ulation be complied with, if one of them miles from the coast of Honduras, and be- and I should feel obliged to the Senator from continues the occupation previously held ?longs to it by as just a title, as Long Island Vermont, [Mr. COLLAMER,] who was a mem-To occupy is to do just what the treaty prohibits. And what reason is given for this belongs to New York. 2. Arother ground of claim to Roatan is perversion of language, as plain as words permit? "Because," says Lord Clarendon, founded on the allegation, that by some maps it is in the West Indies. I do not see, that "the freaty does not contain, in specific terms, Lord Clarendon has assumed this position, a renunciation on the part of Great Britain.' but others have. I state it only to show, that means of adjusting national controversies, and And 'in what principle of international law, if a political measure is determined on, rea- seeing that an endeavor was to be made by or of common sense, or of common honesty, sons will never be wanting for its defense .- this treaty to "guaranty the neutrality of does Lord Clarendon find his justification This geographical elasticity, if it goes on, some part of God's earth, in peace and war for such an assumption as this? I know of may rob us of our good old island of Nan- he felt particularly interested in the subject," none. 'If a nation, or an individual, contracts tucket, making it tropical for British purpo- and therefore turned his attention to the neto do an act, they contract the obligation to ses, though not for those of nature. do all that that act fairly requires. A stipu-3. One of the British titles to Roatan is a He further stated, that the first project of lation not to occupy necessarily includes title by right of occupation; and it is thus the treaty contained no stipulation as to prowithin itself the duty of abandoning any stated by Lord Clarendon : pretension or possession, inconsistent with that obligation. And if: one individual con-

dominions of his Majesty," &c. Now, sir, all these limitations upon the power of Great Britain over that region are wholly disregarded, and she has fortified it, and cultivates it, and exercises as full domin-ion over it, as over any other part of her transforment, which was then united and strong. In 1840, the British commandant at the Belize, who was sent to examine this island, report-ed that it belonged to Spain. In 1820, it was seized by a British force, and abandoned on the remonstrances of the Central American strong. In 1841, it was are are a point of her to be the sent of the Honduras was feeble, and in a time of profound peace, without urging the slightest pretense, so far as appears: a mere act of piracy, to call things by their true names. These five Islands, as I have already said, now constitute a British colony, organized since the ratification of this truety.

since the ratification of this treaty. They are a most valuable possession, the principal of them, Roatan, being a highly important naval station, abounding with excellent har-bors, easily fortified, and affording the means of commanding the great Bay of Honduras, Central America. And their adaptation to these purposes constitutes at once their value to England, and the motive for the tenacity, with which she holds on to them, her solemn stipulations to the contrary notwithstanding. I am glad to see, that the purpose has not es-caped the sagacity of our Government, nor the knowledge of it, its avowal. Mr. Marcy speaks upon this subject with a frankness which becomes his position and responsibility. He says, in a letter to Mr. Buchanan of June 12, 1854:

"Roatan can only be desirable to Great Brit ain as a naval and military station, and for that purpose only, as it would give her great facility in affecting injuriously our interests .--Should she refuse to acknowledge it as a part of the State of Honduras, and retain possession of it herself, the United States would clearly understand her object. A predetermination to interfere with our affairs thus manifested, will render the centinuance of our amicable relations with her precarious."

Roatan is to become the Gibraltar of those seas, and, like that celebrated fortress, like the Cape of Good Hope, and Aden, and Sing-apore, it is destined by English policy to overlook, and, when the time comes, to conand where the flag of every maritime nation must pass before their doors. No. Power is more interested in all this than we are; and that interest is tenfold increased by our acqui-

A treaty was concluded in 1783, between Spain and England, the sixth article of which provided for the abandonment of the Mosquito country, as a portion of the "Continent Espagnol.". There was a great reluctance on the part of the British Cabinet to this withdrawal, and, at the same time, a strong desire to terminate the pending war by the same Mosquito country, even if the words of is possible. and the last

Mr. President, it is within the recollection nation can retain a country without occupation,-such individual would forfeit all claim to honesty, if 'he urged, as a reason for 'holdhold what he had not, but that what he had ces is, the indefinite extension of the Belize settlement, and the exercise of full, unlimited urisdiction over it. ty, and the subterfuges-1 use the term advisedly-by which it is sought to avoid its fully presented both here, and by Mr. Buobligations. And I express my full concurchanan in England, and with marked ability, rence in the various points taken by the Senator from Delaware, and which he has supsistent with its clear understanding. ported with that power of intellect and eloquence, which is known to the whole 'country, and with a full knowledge of the subject. directed by an active and enlightened patri-

I have said, that the object 'of this treaty was to keep the country from the occupation

"Whenever Roatan has been permanently occupied, either in remote or recent times, by session in a given district, -and that is the anything more than a military guard and flagequivalent expression in a private case for a staff, the occupation has been by British subnational stipulation of non-occupation, as no jects."

How cautiously is this worded as the foundation of such a claim ! When the island has been occupied, formerly or latterly, it ig possession, that he meant he would not has been by British subjects ! Then, according to this statement the occupation has been to ocupy or colonize any part of Central interrupted, and no permanent possession America, when she was actually occupying held until the English seized it; and yet a it;" &c. It was, therefore, feared; looking Central American garrison is conceded to to the British connection with the Mosqui-have been stationed there; and we know that the island was wrested from it by force. But still more extraordinary is the succeed-

ing declaration : "It has been, without the instigation of the British Government, of late years, spontancously occupied by British subjects."

that I shall pass over it, as rapidly as is con-English colonial history. Had the British of the resort to any such pretense, that the Government the slightest faith in its title, last words of the first article, relating to prothere would have been no spontaneous action, | tection, were inscribed in the treaty." The British Government has, for a sentury and a half, held qualified possession of a but an authorized possession of one of the small region, including the neighborhood of most important positions in Central America. acknowledgments to the honorable. Senator the Belize. It was originally seized for the English subjects, according to an English for his clear exposition, which satisfactorily purpose of cutting logwood; and after long Minister, seized a district belonging, by all shows the reasons, that influenced the Cabiand angry contests with Spain, the latter the recognized principles of discovery, to net of General Taylor in this transaction.— Power finally recognized the right to hold it Spain and her emancipated colonies, and the That explanation presents the subject in an

sitions upon the Pacific, and by the necessit of an unbroken communication with them.-We want no lion in our path, watching, in bis lair, till he is ready to spring; but this is just what England wants, ay, and will have, if we do not bring both vigilance and firm. ness to the task before us.

5. Our fifth and last principal ground of complaint is the conduct and pretensions of England with respect to the Mosquito country and protectorate. The treaty recognizes the existence of no such relation with that ber of General Taylor's Cabinet, at the time this subject was pending, if he will state to the Senate the reasons for its introduction.

[Here Mr. COLLAMER stated, that, owing to his peculiar aversion to war, as a gotiations.

tection. In considering the matter in the Cabinet, such a clause was deemed necessary, in consequence of the disclaimer, made by Lord Palmerston to Mr. Lawrence, of any intention to occupy the Mosquito country, though "at that very time (said Mr. C.) they were occupying the whole extent of country which I have mentioned.

"It will thus be seen (continued Mr. C.) that Great Britain told us she did not intend such provision were not made, Great Britain "might fall back on the word occupy,! and might really occupy the country under the pretense of not doing so in her own right." A man may occupy land in his own right, or in the right and as tenant of another. Spontaneous occupation is a new title' in was for the purpose of putting an abnegation

Mr. CASS. Mr. President, 1 tender my