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J. J. BRUNER, Editor and Proprietor.

NICARAGUAN AFFAIRS.

The PRESIDENT of the United States transmitted to both Houses of Congress yesterday the following Special Message:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith reports of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Attorney General, in reply to a resolution of the House of Representatives of the 8th of May instant, both having reference to the routes of transit between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans through the Republics of New Granada and Nicaragua, and to the condition of affairs in Central America.

These documents relate to questions of the highest importance and interest to the people of the United States.

The narrow isthmus which connects the continents of North and South America, by the facilities it affords of easy transit between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, rendered the countries of Central America an object of special consideration to all maritime nations, which has been greatly augmented in modern times by the operation of changes in commercial relations, especially those produced by the general use of steam as a motive power by land and sea. To us, on account of its geographical position and of our political interest as an American State of primary magnitude, that isthmus is of peculiar importance, just as the isthmus of Suez is, for corresponding reasons, to the maritime Powers of Europe. But above all, the importance to the United States of securing free transit across the American isthmus has rendered it of paramount interest to us since the settlement of the Territories of Oregon and Washington and the accession of California to the Union.

Impelled by these considerations, the United States took steps at an early day to assure suitable means of commercial transit, by canal, railway, or otherwise, across this isthmus.

We concluded, in the first place, a treaty of peace, amity, navigation, and commerce with the Republic of New Granada, among the conditions of which was a stipulation, on the part of New Granada, guarantying to the United States the right of way or transit across that part of the isthmus which lies in the territory of New Granada, in consideration of which the United States guaranteed in respect of the same territory the rights of sovereignty and property of New Granada.

The effect of this treaty was to afford to the people of the United States facilities for at once opening a common road from Chagres to Panama, and for at length constructing a railway in the same direction, to connect regularly with steamships, for the transportation of mails, specie, and passengers, to and fro, between the Atlantic and Pacific States and Territories of the United States.

The United States also endeavored, but unsuccessfully, to obtain from the Mexican Republic the cession of the right of way at the northern extremity of the isthmus by Tehuantepec, and that line of communication continues to be an object of solicitude to the people of this Republic.

In the mean time, intervening between the Republic of New Granada and the Mexican Republic, lie the States of Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, the several members of the former Republic of Central America. Here, in the territory of the Central American States, is the narrowest part of the isthmus, and hither, of course, public attention has been directed as the most inviting field for enterprises of inter-oceanic communication between the opposite shores of America, and more especially to the territory of the States of Nicaragua and Honduras.

Paramount to that of any European States as was the interest of the United States in the security and freedom of projected lines of travel across the isthmus by the way of Nicaragua and Honduras, still we did not yield in this respect to any suggestions of territorial aggrandizement, or even of exclusive advantage either of communication or of commerce. Opportunities had not been wanting to the United States to procure such advantages by peaceful means and with full and free assent of those who alone had any legitimate authority in the matter. We disregarded these opportunities from considerations alike of domestic and foreign policy; just as, even to the present day, we have persevered in a system of justice and respect for the rights and interests of others as well as our own in regard to each and all of the States of Central America.

It was with surprise and regret therefore, that the United States learned, a few days after the conclusion of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, by which the United States became, with the consent of the Mexican Republic, the rightful owners of California, and thus invested with augmented special interest in the political condition of Central America, that a military expedition under the authority of the British Government had landed at San Juan del Norte, in the State of Nicaragua, and taken forcible possession of that port, the necessary terminus of any canal or railway across the isthmus within the territories of Nicaragua.

It did not diminish the surprise or soreness of this act on the part of Great Britain to find that she assumed to justify it on the ground of an alleged protectorate of a small and obscure band of uncivilized Indians, whose proper name had been long lost to history, who did not constitute a State capable of territorial sovereignty, either in fact or of right, all political interest in whom, and in the territory they occupied, Great Britain had previously renounced by successive treaties with Spain which Spain was sovereign to the country, and subsequently with independent Spanish America.

Nevertheless, and injuriously affected as the United States conceived themselves to have been by this act of the British Government and by its occupation about the same time of insular and of continental portions of the territory of the State of Honduras, we remembered the many and powerful ties and mutual interests by which Great Britain and the United States are associated, and we proceeded in earnest good faith, and with a sincere desire to do whatever might strengthen the bonds of peace between us, to negotiate with Great Britain a convention to assure the perfect neutrality of all inter-oceanic communications across the isthmus, and, as the indispensable condition of such neutrality, the absolute independence of the states of Central America and their complete sovereignty within the limits of their own territory as well against Great Britain as against the United States. We supposed we had accomplished that object by the convention of April 19, 1850, which would never have been signed nor ratified on the part of the United States but for the conviction that, in virtue of its provisions, neither Great Britain nor the United States was thereafter to exercise any territorial sovereignty, in fact or in name, in any part of Central America, however or whenso ever acquired, either before or afterwards. The essential object of the convention—the neutralization of the isthmus—would, of course, become a nullity if either Great Britian or the United States were to continue to hold exclusively islands or mainland of the isthmus, and more especially if, under any claim of protectorship of Indians, either Government were to remain forever sovereign in fact of Atlantic shores of the three States of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Honduras.

I have already communicated to the two Houses of Congress full information of the protracted and hitherto fruitless efforts which the United States have made to arrange this international question with Great Britain. It is referred to on the present occasion only because of its intimate connexion with the special object now to be brought to the attention of Congress.

The unsettled political condition of some of the Spanish-American Republics has never ceased to be regarded by this Government with solicitude and regret on their own account, while it has been the source of continual embarrassment in our public and private relations with them. In the midst of the violent revolutions and the wars by which they are continually agitated, their public authorities are unable to afford due protection to foreigners and to foreign interests within their territory, or even to defend their own soil against individual aggressors, foreign or domestic, the burden of the inconvenience and losses of which, therefore, devolves, in no inconsiderable degree, upon the foreign States associated with them in close relations of geographical vicinity or of commercial intercourse.

Such is, more emphatically, the situation of the United States with respect to the Republics of Mexico and of Central America. Notwithstanding, however, the relative inconvenience of the European States from America, facts of the same order have not failed to appear conspicuously in their intercourse with Spanish American Republics. Great Britain has repeatedly been constrained to recur to measure of force for the protection of British interest in those countries. France found it necessary to attack the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, and even to debark troops at Vera Cruz, in order to obtain redress of wrongs done to Frenchmen in Mexico.

What is memorable in this respect in the conduct and policy of the United States is, that while it would be as easy for us to annex and absorb new territories from America as it is for European States to do this in Asia or Africa, and while, if done by us, it might be justified as well on the alleged ground of the advantage which would accrue therefrom to the territories annexed and absorbed, yet we have abstained from doing it, in obedience to considerations of right not less than of policy; and that while the courageous and self-reliant spirit of our people prompts them to hardy enterprises, and they occasionally yield to the temptation of taking part in the troubles of countries near at hand where they know how potential their influence, moral and material, must be, the American Government has uniformly and steadily resisted all attempts of individuals in the United States to undertake armed aggression against friendly Spanish-American Republics.

While the present incumbent of the Executive office has been in discharge of its duties he has never failed to exert all the authority in him vested to repress such enterprises, because they are in violation of the law of the land, which the Constitution requires him to execute faithfully; because they are contrary to the policy of the Government, and because to permit them would be a departure from good faith towards those American Republics in amity with us, which are entitled to, and will never cease to enjoy, in their calamities the cordial sympathy and in their prosperity the efficient good will of the Government and of the people of the United States.

To say that our laws in this respect are sometimes violated or successfully evaded is only to say what is true of all laws in all countries, but no more so in the United States than in any one whatever of the countries of Europe. Suffice it to repeat that the laws of the United States prohibiting all foreign military enlistments or expeditions within our territory have been executed with impartial good faith, and, so far as the nature of things permits, as well in repression of private persons as of the official agents of other Governments, both of Europe and America.

Among the Central American Republics to which modern events have imparted most prominence is that of Nicaragua, by reason of its particular position on the isthmus. Citizens of the United States have established in its territory a regular interoceanic transit route, second only in utility and value to the one previously established in the territory of New Granada. The condition of Nicaragua would, it is believed, have been much more prosperous than it has been but for the occupation of its only Atlantic port by a foreign Power, and of the disturbing authority set up and sustained by the same Power in a portion of its territory, by means of which its domestic sovereignty was impaired, its public lands were withheld from settlement, and it was deprived of all the maritime revenue which it would otherwise collect on imported merchandise at San Juan del Norte.

In these circumstances of the political debility of the Republic of Nicaragua, and when its inhabitants were exhausted by long continued civil war between parties, neither of them strong enough to overcome the other or permanently maintain internal tranquility, one of the contending factions of the Republic invited the assistance and co-operation of a small body of citizens of the United States from the State of California, whose presence, as it appears, put an end at once to civil war and restored apparent order throughout the territory of Nicaragua, with a new administration, having at its head a distinguished individual, by birth a citizen of the Republic, Patricio Rivas, as its provisional President.

It is the established policy of the United States to recognise all Governments without quest on of their source, or their organization, or of the means by which the governing persons attain their power, provided there be Government *de facto* accepted by the people of the country, and with reserve only of time as to the recognition of revolutionary Governments arising out of the subdivision of parent States with which we are in relations of amity. We do not go behind the fact of a foreign Government exercising actual power to investigate questions of legitimacy; we do not inquire into the causes which may have led to a change of Government. To us it is indifferent whether a successful revolution has been aided by foreign intervention or not; whether insurrection has overthrown existing Governments and another has been established in its place according to pre-existing forms, or in a manner adopted for the occasion by those whom we may find in the actual possession of power. All these matters we leave to the people and public authorities of the particular country to determine; and their determination, whether it be by positive action or by acquiescence, is to us a sufficient warrant of the legitimacy of the new Government.

During the sixty-seven years which have elapsed since the establishment of the existing Government of the United States, in all which time this Union has maintained undisturbed domestic tranquility, we have had occasion to recognise Governments *de facto*, founded either by domestic revolution or by military invasion from abroad, in many of the Governments of Europe.

It is the more imperatively necessary to apply this rule to Spanish American Republics in consideration of the frequent and not seldom anomalous changes of organization or administration which they undergo, and the revolutionary nature of most of these changes, of which the recent series of revolutions in the Mexican Republic is an example, where successive revolutionary Governments have made their appearance in the course of a few months, and been recognised successively each as the political power of that country by the United States.

When, therefore, some time since, a new Minister from the Republic of Nicaragua presented himself, bearing the commission of President Rivas, he must and would have been received as such, unless he was found on inquiry subject to personal exception, but for the absence of satisfactory information upon the question whether President Rivas was *in fact* the head of an established Government of the Republic of Nicaragua, doubt as to which arose not only from the circumstance of his avowed association with armed emigrants recently from the United States, but that the proposed Minister himself was of that class of persons, and not otherwise or previously a citizen of Nicaragua.

Another Minister from the Republic of Nicaragua has now presented himself, and has been received as such, satisfactory evidence appearing that he represents the Government *de facto*, and, so far as such exists, the Government *de jure* of that Republic.

That reception, while in accordance with the established policy of the United States, was likewise called for by the most imperative special exigencies, which require that this Government shall enter at once into diplomatic relations with that of Nicaragua. In the first place, a difference has occurred between the Government of President Rivas and the Nicaragua Company, which involves the necessity of inquiry into rights of citizens of the United States, who allege that they have been aggrieved by the acts of the former, and claim protection and redress at the hands of their Government. In the second place, the interoceanic communication by the way of Nicaragua is effectually interrupted, and the persons and property of unoffending private citizens of the United States in that country require the attention of their Government. Neither of these objects can receive due consideration without resumption of diplomatic intercourse with the Government of Nicaragua.

Further than this, the documents communicated show, that, while the interoceanic transit by the way of Nicaragua is cut off, disturbances at Panama have occurred to obstruct, involving the sacrifice of the lives and property of citizens of the United States. A special commissioner has been dispatched to Panama to investigate the facts of this occurrence, with a view particularly to the redress of parties aggrieved. But measures of another class will be demanded for the furture security of interoceanic communication by this as by the other routes of the isthmus.

It would be difficult to suggest a single object of interest, external or internal, more important to the United States than the maintenance of the communication, by land and sea, between the Atlantic and Pacific States and Territories of the Union. It is a material element of the national integrity and sovereignty.

I have adopted such precautionary measures and have taken such action for the purpose of affording security to the several transit routes of Central America, and to the persons and property of citizens of the United States connected with or using the same, as are within my constitutional power and as existing circumstances have seemed to demand. Should these measures prove inadequate to the object, that fact will be communicated to Congress, with such recommendations as the exigency of the case may indicate.

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

WASHINGTON, May 15, 1856.

From the National Intelligencer.

CONGRESS.

THE NICARAGUAN RECOGNITION.

The importance of the subject induces us to give a fuller report than was contained in our hasty summary of Monday night, of what was said in the Senate that day on the President's recognition of the Revolutionary Government of Nicaragua. We also insert in the official part of this date.

IN SENATE, MAY 15, 1856.

The President of the United States laid before the body a Message from the Department of the United States, transmitting reports of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Attorney General, in reply to a resolution of the Senate of the 8th of March, and a resolution of the House of Representatives of the 8th of May, having reference to the routes of transit across the Atlantic Ocean, through the Republics of Nicaragua and New Granada, and to the condition of affairs in Central America.

The Message which was published in the Journal of Monday by being read, and Mr. Mason having moved that it be read and the usual number of copies be printed for the use of the Senate,

Mr. CLAYTON said Mr. President, the Senate is fully aware, and there is a very important subject for inquiry and for work and for action before it, that goes beyond the limits of this body. I think, therefore, that the question on the reference shall be put, and then we have a fair vote at it.

I think that I have rarely ever listened with more delicacy to a message from a President of the United States which I considered more fraught with consequences—I am sorry to say, evil consequences—than the message which has just been read. The country will certainly be known the opinion of this body upon the question presented by that message. It will quickly escape from the limits of the Senate and the halls of Congress, and it will come to this country and be agitated from one end of it to the other with the expectation of war, and every thing else in the land will be triumphant. I will not thus prematurely (for I would speak with the greatest caution and the greatest deliberation on the subject) undertake to say what we ought to do; but something ought to be done, and that quickly, and that of a decided and emphatic character. It seems to me that in the language of the message are the words "war" I mean to be understood by us in an open, manly manner, as war should be made by a great nation. I do not desire by any species of intrigue or any petty policy to grope our way step by step, blindly, and we fall into the pit of war. I do not think that course of proceeding, but it seems to me this message marks out exactly that sort of policy.

How long has the Government of Nicaragua, or rather, I should say, how long has it been recognized by you, so far as the Executive can recognize it, to have a name and an existence? I think it is since we were convened here in December. I cannot recall upon exactly the months of its existence, but the shoes are not worn out on the feet of those who wrought this revolution; and already we are satisfied with the permanency of this Government, and satisfied as to its capacity to discharge the duties of a nation in the great family of nations! Sir, it is a hasty conviction and a very hasty conclusion in a matter of so much consequence and importance. It is a revolution effected, too, as the message itself admits, by the co-operation of our own countrymen, going contrary to the laws of their country, to aid and assistance of this already "permanent" Government, which has never known an hour of peace and security from the time of its existence until this moment, and which is now engaged in war.

Is this the national prudence and national policy which have guided our course heretofore? What said Gen. Jackson upon an occasion somewhat, and only somewhat, like this? In regard to Texas, long after she had given to the world assurance of her ability to govern herself, and her capacity to maintain herself against Mexico, and had by victories established her title to respect among the communities of the earth, what said Gen. Jackson in a message to Congress on that subject? I am sorry that I have not that message here; but gentlemen will recollect it. It is worthy to be read by them. It embraces every principle and every policy treated of in this message, and gives them a thorough and profound and patriotic refutation; and it marks out as clearly and distinctly as daylight the course which we ought to pursue in reference to such cases.

This message is totally contrary to the policy announced by Gen. Jackson and approved by the whole nation. It is against the American sentiment, principle, and policy which have governed us from the beginning. We sometimes mix ourselves up in the affairs of other nations (varying according to circumstances) as dangerously by recognising, and thus far espousing, the quarrels of communities rising suddenly into existence, as we do by engaging with them in alliances, offensive and defensive. This is an entangling alliance.

Gen. Jackson thought, furthermore, as any gentleman will find who will read that admirable message of his, that the accepting of a new community into the family of nations, contracting with it as such, recognising its powers to act as such, was a high act of authority about which the Government of the United States, and not the President merely, had the right to decide and determine. Yet here, sir, in our haste, the President in his thoughtful project—I do not say in any spirit of consideration—acknowledges this Government by accepting and accredited a Minister. It is a question of great importance. The coming into existence of a new nation affects the whole circle of nations. New relations are to be created; new alliances are to grow up; new laws and new policies of commerce to be marked out. Is this a case which, under such circumstances, may be properly decided by the President of the United States alone?

Sir, I did not intend to discuss this question. I have not prepared for it to-day upon it; but it seems to me that something ought to be said and something ought to be done. I do not know that this message ought to be committed at all. At any rate, it seems to me it should lie before us from the hundreds of the Senate and we should have time to consider and know what we are about to do and what we are doing. I hope the message will not be referred—at least not at present.

Mr. MASON. I am not aware, sir, of anything in the Message of the President which has been read (other to excite the apprehensions which have been expressed by the Senator from Kentucky or to call for the criticism which he has been pleased to make upon the conduct of the President. The paper merely informs the Senate, as it was its duty to do, of the creation of a country very near home, in whose destination we must necessarily have a great deal of interest—Central America generally, and Nicaragua one of the States of that country, more especially. It informs us that it has lately been recently that a change has taken place in the Government of the State of Nicaragua. What change? That which is taking place all over the earth from day to day—a change of government; the appointment of one President in place of another; the appointment of one set of lawmakers in place of another set. Being satisfied that the new Government is a Government *de facto*, and has sufficient ability to conduct the affairs of the people, he has felt himself called upon to receive their Minister. That is all.

Now, the honorable Senator from Kentucky says that this is in contravention of a policy established from the foundation of this Government, and adhered to on a memorable occasion by Gen. Jackson, in reference to the Texas. He says the President not only contravenes that policy, but establishes a new one. Let the honorable Senator tell us what the State of Nicaragua is a new State on the family of nations? Have we not recognized the existence of Nicaragua as a political community since the year 1824, at one time in a confederation and afterwards separately, just as we recognized Mexico or Costa Rica, or Buenos Ayres, or any of the States that occupy a portion of North America, or Central America, or South America? Does it not follow, my friends tell them and to themselves, that when they change their Government all that we have a right to know is that the Government which they have established is really a Government, and that they have sufficient stability to entitle themselves to be put into communication with us? This is the whole inquiry. But the Senator reasons as this case as though Nicaragua had now for the first time presented herself as a separate political community, and the President had undertaken to decide for us that it was in fact a political community, and to recognise it as such without consulting the other branches of the Government.—That is not the case at all. We have had a Minister resident at the State of Nicaragua for several years, and one there when this revolution took place by which their Government was changed. She has had a Minister resident here. We have been on terms of political intercourse with the State of Nicaragua for a series of years, as we are with the other states of Central America. We are not now recognising a new Power.

I am free to admit (so far as I would undertake to criticise the conduct of the President, who must, by virtue of his office, regulate, not our relations with foreign nations, but our intercourse with foreign governments) that, knowing the fact that a number of our citizens had gone there from our States and had taken part in this revolution, I should have paused, as I think he has paused, before forming any judgment which could be considered a sudden premature judgment on the character of the Government which has resulted from that revolution. That day, however has gone by. The Government has been established now for a period of some six or eight months. So far as we are informed, it is a Government of greater stability, more tranquility, more repose than has existed in that unfortunate country for a period of years; and if it has been brought about by the instrumentality of one of our own countrymen, we are not to discredit it on that account; for from it. I admit that we are to do nothing which would invite or encourage our people to intrude themselves officiously, far less with hostile views, into the affairs of others; but when the thing is done and ended, the Government becomes the act of the people of the country whose Government it is.

The Government of Nicaragua having changed hands, in whose hands has it been deposited? Mr. Rivas is, as I am informed, the provisional President of Nicaragua. What is a provisional President? A President *ad interim* until, according to their institutions, with which we have nothing to do, a President can be appointed for the term regularly fixed by their fundamental law; but he is the President *de facto*, the organ of that Government, and he has a right to put himself in communication with us, and to demand that we shall communicate with him politically, if he can show that his Government is a stable one—of a character which is entitled to our respect and consideration.

Now, sir, I do not know what the Senator from Kentucky means when he says that, in the course of a week, the country will think itself on the verge of war because the Government of Nicaragua has been recognised. With whom are we to go to war? Whence is the threat of war? It certainly does not come from Central America or from any of the states adjoining it. Whence, then is this cloud to arise? Am I to construe the honorable Senator as meaning that, because another foreign transatlantic Government has more than once intermeddled (as we have never done, but have always refrained from doing) with the domestic as well as the political affairs of the State of Nicaragua, we are to be deterred from our course, or even to be in the slightest degree affected in the relations which we may think it proper to establish with her, because of any apprehension from that quarter? I confess that I entertain no such apprehensions; but if I thought that the recognition of this Government would bring to an issue the questions which are depending between us and any foreign nation whatever, when we are right, I should think it only be left to judge of the expediency of accelerating or retarding that issue. I should not be governed in my views of the propriety of the conduct of this nation by regard to what would be the opinions or obtrusive interference of any nation abroad.

Sir, we know very well—I have had occasion, in my official position here, within a short period, by a report, to expose the fact—that the Government of the United States has never attempted, in any instance, to avail itself of advantages, or less to acquire rights, by negotiation with one of the American Powers, which we may consider as domestic Powers, that the Governments, both of France and England, have not tried and successfully frustrated our efforts. We know, as is stated in the message of the President in relation to Nicaragua, that although Great Britain has not assented a right to take possession of the port of San Juan, she has effectually done the same thing under her alleged protectorate, by interposing the shadow of a Mosquito Government between her and the State of Nicaragua, and has seriously embarrassed and crippled that weak State by her control of policy. We are no further interested in that than as our sympathies may be excited on the one side, or as our disgust and reclaim may be excited by seeing the overshadowing control that is without scruple exercised by a strong Power on a weak one.—But we have not attempted to interfere, as far as I am aware, in any way. Our people have gone there under concessions made by the Government of Nicaragua, and independent Powers have invested a large amount of capital, and established a route which is of great importance to us in our commercial and political intercourse with one of the States of the Confederacy. We have found, as the President states, that by means of the revolution which has recently taken place in that Government the rights of property of our citizens have been jeoparded if not seriously impaired; and it becomes a matter of public and political necessity that we should be restored, if we can with propriety, to that relation of diplomatic intercourse which will enable us to inquire into and redress that wrong. Why is it to be put off? The President is the only power known to this Government that can receive a foreign Minister. This is an authority expressly given to him by the Constitution.—The responsibility resides with him. If he were to undertake to receive a foreign Minister from some association of people claiming to be a political community, theretofore unknown to the world as a political community, it would certainly be a very great stretch of responsibility, which might involve the country, and which I think no President, conscious of his true position as one of the departments of the Government, would exercise. But where there is a mere change of Government in an existing and acknowledged political community, a mere change of the hands that exercise power, it is an ordinary case for the exertion of his responsibility, and he must take his own course. He cannot consult us, he cannot consult any branch of the Government. I should conceive, as to the propriety of doing it; or, if so, it must be under much graver circumstances than those which attend the present case.

Why, sir, how was it but the other day in France? France passed through all the intermediate states of a monarchy, an anarchy, a military despotism for the time, a republic, and an autocracy, and we recognised them all, according to my recollection, from time to time, in each stage which that Government assumed, until it terminated in the grand *coup d'état* by which the present ruler of France seized the reins of empire, and held them ever since. According to my recollection, our Minister at Paris, though he was unable to obtain instructions from his Government, forbore no longer than ten or fifteen days as to whether he should recognize Louis Napoleon as the autocrat of France instead of Louis Napoleon who was President of the Republic some ten or twelve days before.—This Government perfectly approved of what he did. We did not hesitate at once to put ourselves in political communication with France after Napoleon seized the reins of empire there, and became the ruler, the sole ruler, irresponsible even to the people over whom he ruled.

I shall go no farther into the subject. I only mean to say what I think—with all the respect which I bear to the Senator from Kentucky, and I bear that respect to him for which he is entitled, a very great respect—he has rather confounded the case of a reception by the President of a minister from a political community just commencing to assume previously recognised, with the case of an ordinary change of government by an existing Power with whom we have had all the time political relations.

Mr. PEARCE. I wish to put an inquiry to the Senator from Virginia. It appears to me, looking at this question in a practical point of view, that there is only one result from this course of action. If the Nicaraguan Government be now recognized, our citizens, independently of any law on our part, will have a right to go there; and the practical result of the acknowledgment of this Government will be to enable the citizens of the United States to go there and make that a permanent Government which may not now be a permanent one. It is known to us that but yesterday it was considered a mere revolutionary struggle, carried on in a great part by citizens emigrating from the United States against the laws of this country—carried on by their instrumentality almost exclusively. Of the force which fought the battles of the revolution sixteen twenths have been Americans who went there contrary to the laws of our country. I supposed, however, that now by the recognition of this Government, the President will have no right to prevent any American citizen from going there if he pleases.

The result of this will be that in less than twenty days, or as soon as by means of steam people can reach Nicaragua, a Government which but yesterday was considered as trembling in the balance, because it was believed that it was about to be put down, will be as stable (against the Government in opposition to which the revolution commenced) as our own Government is today. There can be no doubt of that.

Then the question is, how far would it be right, without having ascertained the stability of a Government admitted to be established by our own citizens, to take away the restrictions now imposed by law, and enable our citizens to go there so as to make a permanent and stable Government out of that which but yesterday was a revolutionary Government, established by those who had no right to go there? The practical importance of this matter is, that by the recognition of the Walker Government in Nicaragua our citizens will be able to go there in accordance with our laws—and we know that they will go there—and that what has heretofore been an unstable Government will become a stable one. I do not pretend to say that I am against the policy; but that is the practical question to which we are to address ourselves.

Mr. MASON. The Senator from Maryland inquires of me, as I understand, whether the practical effect of the recognition of the existing Government of Nicaragua will not be to give a license to the people of the United States to go there, and if they think proper, after they get there, to take part in the war which is said now to exists between Costa Rica and Nicaragua.—I answer that, as I construe the laws and policy of the United States, it will give them no greater license, certainly, than exists in regard to any other country on the face of the earth. It will not affect our neutrality laws in the slightest degree; it will leave them unimpaired and in full force. Those laws provide that the citizen of the United States shall not originate, set on foot, or organize within our limits any military expedition against a country with which we are at peace, because that would embarrass our relations with that country; but our citizens are free to go where they please, and when they get abroad to engage in any pursuit be it peaceful or hostile.

Mr. WELLER explained the history of the Nicaraguan revolution and justified the action of Gen. Walker. His remarks have never been officially reported.

Mr. CRITTENDEN again rose to address the Senate but, the hour being late, he yielded to a motion for adjournment.

Shrewd Reply.—James II, when Duke of York, made a visit to Milton, out of curiosity. In the course of their conversation, the duke said to the poet, that he thought his blindness was a judgement of heaven on him, because he had written against Charles I, his (the duke's) father; when the immortal poet replied, "If your royal highness thinks that misfortunes are the indexes of the wrath of Heaven, what must you think of your father's tragical end? I have only lost my eyes—he lost his *head*."