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whole space as the position of the minor islands would allow. This proposal, this very liberal proposal, which had the effect of offering the United States many islands to which they had no fair right, was declined curtly by Mr. Campbell, who wrote that he must decline 'any proposition which would require me to sacrifice any portion of the territory which I believe the treaty gives to the United States.' It will be seen that Mr. Campbell had profited by the lessons of the Maine and Oregon controversies, and comprehended the doctrine that all territory which at any time, or by any accident, any citizens of the United States had seized or claimed as subject to the sovereignty of the republic, was from that moment to be regarded as United States territory, the restoration of any part of which to its legitimate owners was to be treated as a cession.

The first settlement of the island of San Juan was effected by the Hudson's Bay Company, the island having been 'always considered to be and treated as within the jurisdiction of the Governor of Vancouver's Island.'* But about the year 1859 a few American squatters made their appearance, and their arrival was generally regarded as foreshadowing some ultimate designs. In June, 1859, a dispute arose between one of the squatters and the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company. The squatter shot a hog belonging to the Company. General Harney, the United States officer in command of troops in Washington Territory, availed himself of the quarrel which arose out of this trifling incident to send a company of American troops to San Juan 'to afford adequate protection to American citizens, in their rights as such.' This aggressive step was taken altogether without reference to the Governor of Vancouver's Island. Hudson's Bay agent remonstrated with Captain Pickett, the officer in charge, and warned him that the island was the property of the Hudson's Bay Company. This warniug induced him to send for the 'Massachusetts,' an American man-of-war in the neighbourhood. Governor Douglas, of Vancouver's Island, hearing of these events, at once went to San Juan. Captain Pickett informed him that he was acting under orders—that he would prevent any inferior British force from landing, fight any equal force, and protest against the landing of any force superior to his own. We need not trace the correspondence that ensued between Captain Pickett and the British authorities. The tact and great self-control of Governor Douglas averted any actual outbreak of hostilities.

Eventually he landed in a different part of the island from that occupied by the Americans a small force equal to that under Captain Pickett's orders, and thus established the joint occupation that has endured ever since. In accordance with the provisions of the treaty of Washington, the sovereignty of the island has been referred for arbitration to the German Emperor, and the cases prepared on each side have been for some time in his hands. It is very desirable that no decision should be given in this matter while the arbitration referred to the tribunal at Geneva is threatened with miscarriage. Should the Emperor give a decision in our favour, there would be every reason to fear that its reception by the Government of the United States. would depend upon the fate of the arbitra-tion at Geneva. Judging by the principles on which American diplomacy is regulated, it is but too probable that in the event of a collapse of the treaty, as far as it relates to the 'Alabama,' the United States would repudiate an arbitration in the San Juan case that failed to grant them the sovereignty of the island. On the other hand, the British. Government would probably accept a decision unfavourable to itself, whatever might be the fate of the treaty. We stand, therefore, in the position of having everything to lose and nothing to gain by letting the Ber-, lin arbitration proceed. If our Government have not taken steps to suspend it while the issue of the negotiations relating to the 'Alabama' arbitration is doubtful, they have shamefully imperiled interests it was their duty to guard.

The fate of San Juan, however, has excited but little public interest during the last. few months. The incidents that have interrupted the progress of the arbitration at Geneva have thrown all other subjects of international speculation into the shade. Time has at last exposed, what circumstances for a while disguised, the true character of the Washington treaty. Our consent to that unfortunate instrument was obtained by the American Government in one of those propitious moments in which it has always been their good fortune to conclude their treaties with this country. An eager desire to secure the friendship of the United States, at almost any material sacrifice, had inspired Mr. Gladstone's Government with the idea of settling the 'Alabama' difficulty by giving up almost every question in dispute. Demands which successive Governments, both Conservative and Liberal, had ever since their first presentation persistently resisted as wholly unreasonable—which in some cases they had almost resented as insulting—he resolved to grant. The Washington Government was

^{*} Lord Milton, p. 252.