





MESSAGE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

To the Honorable Representatives of the U. S. Senate

The Treaty negotiated by the Executive with the Republic of Texas, without a departure from any form of proceeding

customarily observed in the negotiation of treaties, for the annexation of that Republic to the United States, having been rejected by the Senate, and the subject having excited on the part of the People

an ordinary degree of interest, I feel it to be my duty to communicate, for your consideration, the rejected Treaty, together with all correspondence and documents which have heretofore been submitted to the Senate in its Executive session.

The papers communicated embrace not only the series already made public by orders of the Senate, but others from which the veil of secrecy has not been removed by that body, but which I deem to be essential to a just appreciation of the entire question.

While the Treaty was pending before the Senate, I did not consider it compatible with the just rights of that body, or consistent with the respect entertained for it, to bring this important subject before you. The power of Congress is, however, fully competent, in some other form of proceeding, to accomplish every thing that formal ratification of the Treaty could have accomplished, and I therefore feel that I am not imperfectly discharging my duty to yourselves or the country, if I failed to lay before you every thing in the possession of the Executive which would enable you to act with full light on the subject, if you should deem it proper to take any action upon it.

I regard the question involved in these proceedings as one of vast magnitude, and addressing itself to an interest of an elevated and enduring character. A Republic coterritorial in territory with our own—of immense resources, which require only to be brought under the influence of our confederated and free system in order to be fully developed—promising at no distant day, through the fertility of its soil, nearly if not entirely to duplicate the exports of the country, thereby making an addition to the existing trade of an amount almost incalculable, and giving a new impulse of immense importance to the commercial, agricultural, manufacturing and shipping interests of Union, and at the same time affording protection to an exposed frontier, and placing the whole country in a condition of security and repose—a territory settled mostly by emigrants from the United States, who will bring back with them in the act of reciprocation an unconquerable love of freedom and an ardent attachment to our free institutions. Such a question could not fail to interest most deeply in its success those who under the Constitution have become responsible for a faithful administration of public affairs. I have regarded it as not a little fortunate that the question involved was no way sectional or local, but addressed itself to the interests of every part of the country, and made its appeal to the glory of the American name.

It is due to the occasion to say that I have carefully reconsidered the objections which have been urged to immediate action upon the subject without in any degree having been struck with their force. It has been objected that the measure of Annexation should be preceded by the consent of Mexico. To preserve the most friendly relations with Mexico; to concede to her not grudgingly but freely all her rights; to negotiate fairly and frankly with her as to the question of boundary; to render her, in a word, the fullest and most ample recompense for a loss she might otherwise have sustained, fully accords with the feelings and views the Executive has always entertained.

But negotiation in advance of Annexation would prove not only abortive, but might be regarded as offensive to Mexico, and insulting to Texas. Mexico would not, I am persuaded, give ear for a moment to an attempt at negotiation in advance, except for the whole territory of Texas. While all the world besides regards Texas as an independent Power, Mexico chooses to look upon her as a revolted Province. No could we negotiate with Mexico for Texas, without admitting that our recognition of her independence was fraudulent, delusive, or void. It is only after acquiring Texas, that the question of boundary can arise between the United States and Mexico, a question purposely left open for negotiation with Mexico, as affording the best opportunity for the most friendly and pacific arrangement of the boundary. To deal with Texas as a Power independent of all others, both de facto and de jure.—She was an independent State of the Confederation of Mexican Republics. When, by violent revolution, Mexico declared the Confederation at an end, Texas owed her no longer allegiance, but claimed, and has maintained the right for eight years to a separate and distinct position. During that period, no army has invaded her with a view to establish her right to be treated as a nation independent de facto and de jure, it would be difficult to say at what period she will attain to that condition.

Nor can we by any fair or any legitimate inference be accused of violating any treaty stipulations with Mexico.—The treaties with Mexico give no guarantee of any sort, and are consistent with a similar treaty with Texas. So have we treaties with most of the nations of the earth which are equally as much violated by the annexation of Texas to the United States, as would be our Treaty with Mexico. The Treaty is merely commercial, and accords no defining the rights and securing the interests of the citizens of each country. What had faith can be implied or charged upon the Government of the United States for successfully negotiating with an independent Power upon any subject violating the stipulations of such Treaty. I confess my inability to discern.

The objections which have been taken to the enlargement of our territory, were urged with much zeal against the acquisition of Louisiana—and yet the utility of such has long been fully demonstrated. Since that period a new Power has been introduced into the world, which has, for all practical purposes, brought Texas much nearer to the State of Government than Louisiana was at the time of its annexation. Distant regions are by the application of the steam engine, brought within a close proximity.

With the views which I entertain of the subject, I should prove faithless to the high duty which I owe to the People, if I withheld from them the full and entire attention of the Representatives of the People to it, at the earliest moment that a due respect for the Senate would allow me to do so. I should find, in the urgency of the matter, a sufficient apology, if one was wanting, since annexation is to encounter a great trial in the course of final defeat, if something be not now done to prevent it. Upon this point, I cannot too emphatically advise every Member of the Senate of the 16th of May, and to the documents which accompany it, which have not heretofore been made public. If it be objected that the names of the writers of some of the private letters are withheld, all that I can say is, that it is done for reasons regarded as altogether adequate, and that the writers are persons of the first respectability and citizens of Texas, and have such means of obtaining information as to entitle their sentiments to full credit. Nor has any thing occurred to weaken, but, on the contrary, much to confirm, my confidence in the statements of Gen. Jackson, and my own statement made at the close of that message, in the belief, amounting almost to certainty, that instructions have already been given by the Texas Government to propose to the Government of Great Britain, forthwith, on the failure of the Treaty to enter into a treaty of commerce, and an alliance, offensive and defensive.

I also particularly invite your attention to the letter from Mr. Everett, our Envoy at London, containing an account of a conversation in the House of Lords which lately occurred between our Minister and Lord Aberdeen, in relation to the question of Annexation. Nor can I do so without the expression of some surprise at the language of the Minister of Foreign Affairs employed upon the occasion. That a language which is made what it now is by repeated acts of annexation, beginning from the time of the Heptarchy and concluding with the annexation of the kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland, should be perceived in principle, either novel or serious, in the late proceedings of the American Executive in regard to Texas, is well calculated to excite surprise. It is pretended that, because of commercial or political relations which may exist between two countries, neither has a right to part with its sovereignty, and that no third power can change those relations by a voluntary treaty of union or annexation, then it would seem to follow, that an annexation to be achieved by force of arms in the protection of a just and necessary war, could in no way be justified; and yet it is presumed that Great Britain would be the last nation in the world to maintain any such doctrine. The commercial and political relations of many of the countries of Europe have undergone repeated changes by voluntary treaties, by conquest, and by the acquisition of their territories, without any question as to the right, under the public law. The question, in this view of it, can be considered as neither serious nor novel.

I will not permit myself to believe that the British Minister designed to bring himself to any such conclusion; but it is impossible for us to be blind to the fact, that the statements contained in Mr. Everett's despatch are well worthy of serious consideration. The Government and People of the United States have never avinced, nor do they feel any desire to interfere in public questions not affecting the relations existing between the States of the American Continent.

We leave the European powers exclusive control over matters affecting their Continent and the relations of their different States.

The United States claim a similar exemption from any such interference on their part. The Treaty with Texas was negotiated from considerations of a high public policy influencing the conduct of the two Republics. We have treated with Texas as an independent Power, solely with a view of bettering the condition of the two countries. Annexation in any form occurs, it will arise from the free action of the People of the two countries, and it seems altogether becoming in me to say that the honor of the country, the dignity of the American name, and the permanent interests of the United States would forbid acquiescence in any such interference. No one can more highly appreciate the value of peace to both Great Britain and the United States, and the capacity of each to do injury to the other than myself; but neither can be preserved by maintaining firmly the rights which belong to us as an independent community.

So much I have considered it proper for me to say, and it becomes me only to add, that while I have regarded the Annexation to be accomplished by treaty as the most suitable form in which it could be effected, should Congress deem it proper to resort to any other expedient compatible with the Constitution, and likely to accomplish the object, I stand prepared to yield my most prompt and active cooperation.

The great question is not as to the manner in which it shall be done, but whether it shall be accomplished or not.

The responsibility of deciding this question is now devolved upon you.

JOHN TYLER.

VEVO MESSAGE

To the Honorable Representatives of the U. S. Senate

I return to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, the bill entitled "An act to amend the act of the 22d of March, 1845, in relation to certain harbors and rivers," with the following objections to its becoming a law:—

That the adoption of the Constitution, each State was possessed of a separate and independent sovereignty, and an exclusive jurisdiction over all streams and water courses within its territorial limits. The Articles of Confederation, and the present Constitution, adopted for the purpose of correcting the defects which existed in the original articles, expressly reserved to the States all powers not delegated to the United States, which is made by the States to this Government by any express grant, and if it is possessed, it is to be deemed retained, unless it is expressly granted to the United States by authority of the States, which is necessary and proper for carrying into execution the granted powers.

That in no view of the subject, no pretence whatever for the claim of the bill, no pretence whatever is retained substantially acting. The inferential power, in order to be legitimate, must be clearly and plainly incidental to some grant of the clause in the Constitution which is intended to be exercised, and it is essential to the due exercise of the power, that it should be exercised in a manner which is not a mere pretext to invade the territory of the States, and to invade Congress with unimpaired obstructions from the water courses of the States, is claimed under the granted power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and with the States, and with the Indian Tribes; but the claim and ob-

Virginia Free Press.

Thursday Morning, June 20.

FOR PRESIDENT, HENRY CLAY.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT, THEODORE FREILINGHUYSEN.

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Facilities for Travel.

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