

VOL. XII.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY, BY THOMAS WATSON.

Terms—Three Dollars per annum, payable in advance. No subscription will be received for a less period than one year; and no paper will be discontinued, until all arrearages are paid, unless at the option of the publisher.

AMERICANUS—NO. II.

To the Editors of the St. Louis Beacon.

In my last communication I stated, and proved, that the present boundary line between the U. States and Mexico was conceived and established for the purpose of obstructing Mexican Independence, and checking the growth of the West; and promising to demonstrate that the line so established, is, in point of fact, prejudicial and injurious to both republics, and that it would be to their mutual advantage to abandon it at once, and establish a new one founded on mutual convenience, adapted to the locality of the country, and calculated to be as durable and permanent as the existence of the two republics.

Secondly: In bringing a natural power within the natural limits of the U. States.

The waters of the Red River and the Arkansas, and all the territory drained by them, are within the natural boundaries of the United States. In the natural divisions of the globe, they belong to the valley of the Mississippi. The one half of these rivers, and of the territory drained by their waters, now belong to a foreign power. Under its dominion, it will be settled, and the settlers will be subject to a foreign government, and bound to take part with it in every controversy between their own government and that of the United States.

Thirdly: In giving foreigners a right to navigate our rivers.

It is seen that this boundary gives to Mexico about two thirds of the Red River, and one half of the Arkansas. The law of nations, the same under which we claimed the right of navigating the Mississippi thirty years ago, when the lower part of it was owned by Spain, and the same under which we now claim the right to navigate the St. Lawrence, would give the Mexicans a right to navigate the rivers of which they own the upper parts, even if the treaty under which they acquired them was silent. But it is not silent.

Fourthly: In the loss of western territory, which was ceded away for the purpose of establishing a desert between the frontiers of the United States and Mexico.

In the first number of AMERICANUS, this sacrifice of territory was stated at 200,000 square miles, but it is since ascertained that that estimate was far below the real extent of the loss. The province of Texas, the whole of which was ceded away, but which did not constitute the whole extent of the cession, alone contained 240,000 square miles. Its boundaries and superficial content are thus stated in Darby's Western Gazetteer, published in 1818, before any question about the cession of the province had ever been agitated: "Bounded on the West and South by the Rio del Norte; on the South by the Gulf of Mexico; East by the state of Louisiana; North by the Red river. Its greatest length 800 miles; breadth 500, estimated by the rhombs on Melish's map to contain 240,000 square miles, and to be equal in extent to New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky."

Fifthly: In bringing a non slave holding empire to the confines of Louisiana and Arkansas, and to the neighborhood of New Orleans and the Lower Mississippi.

Mexico is a non-slave-holding empire, and will remain so. She now borders upon the states on the lower Mississippi, and will naturally become the refuge of fugitive slaves from that quarter. Many slaves now make their way from the states south of the Ohio river and Potomac, and across the lakes to Canada, although several states of the Union, bound to deliver up fugitives, lie between, and increase the difficulties of the distance which they have to go.

Sixthly: In furnishing a refuge to fugitives from justice.

This will result from the position of the ceded territory, near to the United States, remote from the seat of government in Mexico. Escape to it from the U. States is easy; punishment by Mexico is difficult. Hence Texas is already notorious as an asylum for fugitive offenders; and in some parts of it they are already in sufficient force to set the laws of the country at defiance, to trample on every moral sentiment, and to raise a man's standing among themselves by the amount of the reward that is offered for him in the state from which he fled.

Seventhly: In giving facilities for smuggling by land and water.

The Sabine is made a common boundary; it is to be navigated by both parties; the Gulf of Mexico west of the Sabine, possesses numerous ports; the country is open and level to the Red River, and to the numerous lakes and bayous which communicate with the Mississippi. Smuggling in all this quarter will be easy, especially as the right to navigate the Red River is secured.

most eminent example, being seldom invaded on the side of the Alps and the Pyrenees, where her forts and troops were comparatively few, and often on the side of the Netherlands, where every resource of skill and money had been exhausted to supply the place of a mountainous frontier by double and treble lines of stupendous fortifications.

Secondly: In bringing a natural power within the natural limits of the U. States. The waters of the Red River and the Arkansas, and all the territory drained by them, are within the natural boundaries of the United States. In the natural divisions of the globe, they belong to the valley of the Mississippi. The one half of these rivers, and of the territory drained by their waters, now belong to a foreign power. Under its dominion, it will be settled, and the settlers will be subject to a foreign government, and bound to take part with it in every controversy between their own government and that of the United States.

Thirdly: In giving foreigners a right to navigate our rivers.

It is seen that this boundary gives to Mexico about two thirds of the Red River, and one half of the Arkansas. The law of nations, the same under which we claimed the right of navigating the Mississippi thirty years ago, when the lower part of it was owned by Spain, and the same under which we now claim the right to navigate the St. Lawrence, would give the Mexicans a right to navigate the rivers of which they own the upper parts, even if the treaty under which they acquired them was silent. But it is not silent.

Fourthly: In the loss of western territory, which was ceded away for the purpose of establishing a desert between the frontiers of the United States and Mexico.

In the first number of AMERICANUS, this sacrifice of territory was stated at 200,000 square miles, but it is since ascertained that that estimate was far below the real extent of the loss. The province of Texas, the whole of which was ceded away, but which did not constitute the whole extent of the cession, alone contained 240,000 square miles. Its boundaries and superficial content are thus stated in Darby's Western Gazetteer, published in 1818, before any question about the cession of the province had ever been agitated: "Bounded on the West and South by the Rio del Norte; on the South by the Gulf of Mexico; East by the state of Louisiana; North by the Red river. Its greatest length 800 miles; breadth 500, estimated by the rhombs on Melish's map to contain 240,000 square miles, and to be equal in extent to New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky."

Fifthly: In bringing a non slave holding empire to the confines of Louisiana and Arkansas, and to the neighborhood of New Orleans and the Lower Mississippi.

Mexico is a non-slave-holding empire, and will remain so. She now borders upon the states on the lower Mississippi, and will naturally become the refuge of fugitive slaves from that quarter. Many slaves now make their way from the states south of the Ohio river and Potomac, and across the lakes to Canada, although several states of the Union, bound to deliver up fugitives, lie between, and increase the difficulties of the distance which they have to go.

Sixthly: In furnishing a refuge to fugitives from justice.

This will result from the position of the ceded territory, near to the United States, remote from the seat of government in Mexico. Escape to it from the U. States is easy; punishment by Mexico is difficult. Hence Texas is already notorious as an asylum for fugitive offenders; and in some parts of it they are already in sufficient force to set the laws of the country at defiance, to trample on every moral sentiment, and to raise a man's standing among themselves by the amount of the reward that is offered for him in the state from which he fled.

Seventhly: In giving facilities for smuggling by land and water.

The Sabine is made a common boundary; it is to be navigated by both parties; the Gulf of Mexico west of the Sabine, possesses numerous ports; the country is open and level to the Red River, and to the numerous lakes and bayous which communicate with the Mississippi. Smuggling in all this quarter will be easy, especially as the right to navigate the Red River is secured.

per acre, the sum of \$281,250,000.—Such was the size of the Desert,—such its value in money, which the negotiator of the Florida Treaty undertook to create within the acknowledged limits, and most of it within the natural boundaries of the United States, for the avowed purpose of obstructing Mexican independence, and for the palpable object of abridging the territorial extent of the West, and preventing the future existence of the slave states which might have been formed upon it!

Secondly: In bringing a natural power within the natural limits of the U. States. The waters of the Red River and the Arkansas, and all the territory drained by them, are within the natural boundaries of the United States. In the natural divisions of the globe, they belong to the valley of the Mississippi. The one half of these rivers, and of the territory drained by their waters, now belong to a foreign power. Under its dominion, it will be settled, and the settlers will be subject to a foreign government, and bound to take part with it in every controversy between their own government and that of the United States.

Thirdly: In giving foreigners a right to navigate our rivers.

It is seen that this boundary gives to Mexico about two thirds of the Red River, and one half of the Arkansas. The law of nations, the same under which we claimed the right of navigating the Mississippi thirty years ago, when the lower part of it was owned by Spain, and the same under which we now claim the right to navigate the St. Lawrence, would give the Mexicans a right to navigate the rivers of which they own the upper parts, even if the treaty under which they acquired them was silent. But it is not silent.

Fourthly: In the loss of western territory, which was ceded away for the purpose of establishing a desert between the frontiers of the United States and Mexico.

In the first number of AMERICANUS, this sacrifice of territory was stated at 200,000 square miles, but it is since ascertained that that estimate was far below the real extent of the loss. The province of Texas, the whole of which was ceded away, but which did not constitute the whole extent of the cession, alone contained 240,000 square miles. Its boundaries and superficial content are thus stated in Darby's Western Gazetteer, published in 1818, before any question about the cession of the province had ever been agitated: "Bounded on the West and South by the Rio del Norte; on the South by the Gulf of Mexico; East by the state of Louisiana; North by the Red river. Its greatest length 800 miles; breadth 500, estimated by the rhombs on Melish's map to contain 240,000 square miles, and to be equal in extent to New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky."

Fifthly: In bringing a non slave holding empire to the confines of Louisiana and Arkansas, and to the neighborhood of New Orleans and the Lower Mississippi.

Mexico is a non-slave-holding empire, and will remain so. She now borders upon the states on the lower Mississippi, and will naturally become the refuge of fugitive slaves from that quarter. Many slaves now make their way from the states south of the Ohio river and Potomac, and across the lakes to Canada, although several states of the Union, bound to deliver up fugitives, lie between, and increase the difficulties of the distance which they have to go.

Sixthly: In furnishing a refuge to fugitives from justice.

This will result from the position of the ceded territory, near to the United States, remote from the seat of government in Mexico. Escape to it from the U. States is easy; punishment by Mexico is difficult. Hence Texas is already notorious as an asylum for fugitive offenders; and in some parts of it they are already in sufficient force to set the laws of the country at defiance, to trample on every moral sentiment, and to raise a man's standing among themselves by the amount of the reward that is offered for him in the state from which he fled.

Seventhly: In giving facilities for smuggling by land and water.

The Sabine is made a common boundary; it is to be navigated by both parties; the Gulf of Mexico west of the Sabine, possesses numerous ports; the country is open and level to the Red River, and to the numerous lakes and bayous which communicate with the Mississippi. Smuggling in all this quarter will be easy, especially as the right to navigate the Red River is secured.

Eighty: In the loss of harbors. The best and most numerous harbors on the continental coast of the Gulf of Mexico, lie between the Sabine and the mouth of the Rio del Norte. As a naval and commercial power, owning the great river which carries the commerce of an empire into the Gulf, we had the greatest need for these harbors. By the acquisition of Louisiana we obtained them; by the new boundary established on our south west frontier in 1819, we gave them away.

Ninthly: In laying open the Lower Mississippi to invasion from above.

Before the establishment of this boundary, all the country to the west of the lower Mississippi, quite to the Rio del Norte, was ours. An American population was to inhabit it, and would have covered New Orleans and all the lower country on that side. The new boundary has given it up to foreigners, has uncovered the right flank of Louisiana, and laid it open to invasion. Possessed of the Red River and Arkansas, a foreign power may prepare an invasion from above, collect her troops and munitions, descend to the Mississippi, raising all the slaves as they come, and menace or capture the emporium of the West, or excite a servile war, before the citizen soldiers of the upper states could come to her aid. In another contest with England, she might choose this route, come in upon the back of Louisiana, and spread consternation through the state. To guard against this danger, New Orleans would have to be fortified above the city, and all the approaches to the Mississippi by the Red river and Arkansas watched and guarded.

Tenthly: In furnishing a harbor to the Indians who kill and rob our citizens on their way to Mexico.

Caravans from Missouri, Arkansas and Louisiana have repeatedly suffered from the depredations of the Indians who are sheltered by this harbor. The Cananches inhabit it, or rather roam over it,—the Bedouin Arabs of America—like these Arabs forever mounted, always seeking for prey, always ready to attack the merchant and traveller, and too often escaping punishment by the fleetness of their horses. Missouri has complained of their depredations, but complained in vain, while the projector of the desert they inhabit was at the head of affairs; but upon the accession of President Jackson their complaints were heard, and a military escort ordered out for the protection of their caravans.

Eleventhly: In losing the Navigation of the Upper Red River and Arkansas.

The navigation of the upper part of these rivers, even for small craft, would facilitate the commercial intercourse of Missouri, Arkansas and Louisiana, with the northern parts of Mexico; but it is no longer in their power to command it.—The treaty of 1819 did not reserve the privilege, and the right of navigation, accruing under the laws of nations, only applies to people who live on the upper waters of streams which flow into the sea, and who are admitted to have a natural right to go to the ocean in the channels which God has created for that purpose.

Twelfthly: In diminishing the outlet for the emigration of the Indians which inhabit the states of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee.

These Indians ought to emigrate. It is due to the states in which they are, that they should be put on a footing with all the states north of the Potomac and Ohio, whose Indians have been sent away, and their territory cleared of the incumbrance of a population which pays no taxes, counts nothing in the federal census, bears no arms, except for mischief to the whites, and obstructs the settlement and cultivation of the states. It is better for the Indians themselves that they should go. Since the time that the children of Israel were in Egypt, it has been seen that two different nations could not live together without injury to the weaker, & that the road of salvation to the weaker party, was through the door of emigration. This truth is now enforced upon the Southern Indians; the land of promise for them,—described by Gen. Pike, 25 years ago, as the terrestrial paradise of savages,—is beyond the Mississippi; they are now going to it, and the only objection is, that they have to stop too near the whites, and that the outlet is not sufficient. It was the boundary of 1819 which made this outlet too small, and stops these emigrants too near to the whites.

Thirteenthly: In making a common boundary.

Such are the evils, a brief and rapid sketch, which will result to the United States, from the continuance of the present SOUTH-WESTERN BOUNDARY. To Mexico, it will also be prejudicial and injurious, not to the same extent, but in a sufficient degree to make it her interest to have it changed. In the first place, she will be involved in the same ruinous expense for

fortifications that we shall be. In the next place, these fortifications, when built by her, so far beyond her natural frontier, will be untenable in time of war; the line of the Sabine, the Red River and Arkansas, will be to her what the line of the Ebro was to France when Charlemagne had extended his empire to that river; untenable against the people within whose natural boundaries it is, and lost in the first war. In the third place, all the evils of smuggling, and offenders escaping from justice, would be common to her and to us. In the fourth place, the population upon it, can never incorporate with her inhabitants. They are fugitives, or emigrants from the United States, speaking a different language, bred up in a different religion, dependent for markets and an outlet to the sea, upon the masters of the Mississippi, and naturally looking towards the country from which they came, and back into which their rivers, their trade, the ties of blood, and the force of feeling, are continually leading them.

In the fifth place, all the evils of border populations, not separated by natural boundaries, would also be common to both Republics. "Bad fences make bad neighbors;" bad boundaries, or no boundaries, make hostile nations. The present boundary is essentially a bad one, for both Mexico and the United States; it presents nothing to divide the nations, and the border people, their slaves, cattle, horses, will be perpetually crossing, committing trespasses, and producing collisions.

In fine, it is a line mutually disadvantageous to Mexico and the United States, made in a spirit of hostility to the independence of one, and sectional jealousy to the other; made without necessity, for the United States were in possession, and held by a title "not susceptible of refutation;" and made with a king that had no right to make it, and whose grant, if he had granted any thing to us on the side of Mexico, would have been invalid and inoperative; for Mexico was then virtually independent, and not subject to have her territories curtailed by a treaty between the king of Spain and the United States. It was a stipulation for a boundary by which the United States might lose, and could not gain; by which the West could be diminished, but could not be enlarged; and this constituted its precise recommendation to the agitators of the Missouri question, and the old opponents to the acquisition of Louisiana, who were then united in policy, and in great force, at Washington city, and were the present and political friends of the negotiator.

Execrable as it was, the ratification of the Treaty was certain and inevitable.—The restrictionists and the old opponents to the acquisition of Louisiana, in conformity to whose avowed wishes it was made, constituted nearly one half of the Senate, and they voted for the ratification of course. A stipulation to pay \$5,000,000 to the Atlantic merchants, who had lost property by Spanish spoliations, commanded another large interest: and the cession of the Florida, commanded the votes of most of the southern members. But the ratification was not obtained without a struggle. Several Senators set up a decided opposition; and in the other branch of congress, Mr. Clay thought it so fraught with injury to the United States, and especially to the West, as to justify the extraordinary interposition of the House of Representatives.—He accordingly submitted two resolutions, in condemnation of the treaty, one for its unconstitutionality, in undertaking to cede away national territory; the other for its inexpediency and injustice to the United States. These resolutions were overpowered in the House of Representatives; by the same causes which ensured the ratification in the Senate.

Having now demonstrated that the line of 1819 is a disadvantageous boundary for both countries, it results of course that it will be to their interest to abandon it, and

The following are the Resolutions submitted by Mr. Clay.

1. Resolved, That the Constitution of the U. States vests in Congress the power to dispose of the territory belonging to them, and that no treaty, purporting to alienate any part thereof, is valid without the concurrence of Congress.

2. Resolved, That the equivalent proposed to be given by Spain to the U. States, in the treaty concluded between them, on the 22d of February, 1819, for that part of Louisiana lying west of the Sabine, was (is) inadequate; and that it would be inexpedient to make a transfer thereof to any foreign power, or to renew the treaty.

In the discussion of these Resolutions, Mr. Clay, after pouring a torrent of indignant eloquence upon the Treaty, turned upon its author, and accused Mr. Adams, as distinctly as the rules of debate would permit, of having betrayed his trust, and granted the Spaniards more than the king's instructions required. The following is the sentence which implies this accusation: "Are we not told by the Secretary of State, in the bold and confident assertion that Don Luis de Onís was authorized to grant us much more, and that Spain dare not deny his instructions,—THAT THE LINE OF DEMARKATION IS FAR WITHIN HER LIMITS?"—N. B. The words, "much," "dare," and "far," are all italicized in Mr. Clay's speech as printed in the National Intelligencer, and on reading this pregnant intimation of treachery, the mind is irresistibly hurried back to the state of the negotiation as it ended at Madrid in July, 1819, and as it opened at Washington in February, 1819,—to consider how little was asked by Don Pizarro there, and how much was offered by John Quincy Adams here.—[See the first No. of Americanus.]—Mr. Clay was then the champion of the West, and maintained her interest against Mr. Adams; after the fatal coalition, he joined Mr. Adams in obtaining from Mexico her assent to this treaty which he had so vehemently condemned.