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PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Message to the Senate and the House of Representatives.

I congratulate you and our common constituency upon the favorable auspices under which you meet for your first session. Our country is at peace with all the world. The agitation which, for a time, threatened to disturb the fraternal relations which make us one people, is fast subsiding; and a year of general prosperity and health has crowned the nation with unusual blessings. None can look back to the dangers which are passed, or forward to the bright prospect before us, without feeling a thrill of gratification, at the same time that he must be impressed with a grateful sense of our profound obligations to a beneficent Providence, whose paternal care is so manifest in the happiness of this highly favored land.

Since the close of the last Congress, certain Cubans and other foreigners resident in the United States, who were more or less concerned in the previous invasion of Cuba, instead of being discouraged by its failure, have again abused the hospitality of this country, by making it the scene of the equipment of another military expedition against that possession of her Catholic majesty, in which they were countenanced, aided and joined by citizens of the United States. On receiving intelligence that such designs were entertained, I lost no time in issuing such instructions to the proper officers of the United States as seemed to be called for by the occasion. By the proclamation, a copy of which is herewith submitted, I also warned those who might be in danger of being involved into this scheme of its unlawful character, and of the penalties which they would incur. For some time there was reason to hope that these measures had sufficed to prevent any such attempt. This hope, however, proved to be delusive. Very early in the morning of the third of August, a steamer called the Pampero departed from New Orleans for Cuba, having on board upwards of four hundred armed men, with evident intentions to make war upon the authorities of the island. This expedition was set on foot in palpable violation of the laws of the United States. Its leader was a Spaniard, and several of the chief officers, and some others engaged in it, were foreigners. The persons composing it, however, were mostly citizens of the United States.

Before the expedition set out, and probably before it was organized, a slight insurrectionary movement, which appears to have been soon suppressed, had taken place in the eastern quarter of Cuba. The importance of this movement was unfortunately so much exaggerated in the accounts of it published in this country, that these adventurers seem to have been led to believe that the Creole population of the island not only desired to throw off the authority of the mother country, but had resolved upon that step, and had begun a well concerted enterprise for effecting it. The persons engaged in the expedition were generally young and ill-informed. The steamer in which they embarked left New Orleans stealthily and without a clearance. After touching at Key West, she proceeded to the coast of Cuba, and on the night between the 11th and 12th of August, landed the persons on board at Playatas, within about twenty leagues of Havana.

The main body of them proceeded to, and took possession of, an inland village, six leagues distant, leaving others to follow in charge of the baggage, as soon as the means of transportation could be obtained. The latter, having taken up their line of march to connect themselves with the main body, and having proceeded about four leagues into the country, were attacked on the morning of the 13th by a body of Spanish troops, and a bloody conflict ensued; after which they retreated to the place of disembarkation, where about fifty of them obtained boats and re-embarked thereon. They were, however, intercepted among the keys near the shore by a Spanish steamer cruising on the coast, captured and carried to Havana, and, after being examined before a military court, were sentenced to be publicly executed, and the sentence was carried into effect on the 16th of August.

On receiving information of what had occurred, Commodore Foxhall A. Parker, was instructed to proceed in the steam-fragate Saranac to Havana, and inquire into the charges against the persons executed, the circumstances under which they were taken, and whatsoever referred to their trial and sentence. Copies of the instructions from the Department of State to him, and of his letters to that Department, are herewith submitted.

According to the record of the examination, the prisoners all admitted the offences charged against them, of being hostile invaders of the island. At the time of their trial and execution the main body of the invaders was still in the field, making war upon the Spanish authorities and Spanish subjects. After the lapse of some days, being overcome by the Spanish troops, they

dispersed on the 24th of August; Lopez, their leader, was captured some days after, and executed on the 1st of September. Many of his remaining followers were killed, or died of hunger and fatigue, and the rest were made prisoners. Of these, none appear to have been tried or executed. Several of them were pardoned upon application of their friends and others, and the rest about one hundred and sixty in number, were sent to Spain. Of the final disposition made of these we have no official information.

Such is the melancholy result of this illegal and ill-fated expedition. Thus, thoughtless young men have been induced by false and fraudulent representations, to violate the law of their country, through rash and unfounded expectations of assisting to accomplish political revolutions in other States, and have lost their lives in the undertaking. Too severe a judgment can hardly be passed, by the indignant sense of the community, upon those who, being better informed themselves, have yet led away the ardor of youth and an ill-directed love of political liberty. The correspondence between this Government and that of Spain relating to this transaction is herewith communicated.

Although these offenders against the laws have forfeited the protection of their country, yet the Government may, so far as is consistent with its obligations to other countries, and its fixed purpose to maintain and enforce the laws, entertain sympathy for their unoffending families and friends, as well as a feeling of compassion for themselves. Accordingly no proper effort has been spared, and none will be spared, to procure the release of such citizens of the United States, engaged in this unlawful enterprise, as are now in confinement in Spain; but it is to be hoped that such interposition with the government of that country may not be considered as affording any ground of expectation that the Government of the United States will, hereafter, feel itself under any obligation of duty to intercede for the liberation or pardon of such persons as are flagrant offenders against the law of nations and the laws of the United States. These laws must be executed. If we desire to maintain our respectability among the nations of the earth, it behooves us to enforce steadily and sternly the neutrality acts passed by Congress, and to follow, as far as may be, the violation of those acts with condign punishment.

But what gives a peculiar criminality to this invasion of Cuba is, that under the lead of Spanish subjects and with the aid of citizens of the United States, it had its origin, with many, in motives of cupidity. Money was advanced by individuals, probably in considerable amounts, to purchase Cuban bonds, as they have been called, issued by Lopez, sold, doubtless, at a very large discount, and for the payment of which the public lands and public property of Cuba, of whatever kind, and the fiscal resources of the people and government of that island, from whatever source to be derived, were pledged, as well as the good faith of the government expected to be established. All these means of payment, it is evident, were only to be obtained by a process of bloodshed, war, and revolution. None will deny that those who set on foot military expeditions against foreign States by means like these, are far more culpable than the ignorant and the necessitous whom they induced to go forth as the ostensible parties in the proceeding. These originators of the invasion of Cuba seem to have determined, with coolness and system, upon an undertaking which should disgrace their country, violate its laws, and put to hazard the lives of ill-informed and deluded men. You will consider whether further legislation be necessary to prevent the perpetration of such offences in future.

No individuals have a right to hazard the peace of the country or to violate its laws upon vague notions of altering or reforming governments in other States. This principle is not only reasonable in itself, and in accordance with public law, but is engrained into the codes of other nations as well as our own. But while such are the sentiments of this Government, it may be added that every independent nation must be presumed to be able to defend its possessions against unauthorized individuals banded together to attack them. The Government of the United States, at all times since its establishment, has abstained and has sought to restrain the citizens of the country, from entering into, controversies between other powers, and to observe all the duties of neutrality. At an early period of the Government, in the administration of Washington, several laws were passed for this purpose. The main provisions of these laws, were re-enacted by the act of April, 1818, by which, amongst other things, it was declared that if any person shall, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, begin, or set on foot, or provide, or prepare the means for any military expedition or enterprise to be carried on from thence against the ter-

ritory or dominion of any foreign prince or State, or of any colony, district, or people with whom the United States are at peace, every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be fined, not exceeding three thousand dollars, and imprisoned not more than three years; and this law has been executed and enforced, to the full extent of the power of the Government, from that day to this.

In proclaiming and adhering to the doctrine of neutrality and non-intervention, the United States have not followed the lead of other civilized nations; they have taken the lead themselves, and have been followed by others. This was admitted by one of the most eminent of modern British statesmen, who said in Parliament, when a minister of the Crown, "that if he wished for a guide in a system of neutrality, he should take that laid down by America in the days of Washington and the secretaryship of Jefferson;" and we see, in fact, that the act of Congress of 1818 was followed, the succeeding year, by an act of the Parliament of England, substantially the same in its general provisions. Up to that time there had been no similar law in England, except certain highly penal statutes passed in the reign of George II., prohibiting English subjects from enlisting in foreign service, the avowed object of which statutes was, that foreign armies, raised for the purpose of restoring the house of Stuart to the throne, should not be strengthened by recruits from England herself.

All must see that difficulties may arise in carrying the law referred to into execution in a country now having three or four thousand miles of seacoast, with an infinite number of ports and harbors and small inlets from some of which unlawful expeditions may suddenly set forth, without the knowledge of Government, against the possessions of foreign States.

Friendly relations with all, but entangling alliances with none, has long been a maxim with us. Our true mission is not to propagate our opinions, or impose upon other countries our form of government, by artificial force; but to teach by example, and show by our success, moderation and justice, the blessings of self-government, and the advantages of free institutions. Let every people choose for itself, and make and alter its political institutions to suit its own condition and convenience. But, while we avow and maintain this neutral policy ourselves, we are anxious to see the same forbearance on the part of other nations, whose forms of government are different from our own. The deep interests which we feel in the spread of liberal principles, and the establishment of free governments, and the sympathy which we witness every struggle against oppression, forbid that we should be indifferent to a case in which the strong arm of a foreign power is invoked to stifle public sentiment and repress the spirit of freedom in any country.

The government of Great Britain and France have issued orders to their naval commanders on the West India station to prevent by force, if necessary, the landing of adventurers from any nation on the Island of Cuba with hostile intent. The copy of a memorandum of a conversation on this subject between the Charge d'Affairs of her Britannic Majesty and the Acting Secretary of State and of a subsequent note of the former to the Department of State, are herewith submitted, together with a copy of a note of the Acting Secretary of State to the Minister of the French Republic, and of the reply of the latter, on the same subject. These papers will acquaint you with the grounds of this interposition of the two leading commercial powers of Europe, and with the apprehensions, which this Government could not fail to entertain, that such interposition, if carried into effect, might lead to abuse in derogation of the maritime rights of the United States. The maritime rights of the United States are founded on a firm, secure, and well-defended basis; they stand upon the ground of National Independence and public law, and will be maintained in all their full and just extent.

The principle which this Government has heretofore solemnly announced it still adheres to, and will maintain under all circumstances and at all hazards. That principle is, that in every regularly documented merchant vessel, the crew who navigate it, and those on board of it, will find their protection in the flag which is over them. No American ship can be allowed to be visited or searched for the purpose of ascertaining the character of individuals on board, nor can there be allowed any watch by the vessels of any foreign nation over American vessels on the coasts of the United States or the seas adjacent thereto. It will be seen by the last communication from the British Charge d'Affairs to the Department of State, that he is authorized to assure the Secretary of State that every care will be taken that, in executing the preventive measures against the expeditions, which the United States Government itself has denounced as not

being entitled to the protection of any government, no interference shall take place with the lawful commerce of any nation.

In addition to the correspondence on this subject, herewith submitted, official information has been received at the Department of State, of assurances by the French government that, in the orders given to the French naval forces, they were expressly instructed, in any operations they might engage in, to respect the flag of the United States wherever it might appear, and to commit no act of hostility upon any vessel or armament under its protection.

Ministers and consuls of foreign nations are the means and agents of communication between us and those nations, and it is of the utmost importance that, while residing in the country, they should feel a perfect security so long as they faithfully discharge their respective duties and are guilty of no violation of our laws. This is the admitted law of nations, and no country has a deeper interest in maintaining it than the United States. Our commerce spreads over every sea and visits every clime, and our ministers and consuls are appointed to protect the interests of that commerce, as well as to guard the peace of the country and maintain the honor of its flag. But how can they discharge these duties unless they be themselves protected; and, if protected, it must be by the laws of the country in which they reside. And what is due to our own public functionaries residing in foreign nations is exactly the measure of what is due to the functionaries of other governments residing here. As in war, the bearers of flags of truce are sacred, or else wars would be interminable, so in peace, ambassadors, public ministers, and consuls, charged with friendly national intercourse, are objects of especial respect and protection, each according to the rights belonging to his rank and station. In view of these important principles, it is with deep mortification and regret I announce to you, that during the excitement growing out of the executions at Havana, the office of her Catholic majesty's consul at New Orleans was assailed by a mob, his property destroyed, the Spanish flag found in the office carried off and torn in pieces, and he himself induced to flee for his personal safety, which he supposed to be in danger. On receiving intelligence of these events, I forthwith directed the attorney of the United States residing at New Orleans to inquire into the facts and the extent of the pecuniary loss sustained by the consul, with the intention of laying them before you, that you might make provision for such indemnity to him as a just regard for the honor of the nation and the respect which is due to a friendly power might, in your judgment, seem to require. The correspondence upon this subject between the Secretary of State and her Catholic-majesty's minister plenipotentiary is herewith transmitted.

The occurrence at New Orleans has led me to give my attention to the state of our laws in regard to foreign ambassadors, ministers, and consuls. I think the legislation of the country is deficient in not providing sufficiently either for the protection or the punishment of consuls. I therefore recommend the subject to the consideration of Congress. Your attention is again invited to the question of reciprocal trade between the United States and Canada and other British possessions near our frontier. Overtures for a convention upon this subject have been received from her Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary, but it seems to be in many respects preferable that the matter should be regulated by reciprocal legislation. Documents are laid before you showing the terms which the British government is willing to offer, and the measures which it may adopt, if some arrangement upon this subject shall not be made. From the accompanying copy of a note from the British Legation at Washington, and the reply of the Department of State thereto, it will appear that her Britannic Majesty's government is desirous that a part of the boundary line between Oregon and the British possessions should be authoritatively marked out, and that an intention was expressed to apply to Congress for an appropriation to defray the expense thereof on the part of the United States. Your attention to this subject is accordingly invited, and a proper appropriation recommended.

A convention for the adjustment of claims of citizens of the United States against Portugal has been concluded, and the ratifications have been exchanged. The first instalment of the amount to be paid by Portugal fell due on the 30th of September last, and has been paid. The President of the French Republic, according to the provisions of the convention, has been selected as writer in the case of the General Armstrong; and has signified that he accepts the trust and the high satisfaction he feels in acting as the common friend of two nations, with which France is united by sentiments of sincere and lasting amity. The Turkish government has expressed

its thanks for the kind reception given to the Sultan's agent, Amin Bey, on the occasion of his recent visit to the United States. On the 28th of February last a despatch was addressed by the Secretary of State to Mr. Marsh, the American Minister at Constantinople, instructing him to ask of the Turkish government permission for the Hungarians then imprisoned within the dominions of the Sublime Porte, to remove to this country. On the 3d of March last both Houses of Congress passed a resolution requesting the President to authorize the employment of a public vessel to convey to this country Louis Kossuth and his associates in captivity.

The instruction above referred to was complied with, and the Turkish government having released Governor Kossuth and his companions from prison, on the 10th of September last they embarked on board the United States steam-frigate Mississippi, which was selected to carry into effect the resolution of Congress. Governor Kossuth left the Mississippi at Gibraltar, for the purpose of making a visit to England, and may shortly be expected in New York. By communications to the Department of State he has expressed his grateful acknowledgments for the interposition of this Government in behalf of himself and his associates. This country has been justly regarded as a safe asylum for those whom political events have exiled from their own homes in Europe; and it is recommended to Congress to consider in what manner Governor Kossuth and his companions, brought hither by its authority, shall be received and treated.

It is earnestly to be hoped that the differences which have for some time past been pending between the government of the French Republic and that of the Sandwich Islands, may be peaceably and durably adjusted, so as to secure the independence of those islands. Long before the events which have of late imparted so much importance to the possessions of the United States on the Pacific, we acknowledged the independence of the Hawaiian government. This Government was first in taking that step, and several of the leading powers of Europe immediately followed. We were influenced in this measure by the existing and prospective importance of the islands as a place of refuge and refreshment for our vessels engaged in the whale fishery, and by the consideration that they lie in the course of the great trade which must, at no distant day, be carried on between the western coast of North America and Eastern Asia.

We were also influenced by a desire that those islands should not pass under the control of any other great maritime State, but should remain in an independent condition, and so be accessible and useful to the commerce of all nations. I need not say that the importance of these considerations has been greatly enhanced by the sudden and vast development which the interests of the United States have attained in California and Oregon; and the policy heretofore adopted in regard to those islands will be steadily pursued. It is gratifying not only to those who consider the commercial interests of nations, but also to all who favor the progress of knowledge and the diffusion of religion, to see a community emerge from a savage state and attain such a degree of civilization in those distant seas.

It is much to be deplored that the internal tranquility of the Mexican Republic should again be seriously disturbed; for, since the peace between that Republic and the United States, it had enjoyed such comparative repose that the most favorable anticipations for the future might, with a degree of confidence, have been indulged. These, however, have been thwarted by the recent outbreak in the State of Tamulipas, on the right bank of the Rio Bravo. Having received information that persons from the United States had taken part in the insurrection, and apprehending that their example might be followed by others, I caused orders to be issued for the purpose of preventing any hostile expeditions against Mexico, from being set on foot in violation of the laws of the United States. I likewise issued a proclamation upon the subject, a copy of which is herewith laid before you. This appeared to be rendered imperative by the obligations of treaties and the general duties of good neighborhood.

In my last annual message I informed Congress that citizens of the United States had undertaken the connexion of the two oceans by means of a railroad across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, under a grant of the Mexican government to a citizen of that Republic; and that this enterprise would probably be prosecuted with energy whenever Mexico should consent to such stipulations with the Government of the United States as should impart a feeling of security to those who should invest their property in the enterprise.

A convention between the two governments for the accomplishment of that end has been ratified by this Government, and only awaits the decision of the Congress and the Executive of that Republic.

Some unexpected difficulties and delays have arisen in the ratification of that convention by Mexico, but it is to be presumed that her decision will be governed by just and enlightened views, as well of the general importance of the object, as of her own interests and obligations.

In negotiating upon this important subject, this Government has had in view one, and only one, object. That object has been, and is, the construction or attainment of a passage from ocean to ocean, the shortest and best for travellers and merchandise, and equally open to all the world. It has sought to obtain no territorial acquisition, nor any advantages peculiar to itself; and it would see, with the greatest regret that Mexico should oppose any obstacle to the accomplishment of an enterprise which promises so much convenience to the whole commercial world, and such eminent advantages to Mexico herself. Impressed with these sentiments and these convictions, the Government will continue to exert all proper efforts to bring about the necessary arrangement with the Republic of Mexico for the speedy completion of the work.

For some months past the Republic of Nicaragua has been the theatre of one those civil convulsions, from which the cause of free institutions, and the general prosperity and social progress of the States of Central America, have so often and so severely suffered. Until quiet shall have been restored, and a government apparently stable shall have been organized, no advance can prudently be made in disposing of the questions pending between the two countries.

I am happy to announce that an inter-oceanic communication from the mouth of the St. John to the Pacific has been so far accomplished as that passengers have actually traversed it and merchandise has been transported over it; and when the canal shall have been completed, according to the original plan, the means of communication will be further improved.

It is understood that a considerable part of the railroad across the Isthmus of Panama has been completed, and that the mail and passengers will in future be conveyed thereon.

Whichever of the several routes between the two oceans may ultimately prove most eligible for travellers to and from the different States on the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico and our coast on the Pacific, there is little reason to doubt that all of them will be useful to the public, and will liberally reward that individual enterprise, by which alone they have been or are expected to be carried into effect.

Peace has been concluded between the contending parties in the Island of St. Domingo, and it is hoped upon a durable basis. Such is the extent of our commercial relations with that island, that the United States cannot fail to feel a strong interest in its tranquility.

The office of Commissioner to China remains unfilled; several persons have been appointed, and the place has been offered to others, all of whom have declined its acceptance, on the ground of the inadequacy of the compensation. The annual allowance by law is six thousand dollars, and there is no provision for any outfit. I earnestly recommend the consideration of this subject to Congress. Our commerce with China is highly important and is becoming more and more so; in consequence of the increasing intercourse between our ports on the Pacific coast and Eastern Asia. China is understood to be a country in which living is very expensive, and I know of no reason why the American Commissioner sent thither should not be placed, in regard to compensation, on an equal footing with ministers who represent this country at the courts of Europe.

By reference to the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, it will be seen that the aggregate receipts for the last fiscal year amounted to \$52,312,979 87; which, with the balance in the Treasury on the 1st July, 1850, gave, as the available means for the year, the sum of \$58,917,524 36. The total expenditures for the same period were \$48,005,878 68. The total imports for the year ending 30th June, 1851, were \$215,725,965. Of which there were in specie 4,967,901. The exports for the same period were \$217,517,130. Of which there were of domestic products \$178,546,555. Foreign goods re-exported 9,738,695. Specie 29,231,880.

Since the 1st of December last the payments in cash on account of the public debt, exclusive of interest, have amounted to \$7,501,456 56; which, however, includes the sum of \$3,242,400 paid under the 12th article of the treaty with Mexico, and the further sum of \$2,591,213 45, being the amount of awards to American citizens under the late treaty with Mexico. (Continued on fourth page.)