

with his flowing hair, and Samson shorn in the lap of Delilah. The republican party in America has tasted blood, and its thirst is now insatiable. It is given up to passions so formidable, that nothing now remains but the sentiment of despotism. It has Butlers for Vera Cruz, Sheridans for the Valley of Mexico, and Milroys for interior cities. Their soldiers now know how they subdue refractory populations."

## THE UNITED STATES.

No common sympathy in the two Republics.

"The United States have no sentiments in common with the Mexicans; but, on the contrary, are separated from them by every possible difference of manners, social habits, traditions, and interests. If ever the United States come to Mexico, it will be to re-model, re-people, re-baptise, and absorb the country until the very soil shall produce only Connecticut nutmegs, and the birds warble the '*Star Spangled Banner*'!"

## FINAL WARNING TO THE MEXICANS.

Final warning against Americans.

"One word more to those Mexicans who invite this annexation and conquest. When you shall see, which may God preserve you from it, a provost-guard in every hamlet, a company in every village, a regiment in every city, going, coming, swearing against the country, with full consciousness of their power and full license of their natural brutality, then you will bitterly repent not having sustained a régime which sought to identify itself with all your sentiments and all your customs.

"Who shall save Mexico from the revolutionary bondage, or from the destruction of its nationality, threatened by the odious calculations of the Government at Washington? God alone can now deliver her."

The enterprise of the century. Such are some of the views of the French ex-chaplain of the expeditionary corps respecting the intervention. It may be supposed that the Abbé was not entirely uninformed of the counsels of the Emperor, and it is quite evident from his narrative, that he knows more than he tells. We may be able in the sequel to eliminate, from the sketch he has given, some features of that "*grand and glorious undertaking*" which promised to be, for France, the crowning glory of the reign of Napoleon III., and for Europe and the world, the "*grandest enterprise of the XIXth century.*"

## CHAPTER III.

## THE MEXICAN QUESTION AND THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT—THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

M. DOMENECH devotes the last chapter of his book to an exposition of the Mexican question, from an American and from a European point of view. His comments upon the whole movement of the intervention, its inception, its policy, and the great ulterior objects of European Governments on this continent, throw much light upon the subject. His *quasi* official relations to the Empire, the avowed objects of his book, and the portrait he has drawn of Americans, of the American Government, of American statesmen, of the National policy and aims, designed to influence public opinion in Europe, make it desirable that the character and spirit of his writings should be understood. His representations of the condition and moral influence of "the Church" party and the Church institutions in Mexico, cannot be suspected of bias to their prejudice. The testimony of the volume is therefore valuable, in sustaining the statements of other authors.



Mexico in the Chamber of Deputies. "The speeches in the Chamber of Deputies, during the last three sessions, on the Mexican question, have astonished the residents in Mexico, national and foreign. No one could believe that these speeches, for or against, could be seriously made, when every month forty thousand letters arrive in Europe, telling a different story. Four or five orators who know nothing of Mexico, with imperfect, exaggerated, and false information, have treated the question, in a manner and with a positiveness truly astonishing. MM. Jules Favre and Picart have spoken in a way to convince all Mexico, that they are ignorant of the first word, and have not the least idea of what is passing in this country."

A Mexican monarchy—political equilibrium. "M. Rouher alone has spoken from a point of view sufficiently elevated, to meet the approval of all who understand the importance of our expedition to our commercial interests, and to the *moral and political equilibrium of civilized nations.*"

Ignorance of Mexico, and the Mexican Question. "I have devoted twenty years to the study of Mexico and the United States, their history, their institutions, their tendencies, the machinery of their administrations, and individuals who occupy different positions in the social scale. My studies have had no other object than to know *what is*, not what I could wish *to be*. I have studied the anthropology of the Mexican races in their cities, villages, plains, and mountains. The result of all this fatigue, study, and labor is, that Mexico, such as it is to-day, and the Mexican question, are two things little understood in Europe."

Opposition in France to the grand act. "It is natural that the dynastic opposition, and the republican opposition of the corps legislative and of the press, should, right or wrong, attack our intervention in Mexico. But for all that, this intervention

might become the *grandest political act of our century*, by pursuing its object with intelligence and energy to success. Parliamentary opposition in France having undertaken to criticize the government in all its acts, ought to blame it for having created the Mexican question. It has seen, or pretended to see, only the sacrifices, without deigning to consider the advantages."

Alleged grounds of opposition. "Its patriotism, judged by the speeches and writings, would lead us to the most humiliating conclusion, if we should allow ourselves to be misled. In attacking the Mexican expedition, it virtually attacks the government in its work; in causing it to fail, it achieves a moral victory, which will become a weapon in its hands for future use. Hence this furious opposition, of which Mexico is only the pretext, but the clipping of the imperial prestige is the real object."

Monarchy—a Foreign Sovereign—the Southern Confederacy. "If the Mexican question had been better comprehended in the counsels of the government, it would have been better defended. It would have been said, from the start, 'We wish a *monarchy in Mexico*, because it is *the only regime* which is suited to the country; we wish a *foreign sovereign*, because *the nation have asked it*, as being the only strong and stable government it can have.' We have perhaps been wrong in not facilitating the consolidation of the empire, *by recognizing the Southern confederacy*. The Prince himself is mistaken in the policy he has pursued; but our honor and our interests are involved, and we cannot leave Mexico until they are protected."

Latin America a French market. "The success of our expedition concerns not merely our national self-love, the honor of our flag, but above everything else, our commerce. Upon it, depends the supremacy of our moral influence in the New



World, where live four hundred thousand Frenchmen. This influence is credit, and what is credit but fortune? Latin America, that is to say, Mexico, Central and South America, would become to France what Asia is to England—*its vast market*. Bilious temperaments and narrow minds cry out against foreign expeditions. Why do they not cry out against the progress of the age? Foreign expeditions secure new outlets for our industry, new markets for our commerce. They create a foreign credit, to which, England and the United States owe all their power and wealth. Foreign credit, is it not the fortune of commercial nations?

“When the present situation and the political tendencies of Spanish America are understood, it will quickly appear how the success of our intervention *would influence all the Republics of the Latin race.*”

“A consolidation of the Mexican Empire would be the moral and political *resurrection of the Latin race* in the new hemisphere.

All American Republics to be made monarchies. “The Monroe doctrine (who can doubt it?) is nothing else than the first fruits of that grand theme, the preponderance of the Latin race over the civilization of one-half the globe. It is a cry of alarm, uttered prophetically to the nations of the North, to put them on their guard. If monarchy should be successively introduced into the Spanish Republics, *in ten years the United States would themselves declare a dictatorship, which is a kind of Republican monarchy*, adopted by degenerate or too revolutionary Republics.”

#### FRENCH VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES.

“The conduct of the United States in this Mexican question seems to have been understood only in Mexico.”

The United States helpless. “Whether, on account of the crushing debt, which will render another war impossible for the United States, for a long time to come, or whether, on account of the almost insurmountable difficulties of the government at Washington, in the reconstruction of the American Union, the men in power, and all considerate American interests and opinions. men in the United States, desire peace at any price. The eminently practical spirit of Americans leads them to lay aside their sympathies for this or that form of government, among their neighbors, because the interests of their industry and commerce are so concerned in a stable order of things. The Mexican Republic has never been a market for them. The consolidation of the empire, on the contrary, promised them an important outlet for their machines, coal, woollen and other goods. To judge of public opinion in the United States by the language of the journals, is an error that they will never commit who have lived long in the country, and have taken the pains to study it. Besides, I will yet show that this language has not always been hostile to Mexico.”

#### TACTICS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The flourish of the Monroe Doctrine. “Unhappily, our statesmen and orators of the opposition, have appeared to ignore the necessity of the tactics of the American Government. They have taken literally, that which was only a formula, a means of strengthening its position. Thus, after the elections in New Jersey, when the radical or republican party was about to become a majority in the Chambers, the Government then, pursuing with wise perseverance the plan of reconstruction which it had before the war, in order to secure the co-operation of the majority, sacrificed in words, the foreign to the domestic policy. It flourished the Mon-



roe doctrine, in order to secure the good will of the radicals, or to restrain their hostility. It placed itself at the head of the movement, in order to direct it. By a skilful manœuvre, it went so far, that the Chambers were afraid, as I shall presently prove, of a real conflict with France. So they immediately sent the Mexican question to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. That was to send it to the Greek Calends, as the Cabinet at Washington desired. Later still, the Juarez loan had a worse result than that; it was completely abandoned."

## POLICY OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

Mr. Seward's  
address.

"Mr. Seward, in his correspondence with European Governments, reveals a spirit in which finesse becomes cunning. He knows that the United States is the country, where reigns the most colossal charlatanism in the world. Politics, liberty, administrations, every thing is charlatanism. But he understands the prestige of the unknown, of distance, of cost, and he employs it skilfully. In attempting to intimidate European powers, Mr. Seward knew beforehand what, next to the fear of new complications, were the most pressing interests to secure attention to his words."

Reply of M.  
Drouyn de  
L'huys.

"M. Drouyn de L'huys replied to his letters by concessions. The course of the Mexican Government, the German question, which threatened to set all Europe on fire, discouraged him. He did not dare to say to the United States, 'Mind your own business, leave Mexico alone; we will leave it when our interests are satisfied.' Our reply made Mr. Seward more bold with Austria. He forbade the departure of Austrian volunteers. The Cabinet of Vienna hastened to obey, instead of revolting against such pretensions. What could the

Yankees have done against the South, but for their German and Irish volunteers? But logic does not enter into the policy of the Anglo-Saxon races."

"Why does not Mr. Seward continue to act thus, since he has succeeded so well. England and the United States have almost an identical policy. In questions of honor and humanity, if they do not touch their interests, 'no interference;' in questions purely political, or of national sympathy, 'a great deal of noise,' but no drawing of the sword; in their reciprocal transactions, 'menace or concession,' according to the interest of the moment."

## COURTESY OF THE ABBÉ DOMENECH.

International  
Comity.

"The Yankees remind me of the Spanish matadores, who brandish the sword from the balcony and threaten to kill everybody. If by chance a passer by says, 'Come down then, and kill me, if you dare,' down comes the matadore, offers the hand, and swears eternal friendship. If Europe had used more firm and decided language, the United States would not have scoffed as they have done, for some time past. This condescension, which passes now and then for feebleness, may one day cost dear. If this government is left to busy itself in affairs, over which it should have no control, it will soon be felt weighing heavily upon European politics and interests."

"We forget too soon, that in 1846, when the United States invaded Mexico, even then distracted with internal revolutions, the army of invasion, seventy-five thousand strong, took two years to do its work, lost twenty-four thousand men, and cost a thousand million francs. It would be worse to-day. The Americans know it, and do not wish war, at any price. Why should we then be afraid?"



## ELEVATED VIEWS OF M. LAMARTINE.

“Let me here quote from M. Lamartine, not that I concur in all his ideas about the Americans—even if these gentlemen do ‘chew tobacco,’ they know how to clear up a country, to cultivate land, to make machines, as they do not in Europe—but because he has very elevated and correct ideas of this Mexican Question.

“‘The idea of the position we should take in Mexico, is a grand idea, not understood—an idea as just, as it is necessary, broad as the ocean, new as the occasion, the idea of a statesman, fertile as the future, and as much for the salvation of America, as for the world.’

“‘We must take an elevated view to conceive of its bearing.’”

## AMERICA THE PROPERTY OF THE HUMAN RACE.

America belongs to the human race.

“In starting with the principle, which is now a fact, that the American Continent is the common property of the human race, and not of the shattered Union of a single race, without title and without right, at least to Spanish America and the Latin race, mother of all civilization, it evidently follows that the principle of the protection of Europe, and of its independence, at least in the Seventeen Republican States of South America, belongs to us, and to all the powers of the Old World. We must foresee events, and protect the Latin race; and in order to protect it, we must first take possession of the point menaced by the United States.”

## AMERICA THE PROPERTY OF EUROPE.

America belongs to Europe.

‘It must be done, or we plainly declare that the whole new Continent, *the property of Europe*, will belong, in five and twenty years perhaps, to these

armed pioneers, who avow no other title to their usurpation but their own convenience, and who permit such citizens as Walker to raise a fleet and an army against Cuba, while their own Federal General, in the name of the Union, takes possession of Mexico, and from thence all the civilized capitals of the South!”

American piracy.

“Why should Europe or the Old World concede to the United States, these rights of piracy upon sea and land, while we in the Old World recognize not only the right to protect interests of universal importance, but even more, the right to take possession of all kinds of property, the use of which is necessary to the public, indemnifying therefor the States or individuals to which they belong?”

“Does the principle of protection of interests useful to all, which we concede to a town or parish, belong less of right to an entire continent to protect itself in its independence? Evidently not. We do not say, ‘Take possession of the United States of Spanish America. Their peculiar organic anarchy will possess them enough. But we do say, Europe has the right, and we add the duty, not to give over the Latin race, Spanish America, one half of this magnificent part of the globe which still remains free and independent, more than one half of the heavens and earth, and of the inhabitants of the New World.”

## EUROPEAN INTERESTS IN THE NEW WORLD.

Anglo-Saxon monopoly.

“What are the common and sacred interests, the necessities of the whole human race, which the policy of the Old World cannot and ought not to deliver up to the mercy of the United States of Anglo-Saxon America?”

“They are the capital of the whole world, employed



by some, necessary for all, in our state of civilization, and in our system of exchange, which gives us for all, the gold coin, as necessary as bread. The gold mines are there!"

"In the second place, the food of the old world, the wheat, the flour, the corn, potatoes, by which the people live, the privation of which entails upon Europe, in years of scarcity, incalculable calamities and depopulation."

"In the third place, the industries which have become, especially for some years, by the wages they yield to at least forty millions of the operatives in the manufacture of cotton, the veritable and indispensable support of labor and of life."

"And finally, commerce, which necessitates a marine and sailors, a floating population incalculable as the number of men who live upon the sea, and more incalculable still, as the element of our national power. To permit the United States to repeat the folly of the first Empire, to lay an anti-European blockade, not only upon their own ports but upon the world, as they have just proclaimed, is not merely a cowardice,—it is to accept the supremacy of New York—it is to abdicate navigation, commerce, cotton, free exchange, the marine of the old world,—it is to live no longer—but the death of life."

"One of their rare, but most eloquent and honest of their political orators, said to me one day, "*Our liberty consists in doing everything that is most disagreeable to our neighbors.*"

#### THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

European in-  
tervention in  
America.

"Mr. Monroe, one of the flatterers of this people, said, in order to be praised, "The time has come when we ought not to suffer Europe to meddle with the affairs of America, but you ought hereafter to

make your superior influence felt in the affairs of Europe.'

"The 'Monroe doctrine' is an English importation, accepted by American credulity, which does not see its absurdity. Since the time of Canning, every time the Premier takes snuff, the Washington Cabinet sneeze. When Canning wished to decapitate Spain in America, he said to Mr. Monroe, 'No monarchies on the Continent.' And the President put this phrase into his message, thinking it would do very well. The phrase was sufficiently ridiculous,—Russia, France, England, Spain, and Denmark having vast possessions in America, and the United States not dreaming the least in the world of dispossessing them. The Brazilian monarchy, was it not founded at the very time of the Presidency of Monroe?"

European dis-  
interestedness.

"European powers having not the least desire to take possession of any part of the new world, in order to establish monarchies there, the Monroe doctrine does not mean, to-day, America for the Americans, and Europe for the Europeans,—that is to say, Mexico for the Mexicans, Guatemala for the Guatemalians, Peru for the Peruvians, &c.; it means Mexico for the North Americans, Central America for the North Americans, the whole continent, from Cape Horn to Hudson's Bay, for the North Americans. These are the pretensions; and if internal affairs did not so engross the public mind, they would manifest themselves with more audacity."

#### THE QUESTION OF THE OCCIDENT.

The spectre of  
Americans.

"If the Americans take possession of Mexico, they will become as much masters of the Atlantic and Pacific, in that hemisphere, as Russia would be mistress of the Mediterranean, if she held the Dardanelles.