

France and England could not permit such an invasion without abdicating, in favor of the United States, the sceptre of the seas, and compromising their whole industrial and commercial future. Let no one be deceived. The Mexican Question lies at the very base of a new question, which looms up as the day-dawn of the resurrection of nations, the rights and the new wants which are going to change modern society in every country on the globe. It is the *Question of the Occident*, otherwise more grave and important than the *Question of the Orient*. The United States are the American Colossus, as Russia is the Asiatic. Mexico and Turkey are the two equally forlorn 'sick men.'

"These two States are alike unable to defend themselves, and covetous eyes are as sharp and open at Washington as at St. Petersburg. The Mexican expedition would prevent a Crimean war on a vast scale in the New World, and forestall a formidable shock to which the fatality and timidity of European governments seems urging them on."

"THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE PRESS."

American parties. "After having exposed in a general manner the tactics of the American Government on the Mexican Question, I ought to explain," continues the Abbé, "more particularly the motives, and lest I should be charged as a visionary, I will take my information from the side-scenes of the 'White House,' and from the American press."

"In all his Diplomatic correspondence, as in all his life, Mr. Seward obeys the inflexible necessity, already stated, of reckoning with parties, of manipulating electoral occasions, and cutting the grass beneath the feet of the adversa-

ries of the administration he represents. He cannot, and will not, leave to the opposition the monopoly of patriotic language, and of the Monroe Doctrine. He takes the lead, and assumes the very attitude himself in which his enemies proposed to attack his policy."

THE RÔLE OF AMERICAN STATESMEN.

American diplomacy.

"In this respect the statesmen of the United States show a particular kind of cleverness which it is difficult to understand, except from long acquaintance. But it is absolutely necessary to remember it, lest you mistake the bearing of their actions. European governments understand this, and therefore their relations with the Cabinet at Washington take a different form from their other international relations.

"They tolerate from Washington what they would not from any other power, because they know and understand the exceptional circumstances of that Government, which to tell the truth, is not one, in the ordinary acceptation of the term."

The Secretary and Congress.

"It is easy, besides, to trace, in the successive despatches of Mr. Seward, the crushing pressure under which he writes. When Congress adjourns, he is left master of the situation, and confines himself to general indications of the bad moral effect, which events in Mexico produce in the United States. As the session approaches, he multiplies and emphasizes those representations. Then he nominates a minister to the Juarez Government, protests against certain measures of the Mexican Government; then, when the opening sessions of Congress reveal the extent to which agitators propose to push the Mexican Question, he goes still farther: he declines the arrangement which France indirectly pro-

poses; he writes to M. Bigelow his despatch of Dec. 16th, which would have the air of an ultimatum, if the guarded form did not distinctly declare that he meant neither to offend, nor menace, nor defy."

A Congressional flank.

"The object of all his tactics was, so to proceed that when the documents should be communicated to Congress, the opposition should find that instead of out-flanking the government, they were themselves out-flanked. That is just what happened. In asking for the documents, the House did not expect to find the business so cut and dried. They purposed to accuse the Secretary of State of feebleness, and to place themselves before the country in the attitude of high national spirit, by some sounding declaration. They were surprised and baffled in their calculation, by finding that what they intended to do, Mr. Seward had already done. To go any farther, meant war. This prospect checked the movement. Mr. Seward, who knew his countrymen better than any one else, desired nothing more. One will play with fire only when he sees it far off. To avoid the danger, he had brought Congress face to face with the conflagration."

THE SECRETARY AND THE MINISTER,—MM. SEWARD AND DROUYN DE L'HUYS.

Diplomacy. "The despatch of M. Drouyn de L'huy, of the 6th of April last, was a deception for Mr. Seward. He was pleased with the idea of gaining a point, not more in fact, than in appearance. With Mr. Seward, the withdrawal of the intervention was not the essential point. What he had at heart was, that, in fixing the limit, France should accede to the wishes of the United States, and thus give éclat to his diplomacy. But the form in which Napoleon announced his resolution, took

away this triumph. The note in the '*Moniteur*' was addressed to the French Government, and not to that at Washington. The Secretary cherished a secret spite, and as he is not a man to drop quietly a matter in which his reputation and popularity as a statesman are concerned, he turned his batteries against Austria, pretending to forbid her the right to recruit there the foreign legion for Maximilian."

The Austrian correspondence.

"This pretension was put forward by Mr. Seward with a most serious gravity, and with a determination more serious still. This time there was no roundabout way to take; and one could see how comfortable he felt to have finished the affair with France. If the Austrian Government should permit a single soldier to embark for Mexico, the United States would terminate all relations with her. Such, at a single stroke, were the first and the last words of this slightly courteous proceeding."

"One is not surprised to see the Secretary of State work up this novel incident. His pre-eminence in chicanery is well known, from which, he always finds means to make capital for his fame of cleverness. But the absolute terms in which he has successively stated this question have astonished the whole world."

Mr. Seward's point.

"Mr. Seward carries his assurance to the very last point, where he sees it is imprudent to go further. He knows when to stop; and if ever, by chance, he is led on by illusion too far, he manages a retreat, and never fears to retrace his steps. The man who, in November, 1861, declared "*urbi et orbi*," that he would never release Messrs. Slidell and Mason, and six weeks after delivered the two prisoners on board an English vessel, this man will never be embarrassed in taking the back track. M.

Seward is a perfect personification of the American Government. These explanations are necessary, in order to understand the rôle played by the United States in the Mexican Question."

"The important point for the Cabinet at Washington has been gained. It was not the promise made by France to recall her troops. That was, paradoxical as it may seem, only a secondary consideration. The true object of the correspondence of the Secretary of State was for effect, to get through the session of Congress, without its throwing a bomb-shell it would be impossible to extinguish. M. Seward was sure of mastering the situation, if he could keep it in his own hands. He was not sure of it, if the Mexican Question should pass out of his control, and fall into the domain of Congressional discussion. To prevent that, was his constant effort. Here lies the secret of his whole correspondence. In rising to the height of such a purpose, he has followed much more the calculations of his own domestic policy, than any intention of exactions from France."

RELATIONS OF THE "QUESTION" TO AMERICA, TO THE WORLD, AND TO FRANCE.

Mexico and the Dynasty. "Having thus explained the Mexican Question, from the point of view of civilization, of the new interests of the whole world, of Americans, and of Mexicans, it remains to consider what it is for France." * * * "The systematic enemies of the Napoleon Dynasty have made the Mexican Question a sort of battering ram, to attack and unsettle the imperial throne from the tribune and by the Press. I might add to this number those men who, not understanding the national grandeur and power there is in annexation and military conquest, take it

ill, that France should bear the loss of men and money in the creation outside, of an independent empire, and the resurrection of a people."

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"It requires neither sagacity nor any rare elevation of spirit, to understand that those principles of honor and prosperity, which it is well at all times to maintain, are today more than ever indispensable to the preservation of European influence in the New World."

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"In the midst of the chaos which the Mexican question presents, in its internal, international, political, and financial complications, in the midst of all the contrasts of good and ill which I have had to expose, in order to show the difficulties of the situation, its plagues and remedies, I will recapitulate in few words what I have said, with perhaps too much of desultory plainness, without troubling myself about the form and details."

RESUMÉ OF THE ABBÉ DOMENECH'S VIEWS.

"Mexico is actually a poor country, notwithstanding its immense natural riches."

Summary. "To develop it, requires roads and foreign colonization."

"The Mexicans have all the vices and all the qualities of Southern Latin races."

"The Creoles are very intelligent, and the most enlightened class in Mexico, as the Indians are the most docile and the most laborious."

"In Mexico, more than anywhere else, political parties are actuated by interest, and not by convictions. Monarchical ideas preponderate immensely over republican."

"The monarchical form, with a foreign sovereign, is the

only possible government, and the only desire of the majority of the nation."

"The Mexican Question is a question of honor and of influence, and besides, concerns to the last degree our industrial and commercial future, and that of the whole of Europe."

"Our intervention in Mexico was very popular. The bandits alone were opposed to us."

"It would have been good policy to have recognized the Southern confederacy, in order to make the work of intervention more speedy."

"When we decided upon the expedition to Mexico, we ought to have governed it five years at least, before offering the crown to any one, whoever he might be. That would have cost us less, and we should have been reimbursed our expenses to-day."

"The political system inaugurated by the Emperor Maximilian was premature, and compromised the Empire more than the opposition to his government."

"As one does not create a monarchy with republicans, he should have leaned for support in his government upon conservatives, and not upon liberals."

"The Mexicans having demoralized, overturned, and ruined their country when they governed it, the administration should place in power, as much as possible, and above all, *the French*."

"The combination by which we should occupy the maritime ports and administer the custom-houses, accounting one-half to the Mexican government, would save our work, and save Mexico from republican anarchy and from American slavery."

"The Emperor Maximilian could not save Mexico,

except by acting always in accord with France. Unhappily he scarcely ever did it."

"Without the active intervention avowed by the United States, the Mexican Empire would have still been able to survive the departure of our troops, and to have consolidated itself under the new imperial regime. But the attitude of the United States, and the sickness of the Empress Carlotta, took away the last human hopes upon the subject."

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"If the army of the United States or the hordes of American filibusters invade Mexico, it is evident that the Emperor, not being in posture to oppose them, must leave. It is not to be supposed that the Cabinet of the Tuileries trusts in the promise of the United States not to intervene in Mexico, and that this intervention is not foreseen."

"If we permit the Americans to destroy our work, on condition that we are reimbursed, our retreat will be not only as disastrous as that from Moscow,—it will be as humiliating."

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"In view of such a situation, France ought to be discouraged in our futile efforts to establish our preponderance in Mexico, and to guarantee our influence, our industrial, commercial, and political interests in the new continent."

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"France still holds the destiny of Mexico under her flag; if the Yankees take possession of it to-day, we must immediately re-demand it. Let us imitate the English and the Americans, whose policy of foresight we admire so much."

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“Behind the Mexican expedition there was more than an Empire to found, a nation to save, markets to create, thousands of millions to develop: there was a world tributary to France, happy to submit to our sympathetic influence, to receive their supplies from us, and to ascribe to us their resurrection to the political and social life of civilized people.”

Such are the views which M. Domenech has done all in his power to disseminate among the courts, the cabinets, and the people of Europe. It is well that the people of the United States, as well as of Mexico, should understand the representations and impressions he has made.

PART VI.

THE TRANSITION FROM A MONARCHY TO A REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER I.

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE—1810.

IN order to a clear understanding of the progress of the Revolution in Mexico, a brief recapitulation of the course of events since the War of Independence, 1810, and a chronological arrangement of the successive conflicts, and a statement of the distinctive issues and results of each, down to the final Constitution of 1857, may be of service.

The education of war.

In the war of our rebellion, it required conflict after conflict, disasters and defeats, to emancipate the heart of the nation from the spell of slavery; to clear away the mists and delusions in respect to human rights, which the long reign of the oligarchy had spread over the whole land; and to educate the people up to the proclamation of universal freedom, and of equality in the enjoyment of civil rights, and in the protection of the law. So, in Mexico, the thralldom of centuries had so far obscured the perceptions of right and wrong, and intimidated the declaration of religious freedom, and the overthrow of the old, hereditary, spiritual despotism, that it required a long process of discipline and training, to inspire the necessary determination to break the yoke forever.