

Cabinet, were hastening in another, to a place of safety, to conserve and re-establish the Constitutional Government.

On the 22d of January, Zuloaga convoked in the city of Mexico a junta of twenty-eight persons of his own choice, who in return nominated him as President of the Republic.

The following is a synopsis of the plan of Tacubaya proclaimed by Zuloaga :

1. The inviolability of all church property and church revenues, and the reestablishment of former exactions.
2. The reestablishment of the *fueros* or special rights of the church and the army. (Under the *fueros*, the military and clergy are responsible only to their own tribunals.)
3. The restoration of the Roman Catholic religion as the sole and exclusive religion of Mexico.
4. The censorship of the press.
5. The maintenance of a high tariff, the restoration of the oppressive system of *alcavala*, or interior duties, and the continuance of special monopolies.
6. The exclusive system with regard to foreign immigration, confining it solely to immigrants from Catholic countries.
7. The overthrow of the constitution of 1857, and the establishment of an irresponsible central dictatorship, subservient solely to the church.
8. If possible, the restoration of a monarchy in Mexico, or the establishment of a European protectorship.

Juarez, with his associates, proceeded to Guanajuato, and there organized and established the government, which during the long war of the Intervention, they so nobly sustained, and which is to-day restored in the Capitol.

PART VIII.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

IN view of the facts and considerations which have been presented in this volume, it would seem eminently desirable to recall the origin and history of the Monroe Doctrine, so far as they may serve to indicate the true future "Policy" which the circumstances of the Government of the United States and of Mexico, demand. The interests to be protected, belong not only to the two Republics, but to the Continent and to the hemisphere.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

In 1803, the Government of Spain ceded to France Louisiana and the Floridas, and the territory West of the Mississippi. The United States, under the administration of President Jefferson, purchased the cession.

In the President's letter to Mr. Livingston, our then Minister in France, April 18th, 1802, he says :

"The cession of Louisiana and the Floridas by Spain to France, works most sorely on the United States. On this subject, the Secretary of State has written to you fully, yet I cannot forbear recurring to it personally, so deep is the impression it makes on my mind. It completely reverses all the political relations of the United States, and will form a new epoch in our political course. Of all nations of any consideration, France is the one which hitherto has offered the fewest points on which we could

have any conflict of right, and the most points of a communion of interest. From these causes we have ever looked to her as our *natural friend*, as one with whom we never could have an occasion of difference. Her growth, therefore, we viewed as our own—her misfortunes, ours.”

“There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market. * * * France, placing herself in that door, assumes to us the attitude of defiance. * * * France, placed in a point of eternal friction with us, * * * renders it impossible that France and the United States can long continue friends, when they meet in so irritable a position. They, as well as we, must be blind if they do not see this; and we must be very improvident, if we do not begin to make arrangements on that hypothesis.”

“The day that France takes possession of New Orleans, fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. It seals the union of two nations who, in conjunction, can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment, we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. We must turn all our attentions to a maritime force, for which our resources place us on very high ground; and having formed and connected together a power, which may render reinforcement of her settlements here impossible to France, make the first cannon which shall be fired in Europe, the signal for tearing up any settlement she may have made, and for holding the Two CONTINENTS OF AMERICA in sequestration, for the common purposes of the united British and American nations. This is not a state of things we seek or desire. It is one which this measure, if adopted by France,

forces on us; as necessarily as any other cause, by the laws of nature, brings on its necessary effect.”

“It is not from fear of France, that we deprecate this measure proposed by her. For however greater her force is than ours, compared in the abstract, *it is nothing* in comparison of ours, when to be exerted on our soil. But it is from a sincere love of peace, and a firm persuasion that, bound to France by the interests and the strong sympathies still existing in the minds of our citizens, and holding relative positions which insure their continuance, we are secure of a long course of peace. Whereas, the change of friends, which will be rendered necessary if France changes that position, embarks us necessarily as a belligerent power in the first war of Europe. In that case, France will have held possession of New Orleans during the interval of a peace, long or short, at the end of which it will be wrested from her. Will this short-lived possession have been an equivalent to her for the transfer of such a weight into the scale of her enemy? Will not the amalgamation of a young thriving nation continue to that enemy, the health and force, which are at present so evidently on the decline? And will a few years' possession of New Orleans add equally to the strength of France? She may say, she needs Louisiana for the supply of her West Indies. She does not need it in time of peace, and in war she could not depend on them, because they would be so easily intercepted.”

“I should suppose that all these considerations might, in some proper form, be brought into view of the government of France. Though stated by us, it ought not to give offence, because we do not bring them forward as a menace, but as consequences not controllable by us, but inevitable from the course of things. We mention them, not as

things which we desire by any means, but as things we deprecate; and we beseech a friend to look forward and prevent them for our common interests."

"I have no doubt you have urged these considerations, on every proper occasion, with the government where you are. They are such as must have effect, if you can find means of producing thorough reflection on them by that government." * * *

"Every eye in the United States is now fixed on the affairs of Louisiana. Perhaps nothing, since the Revolutionary War, has produced more uneasy sensations throughout the body of the nation. Notwithstanding temporary bickerings with France, she has still a strong hold on the affections of our citizens generally."

"I have thought it not amiss, by way of supplement to the letters of the Secretary of State, to write you this private one, to impress you with the importance we affix to this transaction."

Subsequently, in another letter addressed to M. de Nemours, enclosing the above for his perusal, he wrote as follows:

"I wish you to be possessed of the subject, because you may be able to impress upon the government of France the inevitable consequence of their taking possession of Louisiana. * * * I believe that this measure will cost France, and perhaps not very long hence, a war which will annihilate her on the ocean, and place that element under the despotism of two nations, which I am not reconciled to the more because my own would be one of them. Add to this the exclusive appropriation of both continents of America, as a consequence."

"I wish the present order of things to continue, and

with a view to this, I value highly a state of friendship between France and us. You know too well how sincere I have ever been in these dispositions, to doubt them. You know, too, how much I value peace, and how unwillingly I should see any event take place, which would render war a necessary resource, and that all our movements should change their character and object."

"I am thus open with you, because I trust that you will have it in your power to impress on that government considerations, in the scale against which, the possession of Louisiana is nothing."

"In Europe, nothing but Europe is seen, or *supposed to have any right* in the affairs of nations; but this little event of France possessing herself of Louisiana, which is thrown in as nothing—as a mere make-weight in the general settlement of accounts—this speck which now appears as an almost invisible point in the horizon, is the embryo of a tornado, which will burst on the countries on both sides of the Atlantic, and involve in its effects their highest destinies. That it may yet be avoided is my sincere prayer, and if you can be the means of informing the wisdom of Bonaparte of all its consequences, you have deserved well of both countries. Peace and abstinence from European interferences are our objects, and so will continue, while the present order of things in America remains undisturbed."

October 10, 1802, Mr. Jefferson wrote to Mr. Livingston again in answer to a letter from him, before he had received the previous letter of April 18th, thus:

"It is well to inform you, generally, that we stand completely corrected of the error that either the government or the nation of France has any remains of friendship for

us. The portion of that country which forms an exception, though respectable in weight, is weak in numbers. On the contrary, it appears evident that an unfriendly spirit prevails in the most important individuals of the government towards us." * * *

In January, 1803, Mr. Jefferson sent Mr. Monroe "as Minister Extraordinary, to be joined with the ordinary one," "with discretionary powers, first, however, well impressed with all our views, and therefore qualified to meet and modify to these, every form of proposition which could come from the other party. This could be done only in full and frequent oral communications. * * * All eyes, all hopes are now fixed on you." * * *

In April, 1803, France ceded *the entire province of Louisiana* to the United States, for "60,000,000 of francs," and "certain considerations in favor of the inhabitants of the Province, and certain commercial privileges secured to France."

On the completion of this sale, Bonaparte is said to have exclaimed, "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States; I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride."

Louisiana had a coast-line on the Gulf of Mexico of 1,256 miles. The Islands belonging to the State had a coast-line of 994 miles, while the Mississippi river bounded or traversed in its course 800 miles of the territory.

The cession of France covered all the territory west of the Mississippi, as far north as the British possessions (except small portions occupied by Spain), including Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, most of Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, and the Indian Territories.

ORIGIN OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

October 29th, 1808, President Jefferson wrote to the Governor of Louisiana:

"The Patriots of Spain have no warmer friends than the administration of the United States; but it is our duty to say nothing, and to do nothing, for or against either. If they succeed, we shall be well satisfied to see *Cuba and Mexico* remain in their present dependence; but *very unwilling to see them* in that of *either France or England, politically or commercially*. We consider *their interests and ours as the same*, and that the object of both must be to EXCLUDE ALL EUROPEAN INFLUENCE FROM THIS HEMISPHERE."

August 4th, 1820, Ex-President Jefferson wrote to Mr. William Short as follows:

"From many conversations with him" (M. Correa, appointed Minister to Brazil by the Government of Portugal), "I hope he sees, and will promote in his new situation, the advantages of a cordial fraternization among all the American nations, and the importance of their coalescing in an AMERICAN SYSTEM OF POLICY, totally independent of, and unconnected with that of Europe. The day is not distant when we may formally require *a meridian of partition through the ocean* which separates the two hemispheres, on *the hither side of which no European gun shall ever be heard, nor an American on the other*; and when, during the rage of the eternal wars of Europe, the lion and the lamb, within our regions, shall lie down together in peace." * * *

"The principles of society there and here, then, are radically different, and I hope no American patriot will

ever lose sight of the essential policy of interdicting, on the seas and territories of both Americas, the ferocious and sanguinary contests of Europe. I wish to see this coalition begun."

In subsequent letters to President Monroe, Mr. Jefferson expressed the following sentiments:

"I have ever deemed it fundamental for the United States, *never to take active part in the quarrels of Europe.*"

As late as October, 1823, he wrote to the President thus:

"The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of Independence." * * *

"Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to meddle with cis-Atlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a *system of her own*, separate and apart from that of Europe." * * * "The war in which the present proposition might engage us (the proposed intervention of the Holy Alliance in the affairs of the South American Colonies) is not her war, but ours. Its object is to introduce and establish the American system, of keeping out of our land all Foreign powers,—of *never permitting* those of Europe to intermeddle with the affairs of our nations. It is to maintain our principle, not to depart from it." * * * *

"I could honestly join in the declaration proposed, that we aim not at the acquisition of any of those possessions; * * * *but that we will oppose, with all our means, the forcible interposition of any other power, as auxiliary,*

stipendiary, or under any other form or pretext,—and most especially, their transfer to any power, by conquest, cession, or acquisition in any other way."

All the foregoing acts and sentiments were followed by President Monroe's proclamation, in his message to Congress, December 2d, 1823, declaring that,

"Any attempt on the part of the European powers to 'extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere,' would be regarded by the United States as 'dangerous to our peace and safety,' and would accordingly be opposed;—a platform of principle upon this important subject, which has been approved by the prominent statesmen of the country, from the day of its proclamation to the present time."

Such was the origin of the Monroe Doctrine, and it is sufficiently conclusive as to the early purpose of the Fathers of the Republic, to hold our country and our continent forever exempt from European interference in any of the institutions, political, civil, or religious, of the people of the United States, or of the American Continent.

The last expression by the Executive, of the sentiments of the Government and of the people of the United States on this subject, was made by President Johnson, in his message in 1865, as follows: "From the moment of the establishment of our free institutions, the civilized world has been convulsed by revolutions in the interest of democracy or of monarchy; but, through all these revolutions, the United States have wisely and firmly refused to become the propagandists of Republicanism."

"It is the only government suited to our condition; but we have never sought to impose it upon others; and we have consistently followed the advice of Washington,

to recommend it only by the careful preservation and prudent use of the blessing."

"During all the intervening period, the policy of the European powers, and of the United States has, on the whole, been harmonious. Twice, indeed, rumors of the invasion of some parts of America in the interest of monarchy have prevailed; twice my predecessors have had occasion to announce the views of this nation in respect to such interference. On both occasions, the remonstrance of the the United States was respected, from a deep conviction on the part of European Governments, that the system of non-interference, and mutual abstinence from propagandism, was the true rule for both hemispheres."

"Since these times, we have advanced in wealth and power; but we retain the same purpose, to leave the nations of Europe to choose their own dynasties, and form their own systems of government."

"This consistent moderation may justly demand a corresponding moderation. *We should regard it a great calamity to ourselves, to the cause of good government, and to the peace of the world, should any European power challenge the American people, as it were, to the defence of Republicanism against foreign interference.* We cannot foresee, and are unwilling to consider what opportunities might present, what combinations might offer for our protection against designs inimical to our form of government."

"The United States desire to act in the future as they have ever acted heretofore. They never will be driven from that course but by the aggression of the European powers. And we rely on the wisdom and justice of those powers, to respect the system of non-interference which has so long been sanctioned by time, and which by its good results has approved itself to both Continents."

PART IX.

INTEROCEANIC TRANSITS; THEIR POLITICAL HISTORY.—EFFORTS OF SPAIN, ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

THE GREAT QUESTIONS OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

THE great Republic, on the 4th of March, 1869, will enter upon a new era in its history. It has passed through all the various stages, phases, and struggles of youth, and has survived the doubts and fears of friends at home, and all the hatred and hostility of its foes abroad. The last great crisis is over. The transition period is fast passing away. Trial has tested its virtues and strength. It has been in the red-hot crucible, and comes out "silver and gold."

Three great questions, vitally affecting the interests of modern civilization, have been settled, at least for our country and our Continent:

1. National organic independence and the sovereignty of the people.
2. Individual liberty and civil rights.
3. Religious freedom.

Bunker Hill and its sequiturs settled the first; Appomattox Court House and its antecedents the second; and the last departing squadron of the intervention left the third, in final settlement with Juarez and his compatriots in Mexico.

These three, involving the fundamental truths and principles, the great American ideas that underlie the whole political, civil, and religious institutions of the Republic, concern essentially its internal progress and wel-