

1861-2, that the whole course and policy of the BRITISH GOVERNMENT, of British Diplomacy in Mexico, of her navy and commercial marine, of her consular and mercantile agencies during the last few years, have been in violation of those principles of international comity and good fellowship, which Great Britain would have been foremost to resent, if she had been the victim. The story of the complicity of officers, of high and low degree, smuggling goods in, and smuggling bullion out, in robbery of the lawful revenue of Mexico, have been discreditable in the highest degree. As if the mightiest and wealthiest nation on the earth could not be satisfied with the honest, legitimate yield of her giant manufactures and commerce, but must pounce down upon an oppressed and enfeebled race, struggling for the rights of humanity, and for their national existence, to rob them of their lawful revenue, deprive them of the means of self-defence, and then revile them for their want of success.

It was a deplorable mistake of the FRENCH GOVERNMENT to attempt, in the dark days of the United States, to enforce by violence an unjust claim upon Mexico—to overpower the weak in their struggles to obtain the birth-right of nations—independence and self-government; to paralyze their efforts to secure political, civil and religious liberty; and to extinguish the rising hopes of a young Republic. It was a melancholy sight to see France—the land of La Fayette, and of a host of the lovers and of the martyrs of liberty—France, the very name in Europe, which has been a pioneer and watchword of freedom for the nation—France! a propagandist of despotism!

But, short-sighted and mistaken as was the policy, in every point of view, in no sense was its failure more deplorable than in its commercial results. The *three hundred*

millions spent by THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, the planning and scheming of the BRITISH GOVERNMENT and aristocracy, the contingent in money, men and brains, of the other powers, openly or covertly aiding and abetting the grand conspiracy against Republican Governments, if they had been honorably employed in fair, fraternal development of the boundless resources of the United States and of Mexico, would, in less than ten years, have paid not only the entire debts of every American government, but all the debts of all the governments of Europe!

It would not have been necessary to have touched a dollar of the surface-wealth—of any of the productions of the soil, or any of the interests of manufactures, or ordinary commerce, but only the inexhaustible treasures that lie beneath the sod.

It is said that Bishop Simpson remarked, on his return from a visit, that there was wealth enough in the single State of Nevada alone, to furnish every sailor and soldier, engaged in the war of the Republic, with a silver musket and sword, and silver-mounted appointments; to lay a solid, silver railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with a complete silver rolling stock and equipment; and then, leave enough to cover every American monitor and iron-clad with a thicker coat of silver than they ever had of iron!

The history of the English and of the Spanish Colonies in America, suggests striking resemblances, and still more striking contrasts. They have both struggled with the three great forms of despotism and oppression—the political, the civil, and the religious. Both have resisted monarchical pretensions, and claimed their God-given rights.

1. Both have struggled for national independence, and

have established their organic freedom, in the rights and exercise of self-government.

2. Both have repudiated human slavery and peonage, and have asserted and maintained the inalienable rights of individual liberty.

3. Both claim absolute religious freedom, separation of Church and State, freedom of opinion, of conscience, of speech, of worship, and of universal education.

All danger from the first has passed away. The second, no power can reimpose. The conflict for the third and the last, is apparently settled in both Republics. Yet no considerate observer of the signs of the times, but must notice the ground-swell of movements that forebode a coming conflict still.

But the great mistake and crowning folly of all has been that of Rome,—the absurd and impotent attempt of the Pope and Papal powers, to impose upon the people of the New World, in the free air of the XIXth century, the preposterous pretensions of a thousand years ago; and to reaffirm and promulgate, as legislation binding to-day, upon *twelve hundred millions of the human race*, and upon all coming generations, down to the “last syllable of recorded time,” the repudiated dogmas and decrees of a packed council of *two hundred and forty-seven* gentlemen, three-centuries ago!

But such is the case. The Roman Catholic Church may be the most numerous, the most wealthy, the most powerful organization that ever existed. But she is no greater in our day, than Nebuchadnezzar was in his. If she plants herself on principles at war with the teachings and spirit of Christianity, if she defies the deepest philosophical, political, mental and moral convictions of more than half of Christendom, and sets at nought the common

sense of mankind, and says, “Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the Kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honor of my Majesty?” the lament will soon be heard, at least on one side of the Atlantic, “Alas! that great city Babylon, that mighty city, is fallen! is fallen!”

THE POPE'S NUNCIO TO MEXICO.

In October, 1864, Pope Pius IX. sent his Nuncio to the Emperor in Mexico, with a letter, foreshadowing the denunciations against republican principles, in his famous Encyclical in December.

He reminds the Emperor of “his promise to protect the Catholic Church,” and conjures him, in the “name of the faith and piety of his august family,” “in the name of the Church,” of which he (Pius) “was the supreme Chief and Pastor,” “in the name of Almighty God,” to put his hand to the work of restoring what the liberals had taken away; of repealing the laws of reform, “of repairing the evils of the revolution,” and “of bringing back as soon as possible, the happy days of the Church,” and of the Catholic religion, which must above all things continue to be, the glory and mainstay of the Mexican nation, “*to the exclusion of every other dissenting worship.*” He repudiated all the distinctive reforms, and called on the Emperor, to “give a striking example, to the other governments in *the Republics of America*, in which similar, very similar vicissitudes have tried the Church.”

THE POPE'S ENCYCLICAL.

In the Encyclical letter of Pope Pius IX., December, 1864, he reiterates the denunciations, by his predecessors, of the “errors and heresies,” of modern civilization; and repeats his own denunciations, in his Encyclical of November 9, 1846, and his allocutions of December 9, 1854, and June 9, 1862. He “condemns the monstrous and portentous opinions of the present age,” as “errors and heresies hostile to moral honesty, and to the eternal salvation of mankind.” He “admonishes all the sons of the

Catholic Church to shun these errors of the age, as they would the contagion of a fatal pestilence." He condemns "the false, perverse, *detestable opinions*, that would hinder and banish the salutary *influence which the Catholic Church* by the institution and command of her Divine Author, *ought freely to exercise*, even to the consummation of the world, *not only over individual men, but over nations, peoples and sovereigns.*" He characterizes as a "totally false notion of social government," "that erroneous opinion, most pernicious to the Catholic Church, and to the salvation of souls," "called by our predecessor, Gregory XVI., in his Encyclical, August, 1832," *the insanity*," that "LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE, and of WORSHIP IS THE RIGHT OF EVERY MAN!" and "that this right, in every well-governed State, ought to be asserted and maintained by the law," "and that the citizens possess the right," "to publish and put forward openly, all their ideas whatsoever, either by speaking, in print, or any other method." "*It is the liberty of perdition*, to be free to human arguments, to discuss:" that some dare to proclaim, "that the will of the people, manifested by public opinion, as they call it, or by other means, constitutes a supreme law:" "and make common cause with the falsehoods of the heretics, in declaring that the religious orders have no right to exist," and "by impious opinions, these false teachers endeavor to eliminate the teaching and influence of the Catholic Church from the instruction and education of youth;" "and that the Catholic clergy should be deprived of all participation in the work of teaching and training the young,"—"presume with *extraordinary impudence*, to subordinate the authority of the Church and of this Apostolic See, to the judgment of civil authority;"—"that the excommunications launched by the Council of Trent, and the Roman Pontiffs against those who invade and usurp the possessions of the Church and its rights," are only "to attain a mere earthly end," "that the right of the Church is not competent to restrain with *temporal penalties*, the violators of her laws," "and that it is in accordance with the principles of theology, and of public law, for the civil government to appropriate property possessed by churches, the religious orders, and other pious establishments."

In virtue of her "plenary power, to guide, to supervise and govern the Universal Church," and of "his Apostolic authority, he reprobates, denounces and condemns generally, and particularly, ALL THESE evil opinions and doctrines," and desires them, "to be reprobated, denounced and condemned by all the children of the Catholic Church."

The last stronghold of human despotism is in that power which thus claims supremacy, not merely over the organization of human society, and the governmental principles and agencies of a nation's life; not merely over the personal freedom, labor, and service of men, but over the *human soul*, the life within. It claims a throne—GOD'S THRONE,—in every man's heart, and arrogates to itself a sovereignty over his thoughts, his opinions, his conscience, faith, worship, final destiny, and eternal salvation.

In view of the foregoing reiterated assertion of the principles and purposes of the Papal power, who shall say that we have not yet a fiercer war to wage for human rights, than the world has ever seen? The last great battle between despotism and freedom may be yet to come.

The battle array, on the one side, is the "Army of the Nations," who claim the "rights of man;" on the other, that old traditional despotism of Rome—the consolidated organization of a thousand years. Its origin, history, discipline, wealth, and power are known. Its principles and present attitude of defiance are loudly proclaimed to the world.

It is the grand pronunciamento—not of a "Church" party in Mexico, against a handful of Republicans resolved there "to do or die,"—but it is the pronunciamento of the Great Hierarchy of the Earth, against ALL THE GREAT PRINCIPLES of modern civilization. Republican-

ism to-day, is a synonym for "human rights." IT MEANS HUMAN RIGHTS, political, civil, religious, educational, commercial, in America, in Mexico, in Spain, in Great Britain, all over the world.

It is vain to close our eyes against the number and designs of its enemies. They can neither be cloaked nor concealed.

But notwithstanding all the foregoing complications, difficulties, and antagonisms, it is inexpressibly desirable, that all modern nations should lay aside the sword, and vie with each other, hereafter, in the promotion of the peaceful arts and industries of life, and the universal spread of civilization and Christianity.

THE UNITED STATES.

As for their policy, whatever it may be, fellowship and good feeling are not to be promoted by ignoring the stubborn facts of history, in regard to the animosities and hostile designs and efforts of foreign nations. They should be known, that we may be on our guard.

In respect to Great Britain, the course and policy of her government and aristocracy are somewhat compensated by the staunch sympathy, in the day of our struggle, of her "toiling millions." They are now marching on, to share with us, the blessings of a wider liberty and a more diffused prosperity.

In respect to France, the United States will never forget the France of seventy years ago, nor the old traditional ties that bind the two nations.

The following is an interesting reminiscence of what France did for us. (Sparks' Life of Gouverneur Morris, vol. i. p. 380, Jefferson's Works, vol. iii. p. 191.)

"The whole amount advanced to the United States, by the

Court of France, during the war of Independence, was 18,000,000 livres. Part of this was generously offered as a "don gratuit," but it was accepted only as a loan, and by a convention between Count Vergennes and Franklin, signed on the 16th July, 1782, it was agreed that interest at 5% should be paid on it, from the day of the conclusion of peace."

"The French Government became responsible also for other debts of the United States, contracted in Holland and elsewhere, amounting to 16,000,000 livres, so that the whole American debt to France, at the commencement of 1784, was 34,000,000 livres tournois. Most of this bore interest at 5%, and was to be repaid, at intervals, after a delay of twelve years."

"At the close of 1789, M. Necker being sorely pressed for money, made indirect propositions to the American Government for an immediate repayment of this loan at a great discount. These propositions were not accepted. 'Washington,' then President, said, 'Justice and honor require that our debt to France should be fully paid, and that we should in no wise profit by the temporary embarrassment of her finances.'"

"A law of Congress was immediately passed, appropriating money, and authorizing a new loan in Holland for the early acquittal of this sacred debt. The repayments were commenced on the 3d December, 1790, and before the events of the 10th August, 23,717,639 livres had been paid."

"The sympathy and gratitude towards Louis XVI. which existed, and which still exists, in the United States, are not confined to the unfortunate King."

"That nation which is ever ready, to succor the oppressed, and which prefers generous ideas to material interests, must ever possess the admiration of freemen, and above all, the grateful remembrance of Americans."

The proclamation of the First Consul has made an impression that cannot be obliterated:

"Washington is dead! This great man fought against tyranny. He has established the liberty of his country. His memory will ever be dear to the French Na-

tion, as to every freeman of the two worlds; and especially to the French Soldiers, who like him, and the American Warriors, fought for liberty and equality.

"In consequence of which, the First Consul commands, that for the space of ten days, black crape shall be hung upon all the standards and colors of the Republic."

George Sumner said, in 1847, to Lamartine:

"The debt of American gratitude is due to the whole French Nation, but the desire to individualize, if I may so say, the expression of that gratitude, has caused the names of three Frenchmen to be graven on every American heart—the names of LA FAYETTE, LOUIS XVI., and VERGENNES. And if this trinity of the well-beloved be completed by one whose actions were less prominent—whose services less known to fame—than those of the other two, it is that Vergennes was the first friend America found among those having authority with Louis XVI. It was he who staked his reputation as a minister upon the success of her struggle—he who proposed always generous aid to her cause, and he, who, in his diplomatic relations with the American Ministers—Franklin and Jefferson, showed always a loyal and honorable spirit."

"At the present day, the American pilgrim who comes to Versailles, to visit that monument dedicated to 'All the glories of France,' pauses in a more humble temple—the Church of Notre Dame—and offers there his tribute of affection and respect at the tomb of Vergennes—at the tomb of that Frenchman who, swaying the counsels of his sovereign, and having influence over the opinions of the nation, never forgot to be generous and just to America."

GENERAL POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES.

The following article is from the pen of an eminent American author, whose views represent the sentiments of a large circle of the most intelligent American citizens.

"It seems desirable that there should be some formal, distinct and authoritative announcement to the following effect, of the attitude which the Government and people of the United States should henceforth assume and maintain before the world."

"1. That the principle of government adopted for themselves, by the American people, is to commit the direction of public affairs to the general intelligence, good sense, and *understanding of their own interests*, possessed by the *whole population*, instead of entrusting this power to the supposed superior knowledge and ability of privileged classes, or families. To this end, it is our plan to afford every member of the community, the means of coming to a proper understanding of his rights and his interests, as affected by the measures of government and by the laws, and then to elect governmental officers, both legislative and executive, whose province it is, not to *frame and determine upon, themselves*, the public policy to be pursued, but to devise and mature the best means for *carrying into effect the policy desired by the people*.

"2. That while we are satisfied that this system is, for us, the wisest, the safest, the most just, and the most promotive of the general happiness, we have no wish to urge, or even to recommend the adoption of it, by any other people. We desire to leave every community free, without any interference, direct or indirect, on our part, to adopt such a system for themselves, as they may find most consonant with their ideas or their traditions, and most conducive to their interests,—having no wish that our system should be adopted by any other people, except so far as they find by their observation of its effects, that it is promotive of the general peace, prosperity, and happiness."

"3. In respect to questions which may hereafter arise, of the union of other political communities with ours, inasmuch as no such union is possible under our system, except on the condition of granting to the people thus admitted, *their full share of power* in the government of the whole country, we do not consider that the incorporation of any foreign state into our system, is to be regarded in the light of an acquisition of territory, inuring chiefly to the benefit and aggrandizement of this government; but rather