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MEXICO

AND THE

UNITED

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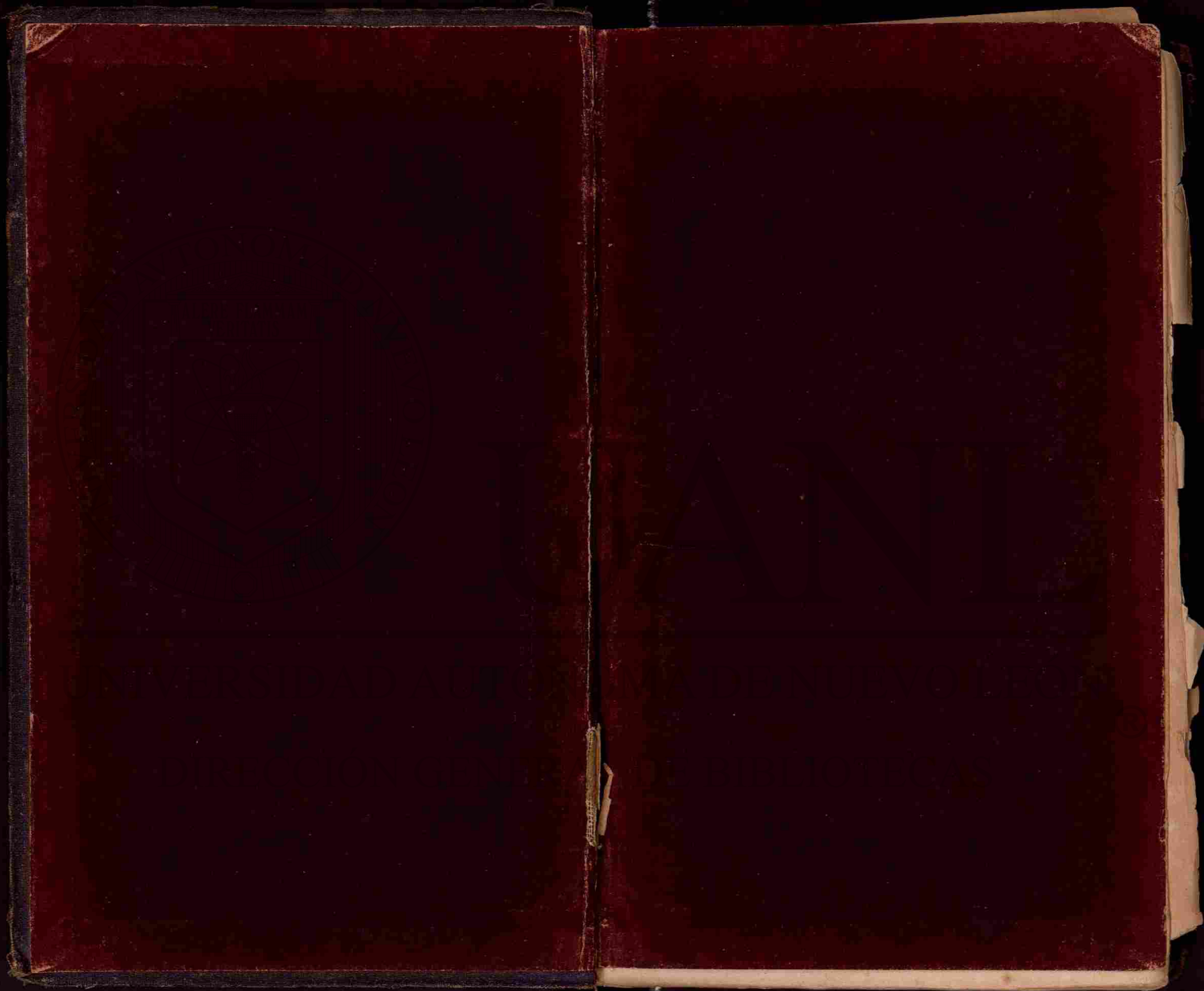
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UNIVERSIDAD AUTÓNOMA DE NUEVO LEÓN

Benito Juárez
DIRECCIÓN GENERAL DE BIBLIOTECAS

MEXICO,

AND

THE UNITED STATES;

THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS

AND

COMMON INTERESTS.

BY

GORHAM D. ABBOT, LL. D.

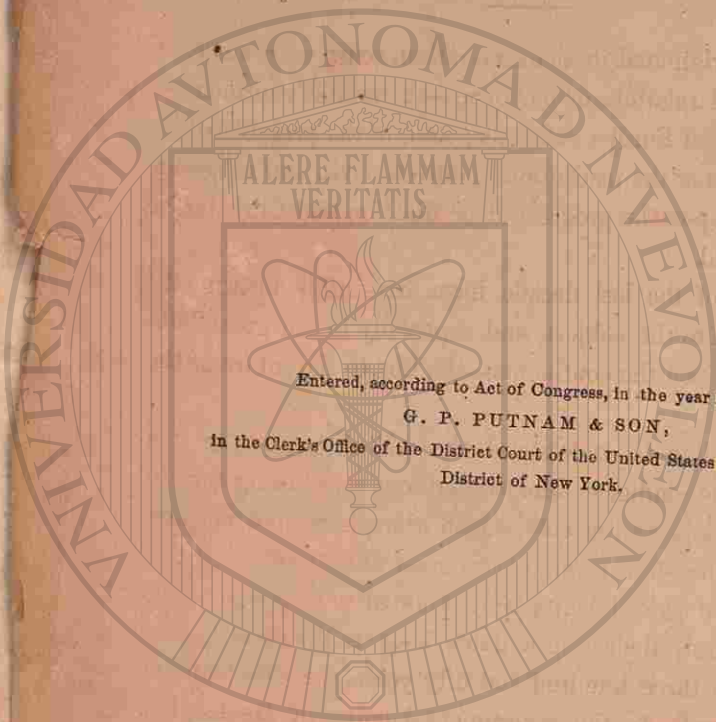
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UANL
FONDO
Armando Arteaga Santoyo

PREFACE.

This work originated in an examination, some years since, of the geographical relations of our own,—the middle continent,—to the continents of Europe and Asia; and, of the prospective influence and effect of the institutions, political, civil, and religious, of our country, upon the progress of civilization and Christianity in the Old World.

The events of the last decade, have irresistibly drawn still farther attention to the subject, and especially to the great Isthmus section between the continents—the key to the future of the hemisphere.

It is impossible to understand the real characters, or the real merits of the conflict in Mexico, without considering certain great historic facts and events, which, though remote in their origin, have been potent causes of the great final results.

The germs of the difficulty were planted as long ago as the conquest;—indeed, their origin dates back a thousand years. During the last three hundred and fifty years, the development of the original evils, in the governmental policy of Mexico, has made that land almost a Golgotha among the nations.

The object of this work is, to present a sketch of the history and progress of events in Mexico, as briefly as possible, in order to show the connection and relations of the *past* with the *present*; together with such a condensed view of the principles and acts of the different parties, as may aid in forming a definite and correct idea of the *real living* issues of the contest; and, in indicating the true, international policy, which the mutual interests of Mexico and of the United States require.

The work will not be in vain, if it shall contribute, in any

degree, to correct erroneous impressions, or misrepresentations in regard to the principles and acts of the liberal, republican patriots of Mexico; or, to encourage or cheer them in their great work; or, to show that, like Washington and the Fathers of our Republic, they are struggling not for themselves alone, but are fighting "FREEDOM'S BATTLE" for all mankind, and for posterity; or, to throw any light upon our great continental questions, which, in other forms, are now marshalling, all over the world, the antagonistic forces of old despotisms, and of the progressive civilization of the age.

The original intention was to include in this volume, the consecutive history down to the present day, and, in an appendix, certain illustrative historical documents. The limits of the work, and the extent of the materials forbade. It was found impossible to embrace any more of the constitutional history, than the period, from the original project in 1824, down to the final adoption of the present constitution of the Republic in 1859.

The continuation involves the history of the Intervention, and of the policy and action of the Great Powers,—England, France, Spain, Austria, and Rome,—during the last ten years, a period which has called forth in Europe, more than sixty publications, volumes and pamphlets, on the subject.

The history of this period, political and military, is too important to be slightly or superficially attempted.

A full and fair exposition of the present status, resources, and prospects of Mexico, deserves a volume in itself. These will undoubtedly, sooner or later, be given to the world.

NEW YORK, January, 1869.

GORHAM D. ABBOT.

—Tactics of the Government of the United States—The Flourish of the Monroe Doctrine—Policy of the Secretary of State—Mr. Seward's Address—Reply of M. Drouyn de L'huys—Courtesy of Abbé Domenech—International Comity—Elevated views of M. Lamartine—America the Property of the Human Race—America the Property of Europe—American Piracy—European Interests in the New World—Anglo-Saxon Monopoly—The Monroe Doctrine—European Intervention in America—European Disinterestedness. 223-233

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English statesmen have called British India, with its
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If there had been no Continent for Columbus to dis-
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nents of Ame-
rica.

The Continents of America, North and South, connected by their narrow Isthmus, divide this watery waste. "The United States and Mexico," interposed between Europe and Asia,—“The Middle Continent” of all, flanked by the two great oceans, that are destined to bear the great trunk commerce of the nations, stand in their geographical and relative position, as if ordained by Divine Decree to become the great maritime and commercial powers of the future.

The relations
of the Conti-
nents.

They stand in their relations to the rest of the habitable globe, and to oceanic communication with the civilized world, much as the narrow projection of Italy into the Mediterranean Sea stood to the dominion of the Roman Empire, East and West. Then, the Mediterranean Sea was the centre, and its surroundings constituted the Roman world. Now, “The middle Continent” is to be the centre, and its surroundings for the future development of commerce, civilization and Christianity among the nations, are the oceans and the hemispheres.

North
America.

The Continent of North America contains eight millions of square miles. South America, seven millions. The aggregate, FIFTEEN MILLIONS of square miles, is about four times the size of all Europe, and equals about three-tenths of the whole land surface of the globe. The Eastern portals face the rising Sun, stand “vis à vis” to Europe, and the golden gates of the West are opening wide towards Asia and Oceanica. This territory covers in the Western hemisphere, the entire historic zone traced in the Eastern, by the course of empire and the progress of civilization, from the cradle of the race in the “Mother Continent,” down to the present time.

Territorial
Characteris-
tics.

Unlike other Continents, where three-fifths of the whole surface are covered with inaccessible mountains and high table lands, scarcely habitable for man, in North and South America, three-fifths of the surface consists of vallies, prairies and plains of inexhaustible fertility. The area of the basin of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers alone, is estimated at one million three hundred and fifty thousand square miles,—nearly twice the aggregate of all Great Britain, France, Spain and Germany combined. The coast line of the Continent is estimated at between forty and fifty thousand miles; that of Europe, is twenty thousand miles, of Asia, thirty-six thousand.

The United
States.

The territory of the United States embraces an area nearly equal to that of all Europe. The great continental outlines of its geography, no less than its unique geographical position, indicate its destiny. The grand divisions of the land, their respective physical features and capabilities, are now defined and understood.

The Eastern section of this territory,—the Atlantic slope, thirteen hundred miles in length, by an average of one hundred and fifty miles in width,—the great Continental incline towards the vast interior,—has been mainly the theatre of the first half century of its settlement and civilization.

The Great
Valley.

The valley,—a thousand miles square, guarded, as it were, on the East and the West by the ranges of the Alleghanies and of the Rocky mountains, our mighty continental bulwarks, shows the progress of enterprise in the second half century.

The Pacific slope, not yet a quarter of a century old, has almost staggered human credulity, by the magic growth of its agriculture, commerce, wealth and cities. Imagination is baffled at any attempt to forecast its future.

Geographical
Relations and
its Institutions.

This united land, inter-oceanic, in respect to all the conditions of maritime supremacy, inter-continental, in respect to the population, productions, manufactures and commerce of the world; with its inexhaustible internal resources of every material and product that affords food, clothing, or comfort for man; with a diversified climate adapted to every race and temperament; with political, civil, social, moral and religious institutions favoring universal education and the protection and security of every man in the enjoyment of his "inalienable rights," all foreshadow a development of humanity on these shores, within half a century to come, transcending all the dreams of statesmen or philanthropists.

The Government and people of the United States have no reason to envy any other government, or people, or land of the earth; and least of all, to covet any Naboth's vineyard. It is not surprising that monarchs and nobles, and the despotisms of the old world, should look with anxious apprehensions at the growth of this great power, at the kindling of this great light, at the influence of the *great ideas* that underlie our institutions, and are the secret of our prosperity and happiness.

But we turn to Mexico.

MEXICO.—TERRITORIAL EXTENT AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The Republic
of Mexico.

The Republic of Mexico extends from about the 15th to the 30th degree of North Latitude, and embraces in its range, its plains, table lands and mountain ranges, all the climates and productions of the tropics and of the temperate zone. In its extent, resources and capabilities, in varieties of climate and soil; in its

known, and in its yet unknown treasures of precious metals and gems; and in the exuberance of its supply of every article needful for the food, clothing, medicine, comfort, and luxury of man, it has no superior.

Extent of Territory. Its extreme length is two thousand miles; its extreme breadth eleven hundred miles. It has a coast line on the Gulf and on the Caribbean Sea of sixteen hundred miles; and on the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of California, of four thousand two hundred miles;—a larger coast line, it is believed, in proportion to its area, than any other country of equal extent in the world. It joins the United States by a coterminous boundary of eighteen hundred miles.

The Mexican
States.
Area of
Territory.

The twenty-five States, the Federal District, and the Territory of the Republic contain an area of 862,460 square miles—an aggregate equal, within a fraction, to all the twenty-five United States east of the Mississippi river. It is a territory ten times larger than all Great Britain, and nearly equal, in extent to all France, Spain, Austria, Lombardy, and the British Isles combined.

Physical
characteris-
tics.

The area of Mexico is divided by nature into three clearly defined and separate regions; the highlands, or mountain districts; the table lands, or temperate regions; and the lowlands and basins, having the varied characteristics of the torrid zone. Above them all, peer the volcanic summits, and peaks of perpetual snow.

The mountain ranges arrest the moisture wafted by aerial currents from the Atlantic and the Gulf; the lofty crests congeal it in eternal snows; the mountain breasts condense it in fertilizing rains; and the lowlands receive the descending streams that enrich a soil of inexhaustible fertility.

Of this immense region, more than three-fifths enjoy rather a temperate than a torrid climate. The proximity of the oceans, the peculiar conformation of the land, its elevation above the level of the sea, and the sweep of mild, aerial currents from the waters, temper the severities both of cold and heat, and make, for large sections of the territory, one of the most balmy and delightful climates in the world.

The peculiar characteristics of this territory, in respect to climate and productions, are determined less by latitude, than probably those of any other portion of the globe. Its physical geography and peculiar relations to the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean, make it altogether a country "sui generis." The oceanic and atmospheric currents determined and defined by the continental conditions, and the motion of the earth, and especially by the marked depression at the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, in the great range of the Cordillera of the continents, together with the diversities in the elevation of different districts, give this little range of about fifteen degrees of latitude, all the varieties of climate, soil, and productions of the torrid, the temperate and the frigid zones. Its volcanic peaks and mountain regions, its plateaux and lowlands, diversified in countless forms of beauty, magnificence and sublimity, have long been the themes on which travellers and historians have lavished their admiration.

The following tables exhibit the areas, and the population of the Mexican States, and those of the United States, east of the Mississippi river. A slight comparison is sufficiently suggestive of the extent and the importance of the Mexican Republic, and of the inducements of European monarchs to destroy its independence, and erect an Empire for themselves upon its ruins.

TABLE OF THE AREAS OF THE UNITED STATES EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, AND THEIR POPULATION IN 1860.

	SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION.
Maine.....	32,000	628,000
New Hampshire.....	9,000	326,000
Vermont.....	9,000	315,000
Massachusetts.....	7,800	1,231,000
Rhode Island.....	1,200	175,000
Connecticut.....	4,700	460,000
New York.....	47,000	3,881,000
New Jersey.....	8,300	672,000
Pennsylvania.....	46,000	2,906,000
Delaware.....	2,000	112,000
Maryland.....	9,300	687,000
Virginia.....	61,000	1,596,000
North Carolina.....	45,000	993,000
South Carolina.....	24,500	703,000
Georgia.....	58,000	1,057,000
Florida.....	59,000	140,000
Alabama.....	51,000	964,000
Mississippi.....	47,000	791,000
Ohio.....	40,000	2,340,000
Michigan.....	56,000	749,000
Wisconsin.....	54,000	776,000
Illinois.....	55,000	1,712,000
Indiana.....	34,000	1,350,000
Kentucky.....	38,000	1,157,000
Tennessee.....	43,000	1,111,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	841,800	26,832,000
The British Isles.....	122,000	
France.....	205,000	
Spain and Portugal.....	219,000	
Austria.....	257,000	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	803,000	

TABLE OF THE AREAS OF MEXICAN STATES, WITH THEIR POPULATION, IN 1860.

STATES.	SUPERFICIAL OR SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION IN 1860.
Aguascalientes.....	2,739	88,329
Chiapa.....	18,679	167,472
Chihuahua.....	83,512	164,073
Cohahuila.....	36,572	67,590
Durango.....	48,489	144,331
Guanajuato.....	11,396	729,103
Guerrero.....	32,003	279,109
Jalisco.....	48,591	804,058
Mexico.....	19,539	1,129,629
Michoacan.....	22,993	554,585
Nueva Leon.....	16,688	145,779
Oajaca.....	23,642	525,938
Puebla.....	8,879	658,609
Queretaro.....	1,884	165,155
San Luis Potosi.....	28,142	397,189
Sinaloa.....	33,722	163,714
Sonora.....	100,228	139,374
Tabasco.....	12,359	70,628
Tamaulipas.....	30,344	109,673
Vera Cruz.....	27,415	349,125
Yucatan.....	48,869	668,623
Zacatecas.....	27,768	296,789
TERRITORIES.		
Lower California.....	60,662	12,000
Colima.....	3,019	62,909
Isla de Carman.....	7,298	11,807
Sierra Gorda.....	3,127	55,358
Tehuantepec.....	12,526	82,395
Tlaxcala.....	1,984	90,158
DISTRICT.		
Federal District.....	90	269,534
Total.....	862,460	8,400,236

CHAPTER II.

MEXICO UNDER THE ANCIENT CIVILIZATION.—HISTORICAL SKETCH.

Ancient Mexico, prior to 1520.

WHATEVER may be the speculations in regard to the origin of the inhabitants of Mexico, the character and degree of their civilization are unmistakable. When first discovered, Mexico was more thickly peopled than any other portion of the continent. Cortez found an Empire, cities, palaces, pyramids, like those of Egypt; temples, ruins, hieroglyphical inscriptions, and all the traces of an ancient and idolatrous civilization. Gigantic and magnificent monumental remains told of a former race, and of their achievements in architecture and art.

Early History.

The history of the early inhabitants, of their origin and races, religion, manners, customs, wars and conquests, is involved in great uncertainty. Humboldt, and many others, have supposed that the ancient Mexican races were of Asiatic origin, and that the migration from Eastern Asia by way of the Pacific Ocean or Behring's Straits, commenced with the "Toltec Tribes" about A. D. 700, and was followed by other migrations, and finally by the "Aztecs," about A. D. 1200. The physical organization of the people, the character of their civilization, hieroglyphic records and Mexican traditions, rather support this opinion.

The Toltecs. A.D. 700.

The "Toltec Dynasty" is supposed to have lasted 400 or 500 years, when for some reason unknown, they moved further south to the provinces of Central America, and were succeeded in Mexico by the "Aztecs." Prior to the Spanish conquest, the Toltecs were the most civilized of all the Mexican races. But when Cortez ar-

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rived, the Aztecs, under Montezuma, occupied the country previously in possession of the "Toltecs."

The Aztecs.
A.D. 1200. The "AZTEC EMPIRE" comprised only the present States of Mexico, Queretaro, and a part of Vera Cruz. But it held more or less control over other monarchies and republics around them. The descendants of the Aztecs, now called *Mexican Indians*, live in the villages and towns of this section. They speak, besides the Spanish, their ancient language, now called "*Mexican*."

The "AZTEC DYNASTY" is traced for about 300 years, culminating in the Empire of the Montezumas, which fell in 1520, under the Spanish invasion and conquest by Cortez.

Wars of the
Dynasties. The convulsions and wars which marked the progress of the two Dynasties were like those in the early stages of ancient European Empires. Chieftains, tribes, republics and petty kings were waging incessant wars with each other. The waves of conflict swayed to and fro, changing perpetually the territorial limits and the allegiance of smaller tribes in every direction, until, in about 1352, the "Aztec Empire" was consolidated under its first king.

The Montezumas. In 1436 Montezuma I. came to the throne. In 1502, after two intervening sovereigns, Montezuma II. succeeded. During the reigns of the Montezumas, the Aztec Empire attained a pitch of grandeur, to which no society had ever attained in so short a period. It had subsisted only for a hundred and fifty years, and had extended its dominion from the north to the Pacific Ocean on the south, over territories stretching 1,500 miles from east to west, and more than 600 miles from north to south.

THE AZTEC INDIANS.

Indian Races. The term "Indian" was applied to all the aboriginal inhabitants of the colonies of Spain, because the islands and lands discovered by Columbus were supposed to belong to the group now known as the *East Indies*. By sailing westward, the navigators discovered these lands, which they called the *West Indies*, and the inhabitants, "West Indians." The "Aztecs," or *Mexican Indians*, and the *North American Indians*, are of totally different races and types of humanity.

Population. There is no record of any enumeration of the inhabitants of Mexico prior to the conquest. The estimates and statements of different historians of that period are various and contradictory. The number of victims of war, of massacre and slavery, are rarely reported by oppressors. Many adverse interests have led to a concealment of the actual numbers at different times. The number of inhabitants in the large cities, and in some of the provinces, furnish some clew to the aggregate. The City of Mexico is almost universally stated to have had a population of *three hundred thousand*. The neighboring Republic of Tlascala was reputed to have had 500,000 heads of families. In various contests of Cortez with the forces he encountered, his contemporaries often numbered his adversaries at *fifty thousand men*. From such data, and from the statements of Las Casas, and the Bishop of Chiapa, it has been supposed that the population of the Empire was not less than THIRTY MILLIONS.

THE PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND DISPOSITION OF THE AZTECS.

Portrait of the
Mexicans.

The Abbé Clavigero, who resided nearly forty years in the provinces of New Spain, and who

wrote the history of Mexico, of that period, has given the following description of the Aztecs :

"They are of good stature, generally exceeding, instead of falling short of, the middle size. They are well proportioned in all their limbs. They have good complexions; narrow foreheads; black eyes; clean, firm, regular, white teeth; thick, black, coarse, glossy hair; thin beards; and, generally, no hair upon their legs or thighs. Their skin is of an olive color; there is scarcely a nation upon earth where there are fewer deformed persons; and it would be more difficult to find a single hump-backed, lame, or squint-eyed man among a thousand Mexicans, than among a hundred of any other nation. The unpleasantness of their color, the smallness of their forehead, the thinness of their beard, are so far compensated by the regularity and fine proportion of their limbs, that they can neither be called very beautiful nor the contrary; but seem to hold a middle place between the extremes. Their appearance neither engages nor disgusts. Among the young women of Mexico, there are *many very beautiful and fair*, whose beauty is at the same time rendered more winning by the sweetness of their manner of speaking, and by the pleasantness, and natural modesty of their whole behavior."

General
Character.

"They are very moderate in eating, but *their passion for liquors is carried to great excess.*"
"Their minds are at bottom in every respect like those of the other children of Adam, and endowed with the same powers. The Europeans never did less credit to their own reason, than when they doubted that of the Americans. The state of civilization among the Americans when they were first known to the Spaniards, was much superior to that of the Spaniards themselves, when

they were first known to the Phœnicians, that of the Gauls when they were first known to the Greeks, or that of the Germans and Britons when first known to the Romans. It should have been sufficient to check such an error of man's mind, if it had not been the interest of the inhuman avarice of some ruffians to encourage it. Their understandings are fitted for every kind of science, as experience has shown. Of the Mexicans who have had opportunities of engaging in the pursuit of learning, which is but a small number, the greater part are always engaged in the public and private works. But we have known some good mathematicians, excellent architects, and learned divines. Many persons allow the Mexicans to possess a great talent for imitation, but deny them the praise of invention; a vulgar error, which is contradicted by the ancient history of that people."

Moral Traits.

"Their minds are affected by the same variety of passions as the people of other nations, but not in an equal degree. Mexicans seldom exhibit those transports of anger or frenzies of love, which are so common in other countries. They are slow in their motions, and show a wonderful tenacity and steadiness in those works which require time and long-continued attention."

"They are most patient of injury and hardship, and, where they suspect no evil intention, are most grateful for any kindness."

The Ancient
Civilization.

The extent of the dominion of Montezuma, his character and court, and the political and social organization of the government, witnessed the advanced state of civilization in the Empire of the Aztecs. The administration of government, and the organization of industry, for the maintenance of its vast population, was not the work of barbarism. To feed, to clothe, to

make law, to define and regulate the rights and duties of citizens, and to preserve law and order in society, demand legislative and administrative talent of high order.

Agriculture. The progress of agriculture, the varied products of the soil, in cereals and fruits, revealed no ordinary degree of cultivation and taste. Their horticulture, ornamental and medicinal, gardens of plants, floating gardens, scientific irrigation and canals, indicated the progress of knowledge.

The roads and highways of the Aztecs are represented by Humboldt and others as rivalling in their structure, the old Roman roads of Italy.

Evidences of a high Civilization. The monumental remains of their architecture, in temples, pyramids and palaces; the progress they had made in arts and manufactures—of threads and cloths, in pottery and metallurgy; the organization of trade, and systematic provision for its wants, in money, weights, and measures; their extraordinary astronomical knowledge; in fine, their whole political, theocratic, military and social economy, marked the interior life of a highly civilized and cultivated people.

The stories related by their conquerors of the bloody rites and cannibalism of the Aztecs, should be taken with some allowance.

It has been stated, that at the consecration of the great Temple, under the predecessor of Montezuma II., *sixty thousand* victims were offered. The historian says, "They ranged the prisoners in two files, each a mile and a half in length, terminating at the Temple, where, as soon as the victims arrived, they were sacrificed." Such a story carries upon its face its own refutation. The Spaniards must have been severely pressed to justify their own atrocities.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO.—GENERAL VIEW.

Sketch of the Conquest. 1520.

THE general history of the conquest is well known. But the halo that surrounded the discovery of the new continent, and its possession by Christian powers, blinded the perceptions and blunted the sensibilities of Christendom to the monstrous and inhuman atrocities of the Conquerors.

Cortez and his followers were men of violence and blood, little better than a horde of pirates and banditti. "They had committed crimes," says Michel Chevalier, "which, by the laws of all nations, could be expiated only by a gallows for the principal, and the galleys for his followers."

Character of the Enterprise.

Poor, ambitious, and unprincipled, they sought in a desperate adventure the distinction and wealth they could otherwise never attain. The enterprise in boldness and bravery challenged the admiration of the age in which they lived:—in the perfidy and cruelty with which it was conducted, it deserves and will receive the execration of all coming ages. Herod of Judea and Cortez of Mexico may well divide the honors between them as monsters of human wickedness and crime.

The Conquest and the Conquerors.

The London Quarterly Review for October, 1860, says: "The early history of South America must for ever stand out preëminent in the records of human wickedness. If the discovery of the New World is the great romance of history, its conquest and settlement form one of its deepest tragedies; for the subjugation of some of the finest regions of the globe by the most advanced and powerful nation of Europe in the

fifteenth century, unfortunately fell to the lot of men upon whom the multiplying villainies of nature swarmed in unwonted profusion; and the countries which long formed the trans-atlantic empire of Spain have, from the day in which she first planted her foot in the New World to the present time, never ceased to present the most painful contrast between the benevolent dispositions of Providence for the happiness of His creatures, and the power of man to counteract them."

Character and objects of Emigrants. Professor John W. Draper, in his work on the "Civil Policy of America," speaks of this history in the following terms: "The discovery of America by Columbus completed the wonderful change in Europe, begun by the crusades. The crusading out-rush to the East, was followed by an out-rush of adventurers to the West. Religious sentiment was superseded by avarice. There was not a people in Europe that did not become involved. As might be expected from her position, Spain was profoundly implicated in all her social ranks. Her men of influence in civil life, in military life, in ecclesiastical life, all emigrated across the ocean. The thirst for gold was too strong for even the pride of family. A paradise of unbounded sensual enjoyment in this life; riches exceeding whatever the wildest dreams of fanatical alchemists had ever suggested—a realized El Dorado—these were temptations which the hot Spanish blood could not resist.

Spain and her Victims. "What Spain did on this Continent can never be too often related—it ought never to be forgotten. She acted with appalling atrocity to those Indians, as though they did not belong to the human race. Their lands and goods were taken from them by Apostolic authority. Their persons were next seized under the

text, that 'the heathen are given as an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth as a possession.' *It was one unspeakable outrage*: one unutterable ruin, without discrimination of age or sex. They who died not under the lash, in a tropical sun, died in the darkness of the mine. From sequestered sandbanks, where the red flamingo fishes in the gray of the morning—from fever-stricken mangrove thickets, and the gloom of impenetrable forests—from hiding-places in the clefts of the rocks, and the solitude of invisible caves,—from the eternal snows of the Andes, where there was no witness but the all-seeing sun, there went up to God a cry of human despair. By millions upon millions, whole races and nations were remorselessly cut off. The Bishop of Chiapa affirms that more than *fifteen millions* were exterminated in his time. From Mexico and Peru, a civilization that might have instructed Europe was crushed out."

Historic Associations.

This remarkable territory has been the theatre of some of the most extraordinary events in history. Here flourished for centuries great Empires of antiquity, antedating in their origin and course all else that is known of the Continent. Their monumental inscriptions and remains are a fair counterpart to Egyptian and Assyrian ruins. They carry us back far into the regions of the unknown past, and indicate a civilization that has passed from the face of the earth: an idolatrous, pagan civilization, whose doom, like that of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Greece, and the antediluvians, only furnish further illustration of the eternal decree, that the kingdom and nation that will not serve Jehovah shall perish.

The great Tragedy of the 16th Century.

Here was enacted one of the darkest, most deadly and demoniacal tragedies in the annals of time. In the name of religion, the deed was done.

A simple, gentle, docile race was all but exterminated. It was as if the mountain ranges of the continent were one great altar, and the teeming millions of its valleys, the victims of the sacrifice.

The attempted repetition of the 19th Century. Here, too, in our own times, under our own eyes, the world has witnessed the performance of a drama in all its acts, to the final "exeunt omnes," which has thrilled the world.

The stage was our continent; Europe, Asia, Africa, and all America spectators. The plot was gigantic. Empires, kingdoms, and thrones were concerned. Kings, Queens, and Nobles, courts, cabinets and councils, armies and navies, were actors in the scenes. "The Great Powers," mighty and magnanimous, joined to crush again the aspirations of an enfeebled race, struggling at the work of self-culture, self-elevation, self-government and improvement.

The European Plot. But more than that, there was a mighty "arrière pensée" behind the scenes. The drama was a desperate game, and the end is not yet. It was the game of "all the Cæsars." It was the "Old World" defying the Institutions of the New. And if they had vanquished what they defied, the results in their vast proportions would have outstripped all the schemes that Popes, Emperors, or conquerors of past ages ever dreamed of. They would have changed the destiny of the new world, and an overwhelming reflex tidal wave of despotism would have rolled back over the nations of the old world.

Its end forever. But the drama is played. The game is a failure. The stage and the spectators remain. The actors are changed, and the great question now is, WHAT SHALL BE THE FUTURE OF MEXICO? The sequel of this volume, it is hoped, may throw some light upon

the subject, and indicate, at least, the line of policy, which the interests of Mexico and of the United States—of the American continents, and the cause of liberty, civil and religious, throughout the world, demand.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

Achievements of the Spanish Monarchy. 1200-1800. DURING a period of a little more than three hundred and fifty years, the civilization and Christianity of Spain "were illustrated to the nations of the old world," by three great acts in the drama of human history that will never be forgotten: the attempted extermination of the Moors; the persecution and expulsion of the Jews; and the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition.

During the same period, the strange spirit of the rulers and institutions of Spain has been exemplified by equally significant acts in the new world: the conquest of her colonies; the overthrow of the empires of the Montezumas and the Incas; the extermination of some fifty millions of the aboriginal inhabitants; and the establishment and administration of her colonial governments.

Spain, for the last six centuries of the Christian era, has borne upon her banner and carried round the world, the sacred "Christ-bearing" symbol of peace on earth and good will to men. How far she has manifested the spirit of the symbol, the facts of history record, and the verdict of mankind will tell.

Alfonso X. The Wise. 1256. In the 13th century, about two hundred years prior to the discovery of America, Alfonso X. was King of Spain. He was one of the most learned

A simple, gentle, docile race was all but exterminated. It was as if the mountain ranges of the continent were one great altar, and the teeming millions of its valleys, the victims of the sacrifice.

The attempted repetition of the 19th Century. Here, too, in our own times, under our own eyes, the world has witnessed the performance of a drama in all its acts, to the final "exeunt omnes," which has thrilled the world.

The stage was our continent; Europe, Asia, Africa, and all America spectators. The plot was gigantic. Empires, kingdoms, and thrones were concerned. Kings, Queens, and Nobles, courts, cabinets and councils, armies and navies, were actors in the scenes. "The Great Powers," mighty and magnanimous, joined to crush again the aspirations of an enfeebled race, struggling at the work of self-culture, self-elevation, self-government and improvement.

The European Plot. But more than that, there was a mighty "arrière pensée" behind the scenes. The drama was a desperate game, and the end is not yet. It was the game of "all the Cæsars." It was the "Old World" defying the Institutions of the New. And if they had vanquished what they defied, the results in their vast proportions would have outstripped all the schemes that Popes, Emperors, or conquerors of past ages ever dreamed of. They would have changed the destiny of the new world, and an overwhelming reflex tidal wave of despotism would have rolled back over the nations of the old world.

Its end forever. But the drama is played. The game is a failure. The stage and the spectators remain. The actors are changed, and the great question now is, WHAT SHALL BE THE FUTURE OF MEXICO? The sequel of this volume, it is hoped, may throw some light upon

the subject, and indicate, at least, the line of policy, which the interests of Mexico and of the United States—of the American continents, and the cause of liberty, civil and religious, throughout the world, demand.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

Achievements of the Spanish Monarchy. 1200-1800. DURING a period of a little more than three hundred and fifty years, the civilization and Christianity of Spain "were illustrated to the nations of the old world," by three great acts in the drama of human history that will never be forgotten: the attempted extermination of the Moors; the persecution and expulsion of the Jews; and the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition.

During the same period, the strange spirit of the rulers and institutions of Spain has been exemplified by equally significant acts in the new world: the conquest of her colonies; the overthrow of the empires of the Montezumas and the Incas; the extermination of some fifty millions of the aboriginal inhabitants; and the establishment and administration of her colonial governments.

Spain, for the last six centuries of the Christian era, has borne upon her banner and carried round the world, the sacred "Christ-bearing" symbol of peace on earth and good will to men. How far she has manifested the spirit of the symbol, the facts of history record, and the verdict of mankind will tell.

Alfonso X. The Wise. 1256. In the 13th century, about two hundred years prior to the discovery of America, Alfonso X. was King of Spain. He was one of the most learned

men of his age. On account of his own attainments in literature, science and art, his writings in poetry and prose, in history, and jurisprudence, and his encouragement of men of learning, he was surnamed "The Wise."

His Code of Laws.

His father, Ferdinand III., in order to correct the evils of the local *fueros*, or privileges which were claimed by various towns and provinces, established a general code of laws for the whole kingdom. His son, Alfonso, carrying out this design, prepared successively two smaller compilations, entitled the "Mirror of all Rights," and the "Royal Charter," which were subsequently codified and promulgated in the celebrated body of laws, known as the "Seven Parts," from the number of portions into which it was divided. The materials for the work were taken from the Justinian Code, and the ancient laws and local institutions of the kingdom. The holders of *fueros* long and obstinately resisted the curtailment of their ancient privileges. But the code was finally established, and became the basis of Spanish Common Law. It is a treatise on legislation, religion and morals. It explains the mutual duties of a king and his people; the provisions of the laws and the reasons for their establishment. By the admission of Florida and Louisiana into the United States, this code has had its influence upon the legal system of our country.

Spanish translation of the Bible. 1270.

But the great act of his life and the crowning glory of his reign, was the translation of the Bible into the Spanish language, which he caused to be made, and which introduced a new era in the history of the language and of the country.

For more than six centuries Spain has had the Bible. She has repudiated its principles, extinguished its light among her own people, and played such a rôle among the

nations, as irresistibly to remind one again of the old Divine decree, that "the nation and kingdom that will not serve" Jehovah "shall perish,—yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted."

Pope Alexander VI. 1492.

In 1492, Pope Alexander VI. ascended the Papal throne. In 1494, he settled the conflicting claims of the kings of Spain, and of Portugal, in respect to the rights of discovery of the Indies, East and West, by a Pontifical decree.

The title-deed to North and South America.

He divided the undiscovered regions of the earth, by an imaginary line of longitude, running through the Atlantic Ocean, from pole to pole, 370 miles west of the Azores. He gave to the Portuguese, unlimited sway over all the countries they might discover to the East of this line; and pledged himself to confirm to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, the right to every isle, continent and sea, where they should plant their flag in the Western Hemisphere. Hence, in every picture or engraving of the landing of Columbus, the first act in the scene is the planting of the flag of the Spanish crown.

Under such a charter as this, Ferdinand and Isabella, and their successors, held all their vast possessions in America as their own peculiar personal property, under their own absolute, irresponsible control, in all matters whatsoever, temporal and spiritual.

Pope Alexander granted to Ferdinand personally all the titles belonging to the church. Julius II., his successor, confirmed these grants, and added all the benefices, dignities and offices, claimed by the "Holy See," as her share of the spoils of the conquered.

The Pope to the King.

The "King of Spain," therefore, was the supreme head of church and state in the colonies; holding by deed direct, from Peter's successor, the Roman

Viceroy, the fee simple of all the territory, together with the temporal dominion of one half of all the undiscovered regions of the globe, and as his personal possession all the "right, title and interest" His Holiness could convey, in the souls, bodies and estate of any discovered nations. The continent, isles and people, body and soul, labor, fortune, conscience and life, were his.

The Spirit of
Discovery and
Exploration.

The expeditions which Spain sent from her shores to plant the standard of her empire in the New World, were imbued with feelings of religious fanaticism, to an intensity it is now hard to conceive. Stimulated, besides, with the thirst for gold, they spread devastation wherever they marched, and inflicted on the simple natives tortures and sufferings, differing little, except in duration, from the pains which the priests, who always accompanied the expeditions, announced as awaiting the wretched victims in another world. These priests also insisted upon the blindest submission in spiritual matters, which, it was not unreasonably expected, would secure civil dependence.

The Conquest
a Crusade.

Michel Chevalier, in describing the religious element in the expedition of Cortez, for the conquest of the New World, called it a "Crusade,"—a holy war against the infidels. To make them confess the faith, was an incomparable merit. In such a cause, it was a little matter that they gave unbridled license to their passions,—that they were licentious, covetous, and bathed themselves in blood. "Every sin would be atoned by so good a work."

The spirit of the old Spanish Crusades against the Moors, was a living fire in the camp of Cortez. The authority of the Church, and the commands of the Emperor, imposed it as a paramount duty to convert the infidels.

Every soldier considered himself an apostle;—bound to convert, as well as to conquer the heathen. They were to invade and possess their country, to occupy their cities, to take away their treasures, to ravish their daughters, to exterminate the resisting, and by all means, to convert and baptize the rest.

Military
Christianiza-
tion.

The military and the missionary work were both inspired by an enlightened zeal for the lands and the gold of the Mexicans, and the saving grace of a holier zeal, for the souls of those they did not destroy.

In pursuance of such a mission, these propagandists of the Christian faith, the moment a city was taken, rushed for the treasures of their idol temples, overthrew the altars and images of paganism, appropriated to themselves the consecrated ornaments and vessels of barbaric gold, erected an image of the Virgin in the place of a heathen idol, and commanded the astonished natives to fall down and worship their God, who was mightier than the gods of Tenochtitlan. The poor, defenceless natives were compelled to bow down and worship the image of the Virgin, and accept the rites of the Church.

The Pagan
and the Chris-
tian Idol.

Missionaries sent over by the king did not stay to acquire the language of the natives, and to explain to them the truths and doctrines of Christianity, but proceeded at once to administer baptism and the sacraments, punishing apostates with the tortures prescribed by the Inquisition. Such was their zeal, that a single priest would baptize his thousands between the rising and the setting sun.

Baptismal
Conversions.

Peter, of Ghent, a Flemish monk, writing from Mexico, 1529, said, that he and "another Missionary had converted *Two Hundred Thousand* Mexicans, their ordinary day's work being from *ten to twenty*

thousand souls." A few years after the conquest, the monks reported the number of converts as amounting to FOUR MILLIONS.

But such conversions are seldom permanent; and it was soon discovered that multitudes had consented to accept the rites of the Church on compulsion, or in order to conciliate their conquerors, but with reservations in favor of their own, ancient gods.

Paganism and Christianity. "The indifference of the Mexicans," says Dr. Young, "in relation to the mysteries of the new religion, was so great, that the priests found it absolutely necessary to permit them to retain a portion of their original superstition, and to connive at the amalgamation of holy rites with pagan ceremonies, confounding the exalted doctrines of Christianity with the absurd and gloomy fancies pertaining to the Aztec mythology."*

Opinion of Humboldt. Humboldt says, "The introduction of the Romish religion had no other effect upon the Mexicans than to substitute new ceremonies and symbols for the rites of a sanguinary worship. Dogma has not succeeded dogma, but only ceremony to ceremony. I have seen them, masked and adorned with tinkling bells, perform savage dances around the altar, while a monk of St. Francis elevated the Host."

The Mission of the Conquerors. All the great enterprises of conquest and crusade in the age of Cortez, were imbued with a kind of religious enthusiasm. Any act of aggression, inhumanity or barbarism, was sanctioned, if done in the name of religion. Under the banner of "the Cross," the zeal of the vilest men could be roused to almost any work of diabolical crime. The cry, "in hoc signo vinces,"

* Compare with the statement respecting the policy of the early Church, A. D. p.—64.

would rally an army of followers to overrun and devastate the fairest provinces, to capture, sack, and burn defenceless cities, to obliterate a nationality by the sword, the torture and the stake. The age of conquest and discovery was one of singular mixture of pretended love and zeal for God, and actual hatred and murder of men. Every description of wrong and outrage, under the garb of religion, was tolerated. Adultery, incest, murder, perjury, and unmitigated despotism in kings, popes, and queens, were winked at, if they were only "Defensores Fidei." The whole family of the priesthood, Pope, Cardinal, Bishop, and Priest, under the most solemn vows of celibacy, were quite exempt from discipline or censure, however numerous were their sons and daughters. It was no mere fling of the wits that the priests were all "Fathers," and the Pope, "The Holy Father."

Pope Alexander VI.

Pope Alexander VI., Roderic Borgia, of Valencia, Spain, had during his cardinalship, four illegitimate children, by his mistress Vanozia. His pontificate has been said to be the blackest page in the history of modern Rome. His public policy and his private life were equally strangers to morality and religion. Historians agree that "no name in history is stigmatized with greater infamy—his court a school of licentiousness and falsehood, where crime was reduced to a system, and oaths and compacts afforded no obligation or security."

Testimony of historians.

"The ecclesiastical records of fifteen centuries," says Dr. Waddington, "contain no name so loathsome, no crimes so foul as his. While the voice of every impartial writer is loud in his execration, he is, in one respect, singularly consigned to infamy, since not one of the zealous annalists of the Roman church has breathed a whisper in his praise."

On one occasion, this prodigy of vice gave a splendid entertainment, within the walls of the Vatican, to no less than fifty public prostitutes, at which entertainment, deeds of darkness were done over which decency must throw a veil. And yet this monster of vice was, according to papal claims, the legitimate successor of the Apostles, and the "Vicar of God," upon earth, and addressed by the title, "His Holiness!"

It is less than three centuries since Alexander VI. conveyed to their Catholic majesties of Spain and Portugal our whole continent from the pole to the cape, not excepting the United States and Mexico. And Catholic powers, it would seem, to this day claim their right of possession under the grant.

The character and manners of the Kings, Popes, and Priests of Europe, were transferred to Mexico. There were, undoubtedly, good men in the pale of the church;—as godly and noble souls as ever contended for truth and righteousness. But the whole spirit and life of the age were characterized by deeds of darkness, shame and death. A cry arose from all Europe for "Reform," everywhere, in the Vatican at Rome, in the Palaces of Kings, in monasteries and convents, and among the professedly celibate ecclesiastics of every order and name. The "Roman Church" is as much indebted to the Great Reformation of the 16th century, for the reform in the lives and manners of its clergy, as Protestantism is, for its purer faith. But the Reform, either in faith or manners, never crossed from Spain to Mexico.

PART II.

MEXICO UNDER THE DOMINION OF SPAIN. 1520-1808.

CHAPTER I.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE VICEROYS.

Colonial
policy.

As soon as the Spaniards had plundered the wealth of the empire of the Aztecs, they turned their attention to the government of the colonies they planted. The King granted almost regal and absolute power to the Governors and Viceroys entrusted with the establishment of the first governments. This power was so abused that he was soon obliged to curtail these privileges.

Repartimi-
entos.

As early as 1495, the germs of the colonial system of oppression and slavery had fairly taken root. The first seeds were the Letters Patent from the "crown," authorizing the officers of the colony to partition the *lands* of the Indians among their conquerors,—called *repartimientos*. The second plant, was the inauguration of the system of *tribute*. Every Indian, old and young, from the highest cacique down to children of fourteen years of age, was compelled to pay tribute. Children over fourteen, near any of the mines, were obliged to pay, every three months, a little bell full of gold; all others, a certain amount of cotton. Next came the requisition of *service* from the Indians, ex-

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acting their *labor* for the tillage of their lands. Then followed a regular system, authorizing the Spaniards to take Indians from any place to any other place, to work on compulsory, unrequited labor, without any restriction.

In 1503, Ferdinand and Isabella authorized one of the Governors of the colonies "to compel the Indians to have dealings with the Spaniards—to work for them on such wages as he should think fit; to work, also, under the guidance of their caciques (a kind of compulsory overseership), and that they should go and hear mass, and be instructed in the faith; and, finally, *that they should do all these things 'as free persons, for so they are!'*"

The first fruits of these beginnings was the adoption, by this same Governor, of the system called by the mild name of "*encomienda*." He distributed the Indians, the *men themselves*, as a gift to the Spaniards, for considerations unknown, to be veritable slaves. The formula ran, "To you, Don Juan * * *, is given an *encomienda* of fifty, or one hundred Indians, with such a cacique, *and you are to teach them the things of our holy Catholic faith.*"

There only remained the perpetuation of this title. At first it was only a life estate; next, it was extended through the son's life; then for two lives; and then unending, irrevocable slavery of parents and their offspring.

Las Casas said the poor Indians had *four* masters: "the crown," their own "caciques," the "*encomiendero*," and his "overseer," "who weighed upon them more than a hundred towers."

Last of all was the system of the "*Mita*." By this, *four out of every hundred* of the Indians were taken and compelled to labor, a certain portion of every week, or month, or year, in the mines for the benefit of their Spanish masters. The amount of cruelty and suffering, as

well as of wealth, for "viceroys" and the "crown," as the fruit of this system, is almost incredible.

To such an extent was the oppression of the Indians carried, that the Pope finally issued a decree declaring that the Indians were "really and truly men, and capable of receiving the Christian faith."

In 1511, Ferdinand established a special board for the management and control of all affairs pertaining to the conquered provinces in the New World, but it was not fully organized until the reign of Charles V. in 1524.

The "COUNCIL OF THE INDIES" was invested with supreme jurisdiction over all the possessions of the Spanish crown in the West. The "COUNCIL" consisted of a President who was the King, four Secretaries, and twenty-two Counsellors, generally chosen from among those who had been viceroys, or high officers abroad. The Council was empowered, in compliance with the nomination of the Crown, to appoint all the colonial officers of every degree, and to make all laws and regulations for the government of the colonies.

This was a grand political, legislative, and financial machine. The power of the "COUNCIL" was absolute in all matters civil, religious, military, legislative, judicial, and executive, subject only to the nominal approval of the Crown. Its decisions, however, were invariably approved, right or wrong. The whole scheme and policy of law and administration were devised, not to carry out the principles of national and human rights, but to derive the utmost profit to the Spaniards from the lands, the mines, and the labors of the Indians. The viceroys exercised unlimited power over the lives, property and liberty of the people. They were generally selected from families of high rank and great influence, and wielded

The Council
of the Indies.

Power and
policy of the
Council.

the delegated and arbitrary authority with a pretension and pomp scarcely equalled by their sovereign. They had their palaces, retinue, and guards of honor, and sought by the ostentatious display of mimic royalty in the provinces, to awe and intimidate the subjugated natives. The will of a Viceroy was Mexican law. It was absolute, individual control over all things temporal and spiritual.

Administration of justice. The administration of justice was intrusted to two "COURTS OF ROYAL AUDIENCE," one at the Capital, and the other for the Northern Provinces. The judges and officers of these Courts were appointed by "the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES," or, with their sanction, by the Viceroy. They were required to be native-born Spaniards, and were forbidden by law, on the genuine principle of the code of the Jesuits, to hold lands, to marry in the colonies, or to form any attachments in the land they were sent to govern. The justice they administered was such as conquerors give to captives, and masters give to slaves. Throughout the colonies, every officer, military, revenue, or municipal, was a European. Native Mexicans were prohibited from holding any office of trust, profit, or honor. All the subordinate offices were sold at Madrid, and were a source of large revenue to the Crown.

Social restrictions. All intercourse with foreigners was prohibited by the most rigid laws. Passengers and crews of ships were placed under the surveillance of a military guard. They were not allowed to carry arms, and became utterly incapable of self-defence. The very laws even by which they were governed, were unknown to any but the Europeans who presided in the Courts, and who strained and perverted them with little regard to the people for whom they had no sympathy, and with supreme regard to

the exactions for themselves of a bountiful revenue of gold and silver.

The very worst features of the feudal system of Europe were transplanted here, in their most despotic and revolting forms. They were intensified and aggravated by the vast disparity between the conditions and relations of the Spanish magistrate, and a helpless, defenceless Indian.

The system of "Fueros." The whole administration of justice was utterly corrupt, venal, and oppressive. There was no equality before these tribunals. The system of *fueros*, or privileges, made endless discriminations in favor of the Spaniard and against the native. There were privileges of corporations, of the professions, of the clergy, regular and secular, monks, canons, inquisitions, colleges, universities; privileges of the military, of the marine, of those in the revenue service, and of great variety, all working to screen and benefit the European, and oppress the Indian. It was an inextricable labyrinth of corruption, bribery, intrigue, delay, denial of justice, and outrage.

General Colonial administration. Under such a system for the enactment of laws, and for their administration, justice had no place or name in Mexico. Of a long succession of *one hundred and seventy Viceroys* who governed the colonies of Spain, *four only* were Americans; and of *six hundred and ten Captains-General* and Governors, *all but fourteen* were natives of old Spain. The civil, criminal, and fiscal administration, indeed the whole political system, was a gigantic monopoly in the hands of foreigners. The natives had no voice, direct or indirect, in legislation, or any function or exercise of government. Law and execution came from Spain. Freedom was crushed with relentless severity. Any attempt to win it was repressed with unheard-

of cruelties. Taxes, duties, tithes, were ubiquitous burdens. Courts of law were mere farces. Prisoners and prisons were only the sport of unscrupulous and irresponsible power.

Commercial
Restrictions.

The "Council of the Indies" interdicted all commercial intercourse between the colonies and the rest of the world, and with each other. All imports and exports were restricted to Spanish vessels. All supplies to come from Spain, and the colonies forbidden to raise or produce any article the mother country could supply. They were forbidden to trade with foreigners or with neighboring states, under any pretext whatever. The penalty was death. One of the grievances of Hidalgo, the first to raise the banner of independence in Mexico, was the destruction of his vineyard and his silkworms by command of the government, under the most unjust and oppressive law, that the natives must produce nothing that could be brought from Spain.

The revenue
system.

The internal administration of this system was as foul as its conception was infamous. An illustration of the systematic plunder of the natives is found in the grand scheme of extortionate taxation. There was

THE ROYAL REVENUE.

The King had,

- I. One fifth of all the gold and silver, and his monopolies, tobacco, salt, and gunpowder.
- II. The colonial offices, civil and ecclesiastical, were openly sold on his account.
- III. His "Stamp act" and "Stamped" paper were as odious and productive as those of George III.
- IV. Every Indian was required to pay a poll-tax.
- V. To crown the infamy, he exacted an extensive rev-

enue from the religious rites and superstitions of the people. The necessities and luxuries of life, the sacraments and offices of religion, and the fears and hopes of immortality, were made to yield a royal income to the King of Spain.

"THE REVENUE 'BULLS.'"

As a specimen of these, there was

1. "*Bulls de cruzada.*" The possessor of this Bull was absolved from all crimes, except heresy, and could not be suspected even of this deadly sin. He was exempt from many of the rigorous fasts of the Church. Two Bulls at the same price, had double the virtue of one.

2. "*Bulls de defuntos*"—the Bull for the dead—was a passport for a sinner's soul from purgatory. The fears and sympathies of the poor and ignorant classes were wrought upon to induce them to buy this ticket of release for themselves, or their friends, from the pains of purgatory.

3. "Bulls for eating milk and eggs during Lent."

4. "Bulls of composition." This "released persons who had stolen goods from the obligation to restore them to the owner, provided the thief had not been moved to commit his crime in consequence of the belief that he might escape from its sin by consequently purchasing the immaculate 'Bull.'" It had power "to correct the moral offence of false weights and measures, tricks and frauds in trade, the obliquities of principle and conduct, by which swindlers rob honest people of their property; and, finally, whilst it converted stolen articles into the lawful property of the thief, it also assured to purchasers the absolute ownership of whatever they obtained by modes that ought to have brought them to the gallows. The price of these 'Bulls' depended on the amount of goods stolen, but only

fifty of them could be taken by the same person in a year."

Such are some of the features of the enlightened government of the Christian King and "Church" of Spain.

But this is not all. There were

THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVENUES.

The "HOLY CHURCH" held all its prerogatives and appointments directly from the King. Its ultimate, actual influence and power emanated from the sovereign. The erection of cathedrals, parish churches, monasteries, hospitals, native chapels, or other religious edifices, without the express license of the monarch, was strictly prohibited.

All ecclesiastical revenues went to him. The power and resources of patronage were incalculable. The religious jurisdiction of church interests and tribunals extended to monasteries, priests, donations, legacies for sacred purposes, tithes, marriages, and all *spiritual* concerns.

CLERICAL FUEROS.

The *fueros* of the clergy, and their varied privileges and prerogatives, made Mexico the very *el-dorado* of ecclesiastics. As early as 1501, the system of tithes was established and regulated by law.

1. Every article of primary necessity was subject to tithes.
2. All the artificial and ornamental productions were also titheable.
3. Every object of luxury and comfort was subject to the same tax.

Clerical financiers.

The clergy thus became the royal collecting agents of this *spiritual* revenue. The aggrandizement of the clerical body, and the accumulation of

their wealth was almost incredible. Churches and convents, estates and treasure, diamonds, gold, and silver, swelled the accumulations to an aggregate of not less than one hundred millions of dollars. The monasteries of the Dominicans and Carmelites acquired immense riches in real estate, both in town and country. The religious establishments of the monks and nuns in the city of Mexico, were said to be the owners of *three-fourths* of the private houses in the capital, and proportionably, of property in the different states of the Republic.

THE ALCABALA.

There was an impost called the "*alcabala*," upon all purchases and sales. "Every species of merchandise, whenever it passed from one owner to another, was subject to a new tax. Merchants, shop-keepers, and small dealers were obliged to report the amount of their purchases and sales, under oath." The largest transactions and the smallest, from the transfer of an estate to the purchases from the green-grocer, were subject to this tribute.

In addition to the *alcabala*, duties were exacted for the privilege of transit through the country, by which, it has been said, that European articles paid a tax or a duty thirty times before they reached the consumer.

Is it to be wondered at, that six or eight millions of Mexicans, crushed under such a despotism as this by half a million of foreigners, should at length grow weary of the yoke? No voice in making their laws, no part in executing them, no representation of any kind, the most exorbitant and extortionate taxation, the most unreasonable restrictions upon social intercourse, a tyrannical interdiction of trade, the utter suppression of important domestic productions and manufactures, the compulsory

purchase of Spanish goods, tithes of everything, with the most unjust exemption of the whole governing class,—the Church party and a Spanish aristocracy—from burdens imposed upon the people, and from all accountability to the laws enacted for their victims, together with the long list of Fueros of the clerical, military, and privileged classes, make a fair counterpart to the catalogue of wrongs of Americans recited in our own Declaration of Independence!

CHAPTER II.

THE POLITICAL RELATIONS OF SPAIN AND MEXICO.

French Intervention in Spain. IN 1808, Napoleon I. announced "that the House of Bourbon had ceased to reign in Spain," placed his brother Joseph on the throne, and assembled a junta of 150 delegates, to form a new constitution, which was adopted and sworn to by the King and the Delegates July 6th.

Alliance of England and Spain. England took sides with the "old regime," recognized Ferdinand VII. as King, and supported the "Spanish people" in resisting the Napoleonic dynasty. A central junta at Seville guided the Spanish forces. The English armies were under the command of Sir John Moore and Wellington. The French forces were under the inspiration of Napoleon and Marshal Soult. The Peninsular War of the Spanish nation, under the "Old Bourbon Dynasty," with England as an ally, against the designs of France, raged with varying fortunes to the combatants until 1812.

The Constitution of 1812. The Spanish Cortes, in the progress of this contest, in which the elements of the old political and ecclesiastical despotism, French intervention,

and liberal, republican principles were strangely blended, had adopted a new constitution, embodying fundamental reforms, known as the Constitution of 1812.

The reactionary movement. Ferdinand, on his restoration to the throne by Napoleon, pursuant to the treaty of 1813, annulled all the proceedings of the Cortes; abrogated the Constitution; re-established the old despotism, with all its abuses; revived the Inquisition, and persecuted with relentless rigor all who had sought to secure constitutional freedom. All the members of the Cortes who had participated in framing the Constitution, or who had supported it, were arrested, tried by court martial, and sentenced. Not a few were executed. Hundreds of the most illustrious were imprisoned in dungeons at home, or in Africa. The most fortunate were exiled.

Tyranny of the king. Six long years Spain was the scene of a bloody tragedy; until the perfidious cruelty of the revengeful tyrant roused such universal reprobation, that the army gave the signal of insurrection.

Revolt of the army. In January 1820, the whole national forces revolted against the despotism, proclaimed anew the Constitution of 1812, compelled Ferdinand on the 9th of March to convoke the Cortes, and swear himself to support the Constitution he had seven years before annulled. A new ministry was formed, the press declared free, the Inquisition abolished, and within a few weeks a new order of things was acknowledged throughout Spain.*

Duplicity of the king. On the 9th of July, at the re-opening of the Cortes, Ferdinand renewed his oath to the Con-

* Honors, gratuities, and pensions were showered upon the generals and officers of the army, who had so successfully initiated and achieved the revolution in favor of liberal principles and Constitutional freedom.

purchase of Spanish goods, tithes of everything, with the most unjust exemption of the whole governing class,—the Church party and a Spanish aristocracy—from burdens imposed upon the people, and from all accountability to the laws enacted for their victims, together with the long list of Fueros of the clerical, military, and privileged classes, make a fair counterpart to the catalogue of wrongs of Americans recited in our own Declaration of Independence!

CHAPTER II.

THE POLITICAL RELATIONS OF SPAIN AND MEXICO.

French Intervention in Spain. IN 1808, Napoleon I. announced "that the House of Bourbon had ceased to reign in Spain," placed his brother Joseph on the throne, and assembled a junta of 150 delegates, to form a new constitution, which was adopted and sworn to by the King and the Delegates July 6th.

Alliance of England and Spain. England took sides with the "old regime," recognized Ferdinand VII. as King, and supported the "Spanish people" in resisting the Napoleonic dynasty. A central junta at Seville guided the Spanish forces. The English armies were under the command of Sir John Moore and Wellington. The French forces were under the inspiration of Napoleon and Marshal Sout. The Peninsular War of the Spanish nation, under the "Old Bourbon Dynasty," with England as an ally, against the designs of France, raged with varying fortunes to the combatants until 1812.

The Constitution of 1812. The Spanish Cortes, in the progress of this contest, in which the elements of the old political and ecclesiastical despotism, French intervention,

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stitution, and ostensibly acted in harmony with the Patriots.

But it was soon discovered, that he was secretly intriguing with the enemies of the administration, and encouraging their reactionary plots. The Constitution-
alists, or liberals, were struggling to establish the government on the broad principles of human rights. The ultra-Royalists were plotting for monarchical and absolute power.

The king, the royalists, and "the church party." The duplicity and perfidy of the King, the violation of his oath, and the treachery of his adherents, resulted in conflicts between the opposite parties, and finally in bloody riots and civil war, in the Capital and throughout the country. The liberal party formed a large majority of the nation. The Royalists, unable to compete with the overwhelming numbers in favor of Constitutional government on liberal principles, resorted to the old support of despotism—the ecclesiastical power of "The Church."

The church militant. They organized a junta styled "the Apostolic," and raised bands of insurgents, under the name and banner of "The Army of the Faith." They demanded the restoration of the absolute power of the King, of the Convents, and of feudal institutions. A noted guerilla leader, Merino, a "Spanish Priest," at the head of bands of monks and friars, inaugurated a regular ferocious guerilla war,—a perfect type of the policy adopted by the "Church party" in Mexico ever since.

The defeat of despotism. The reactionary movement was a failure. The Royalists and the "CHURCH PARTY" were completely defeated. "The Army of the Faith" was totally destroyed. Its officers and soldiers, with the ultra-royalist leaders, fled to France. It was a revolution in the interest of the liberal party.

Intervention of the holy alliance.

But here, the "HOLY ALLIANCE" intervened. The Congress of Verona ordered an army to march into Spain, and restore Ferdinand to his throne. The Constitution-
alists were unable to withstand the combined forces of the allied powers. The Cortes were constrained to declare King Ferdinand re-established. On the 30th of September, 1823, the restored monarch issued a proclamation of general amnesty, and guaranteed the engagements entered into by the Constitutional Government.

Measures of the restored king.

The next day he revoked the proclamation, and all his acts since March 7, 1820. On the 13th of November, 1823, he made his royal entrance into the city of Madrid, with all the pomp and circumstance of a resumption of the crown, and with the exulting applause of the Royalists and the "Church Party"

Vengeance.

The work of vengeance inaugurated in 1813, was renewed with fearful intensity. Inquisitorial terrors reigned again, for years, throughout Spain. The noblest victims fell under the sword of the executioner. Ferdinand had no mercy for Constitution-
alists. Liberals and Republicans had none for "The Church."

Effect of the revolution in the colonies.

The Revolution in 1808, the abdication of Charles IV. in favor of his son, FERDINAND VII., and the imposition of Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of Spain by Napoleon I., did not subvert the loyalty of the people of Mexico. The Colonists, amid all the excitement of the times, cherished the old traditional sentiments of allegiance to their legitimate sovereign. Conflicting claims of allegiance, perpetual conflicts of jurisdiction, and contradictory orders from Spain, added perplexity to the agitation in Mexico. Ferdinand VII., Joseph, and the Council of the Indies, had each their partisans,

and were each struggling to retain or secure the ascendancy.

Proposed compromise. An attempt was made to compromise these difficulties by a kind of provisional colonial government in the hands of a junta, composed of the Viceroy, the Archbishop of Mexico, officers of the army, the nobility, the members of the municipal government, and the principal citizens of the capital.

Antipathy of Races. The plan proposed was in favor of the rights of Mexicans, by placing the *Creoles of America* on a footing of equality with *the natives of Spain*. But the old hereditary hatred of the foreign, for the native population, entirely defeated the plan.

Conquest, subjugation, and outrage. The conquest of Mexico was begun in the name of philanthropy and religion. The bloody and merciless work of subjugation was continued by king, court, nobles, and conquerors, as a grand filibustering scheme of robbery and plunder. The natives were held as the merest vassals, serfs, slaves, having no rights that Spaniards were bound to respect. The will of the monarch, and the sword and chains of his minions, made promiscuous havoc alike of the rights, the property and the lives of the helpless Indians. An inextinguishable hatred was the result.

Colonial Government. During these convulsions and changes of sovereigns in Spain, the colonies were compelled to frame some kind of temporary government for themselves. Little instructed in the science of government, and with no knowledge or experience of Republican Institutions, they were thrown upon their own resources. They sought to construct some system to secure those rights the consciousness of which is wrought in the very constitution of the human soul. They were not prepared to renounce allegiance to their legitimate king. The feeling of loyalty

and sympathy for their sovereign which education almost makes an instinct, and habit makes a law, awakened in his faithful colonial subjects a kind of enthusiasm for the exiled Ferdinand, and a mortal hate for the conqueror of Spain and the successor he had imposed upon the throne, and whom they regarded as the merest parvenu and usurper.

Loyalty. It is said there was such a loyal unanimity among all classes, that in a few months seven millions of dollars were contributed to aid the loyalists in Spain, who were fighting for their king, nationality and religion.

Rise of Mexican ideas of Independence. But the course of events hurried the Mexicans to a consideration of their own rights. The king who occupied the throne was not a Spaniard, but a Frenchman. The tie between the ancient crown and the colony was sundered. The memory of ages of renown, and of the ancestral glory of old Spain, fired the hearts of the native Spaniards. The memory of ages of oppression fired the souls of the descendants of the Aztecs. Step by step the idea of resistance to their own, and their ancestors' oppressors gained progress and strength.

Aspirations after Freedom. At length, in 1810, a secret plot was formed to overthrow the Spanish ascendancy in the colony, and to place the prerogatives and power of their absent king in the hands of native Mexicans. The scheme, however, was discovered and defeated.

The first cry for Liberty. Here begins the story of Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla—a name that will be honored as long as Mexico has a name among the nations of the earth. He was a native Indian, curate of the village of Dolores, in the province of Guanajuato,—the patriot priest who first raised the standard of "native rights," and of "the independence of Mexico."

The uprising
of the Aztecs.

At the cry of this country curé, in 1810, the native Indians flew to arms, enrolled themselves as soldiers, and took their first, hard, self-taught lessons in military life. Under all the disabilities so long imposed upon their race, it was a stern and bitter discipline. But stirred and sustained by the love of liberty and right, they manifested a courage and intrepidity, an indomitable spirit, worthy of any of the lovers and martyrs of liberty, of any age or land.

The Aztec
Volunteers.

It is true, they were as irregular, as undrilled, and as destitute of accoutrements, ammunition and arms, as the extemporized troops that rushed to Lexington and Bunker Hill. But they were as true and self-sacrificing. They went to sow their fields and save their harvests, and returned to the drill and the discipline of the camp. Again they scattered to protect and provide for their families, and again returned under the flag. In respect to all the external appointments that give prestige and power to military organization, they were utterly destitute. There was no military chest, no quarter-master's department, no commissary stores, nor ordnance supplies. In respect to high-souled, liberty-loving patriotism, according to the light they had, where have been their superiors? They were simple, unsophisticated, undisciplined volunteers. They equipped themselves, they supported themselves. The very women preceded the columns on the march, fulfilling the triple functions of purveyors, cooks and nurses.

Such is the connection between the political elements and the revolutionary movements in Spain and in Mexico. The sequel will show them pervading all the great acts, in the successive changes, revolutions and constitutions, down through 1821, 1859, to the present day.

CHAPTER III.

IDENTITY OF THE POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN AND MEXICAN
REPUBLICANS.

The origin of
the great American
ideas.

THE fundamental principles involved in the struggles of the Mexicans for the independence and liberties of their country, are the identical principles for which the fathers of our Republic contended;—principles proclaimed to the world in our Declaration of the “inalienable rights of man,” in 1776; re-affirmed at Paris by the Republicans of France in 1789; repeated by the Patriots of Spain at Madrid, in 1810; re-echoed back to Europe by the proclamation of the Republicans of Mexico in 1821.

The great American ideas of the rights of man, and of human government, have thus described in their circuit, as it respects the dominant powers and nations of both hemispheres, a great circle of the political world.

The germs
from English
soil.

They are substantially the same as those that marked the struggles which preceded and followed the British Constitution; convulsed, for generations, the whole fabric of society in wars and revolutions for the overthrow of monarchical and feudal assumptions, and the establishment of the rights of “the people.”

The outgrowths
American.

They are the same principles which the present generation of the United States have received from our fathers, at the expense of priceless sacrifices of treasure, blood, and life. They are the corner-stone and the top-stone of the temple of American liberties,—the glory of our heritage in that system for the organization of society, and the establishment of civil, social, and religious institutions, which has developed in less than a cen-

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tury a *commonwealth* of six and thirty states, and of six and thirty millions of people, distinguished for a degree of intelligence, general education, wealth, enterprise, prosperity, morality, religion and happiness, such as no other nation has ever attained.

The family of Kings and the family of Man.

They are the same principles that marked the struggling way of human rights and liberties in continental Europe, for more than FIVE HUNDRED YEARS. The old contest between the "FAMILY OF KINGS" and the "family of man" is transferred to Mexico. Papal, hierarchical, and ecclesiastical domination, losing its hold upon the thrones, the powers, and the nations of Europe, made a dying struggle to lay in Mexico the foundations of another Roman supremacy, and to repeat in the new world the rôle of the Papacy, of Jesuitism, and of the Inquisition in the old.

Despotism in Mexico.

The maligned Mexican civil war has been simply the uprising of an oppressed and persecuted "people," and their resistance to a despotism, monarchical and ecclesiastical, unparalleled in the history of human wrongs and atrocities.

The intolerable Yoke.

A civil war! It was the protest and the cry of an oppressed race, and a betrayed nation, struggling for life. It was the last despairing effort of a people, crushed, exhausted, enfeebled, depressed by three centuries of unutterable woes. Three of the mightiest powers of Christendom pounced down upon the feeble State, to extinguish its nationality and divide the spoils. In vain their victims asserted the "inalienable rights of man." In vain they invoked the laws of nations against perfidy and extortion. In vain they claimed the liberties and rights which every nation, every race, and every human being have received from their Creator.

European example.

And neither England, France, nor Spain, nor old Rome itself, Pagan or Papal, can show a fairer record than the wronged and defenceless Mexicans present, of righteous claims, of intrepid patriotism, of self-sacrifice and suffering in the cause of their country, their government, or of humanity.

Sympathy misplaced.

England, France, and Spain have had each a memorable history. It would almost seem that their statesmen and journalists of the present day had never learned, or had forgotten it. Their origin, their wars, and revolutions, their struggles with King-craft and Priestcraft, with every form of usurpation and tyranny, have only antedated those of Mexico by a few centuries. And every element of opposition and calumny heaped upon Mexico, is found, "mutatis mutandis," in their own historians, applied to themselves.

THE CONQUEST AND EARLY HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Ancestors of Englishmen.

"Nothing," says Macauley, "in the early existence of Great Britain, indicated the greatness which she was destined to attain. Her inhabitants, when first they became known to the Tyrian mariners, were little superior to the natives of the Sandwich Islands. She was subjugated by the Roman arms. She was the last of the provinces of the Cæsars that was conquered, and the first that was flung away. No magnificent remains of Latian porches and aqueducts are to be found in Britain. * * In Britain, the conquered race became as barbarous as the conquerors." * * * "From communion" (with the ancient civilization) "Britain was cut off. Her shores were, to the polished race which dwelt by the Bosphorus, objects of a mysterious horror, such as that with which the Ionians,

of the age of Homer, had regarded the straits of Scylla, and the city of the Laestrygonian cannibals." "There was one province of our Island, in which, as Procopius had been told, the ground was covered with serpents, and the air was such that no man could inhale it and live."

In one of Cicero's letters, alluding to the origin of the British colony, the old Roman said, "As for the inhabitants, they are ignorant, stupid, have no knowledge of music, and are unfit for the meanest situation in the household of our friend Atticus."

Ungenerous accusations. Such are the statements. Whether true or false, it may be as much a question of truth as of taste, whether English statesmen, diplomats, authors, editors, military and naval officers, should indulge in their ceaseless and opprobrious flings at Mexico and the Mexicans. Time was when Britons were described as "painted savages." For four hundred years England was convulsed with a succession of conflicts and wars, with which nothing in the last forty years of the Mexican struggle can compare.

Civil wars of England. There were wars for the "throne," for the "church," for the "state;" contests for Papal or Regal supremacy; contests between kings and queens, parliaments and commons; there were conflicts of races, and all the jealousies and feuds of chieftains and nobles; there were bloody battle-fields, private frays, and secret assassinations; the axe of the executioner, fire and faggot, did their work: there is no alleged barbarity or atrocity in the forty years' Mexican struggle for human rights, that has not its counterpart, in tenfold degree, during the four hundred years of the wars of England for civil and religious liberty.

THE FIRST GREAT ENGLISH REVOLUTION.—1640.

The great Magna Charta.

At the commencement of the thirteenth century, the long contest between the Crown and the Barons was settled. The great "Magna Charta" of "English Liberties" was extorted from King John, notwithstanding the excommunication and anathema of the Pope. "From this," says Macauley, "commences the history of the English nation." "Here was the origin of our freedom, our prosperity, and our glory." "Then it was that the English people was formed, and the national character began to exhibit those peculiarities in politics, feelings, and manners, that it has ever since retained." "Then first appeared that Constitution, which has ever since, through all changes, preserved its identity; that 'Constitution,' of which *all the other free constitutions of the world* are copies." "Then it was that the House of Commons, the archetype of all the representative assemblies which now meet, either in the old or in the new world, held its first sittings;" "that Common Law rose to the dignity of a science," and became "the rival of imperial jurisprudence;" "that the most ancient colleges, at both the great national seats of learning, were founded." "Then appeared the first faint dawn of that noble literature, the most splendid and the most durable of the many glories of England."

Constitutional Monarchy.

Under this great instrument the English monarchy, for a period of four hundred years, made its way through all the collisions and conflicts between the King, lords, and commons, and all the antagonistic elements in church and state.

Popular rights and liberties.

The Constitution, supported by statute law, guarded, to an extent never known before,

the rights and liberties of the people. According to law, without the consent of the representatives of the nation, no royal decree could be enforced, no tax imposed, no military establishment maintained, no arbitrary imprisonment inflicted, nor the legal rights of the humblest subject be violated.

Fruits of false Principles. But gradual encroachments upon the rights and liberties of the people, and the persistent inculcation of false political and religious doctrines, paved the way for another revolution, and a new proclamation of the rights of man.

The "Divine Right" and Human Rights. The Papacy and the "church party" taught that "hereditary monarchy alone, among all the institutions of the kingdom, was *divine* and *inviolable*; that the right of the House of Commons to a share in the legislative power was a right merely *human*; that the right of the King to the obedience of the people was the ancient ordinance of God; that the 'Great Charter' was a statute, that *might be repealed by those who made it*; but that the title of the Princes of the Royal blood to the throne, in the order of succession, was of *celestial origin*, and could never be invalidated."

Liberty and Law. It was the necessity and the province of the new revolution to reaffirm the fundamental principles of liberty and law—the grounds, prerogatives, and limitations of royal authority, and the relative duties and obligations of rulers and people.

THE SECOND GREAT HISTORICAL REVOLUTION, 1688.

Another Revolution in England.

From the beginning of the thirteenth to near the close of the seventeenth century, England was the theatre of as much intestine commotion and war, of as much intense hatred and hostility of races; of as much bitter and rancorous religious hate and persecution; of as much bloodthirsty and blood-shedding strife between races, tribes, clans, families, parties and individuals, kings, queens, nobles, parliaments, prelates and popes, as can be named in the history of any other four hundred years of any other nation in the course of time. If there be any exceptions, they are those of France and Spain.

The Old Conflict continued.

And yet, pervading the whole, there has been always conspicuous *one noble party of patriots and martyrs of liberty*, who have maintained, from age to age, the determined, persistent struggle for the "inalienable" civil and religious rights of man.

Indomitable English Patriots.

It is the distinguishing and immortal monument of England's glory, that the men of her civil wars and revolutions did not succumb to any papal, or regal, or feudal domination, or any foreign intervention whatever!

Freedom the universal birth-right.

A strange apostasy it must be, if any of the sons of English liberties, who can look with indifference, not to say with hostility and contempt, upon the noble struggles of Mexican patriots to obtain, as their birthright too, that which is the crowning glory of the heritage of Englishmen!

THE GREAT AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1776.

The American
Declaration in
1776.

The Declaration of American Independence, July 4th, 1776, "in the name and by the authority of the good people of the Colonies," and the Constitution of the United States of America, 1787, under the formula, "WE the PEOPLE," inaugurated a new era in the history of human governments. These dates mark the beginning of the great transition in the seats of political power. They mark at once the grand epoch, era, and crisis in modern civilization.

Philadelphia has the honor of being the birthplace of those immortal documents, which herald, almost like the Song of Bethlehem, "good will" to the "BROTHERHOOD" of man.

The attitude of
the Signers.

It is scarcely possible, at the present day, to appreciate the moral grandeur of the acts of the Fathers of the Republic. In the face of the mightiest power in Christendom, who held undisputed the Empire of the seas, and whose "morning drum-beat" followed the "circuit of the sun," the little handful of patriots proclaimed before the whole world the independence, the unity, the nationality, and the sovereignty of the nation.

"LIFE, FORTUNE, SACRED HONOR," was the fraternal pledge of united, calm, deliberate, sublime self-sacrifice for the political emancipation of their country, and of mankind.

The issue joined between despotism and freedom is briefly told in the following clauses:

The resolution of John Adams, of Massachusetts, in view of the aggressions of England: "*It is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under said crown should be totally suppressed.*"

The resolution of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia: —"*That these United States are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.*"

The Declaration: "*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.*"

The Preamble: "*We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.*"

The proclamation of these truths and principles in the great original State Papers of the Republic was a very different thing from their repetition to-day.

The Principles
and the Men.

The nation, in its infancy, in its weakness, in its inexperience, rose against the oppressions of a mighty empire of a thousand years. It had nothing to oppose to this vast overshadowing power but the majesty of truth and right.

The act of the "Signers of the Declaration" electrified the world. It was a sublime spectacle. The response of the nation, and the sequel of the "War of our Independence," were events in the annals of time that will survive, in the memory of man, all the pyramids and pillars of antiquity.

Moral sub-
limity.

It was not merely the little handful of colonists rejecting the yoke of the mother country, nor the unequal contest of a feeble, scarcely organized, and dependent people, resisting the power of the empire on which the "sun never sets,"—it was the grounds of the

immortal "Declaration." It was not now the uprising of a great people, but the resurrection of great principles, that startled the world.

Monarchs and
the rights of
Men.

The King of England was the mightiest monarch, and the British empire the strongest military and naval power of the earth. The claims of the "crown" were such as all the monarchies of Europe held as "Divine." King, Court, and Nobles, in all their power and pride, the accumulations of a thousand years of royal ancestry and feudal privileges and traditions, could scarcely brook the paper defiance of colonial rebels. But the issue was joined,—the great initial issue between the rights of monarchs and the rights of man.

American Com-
missioners.
"The French
People."

In 1777-80, three American Commissioners, Franklin, Adams, and Lee, were sent to Paris, to negotiate for assistance, in money and arms, from the French Government. It seemed that the feeble forces of the States, with neither fleet nor military resources, nor supplies, must be crushed, unless they could secure the aid of some friendly foreign power. THE FRENCH PEOPLE manifested a strong sympathy with the American cause.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789.

The Republi-
cans of France.

In 1789, the Republicans of France, in National Assembly, took up the principles of American Republicanism and adopted them as their own. One of the first steps of the Assembly was to issue a Declaration of the "rights of man."

The three great pillars of the French Constitution were here hewn out and erected,—"LIBERTY, FRATERNITY, EQUALITY."

In the Declaration of Rights they affirm :

1. The original equality of all mankind.
2. That the ends of social union are, liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression.
3. That Sovereignty resides in the NATION, and that every power emanates from them.
4. That freedom consists in doing every thing that does not injure another.
5. That law is the expression of the general will.
6. That public burdens should be borne by the members of the State in proportion to their fortunes.
7. That the elective franchise should be extended to all.
8. That the exercise of natural rights has no other limit but the interference with the rights of others.

This Assembly, of 1,119 members, was composed of two hundred and ninety-one deputies of the clergy, two hundred and seventy of the nobles, five hundred and fifty-eight of the "tiers état," or middle class. Among the principal measures adopted were,

1. The King suspended from his functions.
2. The suppression of all titles of nobility.
3. The abolition of all feudal privileges.
4. Freedom of religion and of the press.
5. The property of the clergy declared to belong to the nation, and placed at the disposition of the treasury.
6. The political division of the kingdom.

THE REVOLUTION IN SPAIN, 1812.

Republicans
of Spain.

In 1812, the Republicans of Spain followed the example of those in France and in the United States. The Constitution of the Cortes, and the resolutions and decrees of the junta and clubs of Madrid, were in perfect harmony with the principles and declaration of the assembly at Paris. They declared,

1. The abolition of all exclusive privileges.
2. The investiture in the NATION of all seignorial jurisdiction.
3. The establishment of entire freedom of the press.
4. The abolition of the Inquisition, and of the order of the Jesuits, and of all emblems and monuments which bore reference to them.
5. The prohibition of all monastic vows.
6. The Institution of National Guards, with their officers appointed by the election of the privates.
7. The preservation of all monastic property, to be disposed of for the benefit of the nation.

THE REVOLUTION IN MEXICO, 1812.

Republicans
of Mexico. In 1812, the first Mexican "Congress" met in the city of Chilpancingo. They adopted the ideas and opinions of the Spanish Cortes, and of the French Assembly, and borrowing the very name of our Congress, and imitating our example, declared the "Independence of Mexico."

Among the first acts of the Congress, were the following declarations :

1. That the Mexican nation resumed its sovereignty, and exercised it by its representatives.
2. That Slavery was abolished.
3. That all privileges of birth and color were annulled.
4. That torture should no longer be inflicted.
5. That the rights of property should be protected.
6. That foreign commerce should be permitted, under moderate duties.
7. That the Laws should require patriotism and loyalty; limit alike excesses of opulence and poverty; tend to increase the wages of the poor, and diminish popular ignorance, vice, and crime.
8. That all gambling should be forbidden, and the manufacture even of playing cards prohibited.

9. That all debts to Spaniards should be repudiated, on the principle that their property was forfeited and confiscated.
10. That any assistance to the Spaniards, by writing, word, or deed, should be accounted as high treason, as also a refusal to contribute towards the expenses of the war of independence.

At the same time the following additional declarations were issued, indicating just the progress that had been made in their ideas of religious, as well as of civil liberty.

11. That the Catholic religion ONLY should be recognized and allowed in the State.
12. That the press should be free for all purposes of science and political economy, but not for the discussion of religious matters!

The course of subsequent events educated the people irresistibly up to the broad and thorough principles of universal civil and religious liberty. It was not the stride of a day. The pathway from bondage to freedom has always been a long and toilsome journey of privation, trial, suffering and death through the wilderness. For the Jewish nation, it took forty years; for England, four hundred. France commenced the bloody agony fourscore years ago, and has not yet reached the promised land. Spain,—but we hardly know yet, whether she has crossed the sea. We have had our own fearful baptism, and Mexico, it is to be hoped, is just emerging from hers.

But the great conflict is raging. The whole earth is one vast Egypt. Pharaoh and his hosts are in every land. The cry of the victims of the oppressor has reached unto Heaven. A few pages in a chapter, will disclose the mighty issues which divide the world to-day. The principles promulgated by despotism, are often but the merest

pretexts to disguise the aim. But the proclamations of freedom have no concealment nor hypocrisy.

Contrast the Republican declarations of human rights, with the manifestos of Kings, the Encyclicals and Allocutions of Popes, and mark their distinctive principles as diverse from each other, as light and darkness, as life and death. If the fundamental principles of the Institutions of the United States, are the principles which God has given to mankind, as HEAVEN'S OWN CHARTER of human rights,—then the Republicans of Mexico have been joining the holy cause, and the cry of humanity for civil and religious liberty! Mexico and the United States should stand or fall together, in the assertion before all the world—of the absolute, universal, necessary, indispensable, and eternal equality of the rights of man.

PART III.

THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN THE MEXICAN QUESTION.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEWS.

Object of this
Work.

THE object of this volume is, to present a simple, truthful, impartial statement of facts, and such views, and such only, as the facts themselves suggest and sustain. It will be a difficult task to present the ecclesiastical and religious aspects of the subject without prejudice or partiality. The statements will be confined to undeniable historic facts, and held up to view in the light of the XIX. century, and in their relations to the progress of modern civilization.

The real issue
in Mexico.

There is no personal party or sinister object to be served. The rights of Mexicans, civil and religious are the same, and rest on the same grounds as the rights of all Americans, and of all mankind. The assertion and defence of these rights, on the part of Mexico, at such cost of treasure, blood, and life, have been really a sacrifice for humanity. The Mexican Republican Patriots have made common cause with the friends of freedom all over the world. The offering up of the life-blood of this young, struggling Republic, in the face of the mighty confederacy of its foes, has been a grand and heroic exhibition of self-sacrifice and suffering for the fundamental principles of modern civilization.

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Lest the plain narrative of incontestible facts, and the views and objects of this volume, should be misunderstood and misrepresented, it is here repeated; that there is no animosity or unfriendliness whatever towards any professedly Christian organization, as such. The only enmity, is enmity to error; the only opposition, opposition to wrong.

Limitations of responsibility. No living men, or existing institutions among men, can be held responsible for the errors and abuses of past ages. None are accountable for wrongs they did nothing to introduce, have done nothing to perpetuate, and now withhold nothing in their power to remove. There is a distinction however, wide as the heavens, between the SYSTEM of eternal truths and principles of the Christian religion revealed from God, and the accretions of error during eighteen hundred years, and the attendant corruptions, perversions, and inventions of men.

The Christian Religion. The Christian religion was founded on the eternal principles of truth and justice,—the everlasting foundations of love to God, and love to man. It places every human being on a footing of equality before his Maker and the Divine law, and before his fellow-men and human law. But the renunciation and abandonment of these principles, among all modern governments, have been the source and potent cause of the oppressions, revolutions, and civil wars of Christendom.

Errors and abuses. It will be a matter of profound regret if anything in this volume shall be understood as reflecting upon any of the truths or institutions of the HOLY CATHOLIC CHRISTIAN RELIGION. It is necessary, however,

I. To exhibit the errors and abuses which in the progress of ages have crept into a system, Divine in its origin, but, corrupted, encumbered, and desecrated by the super-

stitutions of sinful and erring men, has lost its virgin purity, and is shorn of its life-giving power.

Christianity utterly perverted. II. To show to what an abyss of degeneracy and degradation the system claiming to be, or to represent, the holy and spiritual Christian religion had reached, in Mexico; and that, whatever was the cause, wherever lay the responsibility, upon monarch, prelate, or priest, the whole ecclesiastical fabric had utterly failed of its mission. It neither instructed nor comforted nor guided the people in the "way of life." On the contrary, instead of being a blessing, it was an unmitigated curse. Reformation or destruction had become an absolute and inevitable necessity.

The Roman Catholic Church in the United States. It is a very remarkable and instructive fact, that in no country in the world does the *Roman Catholic* branch of the church occupy so commanding and respected a position as in the United States.

Nowhere else are its clergy, regular and secular, so well educated, so much esteemed for their culture, their refinement, their generally unexceptionable lives, and exemplary usefulness.

Character and influence of the Clergy. IN NO ROMAN CATHOLIC COUNTRY are its churches, institutions, and schools so well appointed, and so well conducted. Nowhere are the fundamental and essential truths of Christianity so well understood, and so intelligently embraced: namely, "SALVATION ALONE THROUGH THE BLOOD OF CHRIST; *repentance, faith, and a new and a Christian life.*" In vain you look to any other land for a ROMAN CATHOLIC population so well to do, so generally intelligent and enlightened, so desirous of improvement, so useful and so happy. Neither France, Spain, Austria, Italy, nor Rome itself, can in any respect

begin to compare with the United States in these features of the American branch of the Roman Catholic church.

Source of its prosperity.

The source and support of all these incalculable blessings and advantages are found in the civil and political institutions of the United States. They are the legitimate fruits of the Constitution and the Government. The great American ideas, absolute separation of Church and State, independent church organizations, freedom of opinion, freedom of conscience, freedom of worship, of speech, of education, and of the press, are the foundations of all this prosperity.

We turn to the

"CHURCH" IN MEXICO.

Roman Catholic Church in Mexico.

The testimony of all, natives and foreigners, old residents and travellers, intelligent individuals of the priesthood and of the laity, of monarchists, conservatives and radical republicans, of Spaniards, Frenchmen, Englishmen and Americans, of Foreign Ministers and Consuls, of military and naval commanders, of mercantile and scientific men, engineers, and men in all the walks of professional and private life—all concur in representing the condition of the "Church" as deplorable beyond description.

It is not necessary to go largely into details in regard to the condition, character, and influence of the metropolitan and interior churches; of the clergy, regular and secular, their social life, standard of morality, general intelligence, education, principles, and influence. They are well known.

The fruits of its mission.

The question forces itself upon the statesmen and philanthropists of Europe and America, have the churches, the religious institutions and the ecclesiastics

of Mexico been fulfilling the mission of the Gospel of God? They have held by estimate one fourth of the real estate of the country. They have controlled all the offices of honor and power in the land; administered, directly and indirectly, all the functions of civil government; directed the whole policy of the nation, civil, political, military and ecclesiastical; regulated the entire system of education and religious instruction, the observance of all sacred rites and duties, the Sacraments, marriage, the Sabbath, and all that pertains to human life from the cradle to the grave. Has this "Church" been doing its duty? For three centuries it has had the position, the power, and the wealth for its work.

It had no opposition, no formidable system of error or idolatry to encounter; never, in the whole history of Christian missions, have the heralds of the "Cross" had such a field and such an opportunity. No overshadowing superstition, like that of "Great Diana of the Ephesians," no Greek or Roman mythology, or philosophy that held whole nations spell-bound, as in chains of moral death; but all Mexico was open, and a docile, gentle race were ready to receive the truths and embrace the blessings of the pure religion of Jesus. Never has there been such a failure. Of all the melancholy contrasts which can be suggested in the history of the "Church," there is nothing to compare with that of the first three centuries after the apostleship of Peter and Paul, and the first three centuries of the propagation of the gospel in Mexico.

True policy of "The Church" in Mexico.

Can the "Church" party in Mexico, under their responsibility to God, do a more righteous or better thing for themselves and their flocks, and their country, than to introduce and adopt the principles and the system of religious policy in the United States? and

do all they can to extend through Central and South America those great ideas of civil and religious freedom which have made the Churches of Christ in the United States, of every name and denomination, with all their faults, still not second in purity, in order, in peace, prosperity, piety, and usefulness, to any religious organizations that ever existed in the world?

The same principles in Mexico will in time make her clergy and her population intelligent and moral, and her civil and religious institutions prosperous and Christian, like our own.

Spirit of the Volume. This volume, therefore, breathes no spirit of hostility or opposition to the Catholic Church. It opposes only errors, abuses, oppression, and wrong in any body politic, anywhere. It pleads for human rights—the rights of eight millions of native Mexicans, abused, oppressed, down-trodden, crushed under the inexorable iron heel of three centuries.

To this end, facts and statements are collected and condensed, which it is hoped will commend themselves as worthy of consideration by statesmen and philanthropists; promote international sympathy and kindness, and secure for an injured race and people the protection which the strong owe to the weak; and save from further calumny and outrage a gentle and docile race, whose faults and vices, whatever they may be, should be visited more upon their oppressors than upon themselves.

The ROMAN CATHOLIC BRANCH of "The Church" is the most extensive and powerful organization that ever existed in this world. It numbers some two hundred millions, of almost every language and land. There is only one thing on this earth that is stronger—the MAJESTY of ETERNAL TRUTH AND JUSTICE! And JUAREZ and his compatriots

planted upon this, though reviled, persecuted, and hunted by the civilized, as if *they were the savages*, have defied the combined power of four of the mightiest monarchies of earth, and with the simple stones of "truth" and "justice" have smitten this mighty, proud Goliath system of the ages.

CHAPTER II.

ROME AND MEXICO; OR THE ORIGIN OF THE PRINCIPLES AND ASSUMPTIONS OF "THE CHURCH PARTY."

It is impossible to understand the religious element in the "Mexican Question," without reverting to certain great historic events, which show how the two vast interests, the political and the ecclesiastical, have entered into the contest, from the beginning. These two elements of power and despotism have acted and re-acted upon each other, and influenced every thing else, in all the phases and stages of the struggle.

"It is," as Macauley says in another case, "one act in the great eventful drama, extending through ages, which must be very imperfectly understood, unless the plot of the preceding acts be well known."

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

Principles of Modern Civilization.

The institutions, political, civil, and religious, and the general type of civilization in modern Europe and America, and especially in France, Great Britain, and the United States, are directly traceable to the Roman Empire. The destruction of that power and polity resulted in the distribution far and wide, among the kingdoms and governments that succeeded, of certain

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principles and forms of administration, which have shaped and moulded the constitutions and codes of Christendom from that day to this.

The Roman Empire.
A. D. 476.

In A. D. 476, the Western Roman Empire came to an end. The hordes of barbarians,—Goths and Vandals, that for half a century had poured down from the north, and successively, under Alaric, Attila, Genseric, and Odoacer, had overrun and ravaged Italy—at length subdued the last vestige of resistance, deposed and banished the last of the Emperors, and subverted and swept away the whole *political power* and prowess of the “mistress of the world,” and of the mighty ancient Empire of a thousand years. The throne, the crown, the sceptre, passed to pagan hands. The mitre alone remained, to sway the consciences and superstitious fears of Roman, Vandal, and Goth.

The Ancient Church Party.

The Bishop of Rome, the clergy, and all orders and interests of the “*Church Party*,” made every possible effort to save their “*ecclesiastical system*,” on which their position, wealth, and power depended. They compromised with their barbarian, heathen conquerors—the Pagans consenting to take the Christian name, and Bishops and Priests agreeing to adopt, in many respects, the pagan ritual, thus confounding the sublime and glorious truths of Christianity with the errors and superstitions of pagan mythology, and degrading and desecrating the pure, simple, spiritual worship of the church of Christ with the pompous rites and ceremonies of heathen idolatry.

Ascendency of the Priesthood.

Availing themselves of the extraordinary ascendancy which priestly power so easily gains over the ignorant and superstitious, the bishops and clergy not only secured the *perpetuation of their ecclesiastical*

functions and power, but also *great political immunities and concessions*,—the germs of conflicts, revolutions, and wars, in all subsequent ages, down to the last struggle in Mexico.

Invasion of the Barbarians.

Robertson says, “When the barbarians who overran the Roman Empire first embraced the Christian faith, they found the clergy in possession of considerable power, and they naturally transferred to those new guides the profound submission and reverence which they were accustomed to yield to the priests of that religion which they had just forsaken. They deemed their *persons* to be equally sacred with their *function*, and would have considered it as impious to subject them to the profane jurisdiction of the laity. The clergy were not blind to these advantages. *They established courts, in which every question relating to their own character, their function, their property, was tried and pleaded; and obtained almost total exemption from the authority of civil judges.*” *

Origin of Mexican “Fueros.”
A. D. 500.

Here is the germ of the Ecclesiastical “*fueros*,” which the clergy have claimed in all lands and ages, and have fought to perpetuate in France, in Spain, and in Mexico.

Hallam's Middle Ages.

Hallam concurs in substantially the same views, as follows: “The devotion of the conquering nations, as it was still less enlightened than that of the subjects of the Empire, so was it still more munificent. They left indeed the worship of Hesus and Taranis in their forests; but they retained the elementary principles of that, *and of all barbarous idolatry, a superstitious reverence for the priesthood*,—a credulity that seemed to invite imposture, and a confidence in the efficacy of gifts to ex-

* Robertson's Charles V. p. 34.

plate offences. Of this temper, it is undeniable that the ministers of religion, influenced probably, not so much by personal covetousness, as by zeal for the interests of their order, took advantage.

Statement of Mr. Hallam. "Many of the peculiar and prominent characteristics in the faith and discipline of those ages, appear to have been either introduced, or sedulously promoted, for the purpose of sordid fraud. *To those purposes conspired the veneration for relics, the worship of images, the idolatry of saints and martyrs, the religious inviolability of sanctuaries, the consecration of cemeteries, but above all, the doctrine of purgatory, and masses for the relief of the dead.* A creed thus contrived, operating upon the minds of barbarians, lavish though rapacious, and devout though dissolute, naturally caused a torrent of opulence to pour in upon the Church."*

Progress of the claims of "the Church Party." From these beginnings, the progress and establishment of the power and pretensions of the Bishops and Clergy were rapid and startling, and would shock the whole Christian world at the present day, if the facts were not so familiar, and the consequences so interwoven in the whole fabric of modern institutions of government in Church and State.

Origin of the Ecclesiastical System. On the ruins of the demolished Roman Empire another power arose, uniting essentially the *political* and the *ecclesiastical* elements, which were soon consolidated in a gigantic system of error and superstition, combining the monstrous absurdities of old, exploded mythologies and idolatrous worship, with the strangest and most incongruous mingling of the fundamental and sublime truths of revelation.

* Hallam's Middle Ages, Chap. 7, p. 261.

The stupendous Scheme.

It was a grand and comprehensive scheme. There was to be one head, one government, one Empire, temporal and spiritual. The Bishop of "OLD ROME," the "MOTHER OF DEAD EMPIRES," was to be "head Bishop," then "Universal Bishop," then "Vicar of Christ," "Judge in the place of God," "subject to no earthly tribunal," "Vice-gerent of the Most High,"—the temporal and spiritual monarch of all the Earth! "His Holiness, the Pope."*

The office of Pope of Pagan origin.

In old Pagan Rome, the office of Supreme Pontiff, from the time of Numa, had always been as much a political as a religious prerogative. Monumental remains in old Rome, to this day, bear inscriptions to Augustus and his successors as "Imperator et Pontifex Maximus." They exercised in person the office of Emperor and of High Priest of the Roman Empire.

Territorial jurisdiction. He was to be the Sovereign of the habitable globe. The owner in fee simple of all the estates of Shem, Ham and Japhet,—absolute monarch of Continent, Island, and Ocean. He was to be the *spiritual* head of the human race of every continent and island, of every "kindred, tongue, and nation, and people," through all generations, down the track of ages to the last man.

The spiritual monarchy.

Den's theology, a standard authority in the Roman Catholic Church, says the supreme Pontiff is "Christ's vicar upon Earth." Christ instituted the church, not on the plan of an aristocratic or democratic government, but on the plan of a *monarchical government, yet tempered by that which is best in an aristocracy.* When He withdrew his visible presence by his ascension into Heaven, he constituted his "Vicar" the visible head of the Church.

* Gieseler. Vol. 1, p. 339.

Universal dominion. "The Roman Pontiff is called "Supreme Pontiff," not only because he holds the highest honor and dignity in the church, but principally because he has *supreme and universal authority, power, and jurisdiction over all Bishops and the whole church. He receives his power and jurisdiction immediately from Christ, as His Vicar, just as Peter received it.* Nor is it any objection that the Pope is elected by cardinals; for their election is only an essential requisite, which being supplied, *he receives power and jurisdiction immediately from Christ.*

The Bishop's title and jurisdiction. The French contended that the *Bishops*, as well as the Pope, receive their power of jurisdiction immediately from Christ; but it seems that it ought rather to be said, that *they receive it immediately from the Roman Pontiff*, because the government of the church is *monarchical.*"

The Pope's absolute supremacy. "The *Pope* has *plenitude of power* in the *Church*;" it extends to all who are in the church, and to all things that pertain to the government of the church; because the Roman Pontiff is the true Vicar of Christ, the head of the whole church, the pastor and teacher; so that all the faithful, even Bishops and Patriarchs, are obliged to obey the Roman Pontiff; and *he must be obeyed in all things which concern the Christian religion, in faith, customs, rites, and ecclesiastical discipline.* Hence the device falls to the ground, that the Pope is not to be obeyed, except in those things which he enjoins conformably to sacred Scripture."

The universal empire. Such was the origin and such the principles that characterized this stupendous scheme of a universal empire, that should rival "the throne and monarchy of Heaven." With matchless skill and more than

* Den's Theology, 81-94.

human art, the elements were compounded to meet the prejudices and tastes of the Jew, the Greek, the Roman, and the Pagan. Christianity, instead of fulfilling its mission of enlightening, converting, and sanctifying the natives, was itself *converted*. Paganism was *baptized*, Christianity *Paganized*.

The great historic facts and truths of Christianity, and its most sublime and solemn doctrines, were blended with the effete fables of old mythologies. The pure, intelligent, spiritual worship of primitive Christianity was merged in the superstitious rites and imposing sensual ceremonies of Pagan rituals. It was no longer the "worship of God, in spirit and in truth," but the perfunctory and spectacular displays of heathen temples, smoking altars, burning lights, pictures, images, tinkling bells, sprinkling priests, and singing boys.

This mistaken policy of seeking to conciliate and convert the heathen by introducing their idolatrous rites and ceremonies into Christian worship, was sanctioned and enforced by Boniface III., in his decrees adopting all these pagan observances, and enjoining uniformity of worship throughout the Roman Church. The same policy has been pursued from age to age, in France, in England, in China, and in Mexico.

Opinion of Mosheim. Mosheim,* in his Ecclesiastical History, says, "The addition of external rites was also designed to remove the opprobrious calumnies which the Jewish and Pagan priests cast upon Christians on account of the simplicity of their worship, esteeming them little better than atheists, because they had no *temples, altars, victims, priests*, nor anything of that external pomp in which the vulgar are so prone to place the essence of religion. The

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. 1. p. 197.

rulers of the Church therefore adopted certain external ceremonies, that they might captivate the senses of the vulgar, and be able to refute the reproaches of their adversaries; thus obscuring the native lustre of the gospel in order to extend its influence, and making it lose, in point of real excellence, what it gained in point of popular esteem."

Pagan origin of Papal ceremonies.

"The rites and institutions by which the Greeks, Romans, and other nations had formerly testified their religious veneration for fictitious deities, were now adopted, with some slight alterations, by Christian Bishops, and employed in the service of the true God. These heralds of the gospel imagined that the nations would receive Christianity with more facility, when they saw the rites and ceremonies to which they were accustomed adopted in the church, and the same worship paid to Christ and his martyrs as they had formerly offered to their idol deities. Hence, in these times, the religion of the Greeks and Romans differed very little in its external appearance from that of the Christians. They both had a most pompous and splendid ritual. Gorgeous robes, mitres, tiaras, wax tapers, crosiers, processions, lustrations, images, gold and silver vases, and many such circumstances of pageantry, were equally to be seen in the heathen temples and the Christian churches."*

Waddington's Church History.

Waddington, in his Church History, † attests the same: "The copious transfusion of heathen ceremonies into Christian worship, which had taken place before the end of the fourth century, had to a certain extent *paganized* (if we may so express it) the outward form and aspect of religion; and these ceremonies became

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Cent. iv. Part 2, Chap. 4.

† Waddington's History of the Church, p. 118.

more general and more numerous, and more splendid, in the age which followed. To console the convert for the loss of his favorite festival, others of a different name, but of similar description, were introduced."

"It is true, the Church had been deeply corrupted both by that superstition and that philosophy against which she had long contended. She had given a too easy admission to doctrines borrowed from the ancient schools, and to *rites borrowed from the ancient temples*. Roman policy and Gothic ignorance, Grecian ingenuity and Syrian asceticism had contributed to deprave her."

The Scheme of Government.

Such, then, was the scheme, more fully disclosed and patent to the world in the progress of subsequent developments, namely:

I. *One universal Government.* The Roman Empire had its limits. The *new one* was to have none, save only those of the earth and of the race: so comprehensive as to embrace the Roman, the Greek, the Barbarian, and the Jew; Rome, the centre and the head, embracing the utmost limits of the empire; Greece, Asia Minor, and all the known and unknown regions of Europe, Asia, and Africa: so accommodating, in becoming "all things to all men," as to meet the prejudices and tastes, and satisfy the customs and traditions of all races, nationalities and tribes; aiming to blend in one grand body politic the people of the whole habitable globe, of whatever language, government, laws, or religion. So that the worshippers of Jehovah, of Jesus, of Jupiter, Venus, or Apollo might bow at the same altar and worship at the same shrine.

The Pope the Sovereign.

II. Of this Government there was to be one head; absolute, universal, infallible, and irresponsible. Every functionary, civil and ecclesiastical, bound by solemn oath to believe and to obey in all things

the word and will of his Sovereign—the arbiter of the destiny, temporal and eternal, of every subject.

Temporal and spiritual power. III. The two pillars of power by which this stupendous system was to be propagated and sustained, were the *sword* and *superstition*—the double arms of political and ecclesiastical authority.

Historical development. A brief sketch of a few events in the progress of history will show the advances of the system, its present attitude of propagandism in face of modern civilization, and its connection with the struggle in Mexico.

The supreme and universal Bishop, the Pope, on the banks of the Tiber, claims to-day absolute and divine right, not only over the United States and Mexico, but over the whole continent, from Labrador to Patagonia. His title runs back directly through King Phocas, A. D. 696, to the great Apostle and first Bishop to the Jews, Peter.

Hildebrand. A. D. 1073. In A. D. 1073, a monk of extraordinary character, Hildebrand, was elected Pope, under the title of Gregory VII. The life, the acts and the decrees of this Pontiff indicate the development of this stupendous scheme during the first five hundred years. He aimed to exalt the dominion of ecclesiastical authority, pure and simple, above all organic earthly powers, and above all individual human rights. He sought to make Emperor, King, and Prince a vassal of the Pope. He assumed to release all subjects from their allegiance to their King.

The Pope's Anathema. On one occasion he anathematized and deposed King Henry IV., calling on St. Peter and St. Paul to confirm and ratify his act of deposition in these bold words:

“Make all men sensible that, as you can bind and loose every thing in Heaven, you can also upon earth take from or give to, every one according to his deserts, Em-

pires, Kingdoms, Principalities. Let the Kings and Princes of the age then instantly feel your power, that they may not dare to *despise the orders of your church*. Let your justice be so speedily executed upon Henry, that nobody may doubt that he falls by your means, and not by chance.”

He claimed supreme and absolute dominion and authority over the whole domain of Europe, Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Great Britain.

Ambition of Gregory VII. “Gregory,” says his biographer Bower, “was led by an ambition the world never heard of before, of establishing an uncontrolled tyranny over mankind, of making himself the sole Lord, spiritual and temporal, over the whole earth—the sole disposer of Empires, States, and Kingdoms.”*

Decrees of Gregory VII. Among the decrees of Pope Gregory VII. are these:

“The Roman Pontiff alone should of right be styled ‘UNIVERSAL BISHOP.’”

“The Pope alone can wear Imperial ornaments.

“All princes are to kiss his foot, and pay that mark of distinction to him alone.

“It is lawful for him to depose Emperors.

“His judgment no man may reverse, but he can reverse all other judgments.

“He is to be judged by no man.

“The Roman Church has never erred, nor will she ever err, according to the Scriptures.

“The Pope can absolve subjects from the oath of allegiance which they have taken to a bad Prince.

“He can depose and restore Bishops without assembling a Synod.”

* Bower's Life of Gregory VII.

Baroneus (cardinal) says: "Istas hactenus in ecclesiæ catholicæ usu receptas fuisse."

In one of his Epistles, Gregory says, "The Episcopal Dignity is of Divine Institution; the Royal, is the invention of men, and owes its origin to pride and ambition. Bishops therefore are above Kings, as well as above all other men, and may judge them, as well as other men."

ALERE FLAMMAM
VERITATIS CHAPTER III.

DEVELOPMENT AND ILLUSTRATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND OF FRANCE.

Results in Great Britain. THE history of Great Britain furnishes one of the most extraordinary and instructive illustrations of the extent and power of these pretensions. If it were not incontestible history, it would be deemed incredible throughout Christendom to-day.

Innocent III. A. D. 1198. In A. D. 1198, Innocent III. was elected Pope. A sharp controversy arose, during the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion, in respect to the erection of an Episcopal Palace at Lambeth. The King and the Archbishop of Canterbury were engaged in erecting the structure. The Pope disapproved of the proceeding, and sent his bulls to the king and to the archbishop, threatening to suspend the one and dethrone the other, if they did not immediately desist and demolish the works at Lambeth. The Pope declared, that if the king did not instantly obey, "he would not endure the least contempt of himself, or of God, whose place he held upon earth; but would punish, without delay, and without respect of persons, every one who presumed to disobey his commands, in order to convince the WHOLE WORLD, that he was determined to act in a ROYAL MANNER."

The bulls from the banks of the Tiber were too much for the "Lion-hearted" and the Archbishop on the Thames. In less than three months the foundations of Lambeth were razed to the ground!

Pope Innocent and King John. After the death of King Richard, and the accession of King John, another violent dispute arose between Pope Innocent and the King of England, respecting the election of Stephen Langton, as successor to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. The Pope wished the Primate of all England to be appointed by *his sole authority*, and to be subject to him. King John claimed the honor, dignity, and the rights of his crown and kingdom. The Pope insisted. King John protested.

The Pope's Interdict. A. D. 1208. In A. D. 1208, the Pope laid all the dominions of King John under an "*interdict*."

Says Mr. Hume, this sentence "was calculated to strike the senses in the highest degree, and to operate with irresistible force on the superstitious minds of the people. The nation was all of a sudden deprived of all exterior exercise of its religion; the altars were despoiled of their ornaments; the crosses, the relics, the statues of the saints, were laid on the ground; and, as if the air itself were profaned, and might pollute them by its contact, the priests carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The use of bells entirely ceased in all the churches; the bells themselves were removed from the steeples, and laid upon the ground with the other sacred utensils. Mass was celebrated with closed doors, and none but priests were admitted to that holy institution. The laity partook of no religious rite, except the communion to the dying: the dead were not interred in consecrated ground; they were thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields, and their obsequies were not at-

hua, their communication with the Republic and the outer world was entirely cut off, and they depended upon their legation at Washington to hear from the central, southern, and eastern parts of Mexico, from the United States, and Europe. All the mails for the Mexican government, including newspapers for President Juarez and his cabinet, had to be sent to Mr. Romero, the duties of the legation increasing thereby considerably, as it was necessary to keep an active correspondence with several Mexican generals in the field, and with friends of Mexico in France and other places in Europe and in South America. Besides this, and the regular functions of a minister, Mr. Romero has been charged with the purchase of arms and munitions of war, the chartering of steamers to carry to Mexico the war material, the printing of Mexican bonds and the negotiation of them in the market, and the making of contracts for several other purposes, the circulation of the official paper of the Mexican government, &c., &c.

"The appreciation by the United States government of Mr. Romero's correspondence, is shown by the fact that Congress has often asked the President in a special manner for Mr. Romero's letters, and the President has sent, out of 489 letters which Mr. Romero has addressed to the State Department, 371, in the following manner: of 1861, 27; 1862, 35; 1863, 21; 1864, 54; 1865, 115; 1866, 119. Total number of enclosures sent to Congress and published, 1,204.

"The total number of messages on Mexican affairs sent by the President to Congress during the time embraced in the preceding statement is 27, as follows: in 1862, 3; in 1863, 4; in 1864, 1; in 1865, 3; and in 1866, 16.

"EULALIO DEGOLLADO, JR.,

"Private Secretary.

"WASHINGTON, February 24, 1867."

PART V.

THE MEXICAN QUESTION FROM A FRENCH POINT OF VIEW.

CHAPTER I.

"MEXICO AS IT IS,—THE TRUTH," ETC. BY THE ABBÉ DOMENECH.*

It will facilitate an understanding of our subject, to consider the statements and views of the author of this volume. Although, in the order of time, they will anticipate events in the narrative, and will make allusions to individuals and incidents that need to be described, still they furnish important incidental confirmation of the descriptions thus far given on other authority. The testimony from this source, in regard to the character of the "church," and of its organization, influence, and policy, will not be questioned. The work shows clearly the part the ecclesiastical power has taken in the revolutions and struggles of Mexico; and the animus it breathes towards the United States,—the government and the people,—if it reflects the feelings of the French Government and Foreign Powers, is, to say the least, suggestive.

The "Abbé Emmanuel Domenech, Senior
The Chaplain
of the Empire. Director of the press of the Cabinet of H. M.

* "Le Mexique, tel qu'il est, La vérité sur son climate, ses habitants, et son gouvernement, par Emmanuel Domenech, ancien Directeur de la presse du cabinet de S. M. L'Empereur Maximilian, et ex-aumonier du corps expeditionnaire."

the Emperor Maximilian, and ex-chaplain of the expeditionary corps," published in Paris, in 1867, a work of 348 pages, entitled "Mexico as it is,—the truth respecting its climate, its inhabitants, and its government."

Mexico from a French point of view.

This volume professes to give to the people of France, and of Europe, a truthful account of the author's personal observation and knowledge of Mexico and its inhabitants. The first sentence is, "Since *our* intervention in Mexico, the published accounts in the European press, of the political situation of this Empire, are so contradictory, that it is impossible to distinguish the true from the false. The prejudices of some, the party spirit of others, the official or private interests of all, and inadequate and superficial information, have so distorted the truth that it cannot be seen."

OBJECTS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE ABBÉ DOMENECH.

"In my double career as a man of letters and a journalist, since 1856, I have so defended the Mexicans, that I shall not be suspected of partiality if, in this work, I speak of them less favorably. The truth must stand before sympathy."

Mexican character.

"The Mexican of to-day has his faults, which irritate and provoke us, and discourage his best friends. Nevertheless his faults, his vices, if you please, diminish enormously in their characteristic importance, if we compare the types of each class of Mexican society with corresponding classes in our old Europe. We are far from being perfect ourselves. Foreign literature, as well as our own, proves this enough by its exhibition of our faults. If we see motes in our neighbors' eyes, there are beams in our own. It is well for us, then, to be more modest and more reserved in our criticisms."

French impartiality.

"Far from flattering the Mexicans, their country, and their government, I shall paint them in the most unfavorable colors, in order to show that I have not hesitated to explore and to study the most hideous plagues of this poor people. I shall speak of the past, because of its effects upon the present. I shall not pass over any of the complaints, whether just or not, which for two or three years have been made against Mexico. In acting thus, I hope to secure more consideration for my views, stamped always with the seal of a most rigid impartiality."

"I do not design to give a complete picture of the manners and customs of the Mexicans. I shall content myself with citing only those facts which have most impressed me, and which justify my conclusions."

A country of contrasts.

"The narrative will contain many apparent contradictions. Mexico being so singularly a country of contrasts, it will be difficult to bear constantly in mind the distinction in the classes of society to which my praises or censures relate. I shall confine myself as much as possible to facts, and allow them to speak for themselves."

"In this way I shall be the better shielded from the attacks of those who do not share my views. Every one will draw such inferences as he pleases from the picture, and form his own opinion of a country, so little known as Mexico."

The Chaplain's tour and objects.

"I left Paris in 1864, for the purpose of studying, in Mexico, the institutions of the new Empire, of sketching the political portraits of the new men, of comparing the Mexicans of the interior with those of the north and of the frontiers; and the Indian races with those of the United States."

"I regret that I am not able to correct all the prejudices, exaggerations, and errors which have been published

about Mexico, its inhabitants, its riches, beauty, etc., or to give the details of the number of its churches and convents, their architecture and ornamentation."

"My principle is, that *truth* injures only him who speaks it: it is often useful to those who hear it. My pen is my capital. I write as much from necessity as from inclination. Whether from conscience or from idleness, I shall not take pains to invent, but write only the truth. No one pays me to disguise or falsify it."

Design and importance of the Book. Such are the avowed objects, principles, and views of the author. How far his work corresponds with such an avowal, the sequel will perhaps show. When one in an important and responsible official position, near two Thrones, addresses the Powers and people of Europe in behalf of a great movement, affecting the interests of modern civilization in both hemispheres, for the express purpose of removing false impressions, and forming a correct public opinion throughout Christendom, and professes to have thoroughly investigated the facts, and to understand the whole history and philosophy of the subject, avows the most conscientious and sacred allegiance to truth and impartiality, and is fairly presumed to know more than he tells, the chief significance of the work arises from its "quasi authority," its chief importance from the nature, extent, and effect of the influence it is intended to exert.

The Book, not its author, judged. In this view it is not the *author*, but the *book*, of which we speak. As much as it is to be regretted that the Abbé were not better informed, and that he had not employed his pen in the service of humanity, in the promotion of the principles of universal justice and freedom, of the equal and inalienable rights of nations and of men, we disavow in the outset all intended personality in respect to the *author*, and confine ourselves to the ex-

amination and exhibition of the statements, views, and teachings of the *book*.

Its scope. What it says of *things* concerns us little. What it says of *men and principles*—of Mexicans, and races, of their character, condition, and rights; of Americans, of the United States, its government, laws, policy, and public men; of the plans and purposes of European powers in regard to the Western hemisphere; of modern civilization, of international intercourse, commerce, and *comity*, concerns all mankind. And to this only is our attention directed.

GENERAL CONTENTS OF THE BOOK.

The volume describes :

- Analysis of the Work.
1. The country its geography, physical features, climate, soil, productions, its unrivalled resources and capabilities, and its industrial and commercial interests.
 2. Its population, its institutions, social, moral, and political condition, the different races and classes, the various political and ecclesiastical parties and interests.
 3. The intervention, its origin, causes, and objects; its measures, and the principal actors in its history; the Empire, Maximilian, his court, cabinet, and policy; and the causes and consequences of the failure.
 4. It omits altogether any account of the connection of the English and Spanish Governments with the enterprise, and ignores all their co-operation in it. From the French standpoint, it speaks of it as "*our intervention*."
 5. It accords to the French Government the honor of this, the grandest enterprise of the century, and the absolute and indisputable right to direct and control it.
 6. It gives no history of moral or military move-

ments or events, and but brief and passing allusions to the Belgian, Austrian, and French elements in the campaign.

7. It dwells especially upon the character of the Mexicans—their political, civil, religious, social, and domestic institutions; the “church party,” their interests and policy; and the troubles and revolutions of the last forty years.

8. It represents the bulk of the population as divided into *three classes*—the first, the clerical or conservative party; the second, the radical republican reform party; and the third, an intermediate one, the liberal party, vibrating between the other two.

9. It declares that nine-tenths of the entire population adhere to the clerical party, embracing all the intelligent, wealthy, and respectable portion of the community; that it embodies the only sound principles of government, law, or order, and that its ascendancy is essential to the preservation of the existence of the nation, and of its prosperity in all that concerns the welfare of society.

10. It declares that the fundamental principle of Monarchy is the only form of government for Mexico, and is the distinctive rallying point of this party; that it is inwrought in the very constitution of the Mexican mind, underlies all the national traditions, and is supported by an overwhelming majority of the people.

11. That the movement for the establishment of a monarchy, with a foreign Prince upon the throne, originated with this party; was submitted to the Courts and Cabinets of Europe many years since; that the intervention was the result, and this same party called Maximilian and placed him on the throne.

The sixth chapter is devoted to the “religious condition of Mexico, the clergy, false religion, superstition, reli-

gious ceremonies, the fair of the dead, and the sale of the ecclesiastical property.”

The eighth treats of the intervention, the opposition of the Mexicans, the consequences of its failure, and the monarchists.

The eleventh discusses the political parties of the country.

The twelfth is an exposition of the author's views of the relations of the Mexican question to the future of Europe, and of France in particular. Entirely in the interest of the intervention and the Empire, *it professes to enlighten Europe in respect to the character, the real issues and interests of the conflict.* It exhibits also the author's views of Mexican and American public sentiment and policy.

CONTENTS OF CHAPTER XII.

The titles of this chapter are, “The Mexican Question, little understood in Europe. Summary statement. American policy. Tactics of Mr. Seward. The Monroe doctrine, its origin, application, and consequences. Opinions of American writers opposed to the Monroe Doctrine, and to the policy of Mr. Johnson. French opinions of the Mexican Question. Embarrassment of the United States on account of this Question. Opinions of Mexicans upon the actual situation. The importance of our expedition to the future of our commerce, and of our influence. Conclusion.”

The whole animus and influence of this volume are entirely in character with the assiduous and persistent efforts of the interventionists, by the daily press, pamphlets, and volumes, *to mould public opinion in France, and in Europe, unfavorably to the character and rights of Mexicans and Americans, and to justify and strengthen*

the policy and the acts of that foreign combination, naval, military, political and ecclesiastical; to overthrow the institutions of this continent; and to transplant here, in order to perpetuate at home, the European system of civil and religious despotism.

The signal failure of the scheme, and the reaction which has already begun to "plague its inventors," render it perhaps not less desirable that Americans should understand what the enemies of free institutions have been doing, and who are their real friends abroad.

Mexican estimate of the Work. It is not surprising that a Mexican gentleman, high in official position and in the confidence of his countrymen, characterizes the work as "a libel against Mexicans, that shows the disposition of the French (the author a French Abbé) against the Mexican patriots, and their despoil in consequence of their failure. It is written in the interests of the bitterest Church partisans."

CHURCHES AND CONVENTS.

Mexico a monastic state. "Mexico," says the Abbé, "under Spanish rule, was eminently a monastic State. Not only three-fifths of the cities were occupied with convents and churches, but there were convents, like that of San Francisco at Mexico, and that of Santa Clara at Queretaro, which occupied a large part of the city. I do not speak of the fabulous riches of these churches. I think it right that the temples of God should be better adorned than the apartments of a stock-broker. But is it not a lie to God and men, to make a vow of poverty, and then live in the midst of abundance and comfort, as the ecclesiastics of all Spanish America do?"

The Churches. "Much has been said of the splendor of the Mexican churches, and of their immense riches.

But all that, is only a story which demonstrates the pious liberality of the Spaniards, and the rapacious sacrilege of the liberal Mexicans. These last have stolen that which the others had given."

Wealth and pillage of the Church. "In the late revolutions, the Mexicans have taken away more than two hundred millions of value, in gold, silver, and precious stones, which the Spaniards had accumulated in their churches since the conquest!"

"The Cathedral of Mexico possessed a massive silver lamp, so large that three men entered within, to clean it. The liberals have cleaned it out, so thoroughly, that nothing of it is left. It would take a long list to enumerate the objects of historic interest of this kind, which have in like manner disappeared."

"If the country has profited by considerable sums thus produced by the plunder of the churches, it is sad to see a nation obliged to resort to such extremities, to relieve its finances. But as it is only a few individuals who have enriched themselves, by these precious spoils, it is right to condemn such acts of vandalism. To-day there are only the ruins and fragments of the profusion of former splendors."

"The Mexican loves his dollars, and keeps them. He has taken or destroyed the heritage of the Spaniards; he has restored nothing, improved nothing, even in a religious point of view. The 'votive offerings,' which even in Europe, have sometimes considerable value, are limited in Mexico to microscopic objects in silver, bought at the maker's for two or three francs." ®

MEXICANS NOT CATHOLICS.

Mexicans not Catholics.

"Besides, the Mexican is not a Catholic; he is simply a Christian, because he has been baptized.

I speak of the masses, and not of numerous exceptions to be met with, in all classes of society."

"I say that Mexico is not a Catholic country:

"I. Because a majority of the native population are semi-idolators.

"II. Because the majority of the Mexicans carry ignorance of religion to such a point, that they have no other worship than that of form. It is materialism without a doubt. They do not know what it is to worship God in spirit and in truth, according to the Gospel.

"III. Because the clergy themselves, in general, have little education, know very little of Theology, and appear to be ignorant of the canonical laws, and of the decrees of the Councils."

Absence of Christian virtues. "Charity and humility are the very foundations, the touchstone of Catholicism. The Mexican professes but little enthusiasm for these virtues, notwithstanding that, without them, Catholicism becomes a sheer human religion, making Divinity only a pretext and motive of action, but stricken with sterility, rejected of God."

Simony and concubinage. "If the Pope should abolish all Simoniacal livings, and excommunicate all the priests having concubines, the Mexican clergy would be reduced to a very small affair. Nevertheless, there are some worthy men among them, whose conduct as priests is irreproachable."

Some good priests. "Notwithstanding the bad examples of the fraternity, the number of good priests is not so small as has been reported. From Vera Cruz to Mexico, at San Luis Potosi, and at Durango, I have seen those of whom nothing but good could be said, and whose conversation has been instructive to me. Their want of education and

culture, their merely local ideas, render them little esteemed by those accustomed to the French clergy, whose apostolic walk and conversation edify all the world."

CHARACTER OF THE PRIESTHOOD.

Frankness and impartiality. "On the religious question, I shall use the same frankness as in the political, moral, and material, which make Mexico a peculiar country, unlike any other. I shall not conceal the evil which is reported, nor that which I know, in order that I may have the right to correct the exaggerations of the malevolent, of the hasty, and of partisan faultfinders.

"In all questions, it is not enough to relate the evil and the good, to establish the facts which reveal the actual situation, little understood. It is necessary to show the remedy. I shall show it."

Character of the Priesthood. "In all Spanish America there are found, among the priests, the veriest wretches—knaves deserving the gallows—men who make an infamous traffic of religion. Mexico has her share of these wretches. Whose fault is it? In the past it has been Spanish manners—climate. In the present it is the Episcopate. If the bishops had good seminaries, where pupils could receive a sound and serious education; if the bishops had more energy; if they were more cautious in the choice of candidates for the priesthood; if they required others to observe, and *observed themselves*, more scrupulously, the canonical laws of the church, they would not see the disorders of which they are now the first to complain."

"Notwithstanding the decrees of the Council of Trent, pastoral visits are scarcely known in Mexico. I know they have been difficult and dangerous since the indepen-

dence; but if the Episcopate does not give the example of devotion and self-denial, who will give it?"

Mexican aversion to the Priests.

"The Mexicans have cried out loudly against their clergy. But it has not been so much on account of their manner of life, as because they wished to take possession of their property. Before returning to this subject, I ought to say, we ought not to be too pharisaical in our condemnations. Among the twelve apostles, Jesus Christ chose one Judas, in order to show us that nothing is perfect on earth, and that we ought not to be offended at the apostasy of certain ministers of God. This very apostasy exalts and demonstrates the divinity of Catholicism, which maintains and develops itself in spite of the failings of certain of its priests."

"The Mexican clergy have, perhaps, more than one Judas for twelve apostles, but that is a matter more of pity than of blame."

Clerical habits. "If Italy and Spain were visited before going to Mexico, there would be less of a shock at the manner of life of the Mexican clergy. Do not individuals as well as communities bear the stamp of the country where they live? I recollect a case in point, where a French priest was greatly astonished, while in Mexico, that the pastor of a church where he had said mass, offered him a cigarette after the mass. The pastor, in turn, was much scandalized that our priest allowed the train of his cassock to drag upon the ground, a thing unknown elsewhere than in France; and that he arranged his hair before a mirror in the vestry, before and after robing!"

Life among the Priests.

"I have known, in the south and in the north of the Mexican empire, pastors who gave balls at their houses, and never thought the least in the world,

that it would be better to distribute bread to the poor than to give champagne and refreshments to their danseuses."

Celibacy! and paternity.

"The clergy carry their love of the family to that of paternity. In my travels in the interior of Mexico, many pastors have refused me hospitality, in order to prevent my seeing their *neices* and *cousins*, and their *children*. It is difficult to determine the character of these connexions. Priests who are recognized as fathers of families are by no means rare. The people consider it natural enough, and do not rail at the conduct of their pastors, excepting when they are not contented with one wife."

"One of my friends said to the mistress of a pastor, 'Are you not afraid of going to hell? And have you no remorse at living, as a wife, with a man who says mass every day?'

"'Sir,' she replied, with anger, 'I would have you know I am a respectable woman, and that I would not live with the pastor if we had not been lawfully married.'"

"In the State of Oajaca there are priests who marry, in order not to scandalize any one. Although this celibacy of the priests is *purely an ecclesiastical institution*, I do not see how these gentlemen can contract marriages, pretended to be legitimate."

Priests' wives.

"A woman of Oajaca, whom I questioned about these singular unions, said to me one day, 'My country women prefer to live with Priests rather than with the laity, because they are better provided for.' The poor creatures are so wretched, they prefer to seek a house where they are sure to find good clothing and good food."

"Nevertheless, the Priest and the woman are not dishonored. They are respected if they live happily together."

Clerical Fueros. "One day a merchant came to the wife of a Priest of the Diocese of X, to demand pay for a robe which she had bought: 'I have no money,' she said, 'you must wait.'

"'I will not wait any longer,' replied the merchant; 'if you do not pay me now immediately, I will summon you before the court.'

"'Try it,' said the woman. 'Do you know that I belong to the sacred mitre?'

"All who belong to the house of the Bishop deem themselves under special protection.

"Some of the Bishops complain of this state of things, but take no pains to change it; others encourage it, with remarkable good humor.

Holy Fathers. "I remember that one of these prelates, passing through a village near the Episcopal city, the Priest said to him, 'Sire, have the goodness to bless my children and their mother.'

"The good Bishop blessed them. There was a chamber full.

"Another did better still. He baptizied the child of one of his Priests. Can a clergy of such character make saints? I doubt. Nevertheless, they must not be taken for heretics."

THE ABBÉ A REFORMER.

Call for reform. "In order to change this deplorable state of things, it would be necessary to establish in Mexico one or more seminaries, under the care of French Sulpiciens. No person should be ordained a Priest unless presented by the directors of the seminaries. It would be equally necessary that the Pope should send to Mexico an intelligent and wise *French* Ambassador, to induce

the Bishops to reform their clergy, and to adopt measures for this result. An *Italian* ambassador would employ himself forever in the religious politics, the honorary and property interests of the clergy, which must not be confounded with the interests of the church. As to the honor and dignity of religion, the purity and integrity of the worship of God, *the Italians are never concerned.*"

Character of the Bishops.

"The most honored of the Bishops dream more about their privileges and prerogatives, than the improvement of the flock entrusted to their charge. In the few institutions which have only the form and name of a seminary, they permit the teaching of a false theology, which only perverts the mind and conscience of the future priest."

State of the Church.

"The Christian spirit, that is to say, of love of one's neighbor, of poverty, of humility, of zeal for the salvation of souls, of self-abnegation, are so many virtues which the Mexican clergy never learn. So that the Priests go forth with the most erroneous and absurd ideas of morality, and of Catholic truth. They administer the first communion and the rite of confirmation to children of five or six years of age, who have received no instruction, and know not what they do. They make merchandise of the Sacraments, and make money by every religious ceremony, without thinking that they are guilty of simony, and expose themselves to the censures of the church. If Roman justice had its course in Mexico, *one-half* of the Mexican clergy would be excommunicated."

A deplorable picture.

"The well-instructed Priests, disinterested and animated by a truly apostolical spirit, holy souls, whose religious sentiments are of good character, constitute an insignificant minority. Mexican faith is a dead faith. The abuse of external ceremonies, the facility of reconcil-

ing the Devil with God, the absence of internal exercises of piety, *have killed the faith* in Mexico. It is in vain to seek good fruit from this worthless tree, which makes Mexican religion a singular assemblage of heartless devotion, shameful ignorance, insane superstition, and hideous vice. In vain you seek in this country, called Catholic, houses of refuge for the aged and indigent, for penitents fallen through betrayal and misery, or for works of benevolence and mercy, of which there are so many in Europe. You find here no gatherings of ladies of wealth, to work together for the children of the poor."

Faith dead in Mexico.

"In Mexico faith inspires nothing, invents nothing, it does not even imitate. It is a fossil. To visit the poor is a thing never thought of. Sometimes the remains of a repast are given away. On Saturdays, alms are given to the beggar. But to comfort, in his domicile, the infirm, the sick, the dying, in their misery, alas! Mexican pride does not permit it."

IDOLATRY.

Idolatry and abominations.

"The idolatrous character of Mexican Catholicism is a fact well known to all travellers. The worship of Saints and Madonnas so absorbs the devotion of the people, that little time is left to think about God. Religious ceremonies are performed with a most lamentable indifference and want of decorum. The church chants and music are atrocious, really infernal. The Indians go to hear mass with their poultry and vegetables, which they are carrying to market. I have had to abandon the Cathedral of Mexico, where I used to go every morning, because I could not collect my thoughts there. The gobble of turkeys, the crowing of cocks, the barking of dogs, the mewing of cats, the chirping of birds in their nests in the ceiling, and the

flea-bites, rendered meditation impossible to me, unaccustomed to live in such a menagerie."

"It would require volumes to relate the Indian superstitions of an idolatrous character which exist to this day. For want of serious instruction, you find in the Catholicism of the Indians numerous remains of the old Aztec paganism."

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.

Devotional dance and masquerade.

"One day I was present at an Indian dance, celebrated in honor of the Patron Saint of the village. Twenty-four girls and twenty-four boys were dancing in the church, in the presence of the priest. An Indian, with his face concealed under a mask of an imaginary divinity resembling the Devil, with horns and claws, was directing the figures of the dance, which reminded me of that of the 'Red Skins.' I remarked to the priest, who, for all that, was an excellent priest, that it was very incongruous to permit such a frolic in a church."

"The old customs," he replied, "are respectable; it is well to preserve them, only taking care that they do not degenerate into orgies."

No Christian instruction.

"Notwithstanding the simple faith of the Indians, it is evident that they have only the tattered shreds of Catholicism. These shreds are better than absolute destitution. But with tact, disinterestedness, and truly Christian instruction, these Indians would make the best Catholics in the world."

"The religious customs of the Mexicans are scarcely less of our times, than are those of the Indians. They lead to the most ridiculous absurdity, to say nothing more."

A sad spectacle.

"During holy week, I have seen processions of three thousand persons stripped and covered

only with sackcloth, so coarse as to show that the individual had not even a shirt. The different phases of the passion of Christ were represented by groups of painted statues, large as life, and by men and women placed upon stages, borne on the shoulders of hundreds of Indians. The bearers, bending under the weight of their burden, would go, from time to time, to refresh themselves at the liquor shops, leaving in the middle of the street, the groups representing the Passion. Jews and Romans, decked with helmets of tin plate, breastplates of pasteboard, and breeches embroidered with silver, made a part of the procession."

"In some cities, there are a great many processions. I remember an instance, in which I saw the Romans in one procession, intoxicated by the Zouaves, attack the Jews in another procession, who were passing the same street at the same time. The Jews left the Cross and the Madonnas they were bearing, and gave the Romans such a drubbing that they bore the marks of it many a day."

"There are cities where they pay a poor Indian to personate Judas, and allow the whole crowd of the 'faithful' to spit in his face during the whole day."

Christmas Eve almost incredible. "The mysteries of the middle ages are utterly outdone by the burlesque ceremonies of the Mexicans. The accouchement of the Virgin on Christmas night appears to me indecent. In France, the police would forbid the ceremony, as a shock to public morals. But public morality being a thing unknown in Mexico, the custom of representing the accouchement of the Virgin in many of the churches offends no one. No father of a family objects to taking his daughter to see the procession, where Mary appears, *enciente*, marching round the church. After the procession, the Priest takes from beneath the

skirts of the Virgin the infant Jesus, in swaddling bands, who is first placed upon the altar, and then marched around the church. In the diocese of Puebla, the color and figure of the infant, and the manner of holding it, made our troops think that the man, who carried the child was a musician; accustomed to march with an ophicleide and streaming ribbons."

Burial of the dead.

"Modesty of soul is an exotic plant that does not thrive in Mexico. It withers and dies before it is born. In Europe, the Catholic church has such respect for the body of man sanctified by its sacraments, that it blesses even the earth that receives, the mortal remains of a Christian. In Mexico, man is buried like an unclean animal, without priest, ceremony, or prayer. Four men, relatives or friends, bear the body on a bier or a hurdle, and lay it in a ditch."

"Being one day at Notre Dame de Guadalupe, I saw borne in upon a cross made of two planks, the dead body of a man covered with a sheet. After some prayers repeated in haste, the cloth was removed and the body entirely exposed. It was then placed in a corner of the church, awaiting its interment. If there had been any women near me, I believe I should have made a scene with that sacristan, so indignant was I at his want of propriety."

Burial of infants.

"The custom is well-known of decorating dead infants, adorning them with the wings of geese, paper crowns, ribbons and flowers, then marching them about on a chair, or laid upon a table, and burying them with the noise of fire-crackers and the sound of instruments playing polkas and quadrilles."

Speculation in dead bodies.

"In Mexico, as well as in the interior of the empire, I have seen more revolting things

than these. The '*pulque*' merchants hire dead bodies, called '*angelitos*,' as a means of attracting customers. At first they pray, then they drink; and the young girls make appointments with their paramours. The dead body often thus serves several merchants, and is not interred as long as it can be endured."

MEXICAN FAIR FOR THE DEAD.

The idea of death.

"The idea of death has no terror to Mexicans. They die with as much indifference as they live. In Mexico, 'All-Saints Day' should be called the 'Fair for the Dead.' It is the 'New Year's day' of the country. The shops are in holiday dress. Merchants of bon-bons and cakes, the theatres, marionettes, &c., are all alive. This *fair* lasts eight days. In the shops you see death's heads in sugar, jointed skeletons, cadavers in spring boxes, catafalques in miniature, the tombs of bishops and priests with weeping women around. Every good Mexican attends this *fair*. A lover buys for his maiden a death's head in sugar, as big as your *fist*. A mother buys for her child a complete burial scene. The husband regales his wife with a sepulchre in black and white. Every one goes home as happy as possible. Gayety and folly! Little gifts cherish friendships. And these gracious presents foster this strange indifference to death."

The marriage ceremony.

"One of the greatest evils in Mexico is the exorbitant fee for the marriage ceremony. The priests compel the poor to live without marriage, by demanding for the nuptial benediction, a sum that a Mexican mechanic, with his slender wages, can scarcely accumulate in fifty years of the strictest economy. This is no exaggeration. The consequences of the excessive demands for perquisites in general, are as lamentable to public mo-

ality as to religion. One of the first duties of the Mexican Episcopate should be, in my opinion, to reduce the fee for baptisms, marriages, dispensations, and everything else indispensable to the performance of religious duties."

"Formerly the monks of the Church of Buffa, situated on one of the highest eminences of Zacatecas, performed the marriage ceremony for a more moderate fee than the priests in the city. The poor of course naturally went, for economy's sake, to be married at the chapel on the mountain, rather than in the parish church. But if the fee was small, still there was a fee. If the parties had not a crown, as there is no credit in Mexico since the independence, they pawned their little jackasses, and left them with the monks. The sacristie became a novel pawn-broker's shop. The asses being somewhat bulky on deposit, and expensive withal, when strolling about doing nothing, the monks put them to service in carrying water to Zacatecas, from a spring near the chapel. It being the only good water there, they sold it at two sous a load. The asses not reclaimed, and multiplying, the sacristan has continued the religious industry of the order; and the water has yielded more than a million of francs since the traffic began."

A Sunday market.

"One Sunday, a market-day at Zacatecas, I was noticing from my balcony, the crowd of buyers and sellers. The exhalations from their tattered dresses quite overcame me. The noise of the market men and women, in calling attention, and praising their articles, was deafening beyond expression. But the exhibition of dress and of manners so attracted my attention, that I could not but stay, in spite of the noise and the smells. Some were killing the vermin from their clothes or persons with their vegetables—a frightful massacre.

Others were taking off shirts and skirts, to leave at the pawn-brokers. The details which I saw it would be impossible to imagine. I will not describe them. They must be seen, to be believed."

"At the stroke of the clock from the cathedral tower, to announce that the priest chanting mass was elevating "The Host," every outcry ceased as by enchantment. Absolute silence followed the tumult. Hats off, the whole crowd fell upon their knees until the third stroke of the bell told the end of the elevation."

The amulet against law-suits, &c. "The Mexicans do not like to be embroiled in the law. So they often recite the prayer of Montserrat, which I have seen attached to the doors of a multitude of houses in the haciendas, ranches, and villages of the interior. At the head of the prayer are these lines:

"This prayer contains so much virtue, that those who recite it, shall never be exposed to the law; their house shall never be visited by the police; the wife who wears it around her neck shall always be happily delivered."

"It is almost impossible to photograph the moral, political, and religious phases of the Mexicans. The contrasts, the amalgamation of good and evil, the puerilities of big children, are so strange they would scarcely be believed."

"The observations I have made of the religious sentiments of the Mexicans are not confined to the ignorant classes. *They apply equally to those who are well to do.*"

Social and political questions. "To close this subject," says the Abbé, "I must frankly enter upon the politico-religious question, which is of such vital, such exceptional importance in Mexico. Whatever may be the consequence of speaking of the clergy as I have done, I have not hesitated to do it, that

I may not be suspected of partiality when I take up the social and political questions that belong to them."

OPPOSITION TO THE EMPIRE.

Bishops and Clergy for the Empire. "The opposition of the Mexican clergy to the Empire has been greatly exaggerated and misrepresented. The entire body of the bishops and the clergy were in favor of the government of Maximilian. Their sympathies were alienated, only when the government ratified and carried out the policy and course of Juarez in ecclesiastical matters. The clergy then simply said, 'If the two governments pursue the same policy, we prefer a national government of our own to foreign domination.'"

The policy of Juarez adopted by Maximilian. "I have conversed often, and at length, with most all of the bishops of Mexico, and have always found them very favorable to the Emperor, and disposed to sustain him. But when their privileges, their properties, their seminaries were taken away, and nothing given in return, but calumnies to boot, it is not surprising that they did not applaud such proceedings, which they did not expect. It would have been easy to have come to an understanding with them, and to have secured their co-operation. It would have been wiser and better than to have alienated them. Has not a forming government need of the aid of all the powers of the country? He that is not for us is against us. We shall yet see that the support of the clergy was one of the first necessities of the new empire." ®

THE LAW OF JUAREZ.

The French pamphlet against the Bishops.

"In order to facilitate the ratification of the decrees of Juarez relative to property in mort-

main, the unfortunate idea was conceived of having a chaplain of the French army write a pamphlet against the high Mexican clergy. This pamphlet, ill-judged and ill-executed, contained gross and gratuitous insults, without common sense or reason. It addresses the bishops who complain of the conduct of the government towards them, as follows: 'It is not an honorable exile to a foreign land that awaits you, but a rope and a gallows.'

The pamphlet effective. "This pamphlet, in the worst possible taste, has produced a great effect, a great sensation, in Mexico; all the clergy, all the conservatives, that is to say, four-fifths of the population, have cried out against the author. Among foreigners, those who know how to read and to honor all respectable authority have warmly disapproved of this pamphlet. The chaplain would not sign his name to his sorry pages, more worthy of a corporal of the guard than of a priest. If he had known the least in the world of the question about which he wrote, he would singularly have modified his language."

THE CLERGY FOR INTERVENTION AND MONARCHY.

The real partisans of the intervention. "It must not be forgotten, that the most zealous partisans of the intervention have been the conservative ecclesiastics and laity, who have suffered every kind of persecution under preceding governments, and that they could not be hostile to the Empire, which they have desired and aided in every way in their power."

"The *London Globe*, in February, 1864, published an article expressing astonishment, to see the regency dissolve the first body of the Mexican magistracy and replace it with other magistrates, from whom they had previously ex-

acted the promise to sustain the views of the regency respecting the *pagarès*, that is to say, the sale of property in mortmain."

The Regency adopted the policy of Juarez. "The *Globe* was right, for the action of the regency in the matter of the *pagarès* proved that it was neither an easy nor a popular thing, since the magistracy of the country did not believe it was possible to sustain it. When it is considered that the principal ground of opposition to the Juarez Government was the sale of 'property in mortmain,' it is easily understood why the regency, in adopting the same policy, would find the same opposition."

The only friends and support of the Empire. "The empire ought to have approved and regulated the sale decreed by Juarez; because the division and sale of the property is a resource of the State. But it ought, first of all, to have established and fortified it, by reconciling the offended sympathies of that conservative party which had invited them, instead of alienating, from the outset, the only true friends they could have."

THE CHURCH PROPERTY.

The interests of the Clergy the cause of Civil War. "Modern civilization is the enemy of 'property in mortmain.' And it is right. In the name of progress, it begins almost always at once to plunder the owners of such property, in order to sell it. And as such properties are singularly the possession of the clergy, and of religious establishments, it is by their sale that the destruction of the old social state of past ages begins. In France, in Spain, in Italy, the sale of properties in mortmain did not create a great social revolution. But in Mexico it stirred up general discontent, and created civil war!"

The numbers, wealth, and power of the Ecclesiastics. "The public reprobation of this measure was not merely a religious sentiment. It was a matter of interest as well. * * In Mexico it was equally a religious, a political, and a financial question, affecting many other persons besides the secular clergy, and the *two hundred communities* of men and women who were despoiled."

The Clergy, the bankers of Mexico. "This explains itself. The property of the clergy, in Mexico, constitutes the basis of credit, agricultural and personal. The shareholders are the national religious corporations. In selling these at a low price to certain foreigners, public credit has been destroyed, and no other financial institution has yet taken its place. It is perhaps not known, that agricultural and personal credit has existed in Mexico for two centuries. The clergy invented it ever since they became possessors of real estate."

Productive and unproductive property. "The ecclesiastical property of Mexico consisted of productive and unproductive capital. The productive capital included interest, money, and ground-rents of the entire property of the clergy. It maintained their splendid worship, sustained the establishments of education and of charity, and finally was a fund in aid of the farmer, the merchant, the artisan, and, indeed, of the necessities of all classes of society.

"The unproductive property consisted of the value of the churches, convents, sacred vessels, and articles employed in worship."

Laws of 1859. "According to the laws promulgated at Vera Cruz in 1859, the unproductive property of the clergy could not be made the property of the nation. The other property should be awarded to purchasers for a value, represented by the lease or annual rent, which the

tenants were paying to the proprietors. One-third was to be paid "en bonds" (*pagarès*), which represented the credit of the home department. Two-thirds were payable in money.

SALE OF CHURCH PROPERTY.

Sequestration of Church property. "After the taking of Mexico in 1860, the reformed government declared the churches, convents, and their possessions, the property of the State. The cathedrals and parish churches alone were excepted. The real estate was sold at a ridiculously low price, as well as objects pertaining to public worship, chandeliers, gold and silver vases, and other vessels ornamented with precious stones. An aggregate value of two millions of dollars of landed property was sold to strangers for eighty thousand dollars. Some persons made considerable fortunes by the objects of gold and silver service for worship, which they re-sold in Europe."

"The *pagarès*, bonds, were mostly on long terms. They represented more than *three millions of dollars*, and were sold in reality for eighty thousand. So that those who have these possessions have been stigmatized with the contemptuous term of *detentadores*—bond-holders."

"The clerical proprietors used to lease their properties at a very moderate rate, at about one-eighth of the rates of the new holders. Besides, they lent at interest or on mortgage, to the farmers, merchants, and artisans. The new proprietors, of sharper practice, continually recalled the loans on mortgage, renewing them at considerable advance; so that the tenants and mortgagees found themselves all at once, either in ruinous circumstances, or under the necessity of dishonoring their engagements. The judges on their part refused to try

cases in ligation involving the validity of pagarès. The conscience of the magistrate and of the citizen revolted at the idea of recognizing the validity of such bonds, and all the world knows that their consciences are not over-scrupulous."

The Abbé's views of the result. "The disorders resulting from this question became very serious. The public were deprived of the use of an immense capital, which had always been at its service for two centuries. Reclamations were so numerous that the execution of the law relative to rents, to the demolition of churches, of convents, and benevolent institutions, was for some time suspended. On all sides, suits were commenced, with which the judges did not wish to meddle. It now appears why it was that the Mexican population, to a certain extent, was interested in maintaining the 'statu quo,' because the sale of property in mortmain had excited a civil war; and why the conservatives made such an outcry, when it was told to them that the French intervention would sanction the acts of the Juarez Government."

Faith to the Pope. "It is impossible to undo the past. But the Imperial government should have inaugurated its reign by the publication of a "*Concordat with the Holy See*," declaring valid all the sales of the church property, regularly made. It should then have come to an understanding with the clergy, and regulated the action of the government in conformity with the usage in other Catholic countries."

CHAPTER II.

THE INTERVENTION, ACCORDING TO THE ABBÉ DOMENECH.

The Intervention.

In Chapter VII., the Abbé Domenech treats of the intervention. He says, "Whatever were the motives that led to the intervention, the campaign in Mexico might have been the most brilliant act in the reign of Napoleon III." "If the Emperor had succeeded, it would have been one of the most humane, glorious, and important enterprises of the XIX. century."

Mexicans in Europe.

"The greater part of the Mexicans who furthered most the creation of the Empire had been in Europe many years. They no longer knew the actual, moral condition of the country, nor the measures necessary to heal its disorders."

Who these gentlemen were, their motives and objects, and the consequent deceptions, may appear in the sequel of this work.

"Every thing was a delusion. Unhappily, there were a great many interested parties. However, be that as it may, we were deceived on every side, and urged on, if not, by a chivalric sentiment, like that which led us to take up arms for the Christians in Syria, and for the independence of the Italians, at least, by a sentiment of high policy. France entered upon Mexico, and substituted, in favor of the Archduke Maximilian, a monarchy for a republican regime." ®

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THE GREAT ENTERPRISE OF THE XIX. CENTURY.

"I shall show that, if the Emperor had succeeded, the intervention would have been one of the *most philanthropic, glorious, and important enterprises of the XIX. century.*"

The Emperor's Crown a "Church" Crown. "The influence of France, on which the Mexican Government ought to have relied, was entirely set aside on the arrival of the Emperor Maximilian. The Emperor being very liberal in his ideas, and not knowing that Mexico *had repudiated the conservative party*, WHICH GAVE HIM THE CROWN, sought to attach the liberals to his interests, by sacrificing his only true friends, and placing power in the hands of members of the liberal party, more or less moderate in their views. The confidence of the Sovereign, the honors and positions, were divided among a multitude of national nobodies, aspiring renegades, interested weather-vanes, birds of prey, in a word, the refuse of the two parties that divided the Empire."

THE REPUBLICANS.

French view of the Republicans. "The power being thus in the hands of vagrants, without principle, without energy for any good, without a shadow of patriotism, universally despised, betraying their Sovereign by studied flatteries, by stupid opposition, by notorious incapacity and faithlessness, the government fell into the most absolute disrepute, and the intervention, unable to defend itself, lost its prestige."

Loyalty to Mexico, treason to France. "Almost all the employés of the government, from the minister to a village judge, form the category of men whom I have just described. Many of them were public felons, and if they had been judged by

French laws and French judges, the gallows and the galleys would have left few of them in the country. These men, jealous, envious, and fools, kept sincere and truly honest men aloof. Their contracted ideas, their anti-national selfishness, repelled every generous thought or useful counsel, suggested either by patriots or by foreigners, to promote social progress, public prosperity, or the consolidation of the Empire. Most of these political eunuchs had such shallow brains as to sacrifice, even without knowing it, their own personal interests to their individual animosities and jealousies. They would have neither French intervention, nor the Emperor Maximilian. Holding in their hands the power and the honors, they would not share them with foreigners, much less surrender them. Their pretext was, as they knew the country better, they knew better how to govern it."

MEXICAN INGRATITUDE.

Ingratitude of Italy and Mexico to France. "All who understand the human heart, know ingratitude affects a nation. France is learning this sad truth every day, to its cost. Italy, which owes its existence and its unity to us, nevertheless hates us, as if we had made her a fatal gift. Mexico was about to owe her welfare and existence as a nation to us; nevertheless, all the employés of the government we wished to establish, were hostile to us. The conquered never loves the conqueror. Does not national pride create the most incomprehensible national antipathies!"

"A certain general, who had had many years of contact and conflict with the authorities of Mexico, said that what would forever prevent Mexico becoming any thing, was the Mexicans themselves. Their bad faith, their idleness, their incapacity, passes all bounds of imagination."

Mexican progress. The French mistake. "The liberals, encouraged and reënforced by the numerous deserters, Belgian, Austrian, and even French, have learned to measure swords with us. It is scarcely two years ago since they fled before us, as from a pestilence." * * * "To-day the Mexicans know that we are not invincible. Would it have been so, if we had not diminished our forces, just in proportion as we extended the circle of our operations; if we had limited that circle; if we had aimed at a moral conquest, instead of a material one, quite impossible with so limited a force?"

"The moral conquest of Mexico was easy. Every honest Mexican, every one who had a family to support, or a dollar to save, was in favor of the intervention." * *

An assertion. "Except the self-styled *liberals*, armed with carbines or poniards, who do not wish order on any terms, the Mexican people, interventionists or conservatives, are for a monarchy. That is the only form of government they desire, and is the only one suited to them. * * * The monarchical sentiment is in their blood, it is the universal liking."

A FRENCH PRINCE FOR THE THRONE.

An "arrière pensée." "Before the arrival of the Emperor, the Mexicans were familiar with the idea of seeing a French Prince, or indeed a Marshal of France, govern Mexico. Many residents of the high plateaux thought that the *statu quo* was only a provisional arrangement, accepted for the nonce, in deference to England and the United States, but that we should finish the business, by taking the reins of power ourselves."

Monarchy to be the life of Mexico. "Notwithstanding his absence, monarchy would have given to Mexico a mighty vitality; republicanism, on the contrary, has weakened it, by

instability, civil war, and corruption. The idea of a monarchy is far from having been started by the French intervention. It was born of the force of circumstances. The initiative of it belongs entirely to Mexico. It is altogether Mexican. The European convention of October 31st was the result. The general opinion was, that the nation could not maintain itself—that its ruin was inevitable without foreign aid. There had been for a long time before the cabinets of Europe, applications for intervention, even from the Mexican Government itself, as we shall soon see."

MEXICAN COMMISSIONERS TO THE BRITISH AND TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENTS.

"The question of monarchy in Mexico is not a recent one. Passages in the report of M. Gutierrez de Estrada, presented to the British Government, and to that of Louis Philippe, prove it. This report, unfortunately, had no result, in consequence of the estrangement of the two governments growing out of the Spanish marriages."

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

The Mexican Monarchists. "The old Monarchical party," says the Report, "which was compelled to merge itself in the Centralist party, after the fall of Iturbide, and which also yielded in good faith to the Republican system, nevertheless believed it would yet recover from its long lethargy. The scattered members of the party united again. A new revolution broke out. General Parédès, rallying to the monarchical party, was its active instrument. The Government of General Herrera made way for that of Parédès. The manifesto which he published left no room to doubt of his intentions. Leaving entirely to a constituent assembly, the power to decide the form of Government

which should hereafter rule the country, this manifesto clearly indicated that monarchy alone could save it from anarchy, secure the repose it needed, and the prosperity of which it was capable."

DUTY AND DESTINY OF MEXICO.

"Mexico had henceforth a duty to fulfil, as a member of the family of nations, which it could not perform without the coöperation of foreign governments; and hence, for Europe, the duty, and much more the necessity, to come to the aid of Mexico."

Appeal of the Clergy to European monarchs. "The monarchical party made great progress in a very short time. It was composed of men most respectable for their morality and social position, and of the generality of the clergy, and of citizens enlightened by the experience of the past. This party sought to attach itself to Europe by a bond which offered guarantees for the future: namely, to consolidate the social institutions of Mexico; to establish commercial relations between the old world and the new; to guarantee the numerous stocks invested in Mexican mines; in a word, to put an end to the revolutions so fatal to distant transactions; and finally, to close the door against those abuses which occasion so frequent differences between foreign powers, and those ephemeral governments to which Mexico was periodically subjected."

Animus of the appeal, hatred of freedom. "It is notorious," says M. Domenech, in respect to this Report, "that those Mexicans who desired sincerely the well-being of their country, made this appeal to Europe with great earnestness. It was painful for them, no doubt, to confess that they could not, without the help of Europe, save themselves from that principle which was destroying the existence of their country; but the

truth cried louder than vanity, and they had to confess it. Even the liberals themselves, who applied for American intervention, only obeyed that secret instinct which declared that Mexico could not govern itself. They only deceived themselves as to the consequences of that intervention.

"Maximilian has done more for the welfare and happiness of the Mexicans, than the republic has done in half a century."

THE SPECTRE OF THE YANKEES.

The Imperial Dynasty unpopular. "There are," said the *Mexican Times* lately, "Mexicans who believe that they could rejoice in the evacuation and probable fall of the Empire. Very well. Suppose the French gone, and the Imperial dynasty ended. After all, the Yankees will come, and what will follow?"

Kind warning against the Yankees. "They will enter every city, every village, every hacienda. They will seize the reins of government, and fill all public positions with men of accommodating views and morals. The Indians will be penned up, and placed under legislation that will soon make an end of them. Every mine will be overrun and exhausted. These pioneers will establish themselves in every hacienda and drive off the proprietors. The national costumes will be a butt of ridicule, religion despised, and the traditions of the country trodden under foot. Every road to fortune will be blocked up, by a horde of greedy monopolists."

The armies of Grant, and of Scott. "Never did a people commit a greater error than that of the Mexicans to-day, who will judge the *Republican* army of Grant by the *American* army of Scott. They no more resemble each other than Samson

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.

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.

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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-
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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 intervention 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 disinterestedness

"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."

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 Lhuys, 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 to-day 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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Ulterior ends of the Expedition. "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.

The course of conflict. 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.

Ulterior ends of the Expedition. "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.

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The Bourbons and the Bonapartes. It will be remembered * that, in 1808, Bonaparte invaded Spain, deposed Ferdinand VII., secured the abdication by the Bourbons of all right to the crown of Spain, and proclaimed Joseph Bonaparte King. The old adherents to the monarchy stirred up the latent embers of Spanish loyalty, and organized juntas in various parts of the country, to oppose the invasions and usurpations of the French.

The contest between the supporters of the Bourbons and of the Bonapartes, partook of all the elements that characterized the great revolution that was then shaking the continent. The French King, borne upon the wave of reform which swept from Paris, over bishops, convents, and church estates, summoned an assembly of deputies, and adopted a Napoleonic Constitution.

The Mexican Clergy. The clergy in Mexico, fearing the loss or curtailment of their power and privileges, so long held in undisputed possession, opposed the recognition of the French Dynasty, adhered earnestly to the Bourbon regime, and used every effort to perpetuate its sway and their own prerogatives.

The three great Parties. The population of Mexico was divided substantially into three classes: 1. The old, native Spaniards, who held in their hands the vast monopolies of the church, and of the civil and military offices of the country. 2. The Creole population, a numerous class, regarded by the Spaniards as a kind of half-caste, and excluded from equal privileges with their rulers. 3. The native Indian and mixed races, constituting three-fourths of the entire population of the country, and deemed and treated as peons and slaves.

* See the Chapter on the Political Relations of Spain and Mexico, p. 36.

Affinities of the Parties. These were the elements to be affected by the conflicts of sovereignty in old Spain and in the Colonies. The interests of the clergy and of the old Spaniards, led them to court the sympathy of the Creoles and the Indians, in resisting the recognition of the French crown in the colony, and sustaining the old regime of the Bourbons.

The Creoles sought their own advancement, and to free themselves from the domination of their Spanish masters, and to secure equality with them, in rights and privileges. But they were loyal to the mother country. To secure their object, they fraternized as never before with the native population.

The masses of the Indians could not be kept in entire ignorance of their number, of their importance, and of their power, and in the agitations and discussions of the time, began to feel the rising pulsations of freedom. While Spaniards and Creoles were forecasting the chances of prolonging or sharing the monopolies of Church and State in Mexico, under a Bonaparte or a Bourbon, and were figuring to secure office, power, wealth and luxury, four millions of Indians were thinking how *they* might become independent and *free*. Depressed and uninstructed as they were, the light of liberty was kindled here and there—a spark, a flickering flame, and now an inextinguishable fire!

HIDALGO OF DOLORES.

On the 10th of September, 1810, the cry of Hidalgo of Dolores, a country curate, identified in sympathy and interest with his poor parishioners, and with the Indian and mixed races, and goaded by public and private wrongs, roused a *hundred thousand Indians* to follow his banner.

The first Martyr of Mexican Liberty But the Church party and the Spaniards were too strong for the natives. Excommunicated by the church, hunted by the army, and destitute of the discipline, the weapons, and the munitions of war, the struggle of the poor Indians for freedom was unequal. Betrayed by Bustamente, Hidalgo was captured and shot—the first martyr for the liberties of Mexico!

The victims of oppression did not, however, give up the contest. General Morelos, Lieutenant in command under Hidalgo, continued the war, summoned a National Congress in September, 1813, which, in October of the following year, promulgated the principles embodied in the "Constitution Apatzingan."

Union of the Creoles and Indians. In 1820 the first considerable movement was made to unite the Creole and the Indian elements in common cause against "despots and bad government." The combination was made, and deeds of heroic patriotism on one side, and of appalling barbarity on the other, mark the history. Relentless cruelties and retaliations banished mercy from the human heart.

Spanish atrocities. Mayer, in his political history of Mexico, says that "after the first successes of the Mexicans, there was a period of reaction, when the Spaniards again obtained a temporary mastery under General Calleja, and the annals of the time teem with accounts of the sanguinary vengeance wreaked by that inhuman monster on the victims who fell within his grasp. After he had obtained possession of the revolted city of Guanajuato, he caused the inhabitants to be driven into the great square of the town, and *near fourteen thousand men, women, and children were butchered* like cattle on the spot. Proclaiming that powder and ball were too costly to be wasted in their execution, he let loose his soldiery on the defenceless crowd,

with an order '*to cut their throats,*'—and it is related that the fountains and gutters of the city literally ran with human blood."

"These were things to be remembered, and to exasperate. There was no longer any hope for the people. There was no disposition to temporize or to conciliate. It was submission or death. And the "*una salus victis nullam sperare salutem,*" nerved their arms, and forced them into ardent and continued resistance. They conquered."

"For such distinguished services, Calleja was created Marshal, decorated with the Grand Cross of the order of Charles III., and appointed Viceroy."

CHAPTER II.

THE MONARCHICAL PLAN OF IGUALA—1821.

The Cortes and the Colony.

On the 24th of February, 1821, this celebrated plan was declared. The revolution in Spain had extended its influence to Mexico. The Cortes had compelled King Ferdinand to swear fidelity to the Constitution, and issued decrees to Apodaca, the Viceroy of Mexico, to proclaim it in the Colony, and partially to sequester the property of the Mexican Church.

The Viceroy, a royalist at heart, and an enemy of the revolution, resolved to oppose its progress. The Bishops, the clergy, the native nobility, the Spanish Generals, the wealthy Spaniards, who had been alienated by the acts of the Cortes, united to support Apodaca in a formidable opposition.

THE EMPIRE UNDER ITURBIDE.

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Government. He was reputed to be clever, bold, and fearless, and not over-scrupulous as to the means for accomplishing his ends. Availing himself of the knowledge he possessed of different parties and interests, he entered into a conspiracy with the Clergy, and such other leaders as could be enlisted in the scheme, to revolutionize the country, and achieve the independence of Mexico.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF MEXICO.

Iturbide, having obtained possession of about half a million of the public treasure, and having secured the co-operation of the higher Clergy to arouse and inflame the people, promulgated the following plan.

It was named after the small town, on the road to Acapulco, from which it emanated. The forces who maintained it were called the "ARMY OF THE THREE GUARANTEES," from the three fundamental principles on their banner—INDEPENDENCE, the MAINTENANCE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, and UNION.

THE PLAN.

ARTICLE 1. The Mexican Nation is independent of the Spanish Nation, and of every other, even on its own continent.

Art. 2. Its religion shall be the Catholic, which all its inhabitants profess.

Art. 3. They shall all be united, without any distinction between Americans and Europeans.

Art. 4. The government shall be a constitutional monarchy.

Art. 5. A Junta shall be named, consisting of individuals who enjoy the highest reputation in different parties which have shown themselves.

Art. 6. This Junta shall be under the presidency of His Excellency, the Conde del Venadito, the present Viceroy of Mexico.

Art. 7. It shall govern in the name of the nation, according to the laws now in force, and its principal business will be to convoke, according to such rules as it shall deem expedient, a congress for the formation of a constitution more suitable to the country.

Art. 8. His Majesty, Ferdinand VII., shall be invited to the throne of the Empire, and in case of his refusal, the Infantes, Don Carlos and Don Francisco de Paula.

Art. 9. Should his Majesty Ferdinand VII. and his august brothers decline the invitation, the nation is at liberty to invite to the imperial throne any member of reigning families whom it may choose to select.

Art. 10. The formation of the constitution by the congress, and the oath of the emperor to observe it, must precede his entry into the country.

Art. 11. The distinction of castes is abolished, which was made by the Spanish law excluding them from the rights of citizenship. All the inhabitants are citizens and equal, and the door of advancement is open to virtue and merit.

Art. 12. An army shall be formed for the support of RELIGION, INDEPENDENCE, and UNION, guaranteeing these three principles, and therefore shall be called "THE ARMY OF THE THREE GUARANTIES."

Art. 13. It shall solemnly swear to defend the fundamental basis of this plan.

Art. 14. It shall strictly observe the military ordinances now in force.

Art. 15. There shall be no other promotions than

those which are due to seniority, or which are necessary for the good of the service.

Art. 16. The army shall be considered as of the line.

Art. 17. The old partisans of independence who shall adhere to this plan, shall be considered as individuals of this army.

Art. 18. The patriots and peasants who shall adhere to it hereafter, shall be considered as provincial militia-men.

Art. 19. The secular and regular priests shall be continued in the state in which they now are.

Art. 20. All the public functionaries, civil, ecclesiastical, political, and military, who adhere to the cause of independence, shall be continued in their offices, without any distinction between Americans and Europeans.

Art. 21. Those functionaries, of whatever degree and condition, who dissent from the cause of independence, shall be divested of their offices, and shall quit the territory without taking with them their families and effects.

Art. 22. The military commandants shall regulate themselves according to the general instructions in conformity with this plan, which shall be transmitted to them.

Art. 23. No accused person shall be condemned capitally by the military commandants. Those accused of treason against the nation, which is the next greatest crime after that of treason to the Divine Ruler, shall be conveyed to the Fortress of Barbaras, where they shall remain until congress shall resolve on the punishment that ought to be inflicted on them.

Art. 24. It being indispensable to the country that this plan should be carried into effect, inasmuch as the welfare of that country is its object, every individual of

the army shall maintain it, to the shedding (if it be necessary) of the last drop of his blood.

Town of Iguala, 24th February, 1821.

The design
of the plan.

“The plan of Iguala,” for the independence of Mexico, was inaugurated in the interest of the Church party. Copies of the Articles of Declaration were sent to all the Ecclesiastical Dignitaries of Mexico, to all the Commandants General of the Provinces, and to all Officers of the civil and the military service.

On the 2d of March, *Iturbide*, in submitting his plan to the officers of the army, and receiving the solemn oath of the whole body to maintain it, addressed them as follows:

“Soldiers, you have this day sworn to preserve the Catholic Apostolic Roman Religion; to protect the union of Europeans and Americans; to effect the independence of this empire, and, on certain conditions, to obey the king. This act will be applauded by foreign nations; your services will be gratefully acknowledged by your fellow-citizens, and your names will be inscribed in the temple of immortality.”

The revolution
of inde-
pendence.

This great revolution, which sundered the political connection of Mexico with the mother country, was not the work of a day.

“The way had been preparing by the struggles through which the nation had passed from the hour, in 1810, when *Hidalgo* of Dolores had raised the standard of revolt and the cry of Independence.”

But “the great secret of this revolution, so easily and so suddenly achieved at last, and so important in its results, is to be referred to the decree of the Cortes against the property of the Church. *Iturbide* was merely the in-

strument of the exasperated ecclesiastics of the vicerealty, whose vengeance being aroused, were prepared to sacrifice the tranquillity of the country, to repudiate loyalty to their ancient crown, rather than submit to be robbed by the State."

It thus appears, by Articles 1 and 8, that the plan of Iguala contemplated an "Independent Mexican Empire," with a Foreign Monarch, a Spaniard, on the throne.

Iturbide, and the whole party with whom he acted, were monarchists, not republicans. But popular sentiment was so strong in favor of "Independence," that the leaders and parties all around fell in with the movement. "Independence forever" was a rallying cry in which Monarchists and Republicans, Spaniards and Mexicans, "The Church Party" and reformers, all joined in indiscriminating enthusiasm.

The whole force of Iturbide, at first, did not exceed eight hundred men. But the skilful use of the "banner" and the "cry" rallied the broken fragments of old revolutionary forces, and the clergy, the military, and the people were soon, for once, all in accord. But the elements were too incongruous and conflicting to be long in harmony.

"The Church Party" were content with "Independence" and a monarchy, and a "Bourbon" on the throne. Their prestige and power would be safe. "The Republicans" sought not only "Independence," but a Republican Government. The partisans of Iturbide wished a Mexican, not a Spanish Monarchy, and held the crown in reserve for their leader.

At this juncture a new Viceroy arrived, who found it necessary to recognize, in the name of Spain, the "Independence of Mexico." The "Army of the

Independence
the universal
cry.

The scheme
of the Church
party.

The new
Viceroy.

three Guarantees" entered the Capital in September, 1821, and inaugurated the era of Mexican Independence.

A provisional junta of thirty-six was immediately gathered. They elected a regency of five. Iturbide was President. He was also elected Generalissimo, Lord High Admiral, with a salary of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars.

THE FIRST INDEPENDENT MEXICAN CONGRESS—1822.

In February, 1822, the first Independent Mexican Congress assembled in the Capital. The heterogeneous elements now began to disclose their irreconcilable character. The Viceroy's recognition of Mexican Independence had reached Spain, and was repudiated by the Cortes. The Bourbon scheme was dead, and the Spanish and the "Church Party" were left to shape their course, as best they could, between the aspirations of the Republicans and the partisans of Iturbide.

The fierce
contest.

While these two parties were contesting in Congress the claims of republicanism and monarchy, and ecclesiastical, political, military, and financial interests were all mingling in the revolutionary caldron, the partisans of Iturbide, an unorganized band of soldiers and of the populace, gathered before the palace of Iturbide, and with shouts proclaimed him Emperor, as AUGUSTIN I.

The new
sensation.

The idea of an independent nation, a Mexican monarchy, and a native sovereign, was like a clarion call re-echoed everywhere. Congress could but approve the extempore coronation of the people. The rapid strides of Iturbide, a private, a Colonel, a Lord-High Admiral, Emperor, were too much for his equanimity. He claimed an exercise of arbitrary, imperial power, which

Congress resisted. "He demanded a veto upon all articles of the Constitution then under discussion, and the right of appointing and removing at pleasure the members of the supreme tribunal of justice. He recommended the establishment of a military tribunal in the Capital, with powers little inferior to those exercised by the Spanish commandants during the revolution." Congress rejected these proposals. The Emperor thereupon, Aug. 26, 1822, arrested fourteen of the recusant deputies.

Usurpation of the Emperor. This highhanded measure so incensed the representatives of the people, that any further cooperation between congress and the sovereign was impossible.

The Emperor therefore dissolved "his parliament," and sent them home. He created a new constituent junta of forty-five persons, selected by himself, who were of easy purpose to execute his will.

The people, who had expected a constitutional monarchy, did not accept these usurpations, so like Old European despotism, and universal dissatisfaction spread almost as rapidly as the enthusiasm at the erection of the throne.

The Revolt. The northern provinces declared against the usurper. Santa Anna, Governor of Vera Cruz, joined the dissidents. Iturbide sent General Echavarri to crush the opposition and the Governor at Vera Cruz. Echavarri joined the revolt. Gaudalupe Victoria, the patriot hero, whom Iturbide could neither seduce nor subdue, had fled to the fastnesses of the mountains during the imperial regime. He came down like a lion from his lair, and joined Santa Anna.

A Convention. In February, 1823, a convention was signed, called "The Act of Casa Mata," which pledged

the re-establishment of the National Representative Assembly, which the Emperor had dispersed.

The Patriots in Council. "The Marques, Vibanco, Guerrero, Bravo, and Negrete, in various sections of the nation, joined the popular movement which was sweeping the country. Iturbide found his error too late. In March, 1823, he offered his abdication to the old Congress. Its re-collected members, however, refused any recognition of his right to a crown, even so much as by the acceptance of his abdication. Nevertheless, with a magnanimity which would not ignore his services in securing the independence of his country, they allowed his departure from Mexico, endowed him with an income of *twenty-four thousand* dollars a year, and placed at his disposal a vessel to bear himself and family to Leghorn in Italy.

Aid of the British flag. In July, 1824, a vessel under British colors reached the Mexican coast, near the mouth of the river Santander. The next day a gentleman appeared, announcing himself as a Polish visitor, who, with a friend, had come to purchase land in that district, with a view to establishing a colony.

General Garza, in command, gave free permission to enter the country. Suspicion was excited in regard to the two strangers; and on the removal of disguise, the Emperor Iturbide appeared before the general, as the Polander's friend. The Ex-Emperor was secured as a prisoner, and delivered to the authorities of Tamaulipas. The State Legislature, then in session, promptly resolved to execute a decree of Congress of the preceding April, and condemned the royal exile to death. He was shot.

The end of Iturbide. Thus ended the usurpations and the reign of Iturbide. Sad was his fate. But whatever sympathy was felt for him was much abated by a record,

in his own handwriting, that on Good Friday, 1814, "in honor of the day, he had just ordered three hundred excommunicated wretches to be shot!"

CHAPTER III.

THE CONGRESS AND THE CONSTITUTION OF 1824.

The restoration of Congress. AFTER the fall of Iturbide, Generals Victoria, Bravo, and Negrete entered the Capital the same month. The old Congress was quickly re-assembled. They appointed the three victorious generals a provisional triumvirate, to exercise supreme executive powers until the assembling of the new Congress in the following August.

This Congress, in October, 1824, adopted the Federal Constitution,* which, surviving all the revolutions and reforms of twenty-three years, was in substance re-adopted in 1857.

The tie sundered. The war of Independence only sundered the connection between Mexico and Spain. The herculean work of the colonists was, to construct a system of government for themselves, and out of the chaos of Spanish oppression and misrule, to bring forth order, system, and law.

THE FIRST REALLY NATIONAL CONSTITUTION—1824.

On the 4th of October, 1824, a National Representative body, assembled for the purpose, formed and proclaimed

* The Appendix contains the draft of this Constitution, as submitted to the Congress; and it exhibits the manner and spirit of the transaction of the business, and the purposes and aims of the nation. This project with some amendments was adopted, and formed the basis of the Constitution of 1857. P.

ed a Constitution, by which the sixteen original States were united in a *Federal Republic*.

The first Congress.

On the 1st of January, 1825, the first Congress under this Constitution assembled in the City of Mexico, and General Victoria was installed as President of the Republic. The Constitution by General Morelos, in 1814, was adopted only by the section of country under his control. This of 1824, was the first well-matured and symmetrical constitution of Mexico. It was accepted by the whole country, and formed the basis of that perfected democratic Republican Constitution of 1857, which has become the great organic law of the land.

This Constitution of 1824 was far from meeting the exigencies of the case, or the indispensable requisites of Republican Institutions. The people were not yet educated in the true ideas of freedom, and the clerical party wielded a power that compassed their private ends.

Article. 50 provided for a concordat with the Holy See, which was to throw the whole of the Mexican church management into the hands of the Roman Pontiff. The clergy contrived to exempt themselves entirely from any chance of Government control over their property and monopolies. All the bishoprics, deaneries, and chapters could be filled by old Spaniards only. The Creoles and mixed races were eligible only to the lower orders of church offices. Church privilege and caste disabilities still wrought together, to perpetuate the despotism and the curse of Mexico.

Essential elements of the history.

The limits of this work forbid a minute detail of all the revolutions and counter-revolutions which have marked the struggles of the Republicans. Nor is it necessary, to understand the conflict. The elements of the two great national parties, though in the main dis-

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inct and irreconcilable, were often somewhat mixed and confused in their action. The line of demarcation fluctuated at times, from side to side, attaching now to one party, and now to the other, individuals and interests of varying and vacillating influence. Nevertheless, the great fundamental, distinguishing principles of the two parties are clearly traceable from their origin, down through all the successive steps and stages of development, to the final result.

Power of the Clergy. It is not surprising that that Priestly organization wielding the ecclesiastical, political, civil, military, and monetary powers of the whole country, and backed by all the influence that could be brought to bear to sustain it from the old world, should be able to sow dissensions, foment counter-revolutions, suborn the feeble, dependent, ambitious, and in a thousand ways embarrass and thwart the plans and aims of the Republicans, feeble in everything but their principles and the justice of their cause.

The number of presidents, dictators, pronunciamientos, revolutions, reactionary movements, and Bull-run defeats in Mexico, so far from alienating our sympathies and confidence from the Mexican patriots, should only make us the more appreciate the difficulties of their terrible struggles, and honor their indomitable perseverance and patriotism.

We pass to another suggestive act in the drama.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONSPIRACY—THE CHURCH PARTY WITH PAREDES, TO OVERTHROW THE REPUBLIC, ERECT A MONARCHY, AND INVITE A FOREIGN PRINCE TO THE THRONE—1845.

"The Church Party" and Paredes. IN December, 1845, General Paredes, who had been placed in command of the army at San Luis Potosi, by the Republican President Herrera, pronounced against him. The Archbishop, several of the Bishops of the highest rank, military officers, and the monarchical interest generally, combined for the avowed purpose of crushing forever the republican system. The Archbishop openly avowed his determination to support a revolution, and declared that a monarchical Government was more in accordance with church principles, and better adapted to Mexico. Aided by the clergy and the army, Paredes succeeded. This new party, more formidable for its material than for its numbers, boldly pushed the scheme. Paredes, thus sustained, assumed the power of a hereditary Sovereign, completely subverted the constitution of 1824, substituted a new and totally different form of Government in its place, and by a decree, known as the "Law of Convocation," disfranchised the great body of the people, and deprived them of the right of sending deputies to the National Legislature.

"The Church" against the People. Great dissatisfaction and indignation spread throughout the country, at this violation of popular rights. The only protection of the masses against an irresponsible executive was taken away. Their future was to be, despotic rule, "absolute, and unlimited by precedent, law, or the will of the people."

A Bourbon to be called to the Throne. The Chamber of Deputies, under the new organization, was composed of individuals of the

inct and irreconcilable, were often somewhat mixed and confused in their action. The line of demarcation fluctuated at times, from side to side, attaching now to one party, and now to the other, individuals and interests of varying and vacillating influence. Nevertheless, the great fundamental, distinguishing principles of the two parties are clearly traceable from their origin, down through all the successive steps and stages of development, to the final result.

Power of the Clergy. It is not surprising that that Priestly organization wielding the ecclesiastical, political, civil, military, and monetary powers of the whole country, and backed by all the influence that could be brought to bear to sustain it from the old world, should be able to sow dissensions, foment counter-revolutions, suborn the feeble, dependent, ambitious, and in a thousand ways embarrass and thwart the plans and aims of the Republicans, feeble in everything but their principles and the justice of their cause.

The number of presidents, dictators, pronunciamientos, revolutions, reactionary movements, and Bull-run defeats in Mexico, so far from alienating our sympathies and confidence from the Mexican patriots, should only make us the more appreciate the difficulties of their terrible struggles, and honor their indomitable perseverance and patriotism.

We pass to another suggestive act in the drama.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONSPIRACY—THE CHURCH PARTY WITH PAREDES, TO OVERTHROW THE REPUBLIC, ERECT A MONARCHY, AND INVITE A FOREIGN PRINCE TO THE THRONE—1845.

"The Church Party" and Paredes. IN December, 1845, General Paredes, who had been placed in command of the army at San Luis Potosi, by the Republican President Herrera, pronounced against him. The Archbishop, several of the Bishops of the highest rank, military officers, and the monarchical interest generally, combined for the avowed purpose of crushing forever the republican system. The Archbishop openly avowed his determination to support a revolution, and declared that a monarchical Government was more in accordance with church principles, and better adapted to Mexico. Aided by the clergy and the army, Paredes succeeded. This new party, more formidable for its material than for its numbers, boldly pushed the scheme. Paredes, thus sustained, assumed the power of a hereditary Sovereign, completely subverted the constitution of 1824, substituted a new and totally different form of Government in its place, and by a decree, known as the "Law of Convocation," disfranchised the great body of the people, and deprived them of the right of sending deputies to the National Legislature.

"The Church" against the People. Great dissatisfaction and indignation spread throughout the country, at this violation of popular rights. The only protection of the masses against an irresponsible executive was taken away. Their future was to be, despotic rule, "absolute, and unlimited by precedent, law, or the will of the people."

A Bourbon to be called to the Throne. The Chamber of Deputies, under the new organization, was composed of individuals of the

ecclesiastical, military, and commercial classes, together with opulent miners and land-owners. The journals under the patronage of the Government, openly advocated the placing of a Prince of the house of Bourbon on the throne of Mexico.

The Republican Press. The republican portion of the press were very bitter against Paredes from the beginning. They denounced his aristocratic principles, and accused him of selling himself to the natural enemies of Mexico, of conspiring with the clergy to destroy the independence and freedom of the nation, and to bring back the odious system of monarchy which had perished with the ill-fated Iturbide.*

Arbitrary act of Paredes. Paredes, in the exercise of his despotic power, arrested these patriotic editors and publishers, and either banished the victims of his tyranny from their homes, or confined them in the common receptacles of vice and crime, herded with robbers, thieves, and assassins.

Embarrassment of the Revolutionists. The new administration had no advantage over its predecessor, in means to carry on the Government. War with the United States, improvident expenditure, internal dissensions, and unskilful management had completely exhausted the treasury. Santa Anna had tested the power of the people to bear the burden of taxation to the last feather. Payment was suspended. Credit was gone. The salaries of all the officers in the public service had been reduced one-fourth; and disbursements, under the plea of necessity, had actually been made of revenues pledged to public creditors.

The Clergy refuse pecuniary support. Under these circumstances, Paredes determined, as his only resource, to call upon the "venerable clergy" to share of their wealth, in the pecuniary

* Young's Mexico, ch. 4.

burdens of the State. They had zealously engaged in cathedral, church, and village chapel, in offering up prayers for the success of the Government, in the cabinet and in the field.

The Minister of Finance and the Archbishop. The Minister of Finance accordingly made official application to the Archbishop. Having specified the necessities of the State, the exigencies of the war, the importance of a faithful compliance with the engagements contracted by the nation with its creditors, and the calamities of impending bankruptcy, he added, that "*the Clergy alone had been exempted from the onerous burdens, which had been imposed, of late, upon the rest of the people; and while the Executive deprecated the necessity that obliged him to call upon the Church, he would be neglecting his duty, should he fail in straining every nerve to relieve the Government from the financial pressure under which it was about to be crushed.*"

The Archbishop and Republicanism. The Archbishop had been a chief promoter and warm supporter of the revolution that had placed Paredes in power. He hoped by this means to overthrow utterly the republican system, to exterminate republican principles, and to erect a monarchy for a Foreign Prince. Yet the Archbishop replied to the Minister of Finance, "that he would convoke a meeting of his chapter, and submit the requisition of the Supreme Government; that he was willing to aid to the extent of his power in raising supplies, in order to carry on 'a war, in which the two precious boons so dear to Mexicans were at stake,—independence and religion!'"

Numbers and strength of the Clergy. The Mexican Ecclesiastical establishment, it will be remembered, according to the Report of the Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical affairs, consisted of one Archiepiscopal See, nine Bishoprics, eight Cathe-

dral Chapters, divided into one hundred and eighty-five prebendaries and canonries, and sub-divided into twelve hundred parishes. The number of clergy was about five thousand six hundred, two thirds of whom were secular priests.

The regulars, who wear the habit of their particular order, at least two thousand in number, possessed one hundred and fifty convents and monasteries. The streets of every large city abounded with the "Fathers" of the Dominican, Franciscan, Augustine, Carmelite, and Mercedarian orders.

Wealth of the Hierarchy. The Mexican Hierarchy was reputed to be the most opulent and splendid in the world. The Pope had granted to the Kings of Spain the revenues of the Colonies derived from the tithes usually levied by the Romish Church. The King appointed the Dignitaries, who became virtually the mere agents of the monarch, depending more upon his will than upon the Pope himself. But the principles and policy of the King and the Prelate were in perfect accord.

Revenues. The united revenues of the Archbishop of Mexico, the Bishops of Puebla, Oajaca, Valladolid, Yucatan, Guadalajara, Durango, Monterey, and Sonora, amounted to £145,000 sterling, of which the Archbishop received £27,000. The whole number of Priests, monks, and friars was about ten thousand.

Convents. In the City of Mexico alone, there were more than fifty convents, containing three thousand three hundred individuals. The clergy were generally native Spaniards, devoted to the interests of the king, the Church, and the Inquisition, passing their lives in criminal indulgence, or luxurious repose.* The present wealth of

* Robertson's Hist. America.

the clergy in lands, houses, plate, jewels, and money, had been estimated at \$300,000,000, yielding an annual revenue of \$25,000,000. They also held mortgages on a vast amount of real estate, in all the provinces.

Decision of the Chapter. The Archbishop submitted the application of the Minister of Finance to his Chapter, in convocation, and urged upon them the necessity of keeping upon good terms with the supreme Government at that crisis. But the Chapter decided that they had "no right to dispose of the property that had been given to the Church for sacred uses; that it was in opposition to the declarations of the Council of Trent, to surrender ecclesiastical revenues for secular purposes, and that they could not comply with the requisition of the State."

In this condition of things, the Archbishop died. The power of the Government was nearly paralyzed by the total want of popular sympathy with its principles and aims. Dissatisfaction was almost universal. The nation was ready to repudiate the usurpation of *Paredes* and the Church party, and to restore the Institutions of the Republic.

DEFEAT OF THE MONARCHICAL SCHEME OF 1846.

Defeat of the Monarchists. The career of *Paredes*, in opposition to the liberal and republican party, continued less than a year. Public discontent with the principles and course of the administration appeared on every hand. Several of the Departments protested against the "Law of Convocation," and called on the President to repeal it, and restore the masses to their rights. At the April election for Deputies, at Vera Cruz, the merchants refused to send a representative. The Assembly of the Department petitioned Congress to abrogate the "Law of Convocation." *Paredes*

replied by imposing a fine on *five* of the principal merchants, and ordered the Governor to arrest and imprison the members of the petitioning council.

Popular cry for a Republic. In May, a battalion of Government troops at Guadalajara, in the State of Jalisco, joined with the populace, and fired upon the Governor's Palace, amid shouts of "Long live the Republic!" The émeute spread like contagion. The whole body of the Government troops quailed before the clamors of the people. The contest ended with a regular pronunciamiento against the whole *Paredes* Government and scheme, and a plan for the regeneration of the Republic.

Protest against a Foreign Monarchy. The preamble protested against the design of erecting Mexico into a monarchy, and placing a foreign prince upon the throne. It denounced the "Law of Convocation," and the Congress under it, about to assemble, as aristocratic, opposed to the national feelings, and excluding the great mass of the people from their rights of representation.

A new Congress. The plan then declared that a new Congress should be convened, to be composed of Deputies elected according to the electoral laws of 1824, * * and which Congress should adopt a constitution in accordance with the national will, which unmistakably indicated that the monarchical principle should be excluded.*

One article declared confidence in Santa Anna, as the founder of the Mexican Republic, and that whatever may have been his errors, he had ever been its powerful champion, in spite of European Nations and the instigations of perverse Mexicans; and that he was the choice of the loyal troops at Guadalajara, as chief of the patriotic movement.

* Young's Mexico, p. 375.

A Provisional Government was then organized, the officers of which were sworn to maintain the republican principles.

In June, at the opening in the capital, of the extraordinary session of the Congress, General *Paredes* announced, with "profound grief," that the public order and tranquillity "were disturbed in the southern part of the Department of Mexico, in part of the Departments of Puebla and Oajaca, in the Departments of Sinaloa and Sonora, and recently in that of Jalisco." The truth was, the great mass of the people were arrayed against the Government in deadly hostility.

General ALVAREZ, a noble Patriot, at the head of the Republican forces in this movement, was sustained by almost the entire population in the western and southern portions of the Republic. A small part only of the population adhered to the Government. *Paredes*, having identified himself with the monarchists and failed, Santa Anna sided with the Republicans. The city of Vera Cruz, looking for an able and experienced leader, declared in favor of Santa Anna, and publicly invited the exile to return to his native land and join in the struggles of republicanism against monarchy.

The Republic proclaimed in the Capital. On the 4th of August, 1846, Generals Morales and Salas, in conjunction with Señor Valentin Gomez Farias, raised the tri-color banner in the Capital, and issued a pronunciamiento in favor of the Republican Federal system. The people and most of the troops flocked to the standard. *Paredes* fled the city. General Bravo, honored and respected for his character and services, remained in the capital. It was a great popular uprising—a restoration, rather than a revolution. From the citadel of Mexico the decree went forth that "the

Laws of a recreant Congress were null," and that body and the various State Assemblies in collusion with it, were dissolved. All exiled Mexicans, and especially "Santa Anna," "the well-deserving of his country," were invited to return; and he was solicited to take command of the armies of the Republic. The States were to be re-organized, by new elections according to law, as sovereign and independent. A new Congress was summoned to meet in four months, the members to be elected according to the law of 1824; and that any one who should attempt to retard the election of representatives, or to dissolve the legislative body, or suspend its sessions, should be accounted a traitor to his country. The plan for the regeneration of the Republic declared, "that the monarchical principle should be excluded from the future form of government, and that the honor, rights, and independence of the people should be maintained."

This was the voice of the people—that voice that falls,

"As snow-flakes fall upon the sod,
But executes the freeman's will,
As lightning does the will of God."

The whole monarchical scheme was repudiated, and a failure; its President a fugitive; its Congress dispersed; the Capital in new and loyal hands; and the people throughout the country rising in their majesty to reconstruct a Republican Government.

The grounds of this revolt against the usurpations of the monarchists, and the objects the republicans had in view, are set forth in the following extracts from the preamble and articles of their Proclamation:

"The generals, chiefs, and officers having met, and being penetrated with the urgent necessity which exists

for relieving the Republic forthwith from its grievous peril, and considering,

I. That from the moment when the Constitution ceased to exist, which the Republic freely and spontaneously gave to itself, those which were afterwards framed, have not been adapted to the exigencies and desires of a great majority of the nation.

II. That hence have proceeded the incessant changes, which have afflicted the country to such an extreme, that when she was torn to pieces, and after her external ills had been studiously aggravated, some *spurious* Mexicans have deemed themselves warranted, in wishing to subject the nation to the most shameful vassalage, by attempting to invite a Foreign Prince to govern the country, with the title of a monarch.

III. That for the purpose of facilitating so horrible a treason to independence, they have been so bold as to disavow the sovereignty of the people, by naming a Congress in which with special care, were combined the most extraordinary elements, yet those most suited to complete the ignominy of the nation.

IV. That all the laws which the present Congress may pass, and all the acts of the government being null, because neither the Congress nor the government are legitimate, consequently a just motive exists for the nation to continue to demand the exercise of its incontestible rights, usurped by the present administration.

V. That the administration referred to, being composed of men devoted, some to monarchy, others to detestable centralism, and all unfriendly to the army, whose dissolution they meditated some time since, because they encountered in it, an impediment to the accomplishment of their perverse views.

VI. That if these should unfortunately be carried into effect, the benefits of independence would be illusory, to which we sacrifice our blood and our fortune, for the purpose of enjoying the right to govern ourselves conformably to our desires and interests.

VII. That by establishing a Constitution in accordance with the will of the great majority of the nation, we shall at length possess a stable code of laws, beneath whose beneficent shade, our great elements of power and wealth shall be developed, and our internal tumults forever cease:

The Proclamation. We have come to proclaim, and do proclaim the following plan for the true regeneration of the Republic:

I. In place of the present Congress, another shall meet, composed of representatives chosen by the people according to the electoral laws which served for the choice of that of 1824, which shall charge itself with constituting the nation, by adopting the form of government which may appear to be in accordance with the national will; and which shall charge itself also, with all that relates to the war with the United States, and the question of Texas and other frontier departments. The monarchical form of government, which the nation evidently detests, is excluded.

II. All Mexicans faithful to their country, including those who may be absent therefrom, are called upon to render their services in the present national movement; for which purpose we specially invite his Excellency, General Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, "the well-deserving" of his country, acknowledging him from this moment, as General-in-chief of all the forces pledged and determined to fight, in order that the nation may recover its rights, secure its liberty, and govern itself."

The spirit and aims of the people are further exhibited in the manifesto of General Salas, General-in-chief of the Republican Liberating army. He says,

Manifesto of the Republican Army. Fellow-citizens: Placed at the head of the movement which was happily effected on the morning of this day, I consider myself under the strict obligation to present to you an account of my conduct, of the motives which determined me to act.

Ever since the destruction of the Federal Constitution in 1835, abandoning the path of law, we have recklessly rushed along the tortuous track of arbitrary proceedings. Advancing as chance directed, without any beacon to guide us, our unfortunate country has reached the brink of a fearful abyss.

System has followed system; constitution has replaced constitution; and one set of persons has succeeded another in power. But neither have the systems been based on solid foundations, nor have the constitutions been invested with the seal of legitimacy, nor have the individuals charged with power, escaped the fatal contagion of party spirit. Thus factions have always ruled, *but the people never*. Men, not principles, have triumphed.

This is no occasion for bringing to view one by one, all the acts which have brought us to the present state; nor to throw the blame on one party, or to defend another. Every party has contributed its share to the work of the public ruin. Both the victors and the vanquished have alike been victims, because in each case a faction, not a principle, has triumphed.

The last change, however, beyond measure bolder and more imprudent than those which preceded it, was not limited like these to the mere change of the person in power, and to the expansion or contraction of social prin-

ciples. Those who effected it, raising their views to higher objects, aimed at the entire destruction of the organization of society. Utterly regardless of the character, the customs, and even the views of the nation, they sought, without respect to the length of time which has elapsed since our independence was achieved, to reestablish anew, in Mexico, a form of government for which we have not among us any of the bases, on which it rests in Europe.

The faction which entertained this design unfortunately found the most complete support in the Government of January, under whose protection it displayed its banner, and without any reserve began to unfold and sustain monarchical principles, blasting with vile calumnies our public men, bringing our affairs into contempt by means of misrepresentation or ridicule, and drawing from the past, as thus exhibited, the conclusion that the evils of the country arise from the Republican system, and that the only remedy for them consists in the measure which they dared to propose,—*the erection of a throne for a foreigner*. As an effective means of attaining this end, it dictated the summons for a Congress which should represent what is called the aristocracy, and from whose bosom the *people* were rejected with disdain and insult, as born, in the opinion of this faction, only to obey.

In vain did the Cabinet, attempt, by its measures on the 3d of August, to oppose a dyke to the torrent of public opinion, which was already overflowing its banks, to overwhelm this oligarchical administration.

MEXICO, August 6th, 1846.

On the morning of the 4th, the Citadel passed the sentence of death upon this system, and two days sufficed to overthrow it.

CHAPTER V.

THE RESTORATION OF THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESS, AND THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION—1846.

The Congress
of Dec. 1846.

ON the 6th of December, 1846, in conformity with the proclamation of the provisional Government, and in pursuance of the electoral law of 1824, the new Sovereign Constituent Congress of the Nation assembled in the Capital. The whole country substantially had given in its adhesion to the new Government. Santa Anna had returned from exile. In his reply to the Minister of War, September 14, 1846, he acknowledged the "decree of the Supreme Government, embracing a programme for the due celebration of the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1824," the assumption by "himself" of the Supreme Executive Power, on the anniversary of the "glorious cry of Dolores."

Professions of
Santa Anna.

He added, "My satisfaction is extreme to observe the enthusiasm with which preparations are made to celebrate the two great blessings which have fallen upon this nation,—her independence and her liberty,—and I am penetrated with the deepest gratitude to find that my arrival at the Capital will be made to contribute to the solemnities of so great an occasion. I shall make my entrée into that city to-morrow at mid-day, and desire, in contributing my share to the National Jubilee, to observe such a course as may best accord with my duties to my country,—beloved of my heart,—and with the due respect to the sovereign will of the people.

"I have been called by the voice of my fellow-citizens to exercise the office of Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Republic." "I now see a terrible contest with a perfidious and daring enemy, in which the Mexican Republic

ciples. Those who effected it, raising their views to higher objects, aimed at the entire destruction of the organization of society. Utterly regardless of the character, the customs, and even the views of the nation, they sought, without respect to the length of time which has elapsed since our independence was achieved, to reestablish anew, in Mexico, a form of government for which we have not among us any of the bases, on which it rests in Europe.

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"I have been called by the voice of my fellow-citizens to exercise the office of Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Republic." "I now see a terrible contest with a perfidious and daring enemy, in which the Mexican Republic

must re-conquer the insignia of her glory, and a fortunate issue, if victorious; or disappear from the face of the earth, if so unfortunate as to be defeated."

"I also see a treacherous faction raising its head from her bosom, which is calling up a form of Government detested by the united nation, proposing as preferable submission to a foreign dominion. And I behold at last, that after much vacillation, that nation has resolved to establish her right to act for herself, and to arrange such a form of Government as best suits her wishes."

"Your Excellency will at once perceive how great an error I should commit, in assuming the Supreme Magistracy, when my duty calls me to the field to fight against the enemies of the Republic. I should disgrace myself if, when called to the post of danger, I should spring to that of power."

"The elections for Members of Congress to form the Constitution which the people wish to adopt are proceeding. That Congress will now soon convene, and while I shall be engaged in the conflict, in armed defence of her independence, the nation will place such safeguards around her liberties as may best suit herself."

The first and all-absorbing business of the Congress and the crisis was, to procure resources to carry on the government, and continue the war then pending with the United States. The conflict between the Government and the "Clergy" has already been alluded to in the sketch of Juarez.

DON VALENTIN GOMEZ FARIAS.

"Citizen Valentin Gomez Farias, one of the earliest, most constant, and honored liberal republicans, occupied the Presidential chair. He brought forward, as the only

means of supplying the indispensable necessities of the nation, the celebrated law for the loan of fourteen millions of dollars, to be raised upon the property of the clergy; and in the event of the impossibility of the negotiation, then the sale of said property until the requisite amount should be raised.

"There were three parties in the Congress: 1. That of the 'old regime,' the clerical and monarchical interests, a small minority. 2. The radical republican party, Rejon, Ramirez and Juarez as their leaders. 3. The moderates, who were strongly represented, and headed by Otero.

"The monarchists and the moderates attacked the law. The Republicans sustained it. After a masterly and brilliant discussion, long to be remembered in the annals of Mexico, the bill passed by a small majority. The power and eloquence with which Rejon, Ramirez, and Juarez supported the measure, it has been said, would have attracted universal attention, had not the echoes of their thrilling, patriotic appeals been silenced by the thunders of foreign guns reverberating along the shores of the gulf and the Pacific."

Protest of the Vicar-General. During the discussion, the Vicar-general of Mexico sent in a protest against the bill, which was read to the Chambers. But the measure was deemed just, and indispensable to the salvation of the Republic. The decree was approved by the President, and was promulgated the following day.

In three days, the Archbishop's chapter issued a formal protest against the law, as violating the fundamental principles of the church, and the decisions of the Council of Trent.

"The opposition of the church party extended throughout the country. The priesthood denounced the govern-

ment, as favoring the cause of the enemies of the faith. In the cities and large towns, where religious establishments and ecclesiastics existed in great numbers, the excitement and opposition were violent. The protest of the Archbishop's chapter was followed by others from Puebla, Queretaro, and other States, the clergy using everywhere all the arts known to them, to stir the popular mind against Farias and the Government. In 1835, when he supported a similar measure, the hatred and instigations of the clergy compelled him to fly for his life."

Power of the Priesthood over the People. The passions and resistance excited by the clergy made it impossible to execute the law. The officers charged with the duty were assailed by the multitude. By priestly domination they were led to believe, that an Archbishop and ten Bishops, two hundred Cathedral Dignitaries, five thousand Priests and Fathers of all orders, and perhaps five thousand more inmates of convents, nunneries, and religious houses, enjoying the accumulated ecclesiastical acquisitions of three hundred years, to the amount of more than *three hundred millions* of the most valuable property of the nation, a large portion of its available wealth—who held all its offices of honor and of trust—who had controlled all its measures of domestic administration and of foreign policy in all things, temporal and spiritual—who were living in luxury and ease, should be exempt from bearing any share in the pecuniary burdens of the State. It was sacrilege to tax a Priest. It was piety and patriotism in the masses to support both Church and State.

Anathemas. All the penalties of the inquisition, except the fagot and the stake, were denounced against the Government and its executive officers, and all who should participate in the purchase or sale of the estates of the Church. There were no buyers.

The same scenes enacted in England in the reign of King John were repeated here.

Ecclesiastical weapons. Not content with this opposition, the clergy wielded, with all its well-known effect, that subtle, insidious weapon, spiritual power, which appalls the minds of an unenlightened population. The cathedrals and churches were closed; the altars robed in mourning; no mass, no swinging censer of incense, no prayer, no benediction, no marriage rite nor baptism, no sacrament except for the sick and the dying, and no mass for the souls of the dead.

Popular effect. The accompaniments of such a state of things—of the priestly game on the one hand, and popular impressions on the other, can be more easily imagined than described. Multitudes cursed the Government. Public journals in the interest of the clergy, openly counselled rebellion against the Executive and the Congress, in order to defeat "the sacrilegious attempt to despoil the Ministers of Heaven of their sacred wealth."

Indomitable firmness of Farias. President Farias, with a firmness and devotion to the principle of "equality before the law," that entitles him to the everlasting gratitude of those who mean to live and die to establish "human rights," was neither intimidated nor deterred from his course by the denunciations of the priests, or the threats of their deluded people.

The Clerical Revolution. But the clergy were indefatigable. They sowed dissensions among the people, the soldiery, and the government, until the city was ripe for the result, when Don Matias Pena y Barrigan, a monarchist and an ally of the clergy, headed an insurrection, and issued his pronouncement against the Federal system and Gomez Farias.

This act in the Mexican drama closed by the return

of Santa Anna to the Capital, under a compromise with the clerical and monarchical party, who had so long before announced their purpose to erect a monarchy, and invite a Foreign Prince to the throne! the same party that subsequently, in 1863, welcomed the foreign invaders at Puebla, with all the pomp the Mexican Hierachy could display.

Defection of Santa Anna. Santa Anna, whose professions and oath we have above recorded, on the 24th of March, 1847, accepted a welcome from those whom, six months before, he pronounced enemies of his country, and is inaugurated their President with all the honors—a Mass and Te Deum in the Cathedral.

English view of Santa Anna. The London Chronicle of June 15, 1847, said of this event, "This is the third time Santa Anna has held in his hand the destinies of his country, and three times he has shown himself unequal to the task. The events of the year 1847 have been but a repetition of those of 1835 and 1841; at each of the three periods he has brought ruin upon Mexico, and his fall will now, it is to be hoped, prove irretrievable."

During his Dictatorship, he abolished the Institute of Sciences in Oajaca, for its liberal principles, and on July 1, 1854, he commissioned Señor Gutierrez Estrada "to negotiate in Europe for the establishment of a Monarchy in Mexico," with powers as follows:

"I confer upon him, by these presents, the full powers necessary to enter into arrangements and make the proper offers at the Courts of London, Paris, Madrid, and Vienna, to obtain from those Governments, or from any one of them, the establishment of a Monarchy, derived from any of the Royal Races of those powers, under qualifications and conditions to be established by special instructions."

PART VII.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

PROGRESSIVE STEPS TOWARDS THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC.

The three stages of the Revolution. The Mexican Revolution, as a whole, involved three great events or proceedings: 1. The throwing off the *yoke of Spain*, and the maintenance of an independent organic existence. 2. The overthrow of the ecclesiastical system *at home*, which like the pall of Egypt overshadowed the whole land. 3. The construction of a new government, on principles in harmony with the "rights of man," and the spirit of modern civilization. The latter implied a complete reconstruction of society in all the domain of government, of religious institutions, and of the entire fabric of civil, social, and educational life.

The first Congress. After the first really national Congress, and the Constitution of 1824, the work of reorganization was embarrassed and hampered by the perpetual opposition of the Church party. They left no measures untried to defeat the designs and efforts of the Republican party to establish order and law, under the protection of a free Constitutional government. And yet every outbreak and every outrage was overruled for the furtherance of both civil and religious freedom, on broader and firmer foundations. Every step in the way, every attempted re-

of Santa Anna to the Capital, under a compromise with the clerical and monarchical party, who had so long before announced their purpose to erect a monarchy, and invite a Foreign Prince to the throne! the same party that subsequently, in 1863, welcomed the foreign invaders at Puebla, with all the pomp the Mexican Hierachy could display.

Defection of Santa Anna. Santa Anna, whose professions and oath we have above recorded, on the 24th of March, 1847, accepted a welcome from those whom, six months before, he pronounced enemies of his country, and is inaugurated their President with all the honors—a Mass and Te Deum in the Cathedral.

English view of Santa Anna. The London Chronicle of June 15, 1847, said of this event, "This is the third time Santa Anna has held in his hand the destinies of his country, and three times he has shown himself unequal to the task. The events of the year 1847 have been but a repetition of those of 1835 and 1841; at each of the three periods he has brought ruin upon Mexico, and his fall will now, it is to be hoped, prove irretrievable."

During his Dictatorship, he abolished the Institute of Sciences in Oajaca, for its liberal principles, and on July 1, 1854, he commissioned Señor Gutierrez Estrada "to negotiate in Europe for the establishment of a Monarchy in Mexico," with powers as follows:

"I confer upon him, by these presents, the full powers necessary to enter into arrangements and make the proper offers at the Courts of London, Paris, Madrid, and Vienna, to obtain from those Governments, or from any one of them, the establishment of a Monarchy, derived from any of the Royal Races of those powers, under qualifications and conditions to be established by special instructions."

PART VII.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

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actionary movement turned out for the destruction of some lingering relic, or dangerous buttress of the old despotism.

Action and reaction. From 1824 to 1853, the country was rent and torn by a succession of conflicts, in which the distinctive principles of the two great parties were ever uppermost. The Church power was wielded with indefatigable and unscrupulous energy, to baffle the Republicans, and stay the progress of constitutional freedom. But its march was irresistible. There were pronunciamientos and "Plans," "Bases of Political organization," Centralized military dictatorships, and schemes at home and schemes abroad to destroy the Republic, to establish a monarchy, with a Foreign, a Bourbon Prince, upon the throne, to perpetuate the sway of the Priesthood, and entrench them, in their long-cherished immunities and monopolies. In all the plans of the church party, "The Roman Catholic Religion," to the exclusion of all others, was to be the Religion of the State, and the exercise of any and every other forbidden.

The plan of Tacubaya. There was the "plan of Tacubaya," in 1841, under the inspiration of Santa Anna, in conjunction with the Church party and officers of the army. One hundred and ninety-one individuals proclaimed the existing Constitution suspended, and displaced by another. A new Congress was called, a junta created, to be named by the General-in-chief of the army, (Santa Anna.) The junta was to elect the provisional President, who was to be "invested with all the powers necessary to reorganize the nation, and all the branches of the administration;" in other words, with supreme power. The General selected the junta, and the junta selected him. And this is a fair specimen of the reactionary movements of the "old regime."

CHAPTER II.

THE REVOLUTION OF AYUTLA—1853.

The triumph of Republicans. THE great final, triumphant step in the regeneration of Mexico, was irrevocably taken in 1853, by the "PLAN of AYUTLA," proclaimed by Generals Alvarez and Comonfort.

During the dictatorship of Santa Anna, the liberal party had made steady progress throughout the Republic. They aimed at radical reforms in the government, and were indefatigable in extending a knowledge of their principles and objects. The clergy, equally intent upon opposing both, made every possible effort to uphold the Dictator, in a course and policy which genuine Mexicans detested. As most other nations would have done, they repudiated the idea of inviting or imposing a *foreign monarchy* upon themselves, and looked upon Santa Anna as a traitor to his country, a violator of his oath, and recreant to the most natural and deep-seated instincts of a patriotic and loyal people.

The leaders. Generals Alvarez and Comonfort were the leaders, during this period, in the great movement of the Republicans against the Church party under Santa Anna. Alvarez, honored and trusted for his devoted patriotism and incorruptible integrity, was the most prominent in asserting and maintaining the reforms embodied in the "PLAN of AYUTLA," and was Commander-in-chief of the Republican forces, but from his advanced age and infirmities, was less conspicuous in the active service of the campaign.

General Comonfort was, in character, political opinions, and associations, of the *moderate party*, but in this move-

ment allied himself with the Republicans, and by his activity and prestige contributed greatly to their success in the "PLAN of AYUTLA."

Defeat of the Church party.

Santa Anna and the "Church Party" made a desperate struggle to defeat it. But the general indignation at the defection of the former, a pledged and sworn defender of the Republic, the justice and beneficence of the principles and objects proclaimed at Ayutla, together with the character of the patriotic leaders of the movement, and the numbers of their forces, overcame all opposition. (It was a signal triumph. The Church power was overthrown; Santa Anna fled the country. On the 4th of October, 1855, a Republican assembly was convoked at Cuernavaca, about sixty miles south of Mexico. General Alvarez was elected President, who immediately called Juarez to his cabinet as Secretary of State for the Departments of Justice, Ecclesiastical Affairs, and Public Instruction. On the 17th of October, the President issued a proclamation for an election of delegates to a national Congress, to meet "*for the purpose of reconstituting the nation, under the form of a popular representative democratic republic.*"

Precarious victory.

The state of parties, however, did not encourage the hope of a long continuance of this administration. The composition of the Cabinet of President Alvarez was of such heterogeneous elements, taken from the republican and from the moderate parties, as to interpose the most serious obstacles to the progress of radical reforms. Comonfort himself could not be relied upon to stand firm, in the face of the Church party, and of the remains of the army abandoned by Santa Anna. This was, however, greatly demoralized by partial dissolution and the onward sweep of the reform movement. Still

there was power enough and influence over it left, to occasion great uneasiness and uncertainty.

Policy of the Republicans.

Juarez, Ocampo, and the Republican party were desirous to do away with the army, as containing elements of danger and disorder in the work of the reconstruction of the State. They promulgated everywhere the desire and the right to constitute a government "Of the People," "By the People," "For the People," unembarrassed by the presence and possible opposition of an unfriendly military power. Comonfort was inclined to retain, recruit, and reform the army, in which the whole Church party, of course, and the moderates generally, concurred.

Under these circumstances, it was next to impossible to bring about any measures favorable to the Republican party.

"THE JUAREZ LAW" FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.*

The law of Juarez.

One of the first acts of President Alvarez was the proclamation, on the 22d of November, 1855, of the celebrated law "for the administration of justice," known as the "Law of Juarez." This law, although it embodied great and essential reforms in the administration of justice, was chiefly opposed because it abolished the *whole system of class legislation*, suppressed the military and ecclesiastical *fueros*—the privileged and special tribunals and charters of the clergy and the army—and established, for the first time in Mexico, *equality of the citizens before the law*. This was a terrible blow to the Church party, divesting them of a mighty power which these immunities and privileges enabled them to exercise over the two great controlling organizations of the Repub-

* See Appendix.

lic. Exempted from the common laws of the people, and vested with singular rights, charters, and franchises, they maintained a caste and a clique in the body politic as selfish and oppressive as it was odious; always evading the laws of the nation, and arrogating to themselves all the prerogatives of an exclusive aristocracy.

Approval of the Law. The law met with the approval of an immense majority throughout the Republic. But the Church party and the moderates became pledged to its overthrow. Comonfort, displeased with the law and its author, entered into a compromise with the Church party in opposition to it. Covertly or indirectly he incited various military revolts which broke out on the promulgation of the law, and, aided by all the party influence he could bring to bear, finally induced President Alvarez, in view of his age, infirmities, and the cares of the government, to resign the Presidency, and to nominate himself instead, as "President substitute" of the nation.

"The Law of Justice," however, continued in force, because, on the one hand Comonfort dared not at once to revoke it, and on the other, the constituent Congress shortly afterwards gave it its sanction."

Final adoption of the Constitution. After the success of the "Plan of Ayutla," the overthrow of the Church party, and the flight of Santa Anna, in 1855, the Constituent Congress, convoked by the proclamation of General Alvarez on the 17th of October, assembled on the 18th of February, 1856. It continued in session one year, framed and adopted the Constitution, which was sworn to on the 3d of February, 1857, and became from that time the supreme organic law of the Republic of Mexico. The government under it was officially recognized by the representatives of foreign powers.

The Constitution provided for the election of a new Congress, and of a President, whose term of office should begin on the 1st of December, 1857, and continue four years; and that in the event of the absence of the President, his office should devolve upon the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court.

The following is the Constitution:

CHAPTER III.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1857.

Ignacio Comonfort, President Substitute of the Mexican Republic, to the inhabitants of the same.

Be it known that the extraordinary constituent congress has decreed as follows:

In the name of God, and by the authority of the Mexican people—

The representatives of the different States, the district and territories that comprise the republic of Mexico, called by the plan proclaimed in Ayutla on the 1st of March, 1854, reformed in Acapulco on the 11th of the same month and year, and published by the convention of October 17, 1855, in order to constitute the nation under the democratic republican form, representative and popular, putting in exercise the powers with which they are vested, comply with their high charge by decreeing the following

CONSTITUTION

Of the Mexican republic, upon the indestructible base of its legitimate independence, proclaimed the 16th of September, 1810, and consummated on the 27th of September, 1821.

TITLE I.

Section first.—Of the rights of man.

ARTICLE 1. The Mexican people recognize that the rights of

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TITLE I.

Section first.—Of the rights of man.

ARTICLE 1. The Mexican people recognize that the rights of

man are the basis and the object of social institutions. Wherefore it is declared, that all the laws and the authorities of the country must respect and sustain the guarantees established by the present constitution.

ARTICLE 2. *All are born free in the republic.* Slaves that set foot upon the national territory recover by that single act their liberty, and have the right to the protection of the laws.

ARTICLE 3. *Education is free.* The law shall determine what professions need license for their exercise, and with what requisites relative thereto.

ARTICLE 4. Every man is free to adopt such profession or industrial pursuit as he may prefer, the same being useful and honorable, and to enjoy the products thereof. Neither shall any one be hindered in the exercise of such profession or industrial pursuit unless by judicial sentence, when the same prejudices the rights of a third person, or by executive order, dictated in terms prescribed by law, in case the same offends the rights of society.

ARTICLE 5. No one shall be forced to give his personal labor without just remuneration, and without his full consent. The law shall not authorize any contract having for its object the loss or the irrevocable sacrifice of the liberty of man, whether the same be for labor, education, or religious vows. Neither shall the law authorize agreements by which a man stipulates his own proscription or exile.

ARTICLE 6. *The expression of opinions* shall not be the object of any inquisition, judicial or administrative, except when the same is an attack upon morals, assails the rights of third parties, incites to any crime or offence, or disturbs public order.

ARTICLE 7. *The liberty of writing and publishing works* on whatsoever subjects is inviolable. No law nor authority shall establish previous censorship, nor exact bonds from the authors or printers, nor limit the liberty of the press, which has no limits but with regard to private life, to morals, and the public peace. The crimes of the press shall be judged by one jury that shall determine the fact, and by another that shall apply the law and fix the penalty.

ARTICLE 8. *The right of petition* is inviolable, exercised in

writing, and in a manner respectful and pacific; but in political matters it can only be exercised by citizens of the republic. To all petitions shall be returned the written opinion of the authority to whom they may have been directed, upon whom the obligation is imposed of making known the result to the petitioner.

ARTICLE 9. To none shall be limited *the right to associate or reunite peacefully* for whatsoever lawful object; but only the citizens of the republic can assemble in order to take part in the political affairs of the country. No armed assembly has the right of deliberation.

ARTICLE 10. All men have the right to possess and carry arms for their security and legitimate defence. The law shall determine what shall be prohibited, and the penalty to be incurred for carrying them.

ARTICLE 11. *All men have the right of entering and leaving the republic*, of travelling through its territory, and of changing their residence without the necessity of letters of security, passports, salvo conducta, or other similar requisite. The exercise of this right shall not prejudice the legitimate faculties of the judicial or administrative authority in cases of criminal or civil responsibility.

ARTICLE 12. *There are not, nor shall there be*, recognized in the republic, *titles of nobility, nor prerogatives, nor hereditary honors.* Solely the people, legitimately represented, may decree recompenses in honor of those that have given or are rendering eminent services to their country or to humanity.

ARTICLE 13. In the Mexican republic *no one shall be judged by special laws, nor by special tribunals.* No person or corporation can have *fueros*, nor enjoy emoluments that are not in compensation for a public service, and that are established by law. Martial law shall exist solely for crimes and offences that have exact connexion with military discipline. The law shall prescribe with clearness the cases included in this exception.

ARTICLE 14. *No retroactive law shall be passed.* No one shall be judged or sentenced except under laws of date anterior to the fact and exactly applicable to the case, and by a tribunal which shall have been previously established by law.

ARTICLE 15. Treaties shall never be made for the extradition of political offenders, nor for that of those criminals under the common law, who shall have been held in the country where the offence was committed in the condition of slaves; nor shall conventions or treaties be made by which in any manner are altered the rights and guarantees which this constitution secures to the man and to the citizen.

ARTICLE 16. *No one may be molested in his person, family, domicile, papers, or possessions, except in virtue of a written order from a competent authority, based upon legal cause for the proceeding.* In case of high crimes, all persons may apprehend the offenders and their accomplices, putting them without delay at the disposal of the nearest authorities.

ARTICLE 17. No one can be arrested for debts of a character purely civil. No one may exercise violence in reclaiming his rights. Tribunals are established for administering justice; this shall be gratuitous, judicial costs are therefore abolished.

ARTICLE 18. Imprisonment shall only take place for offences which merit personal punishment. In whatever stage of the proceedings it shall appear that the accused may not be liable to this penalty, he shall be put at liberty under bail. In no case shall the imprisonment be prolonged for default of payment of fees, or whatever other furnishing of money.

ARTICLE 19. No detention shall exceed the term of three days, except upon proof of sufficient reason for imprisonment, in conformity with the requisites required by law. The sole lapse of this time shall render responsible the authority that orders or consents to it, and the agents, officers, or jailors that execute it. All maltreatment in the apprehension or confinement of prisoners, all hardship which shall be inflicted without legal motive, and all taxes or contributions in the prisons, are abuses which shall be corrected by the laws and severely punished by the authorities.

ARTICLE 20. In all criminal trials, the accused shall have the following guarantees: First. That of being informed of the motive of the proceeding and the name of the accuser, if there should be one. Second. That of taking his preparatory declara-

tion within forty-eight hours, computed from the time of the order for his arrest from the judge. Third. That of being confronted with the witnesses against him. Fourth. That he shall be furnished with the facts and averments contained in the accusation, in order to prepare his defence. Fifth. That of being heard in defence by himself or by counsel, or by both, according as he may desire. In case of having no one to defend him, he shall be presented with a list of the official counsel, that he may select the one, or the ones he may desire.

ARTICLE 21. The application of punishment, properly such, belongs to the judicial authority. Political or administrative authorities can only impose, as corrections, fines not exceeding five hundred dollars, and confinement not exceeding one month, in cases and manner expressly determined by law.

ARTICLE 22. *There shall be forever prohibited penalties of mutilation, and of infamy, branding, flogging, the bastinado, torture of whatever species, excessive fines, confiscation of property, or whatever other unsuitable or unusual punishment.*

ARTICLE 23. In order to abolish the penalty of death, the administrative power is charged with establishing, without delay, a penitentiary system. Until then it shall be abolished for political offences, and shall not be used in other than cases of high treason during foreign war, highway robbery, arson, parricide, murder with malice premeditated or for gain, high military offences, and for piracy, as defined by law.

ARTICLE 24. No criminal proceeding may have more than three instances. No one shall be tried twice for the same offence, whether he be absolved or condemned by the judgment. The practice of exempting from the regular course of proceedings shall be abolished.

ARTICLE 25. *Sealed correspondence circulating by the mails shall be inviolable.* The violation of this guarantee is an offence which the law shall severely chastise.

ARTICLE 26. In time of peace, no military authority may exact quarters, transportation, or other service, real or personal, without the consent of the proprietor. In time of war it may only be taken in the manner prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 27. Private property shall not be taken without the consent of the owner, except in cases of public utility and with previous indemnification. The law shall determine the authority that may make the appropriation in such cases, and the requisites for its exercise. *No corporation, civil or ecclesiastical*, whatever may be its character, denomination, or object, shall have legal power to *acquire in proprietorship*, or to *administer for itself real estate*, with the sole exception of edifices destined exclusively and directly to the purpose or object of the institution.

ARTICLE 28. *Monopolies shall not be established*, nor places for the sale of privileged goods, nor prohibitions in the character of so-called protections to industry, excepting solely those relative to the coining of money, to the mails, and to those privileges which, for a limited time, are conceded by the law to the inventors or perfectors of any improvement.

ARTICLE 29. In cases of invasion, grave disturbance of the public peace, or whatever cause which may put society in great peril or conflict, solely the President of the republic in concurrence with the council of ministers, and with the approbation of the congress of the union, and in the recess of this, of the permanent deputation, may suspend the guarantees established by this constitution, with exception of those that assure the life of man; but such suspension shall be only for a limited time, by means of general provisions, and of such a character as not to favor a determined individual purpose. If the suspension take place during the session of congress, this shall grant such authorization as they shall esteem necessary to enable the executive to confront the circumstances. If it shall take place during recess, the permanent deputation shall, without delay, convoke the congress for its advice and action.

Section second.—Of Mexicans.

ARTICLE 30. *They are Mexicans*: First. Who are born within or without the republic, of Mexican fathers. Second. Strangers that are naturalized in conformity with the laws of the federation. Third. Strangers who acquire real estate in the re-

public, or have Mexican sons; providing always, they do not manifest their resolution to preserve their nationality.

ARTICLE 31. It is obligatory upon all Mexicans: First. To defend the independence, the territory, the honor, the rights, and the interests of their country. Second. To contribute towards public expenses, as well of the federation as of the State and municipality where they may reside, in an equitable and proportional manner, as shall be prescribed by the laws.

ARTICLE 32. *Mexicans shall be preferred to strangers under equality of circumstances for all public employments, trusts, or commissions* named by the authorities, when the quality of citizenship shall not be indispensable.

Laws shall be formed for improving the condition of Mexican laborers, providing premiums for those who distinguish themselves in whatever science or art, stimulating industry, and founding colleges and practical schools of art and industry.

Section third.—Of strangers.

ARTICLE 33. *Those are strangers* who do not possess the qualifications determined in article 30. They are entitled to the guarantees established by section first, title first, of the present constitution, except that in all cases the government has the right to expel those who are pernicious to society.

It is obligatory upon them to contribute towards public expenses in the manner that may be prescribed by the laws, and to obey and respect the institutions, laws, and authorities of the country, submitting to the judgments and sentences of the tribunals, without power to seek other protection than that which the laws concede to Mexican citizens.

Section fourth.—Of Mexican citizens.

ARTICLE 34. *Those are citizens of the republic* who, having the quality of Mexicans, have also the following requisites: First. Eighteen years of age if married, or twenty-one if not married. Second. An honest means of livelihood.

ARTICLE 35. The prerogatives of citizens are: First. To vote

at popular elections. Second. To be voted for, for any office subject to popular election, and of being selected for any other employment or commission, having the requisite qualifications established by law. Third. To associate to discuss the political business of the country. Fourth. To take arms in the army or in the national guard, in defence of the republic and its institutions. Fifth. To exercise in all cases the right of petition.

ARTICLE 36. It is obligatory upon citizens of the republic: First. To be registered in the poll-list of his municipality, stating the property of which he is possessed, and the industry, profession, or labor by which he subsists. Second. To enlist in the national guard. Third. To vote at popular elections in the district to which he belongs. Fourth. To assist in the conduct of popular elections; which services, however, shall be subject to remuneration.

ARTICLE 37. The character of citizen is lost: First. By naturalization in a foreign country. Second. *By serving officially the government of another country, accepting its decorations, titles, or employments*, without previous permission from the federal congress, excepting literary, scientific, or benevolent titles, which may be accepted freely.

ARTICLE 38. The law shall prescribe the cases and the form in which may be lost or suspended the rights of citizenship, and the manner in which they may be regained.

TITLE II.

Section first.—Of the national sovereignty and the form of government.

ARTICLE 39. *The national sovereignty resides essentially and originally in the people. All public power springs from the people and is instituted for their benefit. The people have at all times the inalienable right of altering or modifying their form of government.*

ARTICLE 40. *The Mexican people voluntarily constitute themselves a democratic, federal, representative republic, formed of States free and sovereign in all that concerns their interior gov-*

ernment, but united in a federation established according to the principles of this fundamental law.

ARTICLE 41. The people exercise their sovereignty by means of federal officers in cases belonging to the federation, and through those of the States in all that relates to the internal affairs of the States, in the manner respectively established by this federal constitution, and by the constitutions of the States, which latter shall never conflict with the federal compact.

Section second.—Of the integral parts of the federation and of the national territory.

ARTICLE 42. The national territory comprises the integral parts of the federation, and the adjacent islands in both seas.

ARTICLE 43. The integral parts of the federation are: The States of Aguas Calientes, Colima, Chiapas, Chihuahua, Durango, Guanajuato, Guerrero, Jalisco, Mexico, Michoacan, Nuevo Leon y Coahuila, Oajaca, Puebla, Queretaro, San Luis Potosi, Sinaloa, Sonora, Tabasco, Tamaulipas, Tlaxcala, Valle de Mexico, Vera Cruz, Yucatan, Zacatecos, and the Territory of Lower California.

ARTICLE 44. The States of Aguas Calientes, Chiapas, Chihuahua, Durango, Guerrero, Mexico, Puebla, Queretaro, Sinaloa, Sonora, Tamaulipas, and the Territory of Lower California, preserve the limits which they now have.

ARTICLE 45. The States of Colima and Tlaxcala preserve in their new character of States the limits which they had as territories of the federation.

ARTICLE 46. The State of the Valley of Mexico is formed of the territory actually composing the federal district, but the erection into a State shall only have effect when the supreme federal authorities shall be removed to another place.

ARTICLE 47. The State of Neuvo Leon y Coahuila comprises the territory which heretofore composed the two States of which it is now formed, except the part of the hacienda of Bonanza, which is reincorporated in Zacatecas, in the same terms as were established before its incorporation with Coahuila.

ARTICLE 48. The States of Guanajuato, Jalisco, Michoacan, Oajaca, San Luis Potosi, Tabasco, Vera Cruz, Yucatan, and Zac-

atecas recover the extension and limits which they had on the 31st of December, 1852, with the alterations which are established in the following article.

ARTICLE 49. The town of Contepec, which has belonged to Guanajuato, is incorporated in Michoacan. The municipality of Ahualulco, which has belonged to Zacatecas, is incorporated in San Luis Potosi. The municipalities of Ojo Caliente and San Francisco de los Adames, which have belonged to San Luis, as well as the towns of Neuva, Tlaxcala, and San Andres del Teul, which have belonged to Jalisco, are incorporated in Zacatecas. The department of Tuxpan continues to form part of Vera Cruz. The canton of Huimauguillo, which has belonged to Vera Cruz, is incorporated in Tabasco.

TITLE III.

Of the division of powers.

ARTICLE 50. *The supreme power of the federation is divided for its exercise into legislative, executive, and judicial. Two or more of these powers can never be united in the same person, nor the legislative power be deposited in one individual.*

Section first.—Of the legislative power.

ARTICLE 51. *The exercise of the supreme legislative power is deposited in one assembly, which shall be denominated the Congress of the Union.*

Paragraph first.—Of the election and installation of congress.

ARTICLE 52. The congress of the union shall be composed of representatives elected in their entire number, each two years, by Mexican citizens.

ARTICLE 53. A deputy shall be named for each 40,000 inhabitants, or for each fraction over 20,000. The Territory in which the population shall be less than this shall still be entitled to send one deputy.

ARTICLE 54. For each deputy proper shall be elected also a substitute.

ARTICLE 55. The election for deputies shall be indirect in the first degree, and by secret ballot, in the manner which shall be prescribed by the electoral law.

ARTICLE 56. In order *to be eligible as a deputy it is required to be a Mexican citizen in the full exercise of his rights; to have completed 25 years of age on the day of the opening of the session; to be a resident of the State or Territory which makes the election, and not to be an ecclesiastic.* Residence is not lost by absence in the discharge of any public trust bestowed by popular election.

ARTICLE 57. The position of deputy is incompatible with the holding of any federal commission or office from which a salary is received.

ARTICLE 58. The deputies proper, from the day of their election up to the day on which their trust is concluded, cannot accept any employment offered by the executive of the union by which pay is received, except with the previous license of congress. The same requisites are necessary for deputy substitutes, when in the exercise of their functions.

ARTICLE 59. The deputies are inviolable for their opinions expressed in the discharge of their trust, and shall never be called to account for them.

ARTICLE 60. Congress shall decide with regard to the election of its members, and determine any doubts that may occur regarding the same.

ARTICLE 61. Congress may not open its sessions nor exercise its functions without the concurrence of more than half of the total number of its members; but those present may convene on the day named by the law, and compel the attendance of absent members, under penalties which shall be designated.

ARTICLE 62. Congress shall have each year two ordinary sessions: the first shall commence on the 16th of September and shall terminate on the 15th of December, and the second, which cannot be prorogued, shall commence on the 1st of April and terminate on the last day of May.

ARTICLE 63. At the opening of the sessions the president of the union shall be present and shall deliver a message exhibiting the state of the union. The president of congress shall reply in general terms.

ARTICLE 64. All resolutions of congress shall have no other character than that of laws or economical bills. The laws shall be communicated to the executive, signed by the president and two secretaries. Economical bills by two secretaries.

Paragraph second.—Of the introduction and passage of laws.

ARTICLE 65. The right of introducing laws belongs: First. To the president of the union. Second. To the deputies of the federal congress. Third. To the legislatures of the States.

ARTICLE 66. A project of law presented by the president of the republic, by the legislatures of the States, or by deputations from the same, shall pass immediately to a committee. Those that may be presented by the deputies shall be subject to such action as shall be prescribed by the rules of debate.

ARTICLE 67. All projects of law which may be rejected by congress cannot be presented again during the sessions of the year.

ARTICLE 68. The second session shall be destined in all preference to the examination of and action upon the estimates for the following fiscal year, to the passage of the necessary appropriations according the same, and to the examination of the accounts of the past year which shall be presented by the executive.

ARTICLE 69. The day before the last of the first session, the executive shall present to congress the estimates for the coming year and the accounts of the last year. Both shall pass to a committee composed of five representatives, which shall be named the first day, and which shall have the obligation of examining both documents and presenting a report upon them at the second session of the second term.

ARTICLE 70. The initiatories or projects of laws shall be subjected to the following course: First. The report of a committee.

Second. One or two discussions in the manner expressed in the following clauses. Third. The first discussion shall take place on the day that may be designated by the president of congress, in conformity with the rules. Fourth. Upon the conclusion of this discussion a copy of the project shall be passed to the executive, that he may within the term of seven days give his opinion, or state that he does not desire to use this faculty. Fifth. If the opinion of the executive is favorable, the law shall be voted upon without further discussion. Sixth. If this opinion disagrees in whole or in part with the law proposed, the project shall be returned to the committee, that they may examine it *de novo*, taking into consideration the objections of the government. Seventh. The new report shall receive a new discussion, and upon the conclusion of this the vote upon the law shall be taken. Eighth. The approbation of an absolute majority of the deputies present.

ARTICLE 71. In cases of notorious urgency, qualified by the vote of two-thirds of the deputies present, congress may contract or dispense with the regular course prescribed by article 70.

Paragraph third.—Of the faculties of congress.

ARTICLE 72. Congress has the power: First. Of admitting new States or Territories into the federal union, incorporating them in the nation. Second. Of erecting Territories into States when they have a population of 80,000 inhabitants, and are proved to have the necessary elements for providing for their political existence. Third. Of forming new States within the limits of those existing, providing, always, that they have a population of 80,000 inhabitants, and are proved to have the necessary resources for their political existence. In all cases the legislatures of the States whose territory is proposed to be taken shall be heard, and their concurrence shall be necessary, as well as the ratification of a majority of the legislatures of the States. Fourth. Of arranging definitively the limits of the States, terminating the differences which may arise between them respecting the boundaries of their respective territories, except when these differences have the character of contentions. Fifth. Of changing the resi-

dence of the supreme powers of the federation. Sixth. Of the internal government of the federal district and territories, upon the basis that *the citizens shall elect, by popular voice, their political, municipal, and judicial authorities, and fix the taxes necessary to meet their local expenditures.* Seventh. Of approving the federal estimates of expenditures, which shall be annually presented by the executive, and of imposing the taxes necessary therefor. Eighth. Of giving bases under which the executive may procure loans upon the faith of the national credit, and of approving said loans, and of recognizing and ordering the payment of the national debt. Ninth. Of establishing tariffs upon foreign commerce, and of removing, by means of general laws, onerous restrictions which may be established in the commerce between different States. Tenth. Of establishing general bases for mercantile legislation. Eleventh. Of creating and suppressing public employments of the federation, and of establishing, augmenting, or diminishing their salaries. Twelfth. Of ratifying the appointments that may be made by the executive of ministers, diplomatic agents and consuls, of the higher employees of the treasury, and of colonels and other higher officers in the army or national armed force. Thirteenth. Of ratifying the treaties, contracts, or diplomatic conventions which the executive may make. Fourteenth. Of declaring war upon the facts which may be presented by the executive. Fifteenth. Of regulating the mode in which privateers may be licensed; of dictating laws according to which captures by sea or land shall be declared good or bad; and also relative to maritime rights during peace and war. Sixteenth. Of permitting or refusing the entry of foreign troops into the territory of the federation, and of consenting to the station of squadrons of other powers for more than one month in the waters of the republic. Seventeenth. Of permitting the passage of the national troops without the limits of the republic. Eighteenth. Of creating and sustaining the army and armed force of the Union, and of regulating its organization and service. Nineteenth. Of making regulations for the purpose of organizing, arming, and disciplining the national guard, reserving to the citizens which compose it the appointment of the

commanders and officers, and to the States the power of instructing them in conformity with the discipline prescribed by said regulations. Twentieth. Of giving its consent that the executive may order the national guard without their respective States or Territories, fixing the amount of the force necessary to be so used. Twenty-first. Of making laws regarding naturalization, colonization, and citizenship. Twenty-second. Of making laws regarding general means of communication, and regarding the post-office and mails. Twenty-third. Of establishing mints, prescribing the rules of their operation; of determining the value of foreign coin, and adopting a general system of weights and measures. Twenty-fourth. Of prescribing the rules under which the public land may be occupied or sold, and the price of the same. Twenty-fifth. Of conceding pardons for offences cognizable by the tribunals of the federation. Twenty-sixth. Of awarding rewards or recompense for eminent services rendered to the country, or to humanity; and privileges, for a limited time, to inventors or perfectors of any improvement. Twenty-seventh. Of proroguing, for thirty business days, the first term of its ordinary sessions. Twenty-eighth. Of forming rules for its internal regulation, and for compelling the attendance of absent members, and for correcting the faults or omissions of those present. Twenty-ninth. Of appointing and removing freely its secretaries and auditors, and of organizing these offices according to law. Thirtieth. Of making all laws which may be necessary and proper to render effective the foregoing powers, and all others conceded by this constitution to the powers of the union.

Paragraph fourth.—Of the permanent deputation.

ARTICLE 73. During the recess of the congress of the union, there shall be a permanent deputation, composed of one deputy from each State and Territory, who shall be named by congress on the evening of the last day of its sessions.

ARTICLE 74. The powers of the permanent deputation are the following:

First. To give its consent to the use of the national guard in

the cases spoken of in article 72, clause 20. Second. To determine by itself alone, or at the petition of the executive, the convocation of the congress in extraordinary session. Third. To approve in the case of appointments, as referred to in article 85, clause 3. Fourth. To receive the oath of the president of the republic, and of the ministers of the supreme court of justice, in the cases provided by this constitution. Fifth. To report upon all the business not disposed of, in order that the session which follows may immediately take up such unfinished business.

Section two.—Of the executive power.

ARTICLE 75. The exercise of the supreme executive power of the union shall be deposited in one sole individual, who shall be called President of the United Mexican States.

ARTICLE 76. The election of president shall be indirect in the first grade, and by secret ballot, in such manner as may be prescribed by the electoral law.

ARTICLE 77. In order to be president it is required to be a citizen of the Mexican republic by birth, in the exercise of his rights, to be thirty-five years of age at the time of election, *not to belong to the ecclesiastical state*, and to be a resident in the country at the time the election takes place.

ARTICLE 78. The president shall enter upon the exercise of his functions on the first day of December, and remain in office four years.

ARTICLE 79. In temporary default of a president of the republic, and in the vacancy before the installation of the newly elected, *the president of the supreme court of justice shall enter upon the exercise of the functions of president.*

ARTICLE 80. If the default of president be absolute, a new election shall be proceeded with, according to the provisions of article 76, and the one so elected shall exercise his functions until the last day of November of the fourth year following his election.

ARTICLE 81. The trust of president can only be resigned for grave cause, approved by congress, before whom shall be presented the resignation.

ARTICLE 82. If, from whatever reason, the election of president shall not have been made and published by the 1st of December upon which the change is to take place, or if the newly elected is not able to enter promptly upon the exercise of his functions, the term of the preceding president shall nevertheless cease, and the supreme executive power shall be deposited *ad interim* in the president of the supreme court of justice.

ARTICLE 83. The president, in taking possession of his trust, shall swear before congress, and in its recess before the permanent deputation, in the following manner: "*I swear to discharge faithfully and patriotically the trust of President of the United Mexican States according to the constitution, and seeking in all things for the good and prosperity of the union.*"

ARTICLE 84. The president cannot leave the residence of the federal powers, nor the exercise of his functions, without grave motive, approved by congress, or in its recess by the permanent deputation.

ARTICLE 85. The powers and obligations of the president are the following: First. To promulgate and enforce the laws passed by the congress of the union, attending in the administrative sphere to their exact observance. Second. To appoint and remove freely secretaries of state; to remove diplomatic agents and superior employes of the treasury; and to appoint and remove freely all other federal officers whose appointment or removal is not otherwise provided for in the constitution or by the laws. Third. To appoint ministers, diplomatic agents, and consuls general, with the approbation of congress, or in its recess of the permanent deputation. Fourth. To appoint, with the approbation of congress, colonels and other high officers in the army and national armed force, and the higher employes of the treasury. Fifth. To appoint all other officers of the army and national navy according to law. Sixth. To dispose of the permanent national armed force by sea or by land for the internal security and external defence of the federation. Seventh. To dispose of the national guard for the same objects, according to the provisions of clause 20th of article 72. Eighth. To declare war in the name of the United Mexican States, after the passage of the

necessary law by the congress of the union. Ninth. To authorize privateers, subject to the basis fixed by congress. Tenth. To direct diplomatic negotiations, and to make treaties with foreign powers, submitting them to the ratification of the federal congress. Eleventh. To receive ministers or other envoys of foreign powers. Twelfth. To convoke congress in extraordinary session, with the consent of the permanent deputation. Thirteenth. To extend to the judicial power such assistance as may be necessary for the prompt exercise of its functions. Fourteenth. To open all classes of ports, establish frontier and maritime custom-houses, and prescribe their location. Fifteenth. To grant, in conformity with the laws, pardons to criminals sentenced for crimes cognizable by the federal tribunals.

ARTICLE 86. For the despatch of the business of the administrative departments of the federation, that number of secretaryships shall be appointed which may be prescribed by congress by a law, which shall also provide for the distribution of business, and prescribe what shall be the department of each secretary.

ARTICLE 87. To be secretary of state it is required to be a Mexican citizen by birth, being in the exercise of his rights, and having completed twenty-five years of age.

ARTICLE 88. All the regulations, decrees, and orders of the president shall be signed by the secretary of state charged with the branch to which the business belongs. Without this requisite they shall not be obeyed.

ARTICLE 89. The secretaries of state, immediately after the opening of the sessions of the first term, shall render an account to congress of the state of their respective departments.

Section third.—Of the judicial power.

ARTICLE 90. The exercise of the judicial power of the federation shall be deposited in a supreme court of justice, and in the district and circuit courts.

ARTICLE 91. The supreme court of justice shall be composed of eleven judges proprietary, four supremary judges, one attorney general, and one solicitor general.

ARTICLE 92. Each one of the individuals composing the supreme court of justice shall hold office during six years, and their election shall be indirect in the first grade, according to the terms prescribed by the electoral law.

ARTICLE 93. To be eligible as a member of the supreme court of justice, it is required to be instructed in the science of law according to the judgment of the election, to be more than thirty-five years of age, and a Mexican citizen by birth, in the exercise of his rights.

ARTICLE 94. The members of the supreme court of justice upon entering upon the exercise of their trust shall make oath before congress, or, in its recess, before the permanent deputation, in the following manner: "*Do you swear to discharge faithfully and patriotically the trust of magistrate of the supreme court of justice, conferred upon you by the people, in conformity with the constitution, and seeking in all things the good and prosperity of the union?*"

ARTICLE 95. The duties of members of the supreme court of justice can only be resigned for grave reason, approved by congress, to whom the resignation shall be presented; in the recess of congress, before the permanent deputation.

ARTICLE 96. The law shall establish and organize the circuit and district courts.

ARTICLE 97. It belongs to the federal tribunals to take cognizance of: First. All controversies which may arise in regard to the fulfilment and application of the federal laws. Second. All cases pertaining to maritime law. Third. Those in which the federation may be a party. Fourth. Those that may arise between two or more States. Fifth. Those that may arise between a State and one or more citizens of another State. Sixth. Civil or criminal cases that may arise under treaties with foreign powers. Seventh. Cases concerning diplomatic agents and consuls.

ARTICLE 98. It belongs to the supreme court of justice to take cognizance from the first proceeding of controversies that may arise between one State and another, and of those wherein the union may be a party.

ARTICLE 99. It also belongs to the supreme court of justice to decide regarding cases of jurisdiction among the federal courts, between these and those of the States, and between those of one State and those of another.

ARTICLE 100. In the rest of the cases comprehended in article 97, the supreme court of justice shall be a court of appeal, or rather of last resort, according to the graduation which the law may make in the jurisdiction of the circuit and district courts.

ARTICLE 101. The tribunals of the federation shall decide all questions that may arise: First. Under the laws or acts of whatever authority which violate individual guarantees. Second. Under the laws or acts of the federal authorities which invade or restrict the sovereignty of the States. Third. Under the laws or acts of the States which invade the exercise of the federal authority.

ARTICLE 102. All the decisions of which mention is made in the preceding article shall take place on the petition of the party aggrieved, and by means of formal judicial proceedings, as shall be prescribed by law. The sentence shall be always such as to affect private individuals only, and is intended as merely a protection in the special cases to which the process refers, without embracing any general declaration regarding the law or act in question.

TITLE IV.

Of the responsibility of public functionaries.

ARTICLE 103. The deputies to the congress of the union, the members of the supreme court of justice, and the secretaries of state, shall be held responsible for ordinary offences which they may commit during their term of office, as well as the crimes, faults, or omissions of which they may be guilty in the exercise of their trust.

The governors of the States are also responsible for infractions of the constitution and of federal law.

So is also the president of the republic; but during the term of his office he can only be accused in case of the offences of

treason, express violation of the constitution, attack upon the electoral franchise, and grave crimes against public order.

ARTICLE 104. In case of ordinary crime, congress, sitting as a grand jury, shall declare, by an absolute majority of votes, if there is cause of proceeding against the accused, or not. If the latter, no further proceeding shall take place; if the former, the accused shall immediately be deprived of his office and subjected to the action of the ordinary tribunals.

ARTICLE 105. Official offences shall be cognizable by congress as a jury of accusation, and the supreme court of justice as a jury of sentence. The jury of accusation has for its object to declare, by an absolute majority of votes, if the accused is culpable or not. If the declaration is favorable, the functionary shall continue in the exercise of his trust; if it is condemnatory, the accused shall be immediately deprived of his office and placed at the disposition of the supreme court of justice. This in full court, and sitting as a jury of sentence, in the presence of the offender, the attorney general, and the accuser, if such there should be, shall proceed to apply, by an absolute majority of votes, the penalty which the law may have prescribed.

ARTICLE 106. After the sentence is pronounced of responsibility for official crime, no exercise of the pardoning power can be extended to the offender.

ARTICLE 107. Responsibility for official crimes or errors only maintains during the period of occupation of office and one year thereafter.

ARTICLE 108. With reference to the requirements of civil war there shall be no privileged class, nor exemption for any public functionary.

TITLE V.

Of the States of the federation.

ARTICLE 109. *The States shall adopt for their interior regulation the form of popular representative republican government.*

ARTICLE 110. The States may arrange among themselves, by friendly agreements, their respective limits, but such arrange-

ments shall not go into effect without the approbation of the congress of the union.

ARTICLE 111. The States cannot in any case: First. Form alliances, treaties, or coalitions with other States, nor with foreign powers, excepting the coalitions which may be formed among the frontier States for offensive or defensive war against the Indians. Second. Grant letters of marque or reprisal. Third. Coin money, or emit paper money, or sealed paper.

ARTICLE 112. Neither may they, without the consent of the congress of the union: First. Establish tonnage duty, or any other port duty, nor impose contributions or duties upon importations or exportations. Second. Have at any time permanent troops or vessels-of-war. Third. Make war by itself upon any foreign power, except in case of invasion or such imminent peril as admits of no delay. In these cases immediate notice shall be given to the president of the republic.

ARTICLE 113. Each State has the obligation of delivering, without delay, the criminals of other States to the authorities that claim them.

ARTICLE 114. *The governors of the States are obliged to publish and cause to be obeyed the federal laws.*

ARTICLE 115. In each State of the federation entire faith and credit shall be given to the public acts, registers, and judicial proceedings of all the others. Congress may, by means of general laws, prescribe the manner of proving these acts, registers, and proceedings, and their effects.

ARTICLE 116. *The powers of the union shall protect the States against all invasion or exterior violence.* In case of internal disorder or rebellion they shall give equal protection, providing always that it be applied for by the legislature of the State, or by the governor, if the legislature is not in session.

TITLE VI.

General provisions.

ARTICLE 117. The powers which are not expressly conceded

by this constitution to the federal authorities are understood to be reserved to the States.

ARTICLE 118. No person can at the same time hold two federal elective offices, but if elected to two, he may select between them.

ARTICLE 119. No payment of money shall be made that is not embraced in the fiscal estimates or determined by previous law.

ARTICLE 120. The president of the republic, the members of the supreme court of justice, the deputies, and other public officers of the federation popularly chosen, shall receive a compensation for their services, which shall be determined by law, and paid by the national treasury. This compensation cannot be renounced, and any law that augments or diminishes it shall not have effect during the period for which the functionary holds the office.

ARTICLE 121. *All public functionaries, without any exception, before taking possession of their offices, shall swear to observe and protect the constitution and the laws that emanate from it.*

ARTICLE 122. In time of peace no military authority can exercise more functions than are in exact connexion with military discipline. There shall be fixed and permanent military authority in the castles, ports, and storehouses which belong immediately to the federal government, or in encampments, barracks, or depots which may be established without the towns for the station of troops.

ARTICLE 123. *It belongs exclusively to the federal powers to exercise in matters of religious belief and discipline the intervention which may be prescribed by the laws.*

ARTICLE 124. From the first day of June, 1858, *alcabalas and interior custom-houses shall be abolished in all the republic.*

ARTICLE 125. The forts, quarters, storehouses, and other buildings of the government of the union shall be under the immediate inspection of the federal authorities.

ARTICLE 126. *This constitution, the laws of the congress of the union which emanate from it, and all treaties made or that may be made by the president of the republic with the approbation of congress, shall be the supreme law of all the union.* The judges

of each State in giving their decisions shall do so in conformity with said constitution, laws, and treaties, anything to the contrary that there may be in the laws or constitution of the States notwithstanding.

TITLE VII.

Of the alterations of the constitution.

ARTICLE 127. The present constitution may be added to or altered. In order that additions or alterations may become part of the constitution, it is necessary that such additions or alterations shall be approved of by the congress of the union by the vote of two-thirds of those present, and that they should also be approved by a majority of the legislatures of the States.

The congress of the union shall take account of the votes of the legislatures and the declaration that the addition or alteration had been approved.

TITLE VIII.

Of the inviolability of the constitution.

ARTICLE 128. *This constitution shall not lose its force and vigor even if its observance be interrupted by any rebellion. In case that, by means of such an event, a government shall have been established contrary to the principles which it sanctions, immediately upon the people recovering their liberty its observance shall be re-established, and according to its provisions and the laws which have been framed in virtue of it, they shall be judged, as well those who have figured in the government emanating from the rebellion as those who have cooperated with it.*

Temporary article.

This constitution shall be published immediately, and shall be sworn to with the greatest solemnity in all the republic, but with the exception of the dispositions relative to the election of the supreme powers of the federation, and of the States, it shall

not commence to have force until the 16th day of September, (1857), next ensuing, when the first constitutional congress is to be installed. Until then the president of the republic and the supreme court of justice, who are to continue in exercise of their functions until the inauguration of the individuals constitutionally elected, shall govern themselves in the discharge of their obligations and powers by the precepts of this constitution.

Dated in the hall of sessions of Congress, at Mexico, the 5th day of February, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven, and thirty-seventh of independence.

VALENTINE GOMEZ FARIAS,

Deputy for the State of Jalisco, President.

LEON GUZMAN,

Deputy for the State of Mexico, Vice-President.

For the State of Aguas Calientes, MANUEL BUENROSTRO.

For the State of Chiapas, FRANCISCO ROBLES, MATIAS CASTELLANOS.

For the State of Chihuahua, JOSE E. MUÑOZ, PEDRO IGNACIO IRIGOYEN.

For the State of Coahuila, SIMON DE LA GARZA Y MELO.

For the State of Durango, MARCELINO CASTAÑEDA, FRANCISCO ZARCO.

For the federal district, FRANCISCO DE P. CONDEJAS, JOSE MARIA DEL RIO, PONCIANO ARRIAGA, J. M. DEL CASTELLO VELASCO, MANUEL MORALES PUENTE.

For the State of Guanajuato, IGNACIO SIERRA, ANTONIO LEMUS, JOSE DE LA LUZ ROSAS, JUAN MORALES, ANTONIO AGUADO, FRANCISCO P. MONTAÑEZ, FRANCISCO GUERRERO, BLÁS BALCARCEL.

For the State of Guerrero, FRANCISCO IBARRA.

For the State of Jalisco, ESPIRIDION MORENO, MARIANO FARANDA, JESUS ANAYA Y HERMOSILLO, ALBINO ARANDA, IGNACIO LOUIS VALLARTA, BENITO GOMEZ FARIAS, JESUS D. ROJAS, IGNACIO OCHOA SANCHEZ, GUILLERMO LANGLOIS, JOAQUIN M. DEGOLLADO.

For the State of Mexico, ANTONIO ESCUDERO, JOSE L. REVIL-

LA, JULIAN ESTRADA, I. DE LA PEÑA Y BARRAGAN, ESTEBAN PAEZ, RAFAEL MARIA VILLAGRAN, F. FERNANDEZ DE ALFARO, JUSTINO FERNANDEZ, EULOGIO BARRERA, M. ROMERO RUBIO, MANUEL DE LA PEÑA Y RAMIREZ, MANUEL FERNANDO SOTO.

For the State of Michoacan, SANTOS DEGOLLADO, SABAS ITURBIDE, FRANCISCO G. ANAYA, RAMON I. ALCARAZ, FRANCISCO DIAS BARRIGA, LUIS GUTIERREZ CORREA, MARIANO RAMIREZ, MATEO ECHAIZ.

For the State of Nuevo Leon, MANUEL P. DE LLANO.

For the State of Oajaca, MARIANO ZAVALA, G. LARAZABAL, IGNACIO MARISCAL, JUAN N. CERQUEDA, FELIX ROMERO, M. E. GOYTIA.

For the State of Puebla, MIGUEL MARIA ARRIJOJA, FERNANDO M. ORTEGA, GUILLERMO PRIETO, J. MARIANO VIADAS, FRANCISCO BANUET, MANUEL M. VARGAS, F. L. ESTRADO, JUAN N. IBARRA, JUAN N. DE LA PARRA.

For the State of Queretaro, IGNACIO REYES.

For the State of San Luis Potosi, FRANCISCO J. VILLALOBOS, PABLO TELLEZ.

For the State of Sinaloa, IGNACIO RAMIREZ.

For the State of Sonora, BENITO QUINTANA.

For the State of Tabasco, GREGORIO PAYRO.

For the State of Tamaulipas, LUIS GARCIA DE ARELLANO.

For the State of Thaxcala, JOSE MARIANO SANCHEZ.

For the State of Vera Cruz, JOSE DE EMPARAN, JOSE MARIA MATA, RAFAEL GONZALEZ PAEZ, MARIANO VEGA.

For the State of Yucatan, BENITO QUIJANO, FRANCISCO INIESTRA, PEDRO DE BARANDA, PEDRO CONTRERAS ELIZALDE.

For the Territory of Tehuantepec, JOAQUIN GARCIA GRANADOS.

For the State of Zacatecas, MIGUEL AUZA, AGUSTIN LOPEZ DE NAVA, BASILIO PEREZ GALLARDO.

For the Territory of Lower California, MATEO RAMIREZ.

JOSE MARIA CORTES Y ESPARZA, for the State of Guanajuato, *Deputy Secretary.*

ISIDORO OLVERA, for the State of Mexico, *Deputy Secretary.*

JUAN DE DIOS ARIAS, for the State of Puebla, *Deputy Secretary.*

J. A. GAMBOA, for the State of Oajaca, *Deputy Secretary.*

Wherefore, I order that it be printed, published, circulated, and that it be fully complied with in the terms which it prescribes.

Palace of the National Government, at Mexico, February 12, 1857.

IGNATIO COMONFORT.

The Citizen IGNATIO DE LA LLAVE,

Secretary of State and of the Department of Government.

I communicate it to you for its publication and fulfilment. God and liberty.

LLAVE.

MEXICO, February 12, 1857.

On the 1st of December, General Comonfort, having been duly elected, in the presence of the assembled Congress in the city of Mexico, took the oath to support the Constitution, and was duly inaugurated President.

On the 17th of December, General Zuloaga, acting in the interest of the Church party, and of Comonfort in his attempted revolutionary coup d'état and dictatorship, pronounced against the Constitution.

On the 11th of January, the same Zuloaga, instigated by the same clergy, with his famed "Zuloaga Brigade," denounced and abandoned Comonfort; and in less than a month from his inauguration, he was driven from the Capital. The military arm of the Church had transferred the supreme authority of the Republic, from the constitutionally elected President to a General, in violation of the provision of the Constitution, which devolved the vacant office upon the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court. But the Church and the army had possession of the capital. Comonfort was flying in one direction to a foreign land, and Juarez, Chief-Justice, with the loyal members of the

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

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.

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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-

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fare. In symmetry and strength they constitute the root, the trunk, and the fruit of our "tree of liberty" at home.

There is another, not less important question, that now arises, and is looming up over land and sea. It touches both the inmost heart and life of the Republic, and is equally vital in respect to its influence and mission abroad among the nations of the earth. It challenges the attention of every American. It has for half a century engaged the most earnest attention of the "Great Powers" of the other hemisphere, and concerns the welfare of all mankind. The question involves the attitude the Republic should assume among the family of nations, the position it should take and the voice it should have, in respect to those great international interests and measures, which affect the commerce and the civilization of the world.

All nations are now neighbors, and have certain common interests in the great trunk lines of communication and commerce around the world. Among these, are the two great continental isthmus transits, that lie in the great highway of all maritime and commercial nations. The narrow necks of land that divide the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian Gulf, and the American isthmus connecting North and South America, lie as near as may be in the circle, that describes the commercial equator of our sphere. The trunk lines of commerce that traverse the oceans, cross the Continents at these points. All nations have an interest in these transits, and they should be opened, not in the exclusive interest nor under the undue control of any one government, however strong, or any territory, that may chance to hold the position or the power to claim an ascendancy over them. They belong to all mankind.

There is a right of eminent domain that attaches to the

family of nations. That right which cuts a canal or stretches a railroad across a State or a Continent, through any man's farm or house, belongs *à fortiori* to the nations, to make a way and a highway anywhere on the earth, that the common interests of humanity demand. No principle of political economy is more plain. As well might Spain and Morocco claim the passage of Gibraltar, or England and France the straits of Dover, as any other nation claim the monopoly of a transit, on sea or land, that the great Creator designed for the whole family of man. Why should the Bosphorus, any more than Gibraltar, be shut out from the unrestricted transit to the seas? Why should Russia, Prussia, Holland, and the United States have no voice in the opening and direction of the transit to the commerce of Asia? Why should England and France hold the right of way, for canal and railroad, and have virtual control over the great gates of the East?

THE GREAT "EASTERN" QUESTION.

The struggle of the century in Europe has been for the commerce of the Orient. England, Russia, and France have ever been at cross purposes in the Levant. They have never been able to agree in adjusting their respective claims. The Eagle, the Lion, and the Bear, with mutual jealousies have guarded the passage, which neither is willing the other should enjoy. The question will yet arise, whether the Suez Canal and the Euphrates Valley Railway, or some other track shorter and more direct, from the Mediterranean to the mouth of the Euphrates, should not be opened to all the world, on a scale commensurate with the wants and the enterprises of our century, and under the protection and control of some kind of international commission, charged with the preservation of the rights of all nations.

THE GREAT "WESTERN" QUESTION.

The transit of the American isthmus from the Atlantic to the Pacific, by canal and railroad, has also engaged for centuries the attention of mankind. Where, when, and how shall these waters be joined, the gateways be opened on a scale equal to the wants of Europe, Asia, and America?

The question has received far more the attention of European governments than it has that of our own. The following brief historical sketch may give some idea of the importance attached to this subject by transatlantic powers, and of the political and commercial aspects in which it has been viewed.

Since the sixteenth century, this American isthmus section has occupied the attention of the great Powers of Europe. The most eminent statesmen have devoted themselves to the subject. Jefferson and Pitt in the last century, the successive ministers of the British government, Louis Philippe, Louis Napoleon, and their unrivalled corps of engineers, Pope Pio Nono, the *savans* of Europe (Humboldt and others), and the late administrations of our government—Everett, Marcy, Webster, and Clay—have directed to it the most marked public and official attention. Many treaties and concessions have been made by the different governments of Mexico and of Central America, with a view to secure to foreign governments, or to companies or individuals, at home or abroad, some exclusive rights or privileges over the great highway.

PROPOSED ROUTES FOR CANALS AND RAILROADS.

There have been at least nineteen different routes proposed for interoceanic communication between the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific ocean—by

CANALS.

First—The Tehuantepec route, by the Coatzacoalco river and the bay of La Ventosa.

Second—The Honduras route, between that bay and the bay of Fonseca.

Third—The eight Nicaragua routes—1. By the river San Carlos direct to the Gulf of Mexico. 2 to 5. Four routes, through the lake Nicaragua, by the several rivers connecting the lake with the Pacific Ocean—the Niño, the Sapoa, the San Juan del Sur, and the Brito. 5 to 8. The three routes by Lake Managua, viz., by the river Tamarinda, by the city of Leon and the port Realejo, and by the bay of Fonseca.

Fourth—The four Panama routes—1. By the river Chagres and Panama. 2. By the way of Trinidad and Caymito. 3. By Navy bay and the rivers Chagres, Bonito, and Bernardo. 4. By the Gulf of San Blas and the river Chepo.

Fifth—The two Darien routes—1. By the Bay of Caledonia and the Gulf of San Miguel. 2. By the rivers Argina, Paya, Tuyra, and the Gulf of San Miguel.

Sixth—The three Atrato routes—1. By the river Napipi and Cupica bay. 2. By the Truando to Kelley's inlet. 3. By the Atrato river.

There have been at least seven different projects for communication by

RAILROADS.

First—The Tehuantepec route, by the Coatzacoalco.

Second—The Honduras to the Gulf of Fonseca.

Third—The Nicaragua.

Fourth—The Chiriqui to the Dulce Gulf.

Fifth—The Panama, in operation.

Sixth—The Gorgon bay and Realejo.

Seventh—The Gorgon bay and San Juan del Sur.

These all have received more or less attention, and have had their respective projectors and advocates. The idea of a canal between the oceans has roused the imagination of many minds. A great variety of projects have

been put forward from time to time, some of the more important of which are as follows. There are men who have devoted time, labor, and money to these two great enterprises on behalf of our country, that entitle them to honor and gratitude from all true Americans.

THE DECREE OF THE SPANISH CORTES—1814.

In 1814 the Spanish Cortes, with such information as they possessed, passed a decree authorizing the opening of a canal across Tehuantepec. The revolutions and contests in Spain and in Mexico, however, absorbed all the attention of both governments for many years in other things.

AN ENGLISH ASSOCIATION—1825.

In 1825 an association was formed in London for the purpose of cutting a ship canal across the isthmus of America.

R. B. Pitman published a volume of 230 pages, 12mo, giving an analysis of all the information then extant in regard to the subject. He quoted from Dampier and Wafer in 1681; Sharp and Funnel in 1703; DeUlloa in 1726; Edwards in 1799; Humboldt in 1803; Walton in 1817; Robinson in 1820; Hall in 1822; and Purdy in 1824; and cited the remark of Humboldt, that "there was no paper" at that date "to throw light on the possibility of cutting a canal across the isthmus of America." The work contains a map and a description of the five routes that had been then suggested—the Tehuantepec, the Nicaragua, the Panama, the Darien, and the Atrato.

The author says, "It is especially within the obligations and the power of Great Britain to investigate the subject impartially, and, if practicable, to accomplish an improvement which is pre-eminently benefiting herself, and

would confer inestimable advantages upon the rest of the world," and suggests "a convention, under the mediation of the British government, with all other maritimenations, by which war and its hideous consequences should, by common consent, be forever excluded from that one spot on the earth's surface, which appears destined by nature to be the heart of the commerce of the world."

SPIRIT OF THE ENGLISH PRESS—1846.

The London *Spectator*, September 19, 1846, contained the following article: A railroad, or even a good common road, across the Isthmus of Panama, would be an invaluable boon to the country through which it passed, and would not be devoid of utility to commerce; but it would be immeasurably inferior in importance to a ship canal between the two oceans, and would by no means supersede the necessity for that grand highway for the navigation of the world. * * * What is wanted is a maritime channel, which shall enable merchant vessels of the largest class to avoid the expense, danger, and loss of time incident to doubling Cape Horn, and to pass from ocean to ocean without discharging their cargoes, or being delayed more than two or three days in the Isthmus. It would be fortunate if such a canal could be cut through the Isthmus of Panama (proper), which is but forty-one miles. But the impossibility of doing this has been fully proved by M. Gavella, an engineer who surveyed the isthmus by order of the French government, and the result of whose investigations was published in the *Journal des Débats* January 15, 1846.

To say nothing of the want of sufficient harbors at either end of the canal in this locality, a tunnel would be requisite capable of giving passage to ships of 1,200 tons

burden, with their lower masts standing. It would have to be cut through a solid porphyry rock. Its dimensions would be about eight times those of the box tunnel, and the cost of excavating it, estimated by M. Gavella at £2,000,000, would probably fall not far short of five times that amount.

Scarcely a doubt remains, that the most eligible locality for the proposed work is the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, in the Mexican territory. It is true the land is much wider here than at points further south, but it presents, in the table land of Tarifa, the only gap as yet discovered in the granite chain that extends from Behring's Straits to Terra del Fuego.

The total breadth of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec is 140 miles, but the greater part of this space is occupied on the south by lagoons, which could be easily converted into a commodious harbor. On the north is the Coatzacoalco, a river of great volume, admitting the largest vessels at all seasons of the year, to a distance of thirty-five miles from its mouth, latitude 18 deg. 8 min. north, and is capable of being made navigable twenty-five miles further. The canal to be excavated would therefore be but fifty miles long. The highest point to be surmounted is 206 metres (218 yards) above the level of the Pacific, and 160 above the Atlantic. The ascent and descent would be effected by means of 150 locks. Water for feeding the canal can be had in abundance at the summit level. The Mexican government has assigned to the projector of the canal, Don José Garay, the fee simple of nearly 5,000,000 of acres in the Isthmus, together with the privilege of establishing colonies over a breadth of fifty leagues on either side of the canal.

The foreign colonies are to enjoy all requisite immu-

nities, and even the right of working the virgin mines which are known to exist on its surface. The Isthmus is known to possess a fine, salubrious climate, and in many places a most fruitful soil. Timber for shipbuilding, dye-wood, mahogany and other fine-grained trees are to be had in profusion in the forests of Coatzacoalco. The supply of animal food is inexhaustible, and nature has neglected nothing, that could mark out this region as one of the most eligible for colonization on the face of the globe. Hence arises one of the most striking advantages, which this scheme we have been considering, possesses over all its rivals. It would not be necessary to encounter at once the cost and risk of excavating the canal. All that is requisite, in the first instance, is to transport to the spot an industrious and well-disciplined population, who, after completing a temporary communication between the ocean, would develop the immense resources of the country, and draw from them, the means of completing the grand design. There are political circumstances to which, for the present, we can do no more than allude, but which call for the establishment in Tehuantepec of a well-organized colony under the protection of England and France, as a matter of vital importance to Mexico, and of proportionate interest to the allies.

See account of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, &c., based on the reports of Don José Garay, London, 1846.

The *Spectator* adds: "The feasibility of cutting through this neck of land that unites the two continents of America has been so long talked of, and only talked of, that men begin to doubt it. * * * But the thing will be done, and done probably at no distant day. * * * Our age is remarkable for the boldness with which it wages war against all obstacles of time and space."

Thus early appears the proposed alliance of European monarchies for a foothold in Mexico, for purposes of "vital importance," political, colonial, and commercial.

ACTION OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT—1845.

In 1845, Napoleon Gavella, chief of the royal corps of mining engineers, published in Paris a *résumé* of his report to the French government on the project of the Panama canal. The volume contains 230 pages, 12mo, with an accurate topographical map, and a condensed statement of the results of his examination of the isthmus, the details of which, in the estimates of construction, revenue, &c., being deposited in the archives of State. The report of M. Gavella appeared in the *Journal des Débats* January 15, 1846.

In 1846, M. Garay published a volume in London of 130 pages, 12mo, with maps, tables, and estimates, based upon the surveys and reports of the scientific commission, authorized under his grant. He claimed the superior advantages of the Tehuantepec route over every other, in shortening the commercial lines, and in other respects, while it did not differ in any extraordinary degree, in any of its dimensions of length, breadth, depth, lockage, or summit level to be crossed, from similar works already executed in Great Britain, France, Holland, or the United States.

VIEWS AND AIMS OF LOUIS NAPOLEON IN 1846.

The canalization of the isthmus was the earliest to receive a thorough scientific investigation. The honor of the first, most complete examination of the whole subject, in all its bearings, must be accorded to Louis Napoleon. While a prisoner at Ham he prepared an elaborate expo-

sition of the importance, the practicability, and advantages of such a work. His paper occupies eighty pages of the 8vo edition of his works. The following brief analysis of its contents will convey some idea of the systematic, practical, and comprehensive manner in which he treated it. An introduction of twelve pages gives an account of the origin and progress of his interest in the subject. Chapter 1, sets forth the importance of the geographical position of Nicaragua, deemed then to offer the most practicable route. Chapter 2, a description of the places in the track of the canal and the length of the route. Chapter 3, the dimensions, &c., of the canal. Chapter 4, estimates of the expense of construction. Chapter 5, revenues of the canal. The work is full and exhaustive in its details, descriptions, and statistics, as then accessible, necessary to a complete understanding of the project.

As early as 1842, it appears in his historical sketch, eminent persons in Central America invited the prisoner of Ham to America, to identify himself with some public works worthy of his name. He engaged an officer of the French marine, to investigate the possibility of cutting a canal between the two oceans, by the lakes of Nicaragua and Leon. About the same time, the government of Louis Philippe sent an engineer to survey, make plans and estimates for the same object across Panama.

In 1844 the States of Guatemala, San Salvador, and Honduras sent a Minister Plenipotentiary, M. Castillon, to the Court of Louis Philippe to seek the protection and aid of the French government, offering in return great commercial advantages. The overture being declined, M. Castillon obtained permission to visit the prisoner of Ham, and solicited him to go to Central America and place himself at the head of the enterprise.

M. Castillon, learning how perfectly informed the Prince was, in respect to the physical facts, the geographical and commercial relations, and, indeed, every aspect of the subject, urged the preparation of the descriptive paper and prospectus.

In January, 1846, the government of Nicaragua passed an act conferring all necessary powers upon Louis Napoleon to organize a company in Europe, on a scale commensurate with the object of opening a new route for the commerce of the world, and under the honored name of "CANALE NAPOLEONE DE NICARAGUA."

After the departure of the Prince from Ham, and his arrival in England, he pursued the subject with indefatigable diligence, to secure the co-operation of capitalists and statesmen. His publications and personal efforts to bring the project forward are well known. His zeal and energy, and his foresight and comprehensive grasp of the importance of the work then, are just beginning to be appreciated by statesmen now.

MEMOIR OF LOUIS NAPOLEON ON THE CANAL—1846.

Prince Napoleon, in his introduction, says, that "the union of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans would shorten the distance between Europe and the western coast of America and Oceanica three thousand miles; would make the communication between China, Japan, New Zealand, and New Holland rapid and easy by steam; would raise to an extraordinary degree of prosperity, the territories through which three thousand merchant ships would pass every year; would open new avenues for commerce, and markets for European products; in short, would hasten by many centuries, the progress of Christianity and civilization throughout the world."

* * * * *

"The whole of Central America may be considered as one grand isthmus, which separates the Atlantic from the Pacific Ocean, extending from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to the Gulf of Darien. It has a coast line of about twelve hundred miles, and its area is twenty-six thousand square leagues, almost equal to that of France. Its population is three millions," &c.

* * * * *

"Five points have been indicated on this part of the American Continent, as suitable for the opening of a communication between the two oceans. The first on Mexican territory, by the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, the second by Nicaragua, the third by Panama, and the fourth and fifth by the Gulf of Darien." Of these five proposed routes, he dismisses the first and the last two, as presenting serious, if not insurmountable, difficulties. Of the other two, he maintains that the route by the river San Juan and the lake of Nicaragua is the only one that ought to be adopted, even if all were practicable.

He explains his reasons as follows: "There are certain countries which, by their very geographical position, are destined to become prosperous, rich, and powerful. Nature has done everything for man, if he will improve the advantages she has placed at his disposal. The countries in the most favorable conditions are those situated on the great commercial routes, and possessing the safest ports and harbors, and the most advantageous means of exchange. These countries find inexhaustible resources in their relations to foreign commerce, and can take advantage of the fertility of their own soils, and gradually build up a domestic commerce, which receives its impulse and follows the movement of the general progress. Such

were Tyre, Carthage, Constantinople, Venice, Genoa, Amsterdam, Liverpool, and London, which have attained such distinguished prosperity, rising from insignificant villages to the first rank among the great commercial cities, and offering to the astonished nations the spectacle of powerful States. Venice, in particular, owed her marvellous grandeur to her geographical position, which made her for centuries the entrepôt of commerce between Europe and the Levant. It was only after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope had opened to navigators a new route to the East that the prosperity of Venice began to decline. Nevertheless, such was her wealth and commercial influence that she was able, for three centuries, to contend against the formidable competition that this discovery brought against her."

"There is another city famous in history, although to-day shorn of her ancient splendor, whose admirable position is an object of jealousy for all the great Powers of Europe, who now unite to maintain there a semi-barbarous government, incapable of profiting by the prodigious advantages that nature has lavished upon her. The geographical position of Constantinople made her the queen of the ancient world. Occupying the central point between Europe, Asia, and Africa, she might make herself the entrepôt of the commerce of all countries, and gain over them all an immense preponderance. Seated between two seas, which, like two great lakes, the entrance to which she commands, afford a rendezvous for the most formidable fleets, sheltered from the attack of all nations, and by the aid of which she might assure to herself dominion on the Mediterranean, as well as on the Black Sea—mistress at once of the mouths of the Danube, which open to her the route to Germany, and the sources of the Euphrates,

which command the route to the Indies, she might dictate the laws of commerce to Greece, to France, to Italy, to Spain, and to Egypt. Alas! what might not the proud city of Constantine be, but is not, because, as Montesquieu says, 'God has permitted Turks to be in this world—the men of our race best fitted to possess, to no purpose, a grand empire.'

"There is, in the New World, a country as admirably situated as Constantinople, and, we must add, to this day as uselessly occupied. It is the State of Nicaragua. As Constantinople is the centre of the ancient world, so the city of Leon, or rather Massaya, is the centre of the new. If a canal were practicable across the tongue of land, which separates the two lakes from the Pacific Ocean, it would command, by its central situation, all the coasts of North and South America. Like Constantinople, Massaya is situated between two grand natural harbors, where the largest fleet may ride secure from all attacks. Better still than Constantinople, the State of Nicaragua may be made the necessary route for the commerce of the world; for it would be, for the United States the shortest route to China and the East Indies, and for England and the rest of Europe, the shortest to New Holland, Polynesia, and all the western coast of America.

"The State of Nicaragua appears to be destined for an extraordinary degree of prosperity and grandeur; for that which really makes her position more advantageous than that of Constantinople, is, that the great maritime Powers of Europe would, with pleasure, not with jealousy, see her take a rank in the scale of nations, not less favorable to her own peculiar interests, than to the commerce of the world.

"France, England, Holland, Russia, and the United

States have a great commercial interest in the establishment of a communication between the two oceans; but England has, more than all other Powers, a *political interest* in the execution of this plan. England cannot but rejoice to see Central America become a flourishing and considerable State, which would reestablish the equilibrium of power, by creating in Spanish America, a new centre of industrial activity, sufficiently powerful to create a grand sentiment of nationality, and to prevent, by sustaining Mexico, new encroachments on the part of the North.

"England would see with satisfaction, the opening of a route, which would enable her to communicate more rapidly, with Oregon, China, and her possessions in New Holland. She would find, besides, that the progress of Central America would have the effect to revive the languishing commerce of Jamaica and the other English Antilles, and to arrest their decay. It is a happy coincidence, that the political and commercial prosperity of the State of Nicaragua is intimately connected with the political interests of that nation, that is now in possession of maritime preponderance."

* * * * *

Prince Napoleon closes his extraordinary and admirable article on the subject, with the following remarkable sentiments:

"The prosperity of Central America concerns the interests of civilization in general, and the best means to work for the welfare of humanity is, to break down the barriers which separate men, races, and nations. This is the progress which Christianity points out to us, as well as the efforts of the great men who have appeared, at intervals, on the scene of the world. The Christian religion

teaches us that we are all brothers, and that in the sight of God the slave is equal to his master, as well as that the Asiatic, the African, and the Indian are equal to the European.

"On the other hand, the great men of the world have, by their wars, mingled together the different races of men, and left behind them, those imperishable monuments, such as the levelling of mountains, the piercing of forests, the canalization of rivers—monuments which, by facilitating communications, tend to bring together and reunite individuals and peoples. War and commerce have civilized the world. War has had its day. Commerce alone now pursues her conquests. Let us open for her a new route. Let us bring nearer to Europe, the tribes of Oceanica and Australia, and cause them to share in the blessings of Christianity and civilization. To accomplish this grand enterprise, we make our appeal to all religious and intelligent men, for it is worthy of their zeal and their sympathies. We invoke the support of all statesmen, for all nations are interested in the establishment of new and easy communications between the two hemispheres. Finally, we address ourselves to capitalists, because, in taking part in so glorious an enterprise, they are sure to reap great pecuniary advantages."

THE POPE AND THE ISTHMUS CANAL—1848.

In 1848, there was published in Paris a small pamphlet, entitled the "Canalization of the Isthmus of Suez and of Panama," "by the brothers of the maritime company of the religious, military, and industrial order of Saint Pie."

The frontispiece represents the Pope offering with his right hand a scroll, with the keys of St. Peter, to Europe,

and with his left hand pointing to the Indian, Mexican, and African races of America. The motto is :

Allez, soldats du Christ, et pleins de confiance,
Vers de nouveaux chemins guidez l'humanité ;
Mais portez-y la Croix, seul phare d'espérance,
Seul gage du progrès et de la liberté.

The work is dedicated to his Holiness Pius IX., "Heureusement regnant," by the Marquis de Magny, as follows :

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST REVEREND PONTIFF : An undertaking, whose conception dates back even as far as the discovery of the New World, and looked upon ever since, as the grandest benefaction with which humanity could be blessed, a work judged impracticable as long as science did not elevate herself to the height of this gigantic difficulty ; but in our days, after the studies made by engineers, universally recognized as possible, and speedily to be realized, is a work, whose execution would place its authors in the very front rank of the men who have most advanced civilization. The piercing of the Isthmus which separates the Atlantic from the Pacific ocean—the complement of the canalization of the Isthmus of Suez—could not pass the interval which separates every theoretic conception from practical realization, if it were not placed in the hands of a company, worthy by its organization, to share in the great work for the benefit of religion, universal civilization, and the world's peace. I come to lay before the eyes of your Holiness the plan which alone can render profitable this noble and magnificent enterprise, which I propose to carry out by means of a company, simultaneously religious, military, and industrial, under the auspices of the Sovereign Pontiff, to whom humanity awards such high destinies. The civilizing genius which, by a single stroke, has given to the "Church" the moral influence belonging to it, and which she is wont to exercise in all great epochs, upon events as well as upon men, has naturally designated Pope Pius IX. as one of its most humble but also one of its most fervent admirers, who, like a new Moses, is destined to open to humanity,

the ways as yet unknown to it, which shall conduct it to a glorious future.

In his exposition of the plan, the Marquis says :

Let us suppose that a society were established in that admirable country, which extends from the borders of the Coatzacoalco to the Gulf of Darien—that is to say, along the narrow space which separates North and South America ; suppose that to it were equally committed the guarding of that part of Africa where its works should remove the obstacle that lies between the Mediterranean and the Arabian Gulf ; suppose that, invested with the confidence of the various governments, who will have solemnly recognized the neutrality of its flag, it should arrive to such a degree of influence as it ought to have, and as it will have, upon the plan of such an association as we have submitted to the approval of an august will. Then will open for its intervention a beautiful and vast career. Then all that can satisfy the most noble and most legitimate ambition can be realized by the chiefs charged with its management. Missionaries of European civilization, the members of the company of St. Pius, would become, under various titles, the benefactors of the human race. With them and through them would be realized all that is practicable in the amelioration of society and the ranks of civilization. Finally, an immense resource would be found for the suffering multitudes of the ancient world. Upon the whole surface of our Continent there is an agitated, unsteady, and heaving mass. Europe, justly proud of its experience, of its inventions, of its manufactures, of its arts, of its sciences, groans under the impossibility of exercising all these forces for the welfare of its incessantly increasing inhabitants.

The object of these statements is, to show that England, France, and even Rome have been far in advance of us, in appreciating the importance of Mexico ; that far-seeing minds on the other side of the Atlantic have been incomparably more awake, more alive, more enterprising than we have been, in a matter of vital interest that lies at our very doors.

In 1850 that most extraordinary treaty, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, was made at Washington. While it contains many valuable features, it is incomprehensible how some of its stipulations could have been sanctioned by our government.*

THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY—1850.

APRIL 19, 1850.—“The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty” says, that “her Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, desirous of consolidating the relations of amity which so happily exist,” &c., “by setting forth and fixing in a convention their views and intentions with reference to any means of communication by ship canal, which may be constructed between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, by the way of the St. Juan river,” &c.

Article 1 declares that neither the one nor the other will ever obtain or maintain for itself, any exclusive control over the said

*The following anecdote has been related of Senator Douglas, in connection with this Treaty. It is stated, that while it was pending before the Senate, there was a dinner party somewhere, at which the British Minister and the Senator were present. During the interview, the Minister addressed the Senator, stating that he understood he was violently opposed to his Treaty, and asked him why?

The Senator replied, that he was opposed to it; but that, if the Minister would assent to the insertion of *two words* in the first article, he would vote for it.

“Very well,” responded the Minister, “what are they?”

“After the words,” said Mr. Douglas, “‘Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America,’—add *or India*.”

“Oh! but,” said the Minister, “the United States have no colonies in India.”

“Neither has Great Britain any colonies in Central America,” replied the Senator.

ship canal; agreeing, that neither will ever erect, or maintain, any fortifications commanding the same, or in the vicinity thereof, nor occupy nor fortify nor colonize nor assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast or any part of Central America. Nor will either make use of any protection which either affords, or may afford, or any alliance which either has, or may have to do with any State or people, for the purpose of erecting or maintaining any such fortifications, or of occupying, fortifying or colonizing Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America, or of assuming or exercising dominion over the same. Nor will Great Britain or the United States take advantage of any intimacy, or use any alliance, connection or influence that either may possess, with any State or government, through whose territory the said canal may pass, for the purpose of acquiring or holding, directly or indirectly, for the subjects or citizens of the one, any rights or advantages in regard to commerce or navigation through the said canal, which shall not be offered on the same terms, to the subjects or citizens of the other.

ARTICLE 2. The vessels of Great Britain, or of the United States traversing the said canal, shall, in case of war between the contracting parties, be exempt from blockade, detention or capture by either of the belligerents; and this provision shall extend to such a distance from the two ends of the said canal, as may hereafter be found expedient to establish.

ARTICLE 4 provides that the contracting parties shall use whatever influence they may possess, and good offices they may perform, to induce the states concerned in the transit, to facilitate the construction of the canal, and to procure two free ports, one at each end of said canal.

ARTICLE 5. The contracting parties agree, that when the said canal is completed, they will protect it from interruption, seizure, or unjust confiscation; that they will guarantee its neutrality, that it may be forever open and free, and the capital invested therein, secure; that the guarantee of security and neutrality shall be conditioned on its faithful and impartial management; that no discriminating regulations in favor, or against, either

party are made, or oppressive exactions or unreasonable tolls on passengers or freight.

ARTICLE 6. The parties engage to invite other States to enter into stipulations with them, similar to those which they have entered into with each other, to the end that all other States may share in the honor and advantage of having contributed to a work of such interest and importance. The contracting parties also stipulate, that each shall enter into treaty stipulations with such of the Central American States as they may deem advisable, for the purpose of more effectually carrying out the great design of this Convention—namely, that of constructing and maintaining the said canal as a ship communication between the two oceans, for the benefit of mankind, on equal terms to all, and of protecting the same.

ARTICLE 8 states that the parties have entered into this convention, not merely to accomplish a particular object, but also to establish a general principle. They agree to extend their protection to any other practicable communications, whether by canal or railway, across the isthmus which connects North and South America, and especially to the interoceanic communications, should the same be practicable, whether by canal or railway, which are now proposed to be established by the way of Tehuantepec or Panama.

In 1852, the Report, by I. I. Williams, Esq., Assistant Engineer of the Scientific Survey of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, under the direction of Major-General J. G. Barnard, was published, in a volume of 295 pp. It is accompanied by maps, profiles, and engravings, and is the most thorough, elaborate, and complete account that we have of any portion of the Isthmus.

ACTION OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

Subsequently the French government, by its agent, M. Belly, secured the following:

CONVENTION OF RIVAS, MAY 1, 1858.

The preamble states, that the two governments of Nicaragua

and Costa Rica jointly agree upon a grant for an interoceanic canal across the Isthmus of Nicaragua, to an international company, to be formed by M. Belly and his associates, on the most liberal terms and without "distinction of nationalities."

Article 1 stipulates that the two governments shall give the exclusive privilege for the construction and use of such a maritime canal, precluding any subsequent grant for a canal across the same territory, during the term of this concession.

Article 2 fixes the term of the grant—ninety-nine years from the date of the opening of the canal.

Article 3 determines the course of the canal, by the river San Juan and the lake of Nicaragua.

Article 4 defines conditionally the dividing line between the two States, according to the route of the canal.

Article 5 conveys, in fee, to the grantees, one French league of land each side of the track of the canal.

Article 6 stipulates that in crossing the Lake of Nicaragua, the shortest curve shall be considered as one of the sides of the canal, on each side of which, a space equal to one French league shall be deemed the property of the company, whether water or island, provided the same belongs to the States.

Article 7 conveys all the mines of coal, gold, silver, or other minerals on the lands of the company to them, subject only to the laws of the country.

Article 8 provides that the company shall be at the entire charge of the construction, repair, and working of the canal, without government aid.

Article 9 secures eight-per cent. of the gross revenue of the canal—that is, four per cent. each to the two States during the continuance of the grant.

Article 10 guarantees the company, their agents and property against any external or internal aggression, under penalty of forfeiture of damages by arbitration, to be deducted from the eight per cent. royalty.

Article 11 provides that the two ports at the extremities of the canal, on the Atlantic coast, shall be free ports forever, enjoying all the immunities those words imply.

Article 12 requires the erection of a first class lighthouse at each end of the canal, six months before its opening.

ARTICLE 13. The grantees declare emphatically, that the canal shall be open on the same terms to all flags, and that there shall be a uniform rate of tolls and charges, on all descriptions of merchandise, and at present, ten francs per ton (1,000 killogram) and sixty francs per passenger, never to be increased, but may be reduced as the interests of the company and commerce of the world, may justify.

Article 14 grants special privilege, for ten years, of free passage to vessels of the company, not exporting merchandise.

Article 15 exempts the lands, vessels, and works of the company from any impost tax of any kind, for twenty years.

Article 16 authorizes the company to dam or dredge the waters of the Colorado and San Juan rivers, and of the Lake Nicaragua, and to construct all such works as the engineers may judge necessary.

Article 17 empowers the company to impose such rules and regulations on the commerce of the transit as the interests of the service may require, not, however, injurious to the States of Costa Rica and Nicaragua.

Article 18 requires the canal to be of such dimensions as to admit, and afford harmless transit, to vessels of the largest size.

Article 19 allows two years for the commencement of the works, and six years for their completion. This time may, however, be extended.

Article 20 entitles the Ministers at Paris, of all of the States, to be members of the council of the company, but without vote.

Article 21 restricts the two States from continuing or establishing any monopoly of the productions of the country, or of articles of commerce (except munitions of war), from the date of the first semi-annual settlement of the royalty reserved to the States.

Article 22 establishes three per cent. ad valorem, as the rate of import and export duty, during the term of this concession.

ARTICLE 23. The parties mutually engage to make immediate application to the governments of France, England, and the Uni-

ted States, to secure the guarantee of the neutrality of the canal, by these three Powers, on the basis of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

ARTICLE 24. Until such guarantee shall have been officially proclaimed, by the publication of such a treaty, entrance to the canal shall be prohibited to all men-of-war; and the border States, in concert with the company, may take all necessary measures, to make this prohibition respected.

ARTICLE 25. After the neutrality of the canal shall have been solemnly guaranteed by act of the three governments of France, England, and the United States, the canal shall be open to ships of war, on the unanimous consent of the three Powers, subject to the approval of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, and the previous regulations of the company.

ARTICLE 26. As an exceptional measure, and to protect the interests and responsibility of the company, the direction of which is entirely French, the French government shall have the right to maintain two stationary vessels of war, during the continuance of the works, either in the waters of the canal or the Lake Nicaragua.

ARTICLE 27. All civil questions in the execution of this convention, shall be finally decided by a permanent commission, composed of two arbitrators, chosen by the company; one magistrate, appointed by each of the States, and the oldest French Consular Agent accredited to them.

ARTICLE 28. All political questions arising under this convention shall be submitted to the decision of a majority of an arbitration commission, composed of two members appointed by the company, and one from each of the interested or guaranteeing States—France, England, the United States, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.

Convention executed at Rivas, May 1, 1858.

MARTINEZ, President Republic Nicaragua. ®

GREGORIO JUAREZ, Foreign Secretary.

MORA, President Republic Costa Rica.

NAZARIO TOLEDO, Foreign Secretary.

FELIX BELLY.

ENDORSEMENT OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

This convention was submitted to the British Government, and received the following significant reply from Lord Malmesbury, referring to the "Clayton-Bulwer" treaty:—

A letter addressed to M. Felix Belly, by Lord Malmesbury, her Britannic Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs:

FOREIGN OFFICE, June 11, 1858.

MONSIEUR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 1, containing a copy of the treaty concluded between yourself and the Presidents of the republics of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, for the construction of a maritime canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and I am happy to assure you, that the stipulations of a treaty entered into between Great Britain and the United States, April 19, 1850, are in my opinion applicable to your project, if you put it into execution.

MALMESBURY.

In 1866, Rear-Admiral Davis, in compliance with a Resolution of the Senate, prepared and published a Report, "On the various proposed lines for interoceanic canals and railroads, between the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans." It is in a volume of 28 pages letterpress, containing numerous admirable maps and charts. It is an admirable resumé of the various projects for these objects.

Other and numerous publications, of various kinds, are extant, by different authors, describing favorite routes.

THE MEXICAN SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION, BY LOUIS NAPOLEON, 1864.

In February, 1864, the Emperor Napoleon, by imperial decree, instituted a commission, charged with a scientific expedition, for researches in Mexico, consisting of twenty-five members. The Minister of Public Instruction was

president, M. Quatrefages vice-president, and among the members were Marshal Vaillant, Baron Gros, MM. Michel Chevalier, Milne Edwards, and others, mostly members of the Institute, and distinguished in various departments of science. The expedition was organized in its various sections, to make a complete exploration of Mexico, and the bordering territories, in respect to physical geography, geological, mineralogical, meteorological and medical characteristics, the different races, their monuments, history, &c. The survey was to extend from the sources of the Rio del Norte and Rio Colorado, to the extremity of the Isthmus of Darien, and from the Pacific Ocean to the basin of the Rio del Norte, inclusive.

There were four committees, or sections. 1. On natural and medical sciences; M. Milne Edwards, president. 2. On physical and medical sciences; Marshal Vaillant, president. 3. On history, language and archæology; Baron Gros, president. 4. On political economy, statistics, public works and administrative questions; M. Michel Chevalier, president.

In addition to the above there were thirty corresponding members. Among them were Leon, Minister of State of the empire of Maximilian; Ramirez, Minister of Foreign Affairs; the Archbishop of Guatemala, and others wisely selected in Havana, Panama, Mexico, and other prominent places. The most ample provision for the *personnel*, and the general expedition were made, and all the instructions and preparations arranged for the work, on a scale worthy both of the subject, and of the author of the undertaking.

In their first report to the Emperor, the commission say:—"Sixty-six years ago forty thousand of the bravest soldiers in the world and our most glorious Captain, entered Alexandria. A whole colony of *savans*, also, in

their way, made the conquest of Egypt, rending the veil which for fifteen centuries had shrouded its ancient civilization. The researches of the Institute of Cairo, and the publication of the great work, 'The Description of Egypt,' revived archæological science in Europe." * * *

Animated by such recollections, your Majesty has desired that that which was done on the banks of the Nile, by Napoleon I. should be repeated in Mexico, under the auspices of Napoleon III.

The report, which is in two volumes, contains an account of the official acts of the commission, and of the labors of its committees, and the results they had reached.

The whole project—the organization, the appointments and the business efficiency of that commission, were all worthy of the imperial mind that planned it; and the results embodied in the two volumes are only an earnest and pledge, of the grand contribution to science which the world would have received, if the plan had been successful.

CHAPTER II.

THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES; THE AMERICAN ASIATIC SOCIETY—1865.

It had long been known, that the Asiatic and the Geographical Societies, of England, France, Germany and other parts of Europe, had given to this subject the most earnest and thorough investigation, and that courts and cabinets, in connection with the researches of eminent men of science, statesmen and philanthropists, had accumulated an amount of information not generally known in this country. The grand relations and bearings of the subject had not received at home, the attention and appreciation they deserved, and had commanded abroad. The know-

ledge attained, the interest manifested, and the policy pursued, by one administration of our government, was not followed up by its successor.

The American-Asiatic Society, an association under the presidency of Professor S. F. B. Morse, had been for a long period quietly investigating the subject, in its relations to the future of our institutions and of our commerce. Impressed with a deep sense of the intrinsic national and international importance of the "Middle Continent," in its geographical relations to the commerce of the world, the society addressed a communication to our government, soliciting the appropriate action of our administration;—and opened correspondence with scientific societies, and a number of eminent individuals in Europe. The society also, by favor of the opportunity of a personal presentation, by its honored President, to the Emperor Napoleon, addressed to him a memorial on the subject.

COMMUNICATION OF THE AMERICAN-ASIATIC SOCIETY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES—1866.

In January, 1866, the society deputed one of its members, to submit to the President of the United States, some of the results of their investigations, together with some views respecting friendly international coöperation, by the interested commercial Powers, in opening the great highway and the golden gates of the world's commerce, in the common interest of all nations and of modern civilization.

The President of the society addressed the following letter to the President of the United States:

NEW YORK, Jan. 17, 1866.

To his Excellency ANDREW JOHNSON, President of the United States:

DEAR SIR—At a time when every patriot is studying, with

their way, made the conquest of Egypt, rending the veil which for fifteen centuries had shrouded its ancient civilization. The researches of the Institute of Cairo, and the publication of the great work, 'The Description of Egypt,' revived archæological science in Europe." * * *

Animated by such recollections, your Majesty has desired that that which was done on the banks of the Nile, by Napoleon I. should be repeated in Mexico, under the auspices of Napoleon III.

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the deepest interest, the influence of foreign diplomacy upon the peace and well being of our country,—when every one is watching with anxiety the unfolding of the policy of European governments towards the United States, and this Western Continent, I am confident that the plans of intelligent individual citizens, having for their object the welfare, not merely of our own country, but of the world, will not be considered by your Excellency as wholly unworthy of your attention. It is in view of the fact, that my excellent and philanthropic friend, Dr. Abbot, of this city, who bears this letter, has put upon paper some valuable hints, respecting, especially, the French intervention in Mexico, that I have ventured to ask for him a few minutes of your valuable time, that he may impart his views to you. I am sure you will not consider my request for him, nor his suggestions, as impertinent or obtrusive. With profound respect, your obedient servant,

SAMUEL F. B. MORSE.

The papers and statements and maps submitted to the President, had reference to various historic facts and connected views, respecting the past and present relations between the government and the people of the United States, and the governments and the people of France, of Russia, of Great Britain and of other nations. They were of a character in themselves, to suggest offices of friendly international concert and coöperation, in the accomplishment of some great objects, that concern alike the welfare and the maritime and commercial interests of all nations—objects like the telegraph round the world, which no one nation or Power ought to direct or control, but which, if accomplished by the voluntary and cordial coöperation of the leading nations, would bring about, in a decade, results for humanity, that a thousand years of isolated and conflicting efforts could not secure.

The presentation of the subject at Washington, was received with much cordial interest; and the desire was

expressed, that the views of the Asiatic Society should be drawn out, and reduced to a plan, exhibiting a clear, distinct and full idea of its design. By request, they were thrown into the form of an imaginary Treaty, simply, as a convenient way of conveying, as briefly as possible, the idea and an outline of a plan.

A photographic map was prepared, from which the accompanying engraving has been made, to exhibit and illustrate to the eye, such bearings and relations of the subject, as were deemed appropriate to submit, to our own, and to Foreign Governments concerned.

The following is the view prepared :

Animated by a mutual desire to promote universal

“Peace on Earth and good-will to men,”

and to diffuse among all nations, the blessings of commerce, and of the peaceful arts and industries of civilization, the governments of ———, ———, ———, propose to each other, and to the Nations over which they respectively preside, the following measures for the welfare of all mankind, irrespective of Continent, country, or nationality, and for this end, do enter into a Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation.

Whereas, The Creator of the World, in the configuration of its land and water surface, has singularly and significantly connected the Continents, and separated the oceans, by remarkable Isthmus sections;—in the Eastern Hemisphere, between the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian Gulf, uniting Europe, Asia and Africa;—and in the Western Hemisphere, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, connecting North and South America;

And, has determined the metes and bounds of the habitation of all nations; and constituted the peculiar characteristics, habits, tastes, inventive genius and executive skill of different nationalities and races; and ordained the diversified features of climate, soil and natural productions of all countries, in a manner calculated to impress upon the whole human family, a fraternal and

generous recognition of mutual and necessary dependence upon each other;—and

Whereas, The termini of the two great transit routes across these Isthmus sections in the two Hemispheres, are by their geographical position, the focal and radiant points, where the chief trunk lines of commerce necessarily concentrate and diverge; namely from the Persian Gulf eastward to Kurrachee, Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore and Australia; and from the Mediterranean Sea, westward to all points on the Atlantic Ocean, in Europe, North and South America, the West Indies, and the Gulf of Mexico, and from the American Isthmus, on the Pacific coast, to all the ports of Western North and South America, the Sandwich Islands, Japan and China, constituting as a whole, the grand interoceanic and intercontinental highway for all the principal foreign commerce of all nations; and

Whereas, The rights and interests of all mankind are concerned in the opening, the preservation, the perpetuity, and the unobstructed and suitably protected enjoyment of these great thoroughfares of travel and traffic; and

Whereas, The friendly and cordial coöperation of the great maritime powers and commercial agencies of both Europe and America is essential to the execution and protectorate of an enterprise of such world-wide, universal, and enduring interest; and that, on a scale commensurate with the magnitude and importance of the objects in view;

Now, Therefore, the High Contracting Parties, in good faith with each other, do enter into a Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, under the following articles and conditions; namely,

ARTICLE I.—*Declaration.*

The High Contracting Parties, and all others who are invited to unite in this Treaty, and who may participate in the duties, responsibilities and immunities it involves, do bind themselves mutually each with the other, that they will not themselves, and will not permit others, to assume, nor to exercise any control or monopoly of these grand, fundamental trunk routes of international communication, to the exclusion of others from rights and privileges, which all nations are justly entitled to enjoy.



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UNIVERSIDAD AUTÓNOMA DE NUEVO LEÓN
DIRECCIÓN GENERAL DE BIBLIOTECAS

ARTICLE II.—*International Commission.*

For the purposes of this Treaty, the High Contracting Parties agree to institute and appoint an International Commission, to consist of ——— members, ———, to be designated by each party, who, when organized as hereinafter provided, shall constitute the Universal International Commission.

ARTICLE III.—*Organization.*

§ 1. The Commissioners appointed, before proceeding to business, shall make and subscribe a solemn declaration, to be entered on their records, that they will impartially, and honestly without fear, favor, or affection for their own country, discharge all the duties of their sacred responsibility and trust, according to justice and equity, and with sole and supreme regard to the general interests and welfare of mankind.

§ 2. The Commissioners shall divide themselves, or be divided by their respective governments, at the time of their appointment, into two equal sections or bureaus, so arranged that both continents shall be equally represented in each section.

§ 3. The place of business of the European Section shall be at the City of Paris, and of the American Section, at the City of New York.

§ 4. The two sections of the Commission, shall be charged with the general direction and management of the business, on their respective continents, subject to such limitation in regard to their duties, powers and mutual relations, and such enactments in respect to their organization, and the order and formula of their administration, as the high contracting powers, in their wisdom, may prescribe.

ARTICLE IV.—*The Transit Routes.*

The parties hereto mutually agree, that they will endeavor to obtain, through their Commissioners, and by their own good offices, by cession or purchase, as hereinafter provided, from the Governments of Mexico, Central America and Turkey, a strip or belt of land not less than ——— miles in width, covering the line of the route or routes across the Isthmus sections, between

the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, and the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian Gulf; such route or routes, as the Commission may determine, by a thorough, scientific exploration, to be shortest and best, for the purposes of international communication and commerce, by railroad, canal, and telegraph; and that such territory shall be held in trust, by their High Commission, for the benefit of all nations, on conditions framed to protect and secure the just and equal rights of all; and, that said Commission shall be empowered to construct, equip and maintain such railroad or canal, and telegraph lines, and to administer the affairs of the same, in a manner designed solely to guard and guarantee the impartial and honorable maintenance of the common welfare, and to subserve in the highest degree, the interests of universal peace, commerce and civilization.

ARTICLE V.—*The Treasury.*

The High Contracting Parties agree to create a credit of — hundred millions of dollars, by an issue of National Bonds, of each Government respectively, that may unite in this Treaty, to the aggregate amount of — hundred millions of dollars, guaranteed by said Governments, payable within — years, and with interest semi-annually, at a rate not less than that of the most favorable loans of said Governments.

ARTICLE VI.—*The Guaranteed Bonds.*

The Bonds thus issued, in form and manner designating their character and object, shall be placed subject to the order of the Commissioners, to be disbursed by them, in their discretion, and as the High Contracting Parties may direct, for the purchase from the Governments concerned, of the required territory for the Transit Routes, for the exploration, construction, equipment, working and repair of the respective lines, and such expenses as may be deemed requisite, for the promotion of their efficiency, and their objects on the land and on the seas.

ARTICLE VII.—*The Transit Territory.*

The entire territory that may be secured, by cession or pur-

chase, together with all that appertains to it; its mineral productions and its ports and harbors, shall be deemed, like the high seas, the common property of all mankind; but the revenue, of every kind, derived from tolls, freight, fares, postage, telegraphs, rents, mines, natural productions, &c., is legitimately and properly reserved and conveyed by the High Contracting Parties, to their High Commission, to be appropriated by them, to the payment of principal and interest of the debt created for the benefit of all nations; and when this reimbursement shall have been fully made, the revenues derivable from all sources, on these great highways of the world's commerce, shall be reduced to a scale adequate simply to defray the expenses of maintenance and administration.

ARTICLE VIII.—*Military Protectorate.*

It is mutually agreed that the High Contracting Powers uniting in this Treaty, shall each in turn, in the exercise of their united Protectorate over these great enterprises, furnish an adequate military protection for the scientific survey, engineering work, and construction of these transits, subject to the requisition and control of the commission, who shall be chargeable for its expenses.

ARTICLE IX.—*Immigration and Jurisdiction.*

The Commission shall be empowered to make such arrangements and concessions as may be deemed expedient and desirable, to encourage immigration into the acquired territories, for the development of agricultural and mineral resources; but no discriminating regulations shall be made either in favor of, or against, the people of any country, language, or race. But throughout the entire territories, and as far as the jurisdiction of the Commission shall extend, all persons of every nationality and race shall be secure and protected in the full enjoyment of the rights recognized under the flag of their country, including freedom of person, of opinion, of speech, of conscience, and of worship, excepting in punishment of crime, or in case of violation of the moral sense of civilized nations.

ARTICLE X.—*Mineral Resources.*

The mineral resources of these two Isthmus Sections that may be opened by the explorations and labors of the Commission, and the extension of these highways, shall be equally accessible, and on equal terms, to the scientific knowledge and skilled labor of the subjects or citizens of all the high contracting parties, conformably with arrangements that may be made with the respective governments concerned.

ARTICLE XI.—*Time of War.*

If any of the Parties to this Treaty shall unhappily become involved in war with each other, the administration of both transits, in order to secure perfect neutrality and impartiality, shall be committed, during the continuance of hostilities, to those members of the Commission, the Governments of which are not engaged as belligerents; always providing that the number shall be equally divided between neutral Powers on each continent.

ARTICLE XII.—*Commission of International Jurisprudence.*

The High Contracting Parties further agree, as a coöperative measure in this great movement, to constitute a "Commission of International Jurisprudence" — in number, composed of jurists eminent in their knowledge of commercial, maritime, and criminal law, in their respective countries, — members to be appointed by each Government respectively, who shall be charged with the preparation of a code of Laws for the government of the common territory, not inconsistent with the laws of their respective countries.

§ 1. The code of laws shall embody and state the boundaries of the Territory, the extent of the jurisdiction of the Company, its objects, powers, and franchises.

§ 2. Define the divisions, geographical or municipal, that may be desirable for the works of the company, the purposes of commerce, the administration of justice, the organization of police, or the social welfare of inhabitants.

§ 3. Prescribe the rights and duties of all residents and transient persons, while within the jurisdiction of the Company.

§ 4. Indicate the Executive officers that may be necessary for territorial administration, together with their responsibilities and powers.

The entire system and administration of Laws, maritime, commercial, criminal, sanitary, and police, shall harmonize with those universal principles and provisions of the "jus gentium," recognized in the jurisprudence of the great powers, and be conformable to the wants and necessities of a community, where many different nationalities and races must meet and mingle in social and commercial relations, and engaged as the representatives of various and distant nations, in the conduct and interchange of a commerce, that is destined to transport and distribute to and fro, the productions and manufactures of all regions of the habitable globe.

ARTICLE XIII.—*A uniform System of Measures, Weights, and Money.*

The High Commission shall be authorized and empowered to investigate the whole subject of measure, weights, and money, as affecting the interests of the GREAT INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE of the world; and to introduce in the common territory, as in their discretion may be expedient, any system that experience or investigation may suggest, as calculated to harmonize, or diminish existing differences in the standards of measurement and value; and to establish with the concurrence of the great maritime powers and commercial nations, at least a uniformity in the *standard* of coinage, and a common unit of extension, weight, liquid and solid measure.

ARTICLE XIV.—*Sanitary Measures and Laws.*

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ARTICLE XV.—*Cabinets, Museums, &c.*

In the explorations and operations of the High Commission, it shall be their duty to make collections, as opportunities may arise, of specimens in geology, mineralogy, natural history, antiquities, and paleontology, &c., in numbers sufficient to supply a museum or cabinet, of equal interest and value, for the benefit of the government and people of each of the high contracting parties.

ARTICLE XVI.—*Records and Reports of Proceedings.*

The High Commission shall make and preserve a minute and faithful account of all their proceedings and transactions; and shall issue a bulletin as often, *at least*, as once a month, of such facts and acts as may be of interest to the High Contracting Parties; and once a year shall issue a full and detailed Report of all the action and results of the Commission. They shall be authorized to employ such literary and scientific aid as may be desirable, to embody in due historical form and manner, the fruits of discovery and exploration, in sections of the world of so much interest to all mankind and for all coming ages.

The spirit of enterprise in our age, and its grand achievements, suggest an extension of the mighty power of the combination of capital, scientific knowledge and mechanical skill. The capital, science and skill of single nations have made ours, already, an age of wonders. What might not the combined capital, knowledge and skill of the great Powers effect for the welfare of mankind! What peaceful solutions of the gravest difficulties might be reached! What strides in the career of commerce, civilization, and, in the hopes of abiding "peace on earth and good-will to men!"

APPLICATION TO CONGRESS—1866.

In furtherance of these views and objects, the society solicited the adoption of the following resolutions, in the Senate and in the House, which were agreed to, and ordered to be printed.

March 19, 1867, Mr. Banks submitted the following in the House:

TRANSIT ACROSS THE ISTHMUS OF PANAMA, OF NICARAGUA, OF HONDURAS, OR OF TEHUANTEPEC.

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Affairs be instructed to inquire and report, what measures have been taken by foreign governments or capitalists, to secure the control, in the interests of rival nations, of any of the routes or franchises, for the transits across the Isthmus of Panama, of Nicaragua, of Honduras or of Tehuantepec; and to report what action, if any, it may be advisable for the government of the United States to take, to secure the interests of American commerce on such transit routes.

Resolved, That the Committee be authorized and empowered to send for persons and papers, and to take such measures as they may judge expedient and necessary, to collect and submit the facts for the information of the government and people of the United States.

In the Senate, Mr. Cameron submitted the following, which were considered by unanimous consent, agreed to, and ordered to be printed:

MONARCHIES IN AMERICA.

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations be instructed to inquire into, and report upon, the facts in respect to the designs of foreign Powers, to impose their systems of monarchical government and institutions upon the people of this Continent, and what action, if any, our government should take, to avert the inevitable consequences of the further prosecution

of such designs; and to maintain for ourselves and our posterity, the fundamental principles and objects of the original settlers of our country, and the traditional policy of the fathers and founders of the republic.

Resolved, That the committee be authorized and empowered to take such measures as they may judge expedient, and necessary, to collect and submit the facts, for the information of the government and people of the United States.

It was the opinion of the society, that an authorized and responsible report, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House, and on Foreign Relations in the Senate, would spread before the people of the United States, a kind and degree of information they ought to possess. Nothing is to be gained, in the future, of international coöperation or comity, by hiding from our eyes, in ignorance, the long and persistent course of foreign movements, in regard to our country and our institutions. The plain and simple facts, in respect to the two great branches of the subject, indicated in the resolutions, could not fail to command attention, and be of service in determining the attitude the government and people of the United States should assume, and the policy they should hereafter pursue, in respect to the governments and people of other lands.

LETTER TO COUNT WALEWSKY—1866.

In June, 1866, the President of the society addressed the following communication to Count Walewsky:

As President of the American-Asiatic Society, I have been requested at a meeting of its members, to be the bearer of a memorial from the society to his Majesty, the Emperor of the French, on a subject believed to be of the greatest importance to France, to the United States, and to the world at large. It is my intention to visit Paris, for the purpose of presenting this

memorial, in the early part of July approaching. I deem it but a proper courtesy, to apprise your Excellency, of this intention, which has for its object the well-being of the whole human race.

In July, Professor Morse arrived in Paris, and in August, was joined there by another delegate from the society, the Rev. Dr. John Forsyth, who had been appointed with Dr. E. H. Champlin, to assist in the presentation abroad, of the great object of their mission.

The following is the memorial presented to the Emperor Napoleon:

MEMORIAL OF THE AMERICAN-ASIATIC SOCIETY.

To His Imperial Majesty Napoleon III., Emperor of France, 1866:

The American-Asiatic Society would respectfully memorialize your Imperial Majesty, to exert the great power which Divine Providence has placed in your hands, with a view to induce the maritime nations of both hemispheres, to consider the necessity of an alliance, for opening grand international avenues of commerce through certain sections of Central America and Asiatic Turkey. As one step towards this end, and as a means of securing simultaneous action on the American and the Asiatic Isthmus, your memorialists would briefly present to your Majesty's suggestive mind, the idea of a scientific congress, in which all parties interested should be represented, and which should be held in Paris during the Exposition Universelle of 1867. Through a commission previously appointed by your Majesty, an invitation could be given to the learning and the science of the several countries interested, to send representatives to discuss certain closely related questions of world-wide importance—*e. g.*, such as the expediency of a new international code, a system of international coinage and of weights and measures, of sanatoria and the prevention of pestilence, the development of the precious metals, more direct lines of steamers between great commercial centres, and new trunk lines, which may help to develop the resources of countries like Arabia and Eastern Africa, which, abounding in

wealth, are now lost to commerce and civilization. The governments of France and of the United States, as well as others, would be thus aided by the combined science of Europe and America, in ascertaining where reconnoissance is most needed, its special objects, and how it can best be accomplished. At the same time, the way may be prepared, for an amicable and permanent adjustment of all the interests concerned with the Eastern question; and more particularly, all those connected with Central America, or the Western question, on the basis of making the grand interoceanic commercial highways perfectly and permanently free to all nations; or, if this should not be feasible, of placing them under the control of international companies.

As we have reason to believe that the most important of these topics have already engaged your Majesty's attention, your memorialists would respectfully suggest, that the views of your Majesty, communicated in some appropriate way, would be of the utmost moment, in assisting to realize the objects set forth briefly in this memorial. The reports and recommendations of such a convention as is proposed, embodied in a memorial to the governments of Europe and America, would prepare the way for an international congress, clothed with power to act upon the subjects referred to it. The American-Asiatic Society would therefore respectfully suggest, as a preliminary to such international co-operation, a scientific congress, or convention, constituted and meeting as above stated, and under the Presidency of your Imperial Majesty.

The only motive which prompts your memorialists to approach your Imperial Majesty with this request is, our earnest desire to advance the glory of France and America, and the enduring welfare of humanity.

SAMUEL F. B. MORSE,

President of the American-Asiatic Society.

THOMAS F. HARRISON, Secretary.

REPLY TO THE MEMORIAL.

The following is a translation of the reply to the

memorial, addressed to the President of the society by Baron Moustier:

PARIS, Jan. 27, 1867.

MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES, CABINET:

SIR—In the name of the Emperor, I am to express to you, the interest he has found in the remarkable memorial you have addressed to him. His Majesty has examined it, with the attention it deserves, and is pleased to recognize all the merit of the project, and of the ideas which are therein developed. But in view of the various preoccupations of the present moment, and of the activity in which the Exposition of 1867 will engross all minds, it is the opinion of the Emperor, that the scientific congress which you propose, would for the present, have little chance of usefulness or success. The Emperor thinks, also, that if the ideas presented in your memorial are perfectly matured, the plan you have exhibited has not yet all the precision and completeness desirable, in order to secure at this time, the favorable reception it merits. Such, sir, is the reply that his Majesty charges me to forward to you, expressing the hope of your success, at a later date, in an idea for which, moreover, he has the highest sympathy. I avail myself of this opportunity to beg you to receive the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

MOUSTIER.

THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF MEXICO.

There are three ways in which the great problem of interoceanic communication may be solved. In either case, the interests of the two republics lie in the same direction.

First—By means of private companies or corporations.

Second—By some single nation.

Third—By a combination of the leading maritime and commercial powers.

It is too late for England, or France, or any single foreign power, to secure or maintain any territorial or

commercial concession, to their exclusive advantage, on this continent.

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, in some of its features a model for an international treaty, as to Isthmus transits, bars any independent action of the United States. The alternatives are, a private company; or, a combination among the leading powers, to hold the *two great avenues* of commerce and international intercourse, in trust, in some form, for the common benefit of mankind; with arrangements for maintaining them in the most efficient condition, guaranteeing their neutrality under all circumstances; and securing the free and perpetual enjoyment of them, for all the nations of the earth, on equal terms.

The central position occupied by France, in respect to social and commercial intercourse among the nations, the extraordinary and very prominent interest her government and people have taken in opening these great transits, and in developing the improvements which demand them, render it proper that she should take an honored part in a movement, which if made, would undoubtedly be seconded by every other nation.

The principles and stipulations involved in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, and in the "Convention of Rivas," show, plainly, the views and aims of the two governments, which thus sought to forestall any ascendancy on the part of the United States over the great American transit. All the world knows the course of the same governments, to forestall each other, and all other nations, in an undue ascendancy over the Eastern transit, by the way of the Isthmus of Suez Canal and the Euphrates Valley Railway. The question will yet be considered, why should England or France, or both united, have the direction and control of the "highway of the kings of the East," which, for a

millennium, was the great thoroughfare for the commerce of the Old World. A direct railway from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, under the protectorate of the leading commercial nations, would reopen the commerce of the Orient, on a scale that would make all the past history of the Mediterranean only a "shadow of things to come." Surpassingly wonderful, are the discoveries and inventions of the age in which we live. Not less wonderful, are the power and achievements developed by the combination of capital, science and skill. All nations now are neighbors. Soon every sovereign of earth can speak with his fellows, in less time than Pharaoh could walk around a pyramid.

The world's highways belong to the world, and should be opened under such protection and guarantee, as may assure the rights of all. It is not mere curiosity that asks, what are to be the principles and regulations of the future administration of the Suez Canal, of the Euphrates Valley Railway, of any future direct route from Joppa, via Jerusalem, to Grane? and who are to control the great transits of the American Isthmus?

Whatever may be said, or claimed, in regard to the free navigation of the great rivers of the world, the Wolga, the Danube, the Rhine, the Rhone, the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the Amazon; there is no doubt about the seas. The Baltic, and the Black, the Mediterranean and the Red, should be as free and open as the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean Sea, or Hudson's Bay.

The Marquis de Magny proposed to commit the guardianship, the management and control, of the route from the Mediterranean Sea to the Persian Gulf, and its grand complement, the transit of the American isthmus, to "the brothers of the maritime company of the religious, military and industrial Order of St. Pius," under the patron-

age of Pope Pius IX. The patrimony of the Pope would then be, not only the keys and gates of St. Peter, but the keys and golden gates of the commerce of the world.

Whatever course the wisdom of legislators may adopt, one thing would seem to be of indispensable importance—namely, *a thorough and complete scientific survey*, of both these great isthmus sections, in a manner worthy of a work, in which all nations are concerned, and in which, all nations may well unite. Too many instances have already occurred, in which the track of a railway has been diverted from its best course, by the controlling influence of some local or private interest. A more thorough examination and survey would have saved regrets, expenditures and mortifications to the living, and almost irretrievable disadvantages entailed upon posterity. In these two instances, to which the round world can show no parallel, inviting enterprises and expenditures involving hundreds of millions, and affecting the highest material interests of the human family, it were certainly wise, as a preliminary step, to have such surveys of the territories, by the very best engineering skill of man, as would guard against mistakes and disappointments.

The Asiatic Society has sought to secure the proper action of our own, and of foreign governments to place these great interests and enterprises on the footing they ought to occupy. Some kind or form of an international commission, charged with the work of exploration and survey, of construction, maintenance and management, might be devised, that would insure, as far as human foresight can, the rights and interests of nations, and inestimable blessings to mankind.

If there be any objects that concern the material and moral welfare of the human family, in the four quarters of

the globe, they are the opening of the two great gates of the hemispheres, for the commerce of the world. It has been well said of one of them that it would be "the mightiest event in favor of the peaceful intercourse of nations, which the physical circumstances of the globe presents to the enterprise of man."

It would be difficult to divine the effects which would follow the other. The opening of the highway between Europe and Asia, the interchange of travel and commerce between the six hundred millions of Asia, and the millions of Europe and America, would make Chicagos spring up in the wilderness of Arabia, and the desert would blossom. All nations would take a new point of departure, and a new era would open upon the race. Sooner or later, the nations will combine for the execution of such gigantic works of common and universal interest.

It has been stated, that the Emperor of China was willing to pledge \$80,000,000, and coolie laborers to any extent, for the opening of the American Isthmus. If six of the leading nations would unite, in constituting a commission, and each guarantee bonds to the amount of \$50,000,000 for fifty years, and purchase a tract fifty miles wide across our isthmus, at the best points for canal and railroad; and an equal width from the Mediterranean Sea to the Persian Gulf, including in it, the city of Jerusalem, and open to all nations, by rail, "the great highway" to the "city of the great King," free alike to all, it would certainly bring a solution to some great questions that have hitherto disturbed the peace of the world. ®

There is a city, which in some sense, belongs to our race; for it holds in its history, and in its future, the hopes and the destinies of the family of man. When its great highway and its peaceful gates are again opened to man,

there will dawn upon the earth a new day of "peace and good will,"—a new era of commerce, civilization, and Christianity.

CHAPTER III.

CONCLUSION.

THE story of Mexico from the Conquest in 1520, to the adoption of the Constitution of the Federal Republic in 1859, constitutes a passage in the history of nations, without a parallel. The limits of this volume have not admitted the introduction of many subjects that are essential to a complete view of the Mexican war of Independence, and of the life struggles of the young Republic. Indeed, the narrative has necessarily been restricted to a very cursory sketch of great events, extending over a long period of time, but all having an essential connexion with the great final result. Many topics have been quite excluded, and many more but very imperfectly and inadequately represented. But enough, it is hoped, has been exhibited, to sustain the position it has aimed to establish. It is a matter of great regret, that the history is thus cut short, at the very point where, for some purposes, it ought to begin.

The establishment of the Constitution, the war of the Intervention, the rise and fall of the Empire, the restoration of the Republic, and the new efforts of the government at the Capital for the reconstruction of the Commonwealth, the "consolidation of peace," and the restoration of all the disturbed functions and interests of the interior life of society, would require extended narration.

The relations of England, France, Austria, and Rome, to the *great act* of the XIXth Century—great in a very

different sense from that in which it has been heralded to the world—would require almost a volume in itself.

The story of the Intervention, its origin, objects, progress and defeat is a history of itself, which some future historian will doubtless give to the world.

The object of the present volume will appear, from a brief recapitulation of some of the leading issues, great difficulties and grand results, which have marked the heroic struggles of the Mexicans.

The leading issues may be stated, as,

1. Colonial subjection to Spain, or National Independence.
2. A Monarchical Government, or a Constitutional Republic.
3. A Spiritual despotism, or religious freedom.
4. Church and State united, or separate and independent.
5. A system of ecclesiastical, and military, fueros, and aristocratic privileges, or equal rights and laws for all.
6. A moneyed "church" despotism, holding half the wealth of the nation, and exempted from the burdens of the State, or a just and equal distribution of common property, and of burdens necessary for the common weal.
7. Class and caste prejudices, imposing endless disabilities, or equal privileges and immunities without distinction of nationality, or race.
8. Slavery or Freedom.
9. Inquisitorial intolerance, or freedom of conscience, of opinion, of speech and of the press.
10. National education, or national ignorance.
11. Blind restrictions upon international intercourse and commerce, or open doors to the interchange of the benefits of modern civilization.

Such are the leading issues which have entered into the Mexican Revolutions of the last forty years.

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Such are the leading issues which have entered into the Mexican Revolutions of the last forty years.

The enemies and difficulties, the Mexican Republicans have had to encounter have been :

1. The Power of Old Spain.
2. The Spanish Colonial Government.
3. The Mexican Hierarchy; with all their spiritual, political, military, monetary, aristocratic, and social influence and power.
4. The military arm of the Government.
5. Diplomatic intrigue and opposition.
6. Foreign commercial interests.
7. The whole weight, moral, material, and, military, of England, France, Spain, Austria, and Rome.
8. Want of education in the masses; want of disciplined troops, and of weapons and munitions of war, of money, of officers, and of loyal, incorruptible men.

In the face of all these hostile elements, at home and abroad, in the face of all these difficulties and trials, what have they accomplished ?

1. They have thrown off the yoke of the mother country.
2. They have disenthralled themselves of the despotism, political and ecclesiastical, of three centuries.
3. They have overthrown the system of fueros and class monopolies.
4. They have destroyed the tyranny of caste.
5. They have adopted one of the noblest Constitutions for a human Government ever framed, since the promulgation of the Constitution and laws of the Hebrew commonwealth, three thousand years ago.

They have modelled it after our own immortal instrument, and they have improved upon it. In their declaration of the rights of man, which echoes the sound of the trumpet of the Divine law, they proclaim the great fundamental truths, and principles which mark the progressive civilization of the age.

1. That the "rights of man" are the basis and object of Government.
2. That all are born free in the Republic. Slaves that set foot on their soil are free.
3. Education is free.
4. Professions and vocations in life are free.
5. All compulsory, unremunerated labor prohibited.
6. Expressions of opinions are free.
7. The press is free.
8. Right of petition guaranteed.
9. Voluntary associations and assemblies free.
10. Passport requisitions abolished.
11. No titles of nobility.
12. No special laws, nor tribunals; no fueros nor monopolies.
13. No "ex-post facto" laws.
14. The domicile is sacred.
15. No punishments of mutilation or torture.

Such are some of the principles for which the patriots of Mexico have been contending. They have struggled under an accumulation of difficulties and discouragements, such as other nations have rarely encountered. The mass of the population, oppressed for ages, were poor, uneducated, and denuded of all the elements of power, influence, wealth, or material resources. Intelligent, they understood their "inalienable rights," of civil and religious liberty, and of independent and constitutional government. Resolute and determined, with unalterable convictions of the ultimate triumph of justice, with unbounded faith in a leader of stainless patriotism and incorruptible integrity, they waged the unequal contest. Undisciplined in the arts of war, they faced trained regulars. Volunteers undrilled, they coped with the "old guard." The uprising people met a banded ecclesiastical establishment, united as in one solid phalanx, with all the accumu-

lated resources and prestige of ages, fighting for spiritual and political supremacy, wielding all the powers of the political, religious, military, and civil organizations of church and state. And then, to crown the climax of their trial, the united governments of England and France threw the weight of their moral influence, and all the intimidation of their fleets and guns, in favor of the oppressors and oppression. The threatening broadsides of foreign squadrons in the ports and harbors of the Gulf, and on the Pacific, frowned on the Republican cause.

The great powers recognized as a government "de facto," the politico-clerical cabal, which beyond the City of Mexico and a few central cities of the Republic, commanded neither the recognition, the respect, nor the allegiance of the nation.

The sympathies and covert acts of the diplomatic corps were neither disguised nor inactive, in behalf of the party of the "old régime."

Juarez and his ministers, and the illustrious band of their co-patriots, civil and military, sustained by the masses of the native population—"THE PEOPLE OF MEXICO," with incomparable prudence, energy, and courage, were enabled to surmount all the difficulties and complications, that surrounded them. The conviction is almost irresistible that One mightier than all human powers and combinations heard the cry of the oppressed, has broken the arm of the oppressor, and guided thus far the destinies, and preserved the liberties of Mexico.

Of twenty-four States of the Republic, TWENTY-ONE STATES and one Territory, with all the Seaports on the Atlantic and on the Pacific coasts, officially acknowledged and sustained the liberal, constitutional government, and repudiated the other.

Thus the long contest from 1810 to 1859, ended in the final establishment of the present democratic Republican Constitution of Mexico.

The fearful episode in the history, from 1860 to 1869—the Intervention, the Empire, its overthrow, the restoration of the Republican government, and the re-establishment of the Constitution, only intensifies the appreciation due to the work and sacrifices of Mexico.

The most bitter, and the most formidable elements of the conflicts of ages in Europe, were transplanted to America. The direst elements of strife, the irreconcilable antagonisms which had wrought havoc among the thrones and empires of the old world, seemed to meet and spend their fury in the Empire of the Aztecs. The theatre and the parties were changed, but the principles involved were the same. Instead of a Pope, and kings, and queens, and nobles, and serfs, it was a Cortez, a viceroy, a bishop, a monk, a priest, a friar, and four millions of unenlightened aborigines, unresisting and defenceless, save in the might of eternal justice, and in the aid of that unseen power, that sees and pities, defends and liberates the slave.

The race that had writhed and groaned for centuries under remorseless oppression, attempted, to the best of their ability, to throw off the yoke of intolerable despotism. They have been abused, vilified, and denounced from one end of Christendom to the other. Is it true they are Indians. They have a dark skin. Ages of bondage have shut out almost the last ray of knowledge, and their masters have taken away its key. They are ignorant. A paganism worse than their own, has shrouded their minds in darkness, superstition, and almost despair. In their struggles for freedom, for knowledge, for self-improvement

and self-government, instead of a word of encouragement and cheer, from "men whose souls are lighted with wisdom from on high," they have received, with too few exceptions, the scorn and derision of the world.

Statesmen of England and France, in Parliament and in the "Chamber," have led the hue and cry. The enlightened journalists of London and Paris have filled their columns with abuse.

The enemies of Mexico have indulged in every species of vituperation, not of the oppressors, but of their victims. There has been little discrimination between the right and the wrong; little recognition of the claims of justice, or the deserts of tyranny; no distinction between the principles of a just government and an execrable despotism; but indiscriminate and sweeping denunciation of the victims of almost every conceivable outrage in the violation of human rights or of divine law. Plenty of contempt and derision of a priest-ridden people, but not a word of condemnation for an ignorant, debased, and profligate priesthood. Any amount of complacent detestation of ignorance, superstition, vice, and wretchedness, but not a word for that detestable, despotic system which occasioned and sustains it.

European haters of republican institutions and of the principles of civil and religious freedom, that are the glory of Americans, have plied all the arts of their vocation to extinguish the kindling spark of liberty on Mexican soil. They point to the shackles and fetters of the Atzec race, and ask if they are fitted to be free!

From Europe to America, the shuttlecock of falsehood and slander has been tossed to and fro, until the distinctions of truth, justice, and right, are lost in the clamor for "intervention in Mexico."

Books, pamphlets, and papers repeated, exaggerated and intensified the wrong. Mexico and Brownsville, Havana and New York, Washington, London and Paris, were the great centres from which spread the foulest rumors, the most glaring falsehoods, and the most cruel wrongs.

THE FUTURE OF MEXICO.

What, then, are the hopes and prospects for the future of Mexico?

She awaits only, as President Juarez says, "The consolidation of peace;" the restoration and reconstruction of a just and equal government, and the reorganization of society. She will then enter, *with the United States*, on a new career of freedom and prosperity. She has.

1. A country, in extent, with which only one Empire in Europe can compare.
2. A geographical position among the nations, with which none other on the earth can compare.
3. A docile, plastic population of six millions, ready with open hands and hearts, to receive all the light and blessings of modern civilization and of a pure Christianity.
4. Exemption from all political and ecclesiastical domination, and complete investiture with all the prerogatives and powers of self-government.
5. A form of government, and a constitution not second in excellence, to any other in the world, not excepting our own.
6. A President of purity unimpeached; of integrity incorruptible; of energy and perseverance, indomitable.
7. A cabinet embodying men of a statesmanship and character, worthy of the confidence of their nation.
8. The organization of the various departments of government modelled after our own.

9. A declared policy, domestic and foreign, for the administration of government, in a manner designed to secure the highest welfare of the state.

The measures already initiated are a pledge and almost a guarantee, that nothing shall be wanting to build up the fabric of social life, on sure and permanent foundations. One of the Cabinet, the Secretary of the Treasury, has been for eight years, the representative of his Government near our own, and has discharged his duties under the most trying circumstances, with an ability, discretion, and dignity worthy of any minister in Christendom. He has won for himself the esteem and respect of the Government and people of the United States. He has studied with indefatigable diligence, all the machinery and operations of our Government, and has returned to his own, with the avowed purpose of making all his experience and observations here of the result of over fourscore years of trial, subservient to the best interests of the institutions of his country.

But there is yet a great work to do. The difficulties and the obstacles are numerous and formidable—enough to embarrass the ablest and most experienced Cabinet. There is,

1. The old Spanish monarchical element, like the old Tories, in the time of our Revolution.
2. The ubiquitous "Church" party.
3. Ambitious military chieftains of the Old Regime.
4. The representatives of foreign interests, commercial and otherwise, still lingering in the Republic.
5. The distant, yet unfriendly influence of Rome, Austria, France, and England.
6. The depressed condition of the masses of the native population, uninstructed in a knowledge of their rights and duties; inexperience in the exercise of the rights of citizenship, and unaccustomed to self-government.

The prejudices of the old political and ecclesiastical rulers, the ignorance and superstitions of other classes, the antipathies of races, international prejudices, hereditary caste distinctions, and the ambitious aspirations of multitudes, all combined, environ the Government with perplexities which demand consummate patience, wisdom and skill. Then there are those who are always predicting domestic or foreign troubles. New European complications, or aggressions from the United States, are conjured up, to disturb the tranquillity and repose, which are essential to the restoration of the peaceful industry, and of the prosperity of the Republic.

There are others who believe that all these embarrassments will be overcome; that the Mexican Government and the Mexican people, will join heartily with the Government and people of the United States, in a career of just, equal and fraternal coöperation, for the development of the resources, and the advancement of the prosperity and happiness of both nations.

THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF MEXICO.

The future of Mexico must depend upon the relations established, and the policy pursued, with foreign nations. China, even, can no longer live in isolation from the rest of the world. Neighborhood and good neighborhood, are alike the true interest and policy of all people.

The relations of Mexico and of the United States, with European Powers, are compassed, at the present time, with grave and delicate considerations. And yet, it is for the welfare of the world, that injuries should be forgotten, and mutual offices of good-will encouraged.

It is perfectly evident from the statements of Mr. Lempriere, the English author of "Notes on Mexico," in

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 pronunciamiento—not of a "Church" party in Mexico, against a handful of Republicans resolved there "to do or die,"—but it is the pronunciamiento 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

as the admission of an outside party to a participation in the benefits of a great, powerful and prosperous combination. We ask for no such unions of foreign communities with ours, on our own account; but if hereafter, any other community, whether its territory be conterminous with ours or not, shall desire on *their* account to be admitted to our system, we shall consider the proposal with every disposition to comply with it; provided, it shall be found safe for us to do so, as well as advantageous for them. This caution will be necessary, since any people so admitted into the union, come into possession of a *very important share of power, in respect to our own rights and interests.* The union of a political community with the United States, is a very different thing from the annexation of a territory to a kingdom. In the latter case, an annexed territory comes under the *control* of a government. In the former, an admitted population comes into the possession of a *power.* A new state, received into this union, will, thereafter, exercise as great a power, over the present states, in proportion to her population, as the present states over her. The people of the British provinces to the north of us, for example, have no voice whatever in the government of the British empire. The relation,—so far as they are connected with the government of the empire at all, is one of subordination and subjection on their part. Whereas, if they were admitted to this union, their senators and representatives at Washington, would have an equal voice with those of the oldest states, in regulating the interests and directing the policy of the whole country."

"4. While we thus disavow all intention or wish to recommend, directly or indirectly, our system of government to the adoption of other nations, or to seek, on our own account, any enlargement of the present union, we earnestly desire to be on friendly terms with all the other nations of the earth; to cultivate the most free and the most extensive commercial and social intercourse with them; and to coöperate, so far as it may lie in our power, in all plans and measures for promoting the prosperity and happiness of all mankind. To this end, we attach special interest and importance to the means now in course of development, in various parts of the world, for opening new channels of

commerce, and perfecting new modes of international communication. We believe that these improvements have a most powerful and salutary influence in promoting a good understanding among the various races and nations of the earth, and in advancing the general welfare; and we are on our part, desirous of co-operating with other governments in effecting such improvements, by every means in our power."

THE GENERAL POLICY OF MEXICO.

The following anecdote is one of many which illustrates the spirit of the President of the Republic, and it is believed, of his cabinet. As long as the policy of Mexico is under the inspiration of such men, we may hope well for the future.

In January 1857, the President and Cabinet left the city of Durango, on their way to the capital. On reaching Sombrete, they were met by delegation after delegation, and by crowds of men, women, and children, as if the whole city had come out to welcome him.

"President Juarez," says an eye-witness of the scene, "I noticed, as in nearly all his speeches, admonished the people that it would not be the conclusion of their efforts, when they should be freed from the French. Then comes the 'consolidation of peace.' Avoid," said he, "civil dissensions, and cultivate harmony and obedience to the laws."

At the principal building of the place, where the President was received, the people had spread a French flag on the pavement, over which whoever entered the building, had to walk. I did not observe the President as he went in; but walking out with the Minister of War, General Ygnacio Mejia, I observed that he avoided stepping on it as much as possible. One of the principal citizens of the place also noticed it, and exclaimed, "You

do not tread upon the French flag." "I admired," says the eye-witness, "his noble manner."

"It is the French Emperor, not France that makes war upon us. France is Republican at heart, and will soon lead the van in republicanizing the Old World, while we, in connection with the United States, will republicanize the New. That flag represents the French people, and will yet assert its republican rights; let us therefor, respect it in that light."

Let not, then, Juarez, nor his cabinet, nor Romero be discouraged. Rome was not built in a day. And "time" that "respects nothing but what time creates," will sooner or later vindicate their principles and crown their labors with success.

THE MUTUAL INTERESTS OF THE TWO REPUBLICS.

If the views and statements of this volume are correct, the two Republics have a common cause, mutual relations, and identical interests.

It is to be hoped that no American will seek to repeat the Texas outrage on the rights of Mexico; and urge the present feebleness of the Republic, as an occasion for the further unwilling dismemberment of her territory. If any doubt the wrong of 1846, let him read Dr. Channing's letter to Henry Clay.

It were better for the United States to say unto her younger sister, "We will give you our best monitor and iron-clad; we will give you a whole arsenal of weapons and munitions of war; indeed we will *lend* you our La Fayette, and if it be necessary, one of our six and thirty Stars, till your conflict is over, rather than avail ourselves of your dark and trying day, to take a rood of your soil."

"We will repay to you, with interest, more than we ever sought or obtained from France, in the struggles of our infancy."

By such a course, no doubt, any desirable re-arrangement of boundary, as between two neighboring and friendly Republics, would be settled with credit and honor to all concerned.

But the future of Mexico is uncertain. It may be that all the Santa Annas of Mexico are not dead: that the Masons and Slidells of the Republic are still intriguing abroad, or plotting treason at home; that a disappointed and desperate hierarchy are still throwing their toils over some venal, military traitor, to induce him to betray his country, and pronounce once more against its noble Constitution, and initiated system of Government and law.

But it should be remembered that we had our Arnold, our Burr and Blennerhassett. That our Washington had a price set upon his head. There is a head in Mexico now, that would command a larger bounty in Europe to-day. It may be, even now, that some foreign hireling may be prowling around the purlieus of the Mexican Capital, plotting there to avenge with the poniard or the bullet, the fate of the fallen Empire.

But let not the Mexican Patriots be discouraged. Their work is great. The reconstruction of a government, the regeneration of a race, the establishment of a new and mighty People, in the very centre of the great modern movements of commerce and civilization, is worthy of all their labors, their sacrifices and their woes.

Let them take cheer from the words of Lincoln, "THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO MUST RISE AGAIN!"



MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

AND THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS

PREPARED BY G. W. A. C. B. COLTON & CO. 17, WILLIAM ST. NEW YORK.

Eng. & Ital. Geo. Miles.	0 50 100 150 200	60 - 1 of Equator
English Stat. Miles.	0 25 50 75 100	69-12-1' do
French Leagues.	0 10 20 30 40 50	25 - 1' do
Spanish Miles.	0 10 20 30 40 50	26-63-1' do

Railways shown thus — Canals — Heights in English feet above the Sea.

