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The Republic of Mexico.

SPEECH

OF

HON. MARK H. DUNNELL,
OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, APRIL 13, 1872.

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The House having met for debate as in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—

Mr. DUNNELL said:

Mr. SPEAKER: On the 11th of last month the honorable gentleman from New York [Mr. Brooks] moved that the rules be suspended for the purpose of passing the following resolution:

Whereas Mexico, a neighboring and conterminous territory, is and has been in a state of revolution now for half a century; and whereas on our borders there are constant raids and inroads more or less destructive to life and to the property of the people of these United States, thus demanding from our Government decided action; and whereas philanthropy, humanity, and Christianity thus shocked revolt from this continuous shedding of human blood in endless civil wars which are depopulating the country and reducing the people thereof to barbarism: Therefore,

Be it resolved, (the Senate concurring therein.) That the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives appoint a joint committee, three from each body, to devise the wisest and best policy to be pursued in reference to Mexico and for the establishment of law and order on our borders.

I do not give the foregoing resolution with the intention of making an extended criticism thereon, though the words used in the preamble are certainly indicative of no very great respect on the part of the gentleman, for the Government or people of Mexico. The words, "a neighboring and conterminous territory," are remarkable when they refer to a Government at which we have a full minister, and whose minister is accredited to our own. They are remarkable when used in reference to a republic. The preamble and resolution do not meet my approval, and I make them the occasion of a few remarks. They are made in defense of a country for which I have a profound sympathy, and for which I believe there is a brighter future.

There are, sir, some grounds for this sym-

pathy which I feel for the republic of Mexico, and which impel me to defend her here at the present time. During the attempt of France, England, and Spain to overthrow the Government of Mexico while our civil war was in progress, it was my fortune to be in Mexico for a year, and I then learned somewhat of that republic, of the nature of the struggle that was then going on there and is now going on, as well as the sympathy of that people toward our own Government. The natives of that country never failed to rejoice over the success of the Union arms here. While struggling for their own national existence, they were constantly asking for news from this. This fact has made me willing at this time to present, feebly though it may be, a defense of Mexico, and to give some reasons why I think our Government should extend to this sister republic a warm and generous sympathy.

I need not, of course, go back into the history of Mexico; I need not refer to the Aztec nation, nor to the conquest of that nation by the Spaniards under Cortez; nor need I follow the career of Mexico from 1821 down to 1859, when the present administration came into power.

The Government of Mexico is very nearly like our own, though in some respects quite different. She elects her president for four years. She has but a single branch in her national Congress—a house of representatives consisting of two hundred and twenty-four members—although at the present time the proposition is before the State legislatures to change the constitution and provide for a senate. She has a federal supreme court and federal circuit courts, as well as State courts, the State judges holding their offices for life, and the federal judges for six years. The chief justice of the supreme court is the vice

president of the republic, and in case of a vacancy in the presidency he becomes the president. Benito Juarez, who is the present executive, thus became the president, he being chief justice of the supreme court of the country when the vacancy in the office of president occurred, and has since then been twice elected by the people.

The annual expenses of the Government are about \$17,000,000. The receipts for its support have generally been equal to its expenses. They are derived from a direct tax, stamp duties, and from imposts upon exports. The republic is divided into twenty-three States, one territory, and one district. Its entire length, northwest and southeast, is upward of two thousand miles, and its extreme breadth over eleven hundred miles. The population in 1869 was 9,160,000

The following are the leading cities with their population :

City of Mexico.....	250,000
Leon.....	120,000
Guadalajara.....	100,000
Puebla.....	80,000
San Luis Potosi.....	50,000
Guanajuato.....	70,000
Zacatecas.....	50,000

Her territory comprises an area of 766,842 square miles. Its coast line is 5,800 miles.

I will allude, in a very few words, to the wonderful wealth of Mexico—wealth lavishly bestowed upon her by nature; and then to some of the moral forces which are at work, and which inspire in my mind hope for the brighter future which I insist is in store for that republic.

Mexico unites the vegetation of North and South America. By reason of its peculiar geological structure, and its variations of climate and temperature, according to elevation, it presents an immense variety of indigenous productions, and scarcely a plant exist on the globe which cannot be grown in some part of the country. Whole provinces on the table-land produce alpine plants, oaks, chestnuts, and pine, spontaneously. Rice, Indian corn, the banana, the sugar-cane, tobacco, coffee, jalap, cacao, beans, chile, wheat, barley, potatoes, peas, lentils, American aloe, nopal, cotton, pepper, anise vanilla, sarsaparilla, indigo, cochineal, wax, silk, and indeed every production of all the zones are found in Mexico. They are not only found there, but grow with strange luxuriousness. The flora of the country has drawn thither the naturalists of every clime.

These are the agricultural or vegetable products. If we turn to the mineral productions we should be as well satisfied with the showing; it has silver, gold, copper, iron, zinc, lead, antimony, arsenic, sulphur, cobalt, &c.; and of the precious stones, the ruby, amethyst, topaz, opal, garnet, agate and chalcidony. The people of the United States,

as it has seemed to me, underrate Mexico. They may rest assured that it is a land of unsurpassed wealth.

The number of landed estates is estimated at fifteen thousand, the value of which is put down at \$800,000,000; and town property is estimated at \$700,000,000. This gives a total of \$1,500,000,000. The annual value of agricultural products throughout the country, may be safely estimated at \$300,000,000. The cultivation of sugar-cane is quite considerable. In six States forty million pounds are manufactured annually; and the annual production of cotton is over thirty thousand bales, of four hundred pounds each.

The product of wheat is also quite large, especially in the State of Puebla, growing at the lowest average, sixty bushels to the one; and barley is equally productive.

When we look at these productions we, of course, must remember that they are immensely lessened by the disordered condition of the country. Before closing, I desire to mention some of the causes which have been in operation, and which are still in operation, and some of which are from without, producing these disorders which we, as a neighboring republic, ought not to look upon as a cause why we should neglect or fail to give it the warm support of which I have spoken.

If peace and good government could be vouchsafed to this land, the world would be amazed at the natural wealth which it possesses. Manufactures, of course, have grown in that country slowly, and have lived under many difficulties; yet the manufacture of cotton cloth and thread is very considerable. The number of factories in 1863 was forty-seven, with 122,354 spindles, giving employment to ten thousand laborers. The total cost of the buildings and machinery was \$7,342,957. The annual expense of running these factories is \$1,261,000. There are eight paper manufactures in that country. The total value of manufactures of all kinds may be safely put down at \$100,000,000. Exports have amounted on the average during the last year to \$28,000,000, and the imports to \$26,000,000.

The imports consist chiefly of cotton, linen, woolen, and silk fabrics, as well as cotton and silk in their raw state; brandies, wines, liquors, oil, earthenware, glass, quicksilver, iron, guns, steel, tin, hardware, watches, jewelry, paper, machinery, wax, cocoa, carriages, furniture, musical instruments, books, and other articles of minor importance. Of the \$28,000,000 of exports, about \$22,000,000 are of gold and silver, in coin and bars. The remainder is made up of cochineal, vanilla, tobacco, coffee, jalap, sarsaparilla, American aloe, flax, copper, hides, tallow, timber, cattle, logwood, indigo, cocoa, pepper, salt, tortoise shell, pearls, mother-of-pearl, meat and fish

salted, rice, beans, nuts, woolen fabrics, biscuits, fruit, sugar, &c.

The exports from Mexico into the United States in 1868 were \$5,061,844, and the exports from the United States to Mexico were \$6,111,722.

It might here be interesting to dwell upon the commerce of Mexico, show its steady increase, and a quite rapid increase with this country. Mexico could furnish us with coffee equal to the best sufficient for our entire consumption.

The mines of Mexico we know more about, and of the large income from them. They are the inexhaustible source from which silver and gold come. Their production is marvelous. The yearly coinage of mines in Mexico has increased in steady progression from the time of the establishment of the first mint to the year 1805, when the highest amount was reached, being for that year, \$27,000,000. The total coinage of the mints of Mexico from the war of independence to 1856 was \$476,392,014. Humboldt in 1803 stated that the total amount of silver raised from the Mexican mines from the conquest in 1512 to 1803 was \$2,027,952,000. A writer in Hunt's Merchants' Magazine (New York, August, 1858,) estimated the total product of the Mexican mines, from the conquest of Cortez to the present time, at nearly \$12,000,000,000. The amount of gold is one fifth of the amount of silver.

I have now alluded to the extent of this country, slightly to its governmental affairs, and thus slightly to its agricultural and mineral wealth. I now wish to call attention to some of the forces which are at work there to bring about a condition of things which I think ought not to be ungrateful to Americans, to republicans, to those who believe in a republican form of government, which we think is the only government which is to be developed and made successful in that country. One of those moral forces which are at work there now, is the system of free education which has been established there, especially by Benito Juarez under the present administration. To be sure there had been free schools prior to 1859, but the system of free education has been especially inaugurated since 1859. I have written two or three pages upon what is being done in that republic in the line of education, and I will read them.

That nation possesses elements of progress and approximate perfection which has, as a part of her system of government, organized schools for the education of its people. Free education every Government should furnish to all. Nothing can excel it in the power to ennoble and make glorious. Education refines and widens every conception of individual and associated man. It vastly augments his powers. I have, therefore, sought for schools in

Mexico, free schools, as furnishing to my mind a reason why the Government there should be cherished by this, encouraged and even applauded. The enemies of Mexico in this and other countries see only the shades in her present character. It is to me a pleasure to bring out the lights which do really exist in it. They shall and do forecast a brighter future, and, indeed, a future in which there will be no talk about monarchies or protectorates.

I will here give portions of the account of education in some of the States of Mexico, by Colonel Albert S. Evans, in his recent work entitled "Our Sister Republic." Of the Governor of Colima he says:

"He has taken a great interest in the establishment of free schools in Colima and other towns in the State, and a decided advance has been made within the last two years in general education."

Again:

"The schools of Guadalajara, new as they are, some of them but a year or two established, interested us more than anything else we saw in this ancient city. The municipality of Guadalajara now supports eighteen primary day schools, nine for boys and nine for girls, free to all, and five evening schools, besides contributing to the support of several more advanced schools, accommodating in all seven thousand pupils.

"Then the State provides two high schools, one for boys and one for girls, which are free to all who are unable to pay ten dollars per month for board and tuition. No scholar who can pass the examination can be refused, however humble or poor. There the youth are taught all the higher branches of mathematics, the languages, vocal and instrumental music, and many arts by which they can gain an honest livelihood; a school of arts, in which four hundred boys are taught all the useful arts and trades, such as tailoring, saddlery, blacksmithing, boot-making, carpentering, &c.; and an institute or college of higher grades for the instruction of boys intended for the learned professions. We first visited the girls' high school. This is the school provided by the State of Jalisco for graduates of her grammar school. It is situated in the old convent of San Diego, which was closed and confiscated to the nation by order of President Juarez, and is now wholly devoted to the purposes of free education. We found here two hundred and thirty girls from the age of twelve to twenty years, all bright, intelligent, and happy-looking.

"Those able to do so pay ten dollars per month, and those who are not pay nothing. For this they receive instruction in all the studies usually pursued in the higher schools in the United States, vocal and instrumental music, object-drawing, all the fine arts, embroidering, lace-making, and, better still, cooking, washing, ironing, and other household duties. In the music-hall the pupils gave us the opera of Ernani in as grand style as it is usually given by the regular opera companies of the United States, the part of Ernani being sung by a little miss fourteen years of age, with a wonderfully powerful and highly cultivated voice. On leaving this beautiful retreat, once the shade of darkness and superstition and bigotry, now so justly the pride and hope of the State, Mr. Seward remarked, 'Why, in Heaven's name, do people talk of a protectorate for a country capable of such things as these?' Next we visited the boys' high school. This establishment, originally built by bishop Parades, but now under civil control, contains nearly four hundred students, and will soon have five hundred. One great feature of this school is its library of thirty thousand volumes, mainly the spoils of the confiscated monasteries. This in New York, Boston, or England would be an immense feature.

"There are thousands on thousands of volumes

three centuries old and more, printed or illuminated by hand, and as perfect in their parchment coverings as on the day they issued from the press. Most of them are in Spanish, but there are many in French and some in English."

The writer, after giving other accounts of the progress of free education in the States of Colima and Jalisco, closes his references to this subject in these two States as follows :

"Say what you may, this is progress. Give Mexico fifteen years of uninterrupted peace in which to spread these schools throughout all the States, and she will astonish the world with her material advance, and make the dream of establishing a monarchy on the ruins of republicanism in the New World idleness and vanity. God grant that she may have the opportunity to make good my prediction."

I might further state that there is, with but few exceptions, a college in each State. With all its faults the national school of art and design in Mexico is infinitely superior to anything similar on the continent; and it will be long before we shall equal it in the United States.

The college of mines or mining college was one of the noblest educational institutions of Mexico in its design, and it had been famous for half a century before even an attempt at founding such a school had been made in the United States. These provisions for general and special education, the colleges, classical and scientific, the apparatus, the museums, libraries, paintings, sculpture, and mineral and natural history collections, indicate a culture and taste far beyond the generally entertained idea of Mexico, and they cannot be ignored in judging what the now torn republic shall be.

I now wish to speak specifically of the present condition of Mexico, and some of the causes which are at work there to keep alive the present disorder, and therefore to give a reason why, instead of upbraiding Mexico with unkind words when she is struggling for life, struggling against the dead past, struggling against what Spain willed her, we should extend to her our friendly consideration.

As I said a moment ago, Benito Juarez became president of the republic of Mexico in the year 1859. I have a profound respect for the president of that republic, because of his character, and because of the immense difficulties under which he has labored from the very moment when he came into power. Freedom of conscience in matters of religion was proclaimed by Juarez when he became President. He insisted on breaking the civil power of the church, and to this end the property of the church was confiscated throughout the length and breadth of the republic. The power of the church was broken as by a blow, and when broken, there was set on fire the opposition which has followed him and his administration down to the present time.

I am assuming, Mr. Speaker, in what I say, that there is no other form of government in the future to which we may look for Mexico than a republic. The elements for a monarchy do not exist there. The people are in favor of a republican form of government. We have, therefore, to look at that country as destined to be in the future as she is now, a republic.

You are aware that within the past two or three years, Mexico has been visited by ex-Secretary Seward; that he passed across the entire country; that he was hailed everywhere. Thousands on thousands at every city greeted him; they greeted him as a representative of a neighboring Republic; they greeted him through gratitude, because of the noble position he took while their country was invaded by Maximilian, for I must insist that if ever we had sagacious diplomacy, we had it in the management of that question by Mr. Seward. But for him Maximilian might have triumphed there, and to him are we largely indebted for the absence of monarchical power on this continent. At the city of Mexico, Secretary Seward was received with a public dinner, at which there were four hundred invited guests, with surroundings that could not and would not be excelled in this city, in New York, or anywhere on the continent. On that occasion speeches were made, not only by our minister, and by Mr. Seward, but by Mexican statesmen and Mexican orators, and all that was said there disclosed a living Mexican nationality which we must recognize now, and recognize in the future.

In the speech of Mr. Seward occur the following words :

"The people of the United States, by an instinct which is a peculiar gift of Providence to nations, have comprehended better than even their Government has ever yet done the benignant destinies of the American continent and their own responsibility in that important matter. They know and see clearly that although the colonization and initiation of civilization in all parts of this continent was assigned to European monarchical States, yet that in perfecting society and civilization here, every part of the continent must sooner or later be made entirely independent of all foreign control, and of every form of imperial or despotic power, the sooner the better. Universally imbued with this lofty and magnanimous sentiment, the people of the United States have opened their broad territories from ocean to ocean and from the Lakes to the Gulf, freely to the downtrodden and oppressed of all nations, as a republican asylum. In their Constitution they have written with equal unanimity and zeal the declaration that to all who shall come within that asylum they guarantee that they shall be forever governed only by republican institutions.

"This noble guarantee extends in spirit, in policy, and in effect to all other nations in the American hemisphere, so far as may depend on moral influences, which in the cause of political truth are always more effective than arms. Some of those nations are communities near the United States, which, while they are animated like the American people, with a desire for republican institutions, and will not willingly submit to any other, are yet by reason of insufficient territory, imperfect develop-

ment, colonial demoralization, or other causes, incapable of independently sustaining them. To these, as in the case of the ancient Louisiana, Florida, Alaska, San Domingo, and St. Thomas, the people of the United States offer incorporation into the United States, with their own free consent, without conquest, and when they are fully prepared for that important change. Other nations on the continent, liberally endowed with the elements and virtues of national independence, prosperity, and aggrandizement, and self-reliant, cherishing the same enlightened and intense desire for republican institutions, have nobly assumed the position and exercised the powers of exclusive sovereignty. Of this class are Mexico, older as a nation, but newer as a republic than the United States, Venezuela, and Colombia, the Central American States, Peru, the Argentine Republic, and Chili. These republics have thus become and are gladly recognized by the people of the United States with all their just claims and pretensions of separate sovereignty, fraternal republics, and political allies. To the people of the United States the universal acceptance of republicanism is necessary, and happily it is no less necessary for every nation and people on the continent. Who will show me how republicanism can be extended over the continent upon any other principle or under any other system than these? If I forbear from dilating upon the influence which North America and South America, with all their archipelagoes, firmly established and fraternally living under republican institutions, must put forth and will put forth in advancing civilization throughout the world, it is because I have already said enough to show that loyalty and patriotism on the part of a citizen of our American Republic is, in my judgment, not only consistent, but congenial with the best wishes for the welfare, prosperity, and happiness of all other American republics. I give you, gentlemen, the health of President Benito Juarez, a name indissolubly associated with the names of Presidents Lincoln, Bolivar, and Washington, in the heroic history of republicanism in America."

That address, or that part of it which I have read, discloses the views which Mr. Seward has about Mexico, that inevitably she must have an independent existence, and that we ought to recognize this fact in all our intercourse with her, and that she may justly expect from us all the sympathies which one republic is bound to extend to another. There were none upon this continent, I trust, who sympathized with the attempt made to subjugate Mexico. While we might have had Maximilian spared, perhaps, from the violent death that overtook him, yet there was not given to him one particle of sympathy by any true lover of republican institutions in this country. He was regarded by us all as an invader, and as such condemned by us from the beginning to the end of his tragic career; and while we pronounce the words "poor Carlotta" with sorrow, yet we have no forgiveness for the invasion of a portion of this continent of ours, destined with us to republicanism, and to republicanism alone.

Benito Juarez is a Oaxaca Indian, was educated for the church, and is a liberal Catholic. He subsequently studied law, and finally was chief justice of the supreme court of the republic. He is a strong man, a man of abilities, of dogged determination, firm, resolute, and daring, and there are but few better men in any country, and there have been but few

in any age who stand out and challenge our admiration as does President Juarez. He said: "let the church lose its civil power, and have alone its ecclesiastical power; let the wealth of the convents and the monasteries be confiscated; let the wealth of the church be poured into the treasury of the country." And \$400,000,000 have, from this source, been carried into the federal treasury.

It has, therefore, been a war from that time to this between the Church party and the Liberal party, headed by Juarez. It has not been a war against the church as such. Juarez himself is a Catholic. But it has been a war against the civil power of the church, and against the sequestration of wealth for the benefit of the church. This has been the struggle, this has been the contest, and no sooner had Juarez taken his seat than Miramon with his associates visited Madrid and Paris. Isabella and Eugenie were approached and besought to interest themselves in behalf of the church, in the struggle which was then commencing. Miramon remained in Paris and in Madrid until the invasion was inaugurated, and then came with the invaders as a guide to point out the way, that these invaders might ruin his native land and bring it under foreign subjugation. He died along with Maximilian, and in the same way, without sympathy anywhere, a traitor to his country, as he was all the time from 1859 to the hour in which he fell.

I will read the following extract from the recent work to which I have alluded, giving a description of Juarez, the great leader in this national struggle:

"He impresses you as one who moves slowly, but with irresistible force, and is capable of any sacrifice and any expenditure of time, money, or blood, to carry out his plans when once adopted. Whether entertaining the nation's guests, as we saw him on this night, when thousands of eyes were upon him, sitting in his bare-walled room at El Paso del Norte, with a price upon his head, and but two hundred Indian troops to support him and the republic against the mercenary hordes of Europe and domestic traitors, or walking in the garden of Chapultepec, smoking his cigarette and meditating on plans for putting down pronunciamientos, crushing the power of the church, or establishing schools and providing for the education and improvement of his people, he is ever the same taciturn, self-reliant, hopeful, unexcitable man, believing in himself, and confident of the final triumph of republicanism over all trials and opposition.

"A horse-fancying friend described him once to me as 'not a three-minute trotter, but a mighty good all-day horse, and safe for a long journey.' The idea is sound, though expressed in a homely manner. He is never accused of forgetting his friends, and his triumph over all enemies and difficulties the most gigantic stamp him as a man of no ordinary mold, one destined to fill a remarkable page in the history of the world."

This is the man who is at the head of the existing Government of Mexico. They have had, to be sure, an internal commotion which is a subject of regret to us all, but there has been, nevertheless, a steady advance in the development of the country and in the increase

of its population. Juarez has rid many of the States of the thieves and robbers who infested them. He has been constantly at work from the beginning of his administration to the present time in bringing order out of confusion.

The work entitled "Our Sister Republic" has the following:

"With all the drawbacks in Mexico, one cannot but admit that there has been substantial progress made since the Liberal party, with Benito Juarez at its head, came into power. Notable things have been accomplished:

"1. The sequestration of the vast landed estate of the church and the destruction of its temporal power.

"2. The establishment of complete religious toleration, and protection of all and the right to worship God according to their own consciences.

"3. The establishment of public schools and the inauguration of free public instruction, yet in its infancy, but destined to work the greatest benefit to future generations.

"4. The liberation and enfranchisement of all *peons* and the destruction of the last form of legalized slavery.

"5. The freedom of the press, not yet complete, but nearly so, and soon to be perfect."

He might have further added that during this period over two hundred miles of railroad have been built, and that within the present year the number of miles will reach three hundred. The city of Mexico will then be connected by rail with Vera Cruz. When this takes place the silver from the mines can be taken to the coast with comparative safety. The influence of this road even upon the civilization as well as the business of the country will be immense. These are some of the triumphs of the Liberal party in Mexico—the party around which the loyalists rallied as it contended with Maximilian and the mercenaries, the scum of all Europe, who attended him. This is the party which followed him unto death and ended forever all hazard of foreign invasion. No ruler ever bore a heavier load, ever faced a worse foe, or ever fought domestic and foreign foes with firmer tread than Benito Juarez. His loyalty to Mexican nationality makes him a hero of the age.

Now, Mr. Speaker, although these disorders exist, what we should give to Mexico is not censure, but support. We should praise whatever of good there is there. We should hail whatever moral force there is in it. We should encourage Mexico to develop her own great resources, and not compel her to feel that this great and now united Republic has no grace for her poor, struggling, sister republic.

Ah! the power of superstition and of bigotry that has been entailed on Mexico, which clings to it as with a death-grasp! And it takes time, it takes the nerve of such men as Juarez to thrust it aside and restore the country to the fullness of life. I have faith in Mexico. I believe in the power of its people to redeem themselves. I believe that that republic will yet live in well-developed power. I do not believe that we want her States as a

part of our Republic. We do not desire to obtain them by annexation. Even if my hope in regard to the future of Mexico is realized, her civilization will always be that of the Latin race; it will never be that of the Caucasian race. The civilization of the former race is less rugged than that of the latter. We do not desire that country to become a part of our own. We should not seek to extend over it a governmental protection. But I do believe that the Government of Mexico should feel that she can look to us for sympathy, for succor, and for aid when invaded from without, and for sympathy in her struggles to redeem herself, and for an appreciation of what she is and what she may be, by her own internal forces working themselves freely out in their own channels and modes of development.

In reading the speeches that were made at this great dinner to which I have alluded, I find that there was a Mexican orator, Don Ignacio M. Altamirano of Guerrero, who spoke on that occasion. I would gladly read his entire speech, because there was a nationality in it, a Mexicanism in it; and the response which it had showed how intensely those people are wedded to a republican form of government, and how they cling to it, and will continue to cling to it in the long years to come; and hence, we may not expect that she is to throw off a republican form of government at any time; she never will do it any more than America will do it. She has none of the elements of an aristocracy even, much less of an empire or a monarchy, any more than we have in America. They never can be other than republican in their form of government. We have not the elements of any other Government than the one we possess. The same is true of Mexico.

From that speech I take a single paragraph, and I think, sir, you will agree with me that this sentence shows a culture and power of expression that but few men possess. In the midst of his speech he alluded to our late war, and in one single sentence he announced its beginning, its progress, its close, and its triumph in these words:

"The thunderbolt fell; the heavens became serene; the dead were taken up from the battle-field; the blood was washed away, and in the splendor of the rainbow appeared the slaves with their chains broken asunder and their foreheads illuminated with the sun of equality."

No ordinary mind could thus epitomize a great national struggle in a single sentence with more brilliancy and power than in this single sentence which I have read.

I have now occupied the time of the House sufficiently long. At the commencement of what I had to say I stated the reason why I wanted to say this much. I resided in Mexico a single year, and was kindly treated by that people, and my connection with them won my esteem. I desired here to defend them. I have

no defense to make of any invasions of our territory at the present time, and to which allusion has been made here. Those are the results of the disorders that are there, and they are not denied. But back of them there is a Government, republican in form, duly organized, in force, and to be felt in the future. And instead of these resolutions of censure and of blame, it is the part of our Government to congratulate Mexico whenever she wins a victory over these disorders, to aid her and assist her rather than to crush her down by unkind references, or by heralding her to the world as a country which is depopulating itself by its internal disorders. My hope and my belief is that Mexico shall yet be a worthy sister republic, magnificent in her government as she is majestic in her resources, grand in her character as she is by nature in her capacity.

We cannot consent to see a republic perish from our own continent and its place filled by a Government of any other character or form. This would be inviting an enemy to our doors, and, indeed, letting him within the doors. The United States must stand guard on republicanism. That is the mission of our great Government, and I cannot doubt its purpose to discharge it well. Mexico has had our form of government for fifty years—she has been a republic during that time. We cannot do less than study the difficulties against which she has been compelled to contend. Its civilization, when her career as an independent Government commenced, was linked with a past wherein superstition and a bound conscience everywhere prevailed. It

is difficult for our people fully to understand how much these two evil spirits may do to keep a race from great achievements. This is an age, with us, at least, when man is free in the noblest and truest sense. He is free to push out into the regions where the best conceptions of human life and achievement have their birth. Years of such freedom will do more for a race than centuries where its mind is bound in fetters stronger than iron. American achievements in practical science stamp the character of our civilization. Our civilization is Christian in that man and his elevation in the scale of social being, are the main objects at which he aims. I can look with comparative composure upon the turmoils of Mexico, if I find that beneath them, right elements of civilization are at work. They will at some time find their triumph. They will vindicate their right to control the mass. With these views I do not hesitate to pronounce myself a friend of Mexico, for I do know that the principles of universal education, enlightenment, and freedom are thus struggling for the mastery. All that the blindest bigotry could do for any people was done for the Mexican. Time, blood, and life can alone bring it to the full light of a broad and generous freedom. The God of nature has been so lavish with this land that He must have in store for it a higher type of culture and consequent enjoyment than it has yet attained. The platform of the Liberal party in Mexico, giving freedom of body, mind, and soul to all, challenges my admiration, and therefore my voice in its behalf.

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