

# THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE FRENCH FROM MEXICO.

A CHAPTER OF SECRET HISTORY.

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JOHN M. SCHOFIELD, U. S. A.



WHILE the government of the United States was fully occupied with the contest for the preservation of the Union, Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, attempted to overthrow the republican government in Mexico, and establish in its stead an empire under the Archduke Maximilian of Austria. If the American conflict had resulted in the triumph of secession, so also might Napoleon have succeeded in reëstablishing monarchical government on the American continent. But from the moment when the union of the States became reassured, European interference in the political affairs of the American republic became impossible. Upon this subject there appeared to be no division of sentiment among the people of the United States. Certainly there was none among the responsible American statesmen of that time. It was their unanimous voice that the French intervention in Mexico must be speedily terminated; but there was naturally some division of opinion respecting the means by which this should be effected. Some favored the most prompt and vigorous military action, while others, not unmindful of the long-existing friendship between the people of the United States and France, preferred more peaceful measures.

As the first and necessary step in either line of policy, whether for immediate active military operations or as conclusive evidence of ultimate military purpose in aid of diplomacy, General Sheridan was sent, with an army of about fifty thousand men, to the line of the Rio Grande. But Sheridan's troops were Union volunteers who had been enlisted especially for the Civil War, then terminated; and the necessity was at once recognized of organizing a new army for the express purpose of acting against the French army in Mexico, in case of need. It was proposed that this new army should be enlisted and organized under the republican government of Mexico, the only legitimate government recognized by the United States in that country. This course would avoid the necessity of any political action of the government

of the United States in the premises. Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant, then commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, was requested to select an officer to organize and command the proposed army.

In June, 1865, at Raleigh, North Carolina, I received a message from General Grant informing me of my selection, and desiring me, if I was willing to consider the proposition, to come to Washington for consultation on the subject. Upon my arrival in Washington, I consulted freely with General Grant, Señor Romero, the Mexican minister, President Johnson, Secretary of State Seward, and Secretary of War Stanton, all of whom approved the general proposition that I should assume the control and direction of the measures to be adopted for the purpose of causing the French army to evacuate Mexico. Not much was said between me and the President or either of the secretaries at that time about the means to be employed; but it appeared to be understood by all that force would probably be necessary, and for some time no other means were considered. The subject was fully discussed with General Grant and Señor Romero, and I then consented to take charge of the matter, with the understanding that I should have perfect freedom of action and choice of means and of time, so far as circumstances would permit. To enable me to do this, the War Department gave me leave of absence for twelve months, with permission to go beyond the limits of the United States and to take with me any officers of my staff whom I might designate. It was proposed to organize in Mexican territory an army corps under commissions from the government of Mexico, the officers and soldiers to be taken from the Union and Confederate forces, who were reported to be eager to enlist in such an enterprise.

The Mexican authorities proposed to furnish the means by which this army should be paid and the expenses of military operations defrayed, and to that end a loan was to be negotiated in the United States. To facilitate the enlistment and equipment of the proposed army corps, General Grant gave me a manuscript order, dated West Point, July 25,

1865, addressed to General P. H. Sheridan, then commanding the Military Division of the Gulf, with a large force near the Mexican frontier. The following is a copy of General Grant's order:

«HEAD QUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

«WEST POINT, N. Y. July 25, 1865.

«Maj. Gen. P. H. SHERIDAN,

«Comd'g Mil. Div. of the Gulf.

«GENERAL: Maj. General J. M. Schofield goes to the Rio Grande on an Inspection tour, carrying with him a leave of absence for one year, with authority to leave the United States. If he avails himself of this leave he will explain to you the object more fully than I could do in the limits of a letter, and much more fully than I could do now, under any circumstances, because much that will have to be learned to fix his determination, whether to go or not, has yet to be found out in Washington whilst I shall be away. This however I can say, Gen. Schofield's leave has been given with the concurrence of the President, he having full knowledge of the object. I have both written my views to the President and had conversations with him on the subject. In all that relates to Mexican affairs he agrees in the duty we owe to ourselves to maintain the Monroe doctrine, both as a principle and as a security for our future peace.

«On the Rio Grande, or in Texas, convenient to get there, we must have a large amount of surrendered ordnance and ordnance stores, or such articles accumulating from discharging men who leave their stores behind. Without special orders to do so send none of these articles back but rather place them convenient to be permitted to go into Mexico if they can be got into the hands of the defenders of the only Government we recognize in that country. I hope Gen. Schofield may go with orders direct to receive these articles, but if he does not I know it will meet with general approbation to let him have them if contrary orders are not received.

«It is a fixed determination on the part of the people of the United States, and I think myself safe in saying on the part of the President also, that an Empire shall not be established on this Continent by the aid of Foreign bayonets. A war on the part of the United States is to be avoided, if possible, but it will be better to go to war now when but little aid given to the Mexicans will settle the

question than to have in prospect a greater war, sure to come, if delayed until the Empire is established. We want then to aid the Mexicans without giving cause of war between the United States and France. Between the would-be Empire of Maximilian and the United States, all difficulty can easily be settled by observing the same sort of neutrality that has been observed toward us for the last four years.

«This is a little indefinite as a letter of instructions to be governed by. I hope with this you may receive them, instructions, in much more positive terms. With a knowledge of the fact before you however that the greatest desire is felt to see the Liberal Government restored in Mexico, and no doubt exists of the strict justice of our right to demand this, and enforce the demand, with the whole strength of the United States, your own judgment gives you a basis of action that will aid you.

«I will recommend in a few days that you be directed to discharge all the men you think can be spared from the Dept. of Texas, where they are, giving transportation to their homes to all who desire to return. You are aware that existing orders permit discharged soldiers to retain their arms and accoutrements at low rates, fixed in orders.

«Very respectfully, your Obt. svt,

«U. S. GRANT

«Lt. Gen.»

In effect this order required General Sheridan to turn over to me all of his volunteer troops who might wish to take part in the Mexican enterprise, with their arms and equipments, and all «surrendered ordnance and ordnance-stores,» etc, thus making it easy for me to arm and equip at small cost the ex-Confederates and others who would join my standard. Soon after the date of General Grant's order to General Sheridan, and at the request of Secretary Seward, conveyed to me by Mr. Stanton, I met Mr. Seward at Cape May. He then proposed to me to go to France, under authority of the State Department, to see if the French Emperor could not be made to understand the necessity of withdrawing his army from Mexico, and thus save us the necessity of expelling it by force. Mr. Seward expressed the belief that if Napoleon could be made to understand that the people of the United States would never, under any circumstances, consent to the existence in Mexico of a government established and sustained by foreign power, he would withdraw his army from that country.

If this were done, the friendly relations between the people of France and the United States would not be disturbed, while the forcible expulsion of a French army from Mexico by American volunteers would engender great bitterness of feeling among the French people, even if it did not lead to war between France and the United States.

This proposition from Mr. Seward seemed to put upon me the responsibility of deciding the momentous question of future friendship or enmity between my own country and our ancient ally and friend. I had, on the one hand, full authority from the War Department and the general-in-chief of the army, given with the knowledge and consent of the President of the United States, to organize and equip an army for the purpose of driving the French out of Mexico, and on the other hand a request from the State Department to go to France and try by peaceful means to accomplish the same end.

As the negotiation of the Mexican loan had not made great progress, the funds were not yet available for the support of an army. It was expected that the actual beginning of operations on the Rio Grande would stimulate subscriptions to the loan, yet the lack of ready money was a sufficient cause for some delay in making the proposed "Inspection tour" to the Rio Grande; and this fact, added to a natural love of peace rather than of war, and a due sense of the dictates of patriotism as contrasted with mere military ambition, determined the decision of that question. It is reason for profound thankfulness that the peaceful course was adopted.

In a letter dated August 4, 1865, I informed Mr. Seward of my decision, "after mature reflection," "to undertake the mission" which he had proposed. Mr. Seward acknowledged my letter on August 9, and on the 19th I received a telegram from the War Department to "report at the State Department upon your [my] next visit to Washington." This order was promptly obeyed. On August 23 the Secretary of War sent a letter to the Secretary of State, accrediting me as an officer of the army, in which capacity, and unofficially, I was to be understood by the public as visiting Europe. A copy of this letter, inclosed in one from the State Department, was sent to Mr. Bigelow, United States minister at Paris; and similar letters were sent to several other United States ministers in Europe. But time passed until November 4, and thus more than two months elapsed before the Secretary of State was ready for me to start for Europe. Mr. Seward then

gave me a confidential letter, dated November 4, 1865, addressed to Mr. Bigelow, and a letter of credit on the Barings, and requested me to proceed on my mission.

In his letter to Mr. Bigelow he said: "General Schofield proceeds to Paris. He is, I believe, fully informed of the feelings and sentiments, not only of this government, but of the American people. I commend him to your confidence," etc. Mr. Seward explained to me several times during this period of delay that correspondence then going on with the French government rendered it advisable that my visit be delayed until he should receive expected answers from that government. The Atlantic cable did not then exist, and hence correspondence across the ocean was necessarily slow. The expected despatch—viz., that from the French Foreign Office to their minister at Washington, dated October 18, 1865, and communicated to Mr. Seward on the 29th of the same month—was no more satisfactory, though in better tone, than those which had preceded. In effect it demanded a recognition by the United States of the government of Maximilian in Mexico as a condition precedent to the recall of the French army. The time had evidently arrived when Napoleon must be informed in language which could not be misunderstood what was the real sentiment of the government and people of the United States on the Mexican question. It was difficult, perhaps impossible, to express that sentiment in official diplomatic language that an emperor could afford to receive from a friendly power. It was therefore desirable that the disagreeable information be conveyed to Napoleon in a way which would command his full credence, and which he yet need not regard as offensive. Mr. Seward's explanation and instructions to me, after several long conversations on this subject, were summed up in the words: "I want you to get your legs under Napoleon's mahogany, and tell him he must get out of Mexico."

In my visit to Paris I was accompanied by two officers of my staff, Brevet Brigadier-General William M. Wherry and Brevet Brigadier-General G. W. Schofield, who had been given leave of absence for the purpose of going with me to Mexico or elsewhere. We sailed from New York, November 15, 1865, on the Cunard steamer *Java*, and stayed a day in Liverpool and several days in London, where I explained to Mr. Adams, United States minister, the purpose of my visit.

Mr. Adams expressed hearty sympathy

with the object of my mission, and gave cordial assent to my wish that I might feel at liberty to consult him in regard to it at any time.

Mr. Motley, United States minister at Vienna, whom I had the pleasure of meeting at the residence of Mr. Adams, assured me that the government of Austria was especially desirous of not being regarded by the United States as responsible in any manner for the attempt to establish an empire under the Austrian archduke in Mexico. Mr. Motley thought a visit by me to Vienna while the Mexican question was pending might produce undue excitement. Hence I limited my tour in that direction to Italy.

I proceeded to Paris on the 2d of December. Our arrival had been preceded by vague rumors of an official mission more or less hostile to the interests of France, which caused great excitement among the French people and the American residents in Paris, and serious depression of United States, Mexican, and French securities in the financial markets of Europe. It was also understood that no little anxiety was felt at the French court, then at Compiègne. It was manifestly desirable to allay so far as possible this undue excitement in the public mind. Hence I availed myself of an early opportunity, given by the American Thanksgiving dinner at the Grand Hotel, to intimate in unmistakable terms that my mission, if any, was one entirely friendly to the people of France.

The following is a part of the account of that banquet given by the Paris correspondent of the «New York Herald,» under date of December 8, 1865:

The American residents and transient sojourners in Paris celebrated the national Thanksgiving by a grand dinner at the Grand Hotel, which passed off in splendid style. . . . The next toast was the long-looked-for one of the evening, for it was known that it would call up a distinguished guest from whom all were anxious to hear. It was «The Army and Navy of the United States.» When the band had ceased playing «Yankee Doodle,» Major-General Schofield rose to reply to this toast, and was received with tremendous enthusiasm. The ladies rose and waved their handkerchiefs, and gentlemen shouted until they were hoarse. The General, after bowing his acknowledgments, said: «Fellow-countrymen—I want words to express to you the satisfaction which will be felt in the heart of every soldier and sailor when he learns the manner in which the names of the army and navy have been received by you to-night. I will at this time allude but briefly to one of the great lessons taught by the American war—the grandest lesson of modern times. A great people who have heretofore lived under a government so mild that they

were scarcely aware of its existence have found, in time of war, that government to be one of the strongest in the world [cheers], raising and maintaining armies and navies vaster than any ever before known [cheers]. In point of character, in point of physical and moral qualities, in point of discipline and of mobility in large masses, the armies of the United States have never before been equaled [loud cheers]. Yet this, great as it is, is not the greatest wonder of the American war. This vast army, as soon as its work was done, was quietly disbanded, and every man went to his home, as quietly as the Christian goes back from church on Sabbath morning; and each soldier reëntered upon the avocations of peace a better citizen than he was before he became a soldier [renewed applause]. This was the grandest lesson of the war. It shows that the power of a nation to maintain its dignity and integrity does not result from or depend upon its form of government; that the greatest national strength—the power to mass the largest armies in time of war—is entirely consistent with the broadest liberty of the citizen in time of peace [enthusiasm]. Permit me, in conclusion, to propose a toast which I know will be heartily responded to by every true American—«The old friendship between France and the United States: may it be strengthened and perpetuated.» General Schofield's toast was drunk with great enthusiasm, and upon his taking his seat the applause which followed his remarks was deafening.

The situation of Napoleon's government at that time was extremely critical. The opposition was powerful and aggressive. The intervention in Mexican affairs was very unpopular in France, and yet the national pride of the people would not permit the Emperor to yield to menace even from the United States, nor allow his army to be driven by force from Mexico without a supreme effort to maintain it there. Napoleon could not have submitted to such humiliation without the loss of his throne. In short, forcible intervention by the American people in the Mexican question, or the public threat of such action, arousing the national pride of France, must have led to a long and bloody war, resulting, doubtless, in final success in America and probably in a revolution in France.

Such a result would have been a just punishment to Napoleon for his conduct toward the United States and Mexico during our Civil War. But why involve the people of France and the people of the United States in this punishment? Why make enemies of our ancient friends? Our sister republic of Mexico must be relieved from foreign domination, at whatever cost; but strife and lasting enmity between the United States and France would be a fearful price to pay for

even so great a good as the freedom of Mexico. Manifestly such extreme measures should not be resorted to until all peaceful means should have failed. Considerations of this nature determined my course while in Paris. I had sufficient opportunity in two interviews with Prince Napoleon, and in several conversations with officers of high rank on the Emperor's staff, to make known to the Emperor the views and purposes of the government and people of the United States in respect to Mexican affairs. Our conversation was without reserve on either side, and with the understanding that nothing said by me would be withheld from the Emperor.

The principal of these staff-officers was the distinguished Admiral de la Gravière, who had commanded the French squadron in American waters in the early part of our Civil War and in the capture of Vera Cruz. This gallant and honest old sailor had reported to his government the exact truth about the enterprise which Napoleon had undertaken when he ordered the bombardment and capture of the Mexican seaport for the alleged purpose of collecting a French claim, namely, that he was no better able to collect that claim after the city was in his possession than he had been before, and that the conquest of Mexico by the operations of a great army would be necessary before any financial return could be expected. This unwelcome report led to the admiral's recall to France, and he was sent to his home in disgrace. But in due time the Emperor learned that while all others had deceived him, the admiral had told him the truth, whereupon he was called to Paris, restored to the confidence of his chief, and appointed aide-de-camp on the staff of the Emperor. Admiral de la Gravière was a warm friend of America, rejoiced in the triumph of the Union cause, understood and appreciated the sentiments of the people of the United States, among whom he had made many friends, and was a very willing medium of communication to the Emperor of the exact attitude of the American people respecting the Monroe doctrine, which the Emperor of the French had been betrayed into violating through the influence of persons high in his confidence, but governed by sordid motives.

Admiral Reno, Assistant Minister of Marine, was another of the high French officials with whom free conversation was held.

The fidelity with which Prince Napoleon and others reported to the Emperor the character of the unofficial message which I had to deliver rendered it quite unnecessary

that it be delivered in person, and quite impossible that the Emperor should be willing to receive it in that way. Hence, though I received several intimations that I would be invited to a private interview, no invitation came, and none was sought. My letters from Paris to Mr. Seward, to General Grant, and to Señor Romero, reported the progress made, and the nature of the situation as it then appeared to me. In my letters to my family I touched more lightly, as follows, on my daily life in Paris:

«December 12. I have invitations to dinner or some other entertainment at least twice a day, and have more calls than I can ever return. The excitement about the hostile character of my supposed mission has somewhat subsided. My speech at the Thanksgiving dinner had a most charming effect. The French papers all speak of it in terms of praise, and with great satisfaction at its friendly tone. It seems, together with the object of my visit, to be the subject of conversation all over Paris. The whole thing has produced a greater fluctuation in the French funds than has occurred before in a long time. This notoriety is very well in its way, but it is also somewhat embarrassing.

«December 14. I have just received a very amiable letter from the Minister of War, Marshal Randon, ordering an officer of the Imperial Guard to report to me, to show me all military places in France, and see that proper honors are paid me. The letter is very friendly and complimentary. Fortunately, the officer placed at my disposal, Captain Guzman, is one of those who were in the United States during the war, and to whom I had letters from General Meade. He speaks English well and seems a very pleasant gentleman. So I have the prospect of seeing the military establishments of France under the most favorable auspices. The Emperor has not returned from Compiègne, but is expected to-night or to-morrow. The foreign minister is also there, and they seem to be having a warm time. I think affairs will come to a head soon. I hope to know something definite by the time of departure of next week's mail. . . .

«December 19. For the last three days I have been too miserable to write or do anything else. Have not been out of the house until to-day. I have had a sort of intermittent fever arising from a bad cold. . . . Captain Guzman came this morning to commence our tour of the military works of Paris, but I was compelled to postpone it until I am stronger. . . .

«The court has returned to Paris, and they say all is life and gaiety about the Tuileries. The King and Queen of Portugal are there as guests. They had a wedding at the Imperial Chapel day before yesterday. The Princess Murat was married to some French nobleman whose name I do not recollect. On New Year's day the Emperor gives his first grand reception, when I expect to be presented to him. It is not probable that I shall see him before that time. My impression is that for the present he would a little rather not see me, and I can afford to wait as long as he can. All seems to be working well, but, as all such matters do, rather slowly.

«January 2, 1866. I believe when I closed my last letter I was about starting to pay my visit to the Prince Napoleon. I found the prince surrounded by a good deal of the pomp of royalty, it is true, yet maintaining a simplicity of style and manner almost republican. He received me cordially, and we had a pleasant chat of near an hour. He was frank in his expression of political opinions in opposition to the Emperor's policy, especially in reference to the Mexican intervention. The prince was not only polite, but seemed desirous of showing me as much attention as possible. I was altogether very much pleased with my visit, and shall go to see him again soon.

«January 15. I have at last got my ticket of invitation to the Emperor's ball at the Tuileries, which is to come off on Wednesday, the 17th. . . . I am going to the palace in company with Mrs. Pierrepont and her daughter. She is the wife of Judge Pierrepont of New York, and a very pleasant lady. I shall, of course, go in uniform, with sword and sash, but shall not wear epaulets or chapeau. I think the plain American style is much prettier than the highly gorgeous French.

«January 19. The ball at the Tuileries was as grand as can be imagined. The salons of the palace are very large, and ornamented in the most magnificent manner. The party was too large for comfort; indeed, it amounted to a perfect crowd. There were present several princes and princesses, and representatives, both civil and military, of nearly every nation of the earth, with an inconceivable variety of dress—some splendid and in good taste, some gorgeous and in very bad taste, some very plain and homely, some plain, neat, and elegant. There was much more variety in the gentlemen's dress than in that of the ladies. As a general rule, the latter was about what you may see in New York or Washington, the only difference being in the amount

and richness of the jewelry worn by a few. The Empress was, of course, magnificent. I cannot attempt a description of her dress, but she wore a crown of jewels, very brilliant, a transparent overdress, very full, with flowers and green leaves tastefully arranged upon the underskirt so as to show through the overskirt. The Empress appeared somewhat faded, but I have never seen a more splendid-looking woman. Her manner is exceedingly graceful and elegant: I would also say, for an empress, remarkably simple and unostentatious. The Princess Mathilde is very plain in looks, and was rather plainly dressed. The young Princess Hohenzollern is very beautiful, and wore a light, elegant, but not very rich dress. The Princess Metternich, who is plain in the face, but tall and queenly in manner, wore a splendid dark dress of grand proportions, which she had the honor of catching upon the end of my sword as she swept by! Our mutual apologies appeared to be entirely satisfactory. The main object of wearing swords seems to be to tear the ladies' dresses. All are expected to wear them, civilians as well as military, and the destruction of dresses is terrible. Speaking of swords, I believe mine was the finest in the palace; and my uniform, much plainer than many, was richer than many others, and about as elegant as any. At least it appeared to attract a good deal of attention, whether on its own account or that of its wearer, I don't know.

«We went to the palace a little before nine o'clock, and were ushered into a salon set apart for those guests who were to be presented to their majesties—that is, those who had not before had that honor. There were about twenty Americans, mostly ladies, and about forty of all other nations, the representatives of the great republic preponderating over those of any other nation. The diplomatic corps were assembled in an adjoining salon, where they were first received by the Empress. Meanwhile, we were all arranged round the room in an irregular «line of battle,» ready to make our bow upon the approach of the sovereigns. I was placed at the head of the row of Americans, being preferred even to the ladies, which does not seem quite right. After the reception in the ambassadors' salon was finished, each minister came into our salon and joined his flock. Presently his Majesty appeared, and was announced by the grand chamberlain, who said in a loud voice, «L'Empereur!» The Emperor then passed along the line, and each person was presented in turn by the ambas-

sador of his or her country. The Empress followed soon after, was announced in the same way, and received her admiring guests. As a general rule, they merely bow, and pass on without making any remark; and no one is privileged to say anything unless first spoken to by the Emperor or Empress. This mode of reception is, I believe, peculiar to the French court, and has been recently adopted, I presume for the purpose of saving the annoyance of having persons who are presented stopping in front of their majesties and entering into conversation. It is also much less fatiguing than to stand in one place while receiving a large company, as is the custom of the English and other courts. Their majesties do not shake hands, which is a decided improvement over American custom, and do not formally receive their guests, except the ambassadors and those who have not before been presented at court. During the evening they walk through the several salons, receiving the salutations of the guests as they pass, and politely returning them, and sometimes addressing a few words to some particular person whom they may recognize. Immediately after the presentation the Emperor and Empress took their seats upon the throne in the central salon, surrounded by the ladies of the court, and looked upon the dancing of the few beaux and belles who were so fortunate as to have the honor of dancing before them, a thing which is, of course, esteemed a great privilege. I noticed that a large proportion of the ladies who were invited to dance there were Americans, who, it was generally decided, bore the palm for beauty. Indeed, it was evident that they quite surpassed the ladies of all other countries in that respect, and were the favorites of the young courtiers who are in the habit of dancing before the Empress. They have a rule of etiquette which is very convenient. The young gentlemen of the court do not need to wait for an introduction, but unhesitatingly step up to any young lady in the room and ask her to dance. Hence nearly all our American ladies had plenty of opportunity to gratify their vanity by displaying their grace and beauty before the Empress, and having their delicate waists encircled by the arm of a gallant young courtier whose name even they did not know—a very pardonable female vanity, no doubt.

«I must not forget to tell you about my own reception by their majesties. Contrary to the usual custom, they both stopped and indulged in a short conversation. The Emperor expressed his pleasure at seeing me in

France, and at the opportunity to extend to me the hospitalities of his palace, for which, of course, I thanked him. He then opened conversation concerning our late war, and asked some questions about the campaigns in which I was engaged; said it was a subject of very great interest to him; asked if I intended to remain long in Paris, and said he should see me again. This was the substance of our conversation. The Empress also said she was glad to see me, hoped I would spend some time longer in Paris, and said she should see me again. They were both affable and pleasant, and showed an evident desire to appear friendly. . . . I met the Empress once while she was walking through the hall, when she recognized me, and gave me one of her politest bows and blindest smiles. I mention these matters because, although nearly insignificant in our country, they mean so much here, where a smile or a nod from a sovereign has its meaning. . . .

«I have received quite an imposing card inviting me to dine on Monday next with (L. L. A. A. I. I. Mgr. le Prince Napoléon et Mme. la Princesse Marie Clotilde Napoléon au Palais Royal), which invitation I have accepted in a note written in French. . . . Their imperial highnesses are not on very good terms at the Tuileries, especially with the Empress, and were not at the ball on Wednesday. They are very friendly to America, and no doubt will make it very pleasant for me at the Palais Royal. Next Monday is also the opening of the Corps Législatif, which I hope to attend and hear the Emperor's address.

«January 24. I enjoyed two rare treats on the 22d. One was the opening of the French legislative session, and the other a dinner at the Palais Royal. The former is probably the most imposing and brilliant ceremonial to be seen in Europe. It took place in the grand hall of the Palais du Louvre, which is quite near—indeed connected with—the Tuileries. The hall, although large, has little more than room enough for the official dignitaries who have to be present. Hence only a very small number of spectators can be admitted, and to secure a ticket is a rare piece of good luck. Through the kindness and forethought of some of my friends who are on familiar terms at court, I got two tickets, went early and secured a good place to stand,—no seats being furnished for gentlemen,—where I could see and hear everything. The ceremony was appointed for one o'clock, yet the hall was crowded at eleven, so anxious were all to secure a good place. I went at ten, and

had a good time standing three hours in a dense crowd. Yet in spite of the fatigue I felt well paid. Besides the two houses of the legislature, all the officers of the state and church, judges of the courts, marshals and admirals of the army and navy, and all the imperial family, and the whole diplomatic corps, were present, all in their official robes. It would be difficult to imagine a more brilliant scene. The galleries were mostly occupied by ladies in *toilette de ville*, but many of them very rich and brilliant, yet entirely cast in the shade by the gilded trappings of their (lords) below. . . .

«The dinner at the Palais Royal was not what was first intended, on account of the death of the Prince of Savoy, brother of the Princess Clotilde. The latter did not receive her guests, and no ladies were present. All were informed of the change the day before the dinner.

«The party consisted of only about twenty gentlemen, very select, of course. Mr. Bigelow and myself were the only Americans present. He was seated on the right and I on the left of the prince. The other gentlemen took their seats by chance. The table-service was very fine, everything except the wine-glasses being of silver and gold. The dinner was an ordinary good French dinner, but inferior to many I have eaten at the houses of wealthy Americans in Paris. It was served and disposed of in the way the prince does everything—that is, with rather inconvenient haste. We were not at the table more than an hour and a half at the most. The spice of the evening came after dinner. In the prince's private parlor, over a good glass of punch and cigar, the Frenchmen discussed French and American politics with a freedom that would have done honor to an American club-room. The prince is very much of a democrat, and believes in freedom of speech. In his palace you can say what you please, the Emperor to the contrary notwithstanding. They handled the Emperor's speech in a manner that would, no doubt, have astonished him greatly had he heard it. All showed a very gratifying feeling of admiration and friendship for the United States, which had also the merit of being evidently sincere. Altogether it was one of the most pleasant evenings I have spent in Paris.»

Every shade of political opinion in Paris was represented among the guests. I have said that political discussion seemed to be entirely unrestrained, but there was one exception, when a remark which savored of disloyalty to the empire was rebuked by the prince.

In the Emperor's address, his future policy in respect to Mexico had been hinted at in the words: «[Our expedition] *touche à son terme.*» The declared purpose of speedily terminating the intervention in Mexico having been applauded by all, the prince inquired pointedly of me whether, in my opinion, the Emperor's declaration would be satisfactory to the United States, and received the unreserved reply that it would, as I believe, be accepted as entirely satisfactory.

In my report to Mr. Seward of January 24 I expressed the belief that even his enemies in France would not be disposed to embarrass the Emperor in respect to Mexico, «well satisfied to see him get out of that country by any means, and thus avoid war with the United States»; and I ventured the suggestion that «this course would also seem wise on our part.» In my letter of the same date to General Grant I said:

«You will get by this mail Napoleon's speech delivered at the opening of the French legislative session. I was present and heard the speech delivered. That part of it relating to Mexico and the United States was received with very general tokens of approbation, while most of the remainder met with a cold reception. I have since heard it discussed very freely by many prominent men of all shades of political opinion, among other the Prince Napoleon. All seem to recognize the falsity of the Emperor's assumptions where he says: (In Mexico the government founded by the will of the people is consolidating itself,) etc. Yet his statements are, no doubt, believed by a large majority of the French people, and therefore afford him a very good reason for yielding to the demand, made in common by the people of France and the United States, that his intervention in Mexico shall be brought to an end. This is the logic of his position and his solution of his difficulty, viz.: to assert that he has accomplished the object of his expedition to Mexico, and hence to end it. While we laugh at the absurdity of his premises, we can hardly find fault with his conclusion, and hence it is not worth while to criticize any part of his argument. Rather I think it well to let him make the most of his audacity in the creation of convenient facts. The opinion seems to be universal here that the Emperor is sincere in his declarations of intention as to Mexico; indeed, that he has adopted the policy of making the strongest possible bid for the friendship of the United States. It is certainly easy to derive such an opinion from his speech, and I am strongly inclined to believe it correct. Yet we cannot



forget the fact that in his speech of last year he used quite as strong language as to the speedy termination of his Mexican expedition. Hence I shall indulge in some doubt until I see the actual development of his present plans. I have no idea that Napoleon believes that Maximilian can remain long in Mexico after the French troops are withdrawn; but it is very important for him, in order to give some appearance of truth to his assumed grounds of action, that Maximilian be allowed to stay there some time without French aid. And for this reason he wants some assurance of neutrality from the government of the United States. Prince Napoleon and others with whom I have conversed express the decided opinion that Maximilian will come away with Marshal Bazaine, in spite of all the Emperor may say to induce him to try to stand alone. This, I apprehend, will be the difficulty, and may cause much delay, unless the United States kindly lend a helping hand. Would it not be wise for us to abstain for a few months from all interference, direct or indirect, and thus give Napoleon and Maximilian time to carry out their farce? Mexico would thus be rid of the French flag in the least possible time. If the French troops come also, Juarez can easily dispose of Maximilian at any time. If they succeed in getting the French troops to remain as colonists, then the United States can easily find a good reason for disposing of the whole matter, and Napoleon will not dare to interfere. . . . An officer of the Emperor's household left here about ten days ago with despatches for Mexico which, it is understood, contained the Emperor's declaration to Maximilian of his intention to recall his troops. This will give you some idea of the time when the matter may be arranged if all works well.»

My views relative to the purposes of the French government appear to have been concurred in by Mr. Bigelow at the time, as shown in his official despatches afterward published, and adopted by Mr. Seward in his subsequent correspondence with the French minister at Washington. They were soon afterward confirmed by the official announcement which the French minister was authorized to make to the government of the United States. While awaiting further instructions in reply to my report of January 24, I occupied my time in visits to the south of France, Italy, Switzerland, and England.

Some of the personal incidents connected with my stay in Paris seem worthy of record. Soon after my arrival in Paris, in company with Mr. Bigelow I called upon Marshal Ran-

don, Minister of War, who was the only minister of the French government then in Paris. We were received with cold and formal politeness. Some days later, the Emperor having returned to Paris and having apparently become satisfied that I was not occupied with any designs hostile to France, I received a very courteous letter from the Minister of War, dated December 13, and addressed to Mr. Bigelow; and Captain Guzman, the officer therein named, reported to me immediately. Under the guidance of this accomplished officer I saw in the most agreeable manner all the military establishments about Paris. These courtesies were acknowledged in a letter dated February 25, 1866, addressed to Mr. Bigelow.

My presentation to the Emperor and Empress occurred, as described in the private letter printed above, at one of those brilliant occasions at the Tuileries for which the second empire was famous. In conversing with the Emperor, he especially desired to know something of the operations of the American armies, and their marvelous methods of supply at great distances from a base of operations. I remember two incidents of this grand entertainment, not referred to in my letter, which were peculiar as viewed from the republican standpoint. As supper-time approached, the officers of the Imperial Guard and other military men anticipated the hour appointed for their refreshment by occupying in full force the supper-room prepared for the great dignitaries of state and church. Another instance was, still more striking. Soon after their Majesties entered the main salon, the Empress, surrounded by the ladies of the court, took her seat upon a platform raised several steps above the floor, from which she could conveniently view the beautiful dance in which American girls and French officers were engaged. There was present the wife of one of the most prominent statesmen of the United States, who had been presented to their Majesties. She was a lady who would, as a matter of course, have been invited to a place of honor near the wife of the President of the United States at any public reception at the White House. This lady, not naturally strong and evidently much fatigued, ventured to occupy one of the only seats available, namely, one of the many vacant steps leading to the elevated platform on which the Empress and her few attendants were seated. This was a breach of imperial etiquette that could not be tolerated. A court official requested the lady, very politely of course, but very firmly, to come down from

the too exalted place she had assumed near the foot of the throne. These two incidents suggested very forcibly that republican institutions teach much better than imperial the rules of deference and respect and the laws of etiquette which ought to govern the intercourse between all sorts and conditions of men and women.

Among the many grand entertainments in Paris in the winter of 1865-66, one at least was entirely above criticism from the American standpoint. It was a fancy-dress ball at the palace of one of the ministers of state. The hostess was an American lady by birth, and intensely loyal to her native country. The principal feature of the entertainment consisted of a parade in which the costumes were made to represent all the nations, tribes, and peoples of the earth. The two leading characters were France and the United States, seated upon beautifully decorated cars drawn respectively by French and American sailors. The ladies chosen by the patriotic hostess to represent these two characters were two radiantly beautiful American girls, the older representing France, and the younger America. This entertainment was characterized by generous refreshments for all who desired, at all hours of the night, and closed with a delicious breakfast at six o'clock in the morning.

It gives me great pleasure to record here, as I did in my correspondence at the time, the great courtesy, the kindness, and the charming hospitality shown me by Mr. Bigelow and his amiable family during my stay in Paris. Mr. Adams, United States minister at London, was also exceedingly kind, inviting a very distinguished company to meet me at dinner, taking me to several charming entertainments, and presenting me to the Prince of Wales, who then received in place of the Queen. General King at Rome, and Mr. Marsh at Florence, also entertained me very cour-

teously during my short stay at those places. The warmth of greeting by Americans everywhere, and the courteous reception by all foreigners whom I met, lent a peculiar charm to the first visit of a Union soldier among those who had watched from a distance the great American conflict.

I now have the satisfaction of knowing, in the light of subsequent events, that whatever my mission to France contributed toward the solution of the momentous question of that day was wisely directed in the interest of peace at home, continued friendship with our former allies, the people of France, and the relief of an American republic from foreign domination; these great blessings were combined in the final result.

Too much cannot be said in praise of the able and patriotic statesmanship displayed by Secretary Seward in his treatment of the French violation of the Monroe doctrine.

Early in May, 1866, I received from Mr. Seward his final reply to my report of January 24, in which he said: «The object for which you were detailed to visit Europe having been sufficiently accomplished, there is considered to be no further occasion for you to remain in that quarter in the service of this department.» Whereupon I returned to the United States, and reported at the State Department on the 4th of June.

The condition of the Franco-Mexican question at the time of my return from Europe was not regarded as quite satisfactory in one particular—namely, in the time fixed by Napoleon for the recall of his troops, which was considered too remote. But this was a point which could be settled by official correspondence, and there was manifestly no further occasion for my offices in either of the ways which had been contemplated in behalf of Mexico. Subsequent events in Mexico included the sad fate of Maximilian and the sadder fate of Carlotta.

*John M. Schofield.*



us before the world as a civilized, Christian nation desiring to be just and honorable in all its dealings. This seems to be a very simple method of procedure, and one that is patriotic as well, unless it be true that there is a conflict between common sense and true Americanism.

3. *Quality of National and State Legislators.*—How many persons of intelligence are met in private life who maintain that the quality of our legislators is satisfactory? There is a virtually universal admission that the quality has been deteriorating steadily for many years, and is now little short of deplorable. This being the case, what does common sense say? Does it say the quality can be improved by concealing the facts? Does it say that we shall get better legislators by denouncing everybody who says we have poor ones, and holding him up to contempt and scorn as a degenerate American who is slandering the institutions and statesmen of his country? Is such a method of procedure as that calculated to drive unworthy men out of politics?

4. *Our Nominating Machinery.*—It is a notorious fact that in national politics this has passed out of the control of the people, and is now in the complete possession of bosses, who use it to put their servile agents into the public offices. What does common sense say about this? Does it say it can be remedied by concealing and denying it, and assailing as bad Americans all those who denounce it as an evil which must in time break down popular government if it be not rooted out? Does it say it can be remedied by everybody's going about and declaring that this is the greatest nation in the world, that nothing can harm us, and that all will come out right in the end? Does it not rather say that the danger must be recognized in all its force, and the best method possible devised to encounter and defeat it? And how can this be done without first arousing the people to the necessity for action by showing them what the danger is?

5. *The Misgovernment of Cities.*—What does common sense say about this universally admitted fact? Does it say, Shut your eyes to it, and wait for it to work out its own cure without your aid? Does it say you can reform it by denouncing as un-American all those who venture to call attention to it and to speak of it as a disgrace and a peril to free institutions? What is patriotism? Can there be a better definition of it than Lowell gave when, in asserting his own love of his country, he asked:

What better proof than that I loathed her shame?

Joseph B. Bishop.

«The Withdrawal of the French from Mexico.»

OLIVER P. MORTON'S  
CONFIDENTIAL RELATION TO THE EVENT.

ON October 28, 1865, Oliver P. Morton, the «War Governor» of Indiana, after undergoing extraordinary labors in keeping his State in the column of those loyal to the Union, was stricken with paralysis, a disease which came upon him like a thief in the night, broke down a frame of great vigor and endurance, and entailed continued suffering for the remaining years of his life. His physicians prescribed absolute rest, but for Morton this was impossible, and he was soon at work preparing an elaborate message to the legislature. They then insisted that he should withdraw absolutely from the duties of office, and that a change of

scene and climate was necessary for his recovery. He had been told of the success of Dr. Brown-Sequard of Paris in the treatment of paralysis, so he made up his mind to go abroad and seek the aid of this celebrated physician. His message to the legislature was delivered on the 14th of November, and on the evening of the 17th he left Indianapolis for Washington, where he spent the week prior to his departure for Europe. While in that city he had several interviews with President Johnson, a man with whom he had held cordial and even intimate relations. In one of these interviews Mr. Johnson confided to him a secret mission, asking him to make a personal request of Napoleon III for the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico. It had already been determined by the administration that the French must leave that country, even if it involved the necessity of war; but President Johnson hoped that the Emperor would consent to this voluntarily, if he could do so without too great a loss of prestige. The demand through the regular diplomatic channels for the withdrawal of these troops would be embarrassing to the French government, which as late as October 16 had insisted upon a recognition of the empire of Maximilian before the French army should be recalled.

It appears from an article in the *May*, 1897, number of THE CENTURY MAGAZINE that General Schofield had already been sent by the State Department to communicate to the Emperor unofficially the necessity for recalling the French troops; and President Johnson, learning that Morton intended to go to Paris, asked him also to intimate informally to the Emperor that it would be impossible for the administration to withstand the pressure of public opinion in America, which demanded the expulsion of these troops, if their withdrawal were longer postponed. He asked Morton to say that it would be easier for the French government to recall them voluntarily than to submit to the humiliation of acceding to official demands, and that by a voluntary withdrawal the good feeling between the two nations could be better preserved. Mr. Johnson impressed upon Morton the necessity of keeping this mission entirely secret, and he gave him the following autograph letter, which stated nothing of the object of his visit:

«EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

«December 11th, 1865.

«His Excellency Governor O. P. Morton of the State of Indiana has been entrusted by the Government of the United States of America with important business in Europe. As the executive of one of the States of the Union, and as a citizen possessing the confidence and respect of his country, he is cordially recommended to the kind consideration of all whom it may concern.

«ANDREW JOHNSON.»

A physician had been detailed by the Secretary of War to attend the governor until the departure of the latter in the *Scotia*. The voyage was long and uneventful. Morton arrived in Liverpool the day before Christmas. He proceeded to London, stopping only two days in that city, and then passed directly on to Paris, where he remained till the 1st of February. Here he had to undergo the ordeal of the moxa, or cautery, of the spine, which was performed by Dr. Brown-Sequard. Previous to this operation he had an interview with Baron Roth-

schild, who arranged for him a private audience with the Emperor. He delivered to Napoleon the message from President Johnson. The Emperor replied that it had never been his purpose to keep permanent possession of Mexico, but that his object had been to secure the rights of French creditors and residents, and to leave the people of the country free to make their choice of rulers. He spoke regretfully of a speech which had been made by General Logan in Congress, demanding the summary expulsion of Bazaine. It was shortly after this interview that the Emperor delivered his address to the Corps Législatif on January 22, to which General Schofield refers, in which he declared that the French occupation of Mexico was reaching its limit. After his private interview Morton also received a formal invitation to a reception at the Tuileries. He wished to go, but to do this he would be obliged to wear court dress and sword. At first he determined to do it. He went with his friend Berry Sulgrove, who had accompanied him to Paris, and selected a costume; but he had a great distaste for appearing in that way, and believed that standing for a long time at a great reception would be injurious to his health, so he remained away.

When Morton found that the operation of the moxa was not successful, and that his paralysis could not be cured, he became very impatient to return, and after a few days in Switzerland he started for England, and thence back to America.

Although Sulgrove knew that Morton had had a private interview with the Emperor, it is not believed that Morton ever spoke of the subject of this mission until during his final illness. The Hon. R. R. Hitt, who had been his private secretary in the Senate, visited him at Indianapolis shortly before his death, and read aloud to the sick man during a great part of the night. On this occasion Morton drew him down close to the side of his bed, and said: «I want to tell you about that mission to Paris. There is not a word about it on record, and when I die the secret will die with me. I was asked by Johnson to have an interview with the Emperor, and if possible to secure the removal of the French troops from Mexico. Mr. Bigelow was minister at the time, but he knew nothing of it.» Morton then related to Mr. Hitt the foregoing facts.

It is of course impossible to say positively to what agency the withdrawal of the French troops was mainly due. Possibly several things concurred to convince Napoleon that this step was necessary; but it is a fair inference that the distinguished statesman who talked face to face with the French Emperor in secret conference had much to do with it.

RICHMOND, INDIANA. *William Dudley Foulke.*

#### Kindergarten Progress in Indianapolis.

THE public schools of Indianapolis have received extended notice from the press throughout the country. No less admirable is the branch of training found in the free kindergartens, which are the result of ten years of persistent labor. The free kindergartens of this city are recognized in the National Association of Kindergartens as among the most progressive in the country. During the year just closed (June, 1897), 5297 children were reached by the kindergartens, of which there are eleven, all numbered but two, to which have been given

the names of Arabella C. Peele, who was for a number of years president of the Kindergarten and Children's Aid Society, and of Miss Mary Turner Cooper, who did so much for the colored children composing the school. The kindergarten work proper is much the same as that in all similar schools. For a number of years no fine hand-work has been done, as Mrs. Eliza A. Blaker, who has been superintendent of the schools ever since they were opened, believes that the close attention demanded of the pupil for this work creates ailments in later years. A unique feature is the domestic training, which is not like the kitchen-garden, but is real training in practical housekeeping. One phase is to teach that cheerful faces, kind words, gentle tones, and clean rooms are as valuable as well-cooked, nicely served food and a clean dress. Thirty-one guests were served in the Domestic Training-school during the winter, with the entire menu of potato-soup, toast-sticks, breaded veal, green peas with white sauce, potato-balls, biscuits, celery and nut-salad, snow-pudding, and coffee, prepared by the pupils. The sewing-classes learn how to make dolls' clothes, and as the children grow larger they make dresses and underclothes, make and trim hats, mend, darn, and crochet. Under the supervision of Mrs. Blaker, there are kindergartens at many of the public institutions. Each school keeps a record-book containing the name, age, health, temperament, physical defects, etc., of each child. This is taken when the child enters, and the children are tested from time to time, and the result is added to the record-book, in order to keep a study of the child and meet the individuality of each. There is teaching in patriotism, the flag salute and national airs being an oft-repeated part of the exercises. Last Fröbel Day (April 21), in addition to the usual program, each child was presented with a packet of seeds, both flower and vegetable. The effect was almost miraculous, for in two weeks' time the greatest improvement in the yards of the families represented by the children was noticed. They were in order, patches had been fenced off, and one father made a little fence and gate for his child. A summer school is being maintained this year, with excellent results and large attendance. From the modest beginning special features have been added, until now the work reaches out in every direction, and not only the children but the parents are brought under its influence. Mothers' meetings, for an hour of rest, change, pleasure, conversation, instruction, and social intercourse, with some light refreshment and a story or song, make a bright spot for them, with an annual mass-meeting of mothers for an event of special importance. Friendly visiting to each family secures the coöperation of the family; evening socials for the fathers enlist their sympathies; and the Mothers' Band is helpful in raising money, visiting the sick, attending the entertainments, and assisting in the work. The literary societies in all of the schools are well attended, and are aided by the school library, which loans books to the families of the children who attend the kindergarten. The boys in the wood-whittling classes do all of the cabinet-work of the schools, and make articles for sale. Through the many influences of the schools which the different departments afford, a wonderful work of reformation is almost silently going on. On the social side, there are evening parties once a