

美國蠶食鯨吞墨西哥

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摘要

我們先將回顧美國的領土擴張，接著檢視美國如何侵犯西屬德克薩斯，接著觀察美國如何蠶食墨屬德克薩斯，再來嘗試理解美國的盤算，進而分析墨西哥與德克薩斯的衝突、以及美墨戰爭，最後描述美國在戰爭結束後對墨西哥領土的鯨吞。

關鍵詞：美國的領土擴張、墨西哥、西屬德克薩斯、墨屬德克薩斯、美墨戰爭

For myself, I was bitterly opposed to the measure, and to this day regard the war, which resulted, as one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation. It was an instance of a republic following the bad example of European monarchies, in not considering justice in their desire to acquire additional territory.

美國總統格蘭特（Ulysses S. Grant, 1869-77）（1885）

壹、美國的領土擴張

美國（北美十三州）在獨立戰爭（American Revolutionary War, 1775-83）打敗英國、簽訂『巴黎條約』（*Treaty of Paris*, 1783），領土一下子由阿帕拉契山脈（Appalachian Mountains）擴張到密西西比河（Mississippi River）的右岸（面積 2,310,619 平方公里¹）；接著先後分別由法國、及西班牙購買路易斯安那（Louisiana Purchase, 1803, 2,144,476 平方公里）、及佛羅里達（Florida Purchase², 1819, 186,740 平方公里），領土暴增一倍；於 1812 年戰爭（War of 1812, 1812-15）再度打敗英國，從此自得意滿。門羅總統（James Monroe, 1817-25）上台，揭櫫『門羅主義』（*Monroe Doctrine*, 1823）、不許歐洲國家插手美洲殖民，美國進入自我感覺良好時代（Era of Good Feelings, 1817-25），當下要務是如何從事移墾實邊、鞏固領土。

墨西哥在 1821 年由西班牙獨立，千頭萬緒，美國覬覦其北部尚未開發的邊地，在 19 世紀中葉趁人之危蠶食鯨吞，先是併吞德克薩斯（Texas Annexation, 1845, 1,007,935 平方公里），又引發美墨戰爭（Mexican-American War, 1846-48）、強迫割地（Mexican Cession, 1848, 1,370,593 平方公里），墨西哥平白失去半壁江山（55%）。總計，美國在西南部、及西部所攫取的領土，加起來比獨立之際、或路易斯安那購地的面積都還要大，平添了三分之一，最後再以蓋茲登購地（Gadsden Purchase, 1854, 76,845 平方公里）收

¹ 此段的面積來自 Wikipedia（2023: United States territorial acquisitions table）。

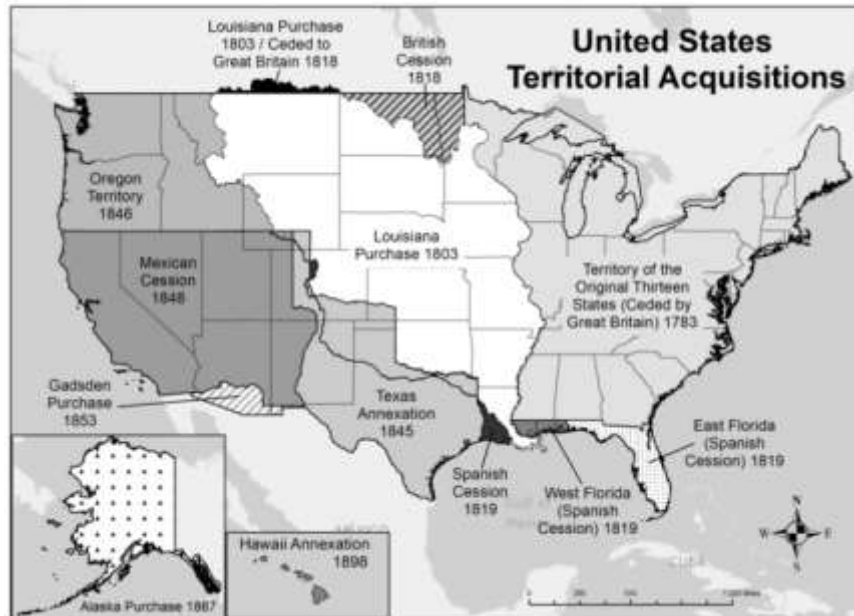
² 又稱為西班牙割地（Spanish Cession）。

場，終於完成囊括北美洲的所謂「昭昭天命³」(Manifest Destiny)，此後不再憂心歐洲強權前來爭奪地盤。



來源：Wikimedia Commons (2023: File:The Monroe Doctrine must be respected (F. Victor Gillam, 1896) restored.png)。

圖 1：美國劃下楚河漢界



來源：Ruple (2020: 16, fig. 2.1)。

圖 2：美國本土領土的取得

³ 也就是美國是上帝所眷顧的國度，美國人有道德義務開疆闢土。

美國跟在 1803 年法國購買路易斯安那後，往南還圖謀西班牙的屬地佛羅里達（Spanish Florida, 1513-1763, 1783-1821），美國墾民一度建立短命的西佛羅里達共和國（Republic of West Florida, 1810）；當時，西班牙一方面在本土要抵抗拿破崙發動的半島戰爭（Peninsular War, 1808-14），另一方面在美洲要應付殖民地的獨立戰爭（Spanish American Wars of Independence, 1808-33），疲於奔命，在佛羅里達又面對英裔美國人（Anglo-American）越界、黑奴竄逃、及塞米諾爾（Seminole）印第安原住民的抗爭，精疲力竭，既無力派兵戍守、也缺錢招募墾殖，而美國卻又再三表達購地的意願（Rauf, 2019: 12; Wikipedia, 2023: Republic of West Florida; Spanish Florida）。



來源：Wikimedia Commons（2023: File:United States 1820-1821-07.png）。

圖 3：美國領土（1820-21）

面對逃逸佛羅里達的黑奴，西班牙以皈依天主教為交換條件提供庇護，美國卻時而以保護墾民為由派兵跨越國境追捕，後來當上總統的傑克森（Andrew Jackson, 1829-37）還奉命領軍發動第一次塞米諾爾戰爭（First

Seminole War, 1817)；西班牙進無步、退無路，只好簽訂『亞當斯-奧尼斯條約』⁴ (*Adams-Onís Treaty*, 1819)，放棄佛羅里達、及墨西哥灣 (Gulf of Mexico) 沿岸在密西西比河以東的土地，以換取美國不再嘮叨德克薩斯為其領土；儘管委曲求全，墨西哥依然比鄰由路易斯安那領地 (Louisiana Territory, 1805-12) 繁衍而來的密蘇里領地 (Missouri Territory, 1812-21)、及阿肯色領地 (Arkansas Territory, 1819-36)，西班牙對於美國的非分之想了然於胸，而治絲益棼的則是如何處理美國流民不時私闖墨西哥東北邊地德克薩斯的課題 (Rauf, 2019: 12; Wikipedia, 2023: Andrew Jackson; Seminole Wars; Adams-Onís Treaty)。

貳、西屬德克薩斯

西班牙在加勒比海落腳後，繼而前往西、南、及北方的內陸探索，尋覓人口密集、及蘊藏金銀的地方，西邊的墨西哥首當其衝，科爾特斯 (Hernán Cortés, 1485-1547) 於 1521 年與原住民部落結盟征服阿茲特克帝國 (Aztec Empire, 1428-1521)；西班牙國王查理五世⁵在美洲殖民地 (Spanish America) 設置新西班牙總督轄區⁶ (Viceroyalty of New Spain, 1535-1821)，涵蓋北美洲西南部 (包含佛羅里達、及密西西比河以西)、中美洲 (巴拿馬除外)、西屬西印度群島 (Spanish West Indies, 1492-1898，包含古巴、海地、多明尼加共和國、波多黎各、牙買加、開曼群島、千里達)、南美北端小部分、及西

⁴ 又稱為『橫貫大陸條約』 (*Transcontinental Treaty*)、或『佛羅里達購地條約』 (*Florida Purchase Treaty*)。

⁵ 正確的說法是西班牙國王卡洛斯一世 (Charles I, King of Spain, 1516-56)、神聖羅馬皇帝查理五世 (Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, 1519-56)。

⁶ 西班牙先後設置 4 個等級相當於半島本土省級的總督轄區 (viceroyalty)，其中，最早設置的新西班牙總督轄區範圍最大。接著設置南美洲的秘魯總督轄區 (Viceroyalty of Peru, 1542-1824)，後來一分為三，先分出新格拉納達總督轄區 (Viceroyalty of New Granada, 1717-1819，涵蓋當今的巴拿馬、哥倫比亞、厄瓜多、委內瑞拉)，又設置拉布拉他總督轄區 (Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata, 1776-1814，包含當前的阿根廷、玻利維亞、巴拉圭、烏拉圭)。

屬東印度群島⁷ (Spanish East Indies, 1565-1898) (Wikipedia, 2023: Spanish America; New Spain; Spanish West Indies; Spanish East Indies; Gibson, 1966: 93-95; Bannon, 1974: chaps. 2-3)。



來源：Maps on the web (2015)。

圖 4：新西班牙總督轄區領土 (1650)

在 16-17 世紀，墨西哥北方版圖由佛羅里達延伸到加利福尼亞，人煙稀少、土地荒僻，稱西班牙邊地 (Spanish Borderlands)，包括現在墨西哥的北部、及美國的西南部；西班牙在行政上將該地分為下加利福尼亞⁸ (Las Californias)、上加利福尼亞⁹ (Alta California)、路易斯安那、新埃斯特雷馬杜拉 (Nueva Extremadura，包含當前的科阿韋拉 Coahuila、及大部分德克薩斯)、及聖塔菲 (Santa Fe de Nuevo México，涵蓋新墨西哥、及部分德克薩斯) (Gibson, 1966: chap. 9; Weddle, 2012; Gabe, 2019: 25; Wikipedia, 2023: New Spain; Viceroyalty of New Spain)。

⁷ 還包括菲律賓、關島、馬里亞納群島、加羅林群島、部分摩鹿加群島、及台灣北部。

⁸ 又稱為舊加利福尼亞 (California Vieja)。

⁹ 又稱為新加利福尼亞 (California Nueva)，包含現在美國的加州、內華達州、猶他州、亞利桑那州北部、懷俄明州南部。



來源：Gabe (2019: 25, fig. 2.1)。

說明：這是 Gabe (2019) 依據 Bolton (1921: 38)、及 Bannon (1974: 4) 繪製的。

圖 5：西班牙邊地（1650）

由於法國、及英國虎視眈眈，西班牙開始派人帶隊前往勘定這片遼闊的領地、繪製地圖，著名的探險家包括納爾瓦埃斯（Pánfilo de Narváez, 1478-1528）、德·巴卡（Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, 1500-64）、德·索托（Hernando de Soto, 1500-42）、莫斯科索·阿爾瓦拉多（Luis de Moscoso Alvarado, 1505-51）、科羅納多（Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, 1510-54）、奧尼亞特（Juan de Oñate, 1550-1626）；他們在東邊由海上登陸佛羅里達，或是由西邊走陸路¹⁰北上到新墨西哥¹¹、加利福尼亞，共同點是急功近利、無心長治久安（Wikipedia, 2023: Spanish colonization of the Americas; Gibson, 1966: 182-85; Bannon, 1974）。

西屬德克薩斯（Spanish Texas, 1519-1821）是位於新西班牙總督轄區東北部的邊疆地區，介於佛羅里達與新墨西哥之間；法國唯恐西班牙控制整個墨西哥灣、進而威脅新法蘭西南界，派遣拉薩勒（René-Robert Cavalier,

¹⁰ 根據 Bannon (1974: 97-99) 的分法，陸路前往邊地有 3 條走廊，分別是西邊到加利福尼亞（chap. 9）、中間到新墨西哥（chap. 5）、及東邊到德克薩斯（chap. 7）。

¹¹ 包括當下的新墨西哥、亞利桑那東部、科羅拉多南部、及猶他東南部。

Sieur de La Salle, 1643-87) 由新法蘭西 (New France, 1534-1763) 南下探索密西西比河，於河口豎起十字架、宣示河域為法屬路易斯安那 (French Louisiana, 1682-1762)，於 1685 年建立聖路易斯堡 (Fort Saint Louis)，嘗試移民墾殖不成；西班牙獲悉法國的盤算，擔心危及礦區、及航線，決心遏止，遂於 1691 年建省，設置邊塞 (*presidio*)、並成立傳教站 (*mission*) (Bannon, 1974: 3, 42-48; Rauf, 2019: 45-47; Wikipedia, 2023: Spanish Texas; French colonization of Texas; Louisiana (New France))。



來源：Estes (n.d.: 104)。

圖 6：西班牙勘查美洲（1519-98）

西屬德克薩斯 (Spanish Texas, 1519-1821) 是位於新西班牙總督轄區東北部的邊疆地區，介於佛羅里達與新墨西哥之間；法國唯恐西班牙控制整個墨西哥灣、進而威脅新法蘭西南界，派遣拉薩勒 (René-Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, 1643-87) 由新法蘭西 (New France, 1534-1763) 南下探索密西西比河，於河口豎起十字架、宣示河域為法屬路易斯安那 (French Louisiana, 1682-1762)，於 1685 年建立聖路易斯堡 (Fort Saint Louis)，嘗試移民墾殖不成；西班牙獲悉法國的盤算，擔心危及礦區、及航線，決心遏止，

遂於 1691 年建省，設置邊塞 (presidio)、並成立傳教站 (mission) (Bannon, 1974: 3, 42-48; Rauf, 2019: 45-47; Wikipedia, 2023: Spanish Texas; French colonization of Texas; Louisiana (New France))。

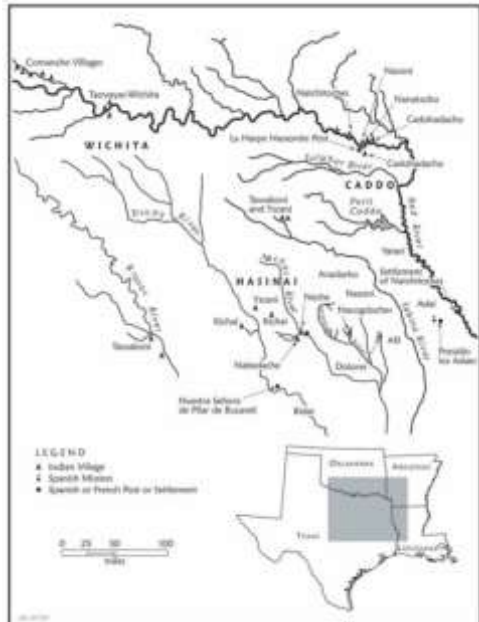


來源：Wikimedia Commons (2023: File:Spanish explorations in Texas.jpg)。

圖 7：西班牙擴張德克薩斯（17 世紀）

當年前往西屬德克薩斯邊地的途徑有東、西兩路，不免被外力波及而國際化：東邊與法屬路易斯安那相鄰，西班牙堅持以東方的紅河 (Red River)

為界線，法國則宣稱往西 72 公里的沙賓河（Sabine River）才是界河，兩國始終衝突不斷，養癰貽患，日後被美國拿來當侵門踏戶的藉口；至於在西邊，除西北方有新墨西哥，西南方與科阿韋拉、及新桑坦德¹²（Nuevo Santander）相鄰，分別以麥地那河（Medina River）、及努埃塞斯河（Nueces River）為界，以後也是與美國爭議的來源，終究戰場決定領土歸屬（Bannon, 1974: 97-99; Rauf, 2019: 30-31）。



來源：Perttula (2012: 100, fig. 3)。

圖 8：紅河與沙賓河



來源：Wikimedia Commons (2023: File:Texas Mexico Disputed Border 1836 to 1848.PNG)。

圖 9：麥地那河與努埃塞斯河

法國在七年戰爭（Seven Years' War, 1754-63）敗於英國，只好簽訂『1763 年巴黎條約』（*Treaty of Paris, 1763*）割讓密西西比河以東，同時，

¹² 墨西哥獨立後改名塔毛利帕斯州（Tamaulipas）。兩者之間是新萊昂（Nuevo León），與德克薩斯有一條國際大橋（Laredo-Colombia Solidarity International Bridge）作為走廊相接。

西班牙被迫讓出佛羅里達給英國以贖回古巴、及馬尼拉¹³，西班牙人大多移往古巴；法國為了彌補西班牙盟友的損失，先於『楓丹白露密約』(*Treaty of Fontainebleau, 1762*)讓渡密西西比河以西土地，西屬路易斯安那(Louisiana (New Spain), 1762-1801) 卻因而比鄰英國 (Wikipedia, 2023: Treaty of Paris (1763); Louisiana (New Spain); B Spanish Florida; Bannon, 1974: 190-94) 。



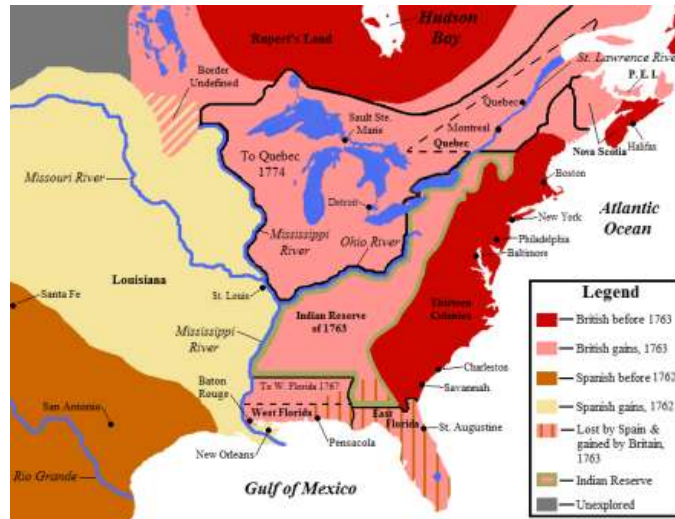
來源：Wikimedia Commons (2023: File:Texas Mexico Disputed Border 1836 to 1848.PNG) 。

圖 10：麥地那河與努埃塞斯河

英國在取得佛羅里達以後，發現幅員過於遼闊，劃分東佛羅里達(British East Florida, 1763-1822)、及西佛羅里達 (British West Florida, 1763-83) 治理，在輸掉美國獨立戰爭後將後者割讓西班牙，卻沒交代清楚西佛羅里達北方跟美國的界線，即西佛羅里達之爭 (West Florida Controversy)，雙方終

¹³ 英國在英西戰爭 (Anglo-Spanish War, 1762-63) 佔領西班牙的領地古巴、及馬尼拉 (Wikipedia, 2023: Anglo-Spanish War (1762-1763)) 。

究簽訂『平克尼條約¹⁴』（*Pinckney's Treaty, 1795*），同意以北緯 31 度線為界（Wikipedia, 2023: Spanish Florida; West Florida Controversy; Pinckney's Treaty; Bannon, 1974: 204-207）。



來源：Wikimedia Commons（2023: File:NorthAmerica1762-83.png）。

圖 11：『1763 年巴黎條約』後的北美洲（1762-83）

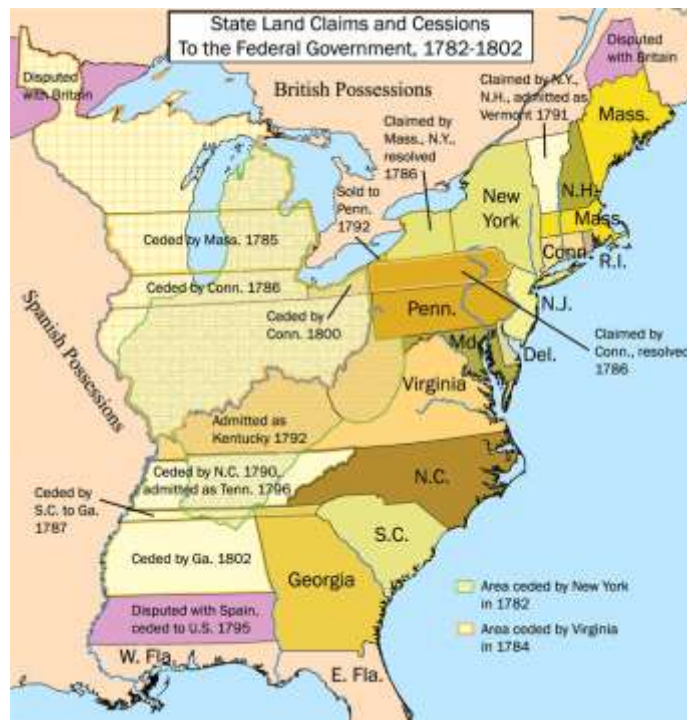


來源：Wikimedia Commons（2023: File:Pinckney's Treaty line 1795.png）。

圖 12：『平克尼條約』後的美國與西班牙界線（1795）

¹⁴ 又稱為『聖洛倫索條約』（*Treaty of San Lorenzo*）。

美國在獨立後跟英國簽訂『1783年巴黎條約』，西疆抵達密西西比河，光在第一年就有 50,000 墾民西來，然而，穀物跨越阿帕拉契山脈運送東岸不易，勢必想辦法就近賣到西屬路易斯安那、及德克薩斯；美國威脅動武強取，西班牙在 1784-95 年禁止外國人由河口進入，還是有美國人鋌而走險，特別是前往德克薩斯西部捕捉野馬；西班牙政府突發奇想，認為要確保邊境安全，唯有從本土、或其他殖民地移入墾民，然而，由於天然條件不佳，本國移民的成效有限¹⁵；到了 18 世紀末，西班牙儘管尚且允許美國人移民到路易斯安那、及佛羅里達，只要宣示效忠及，卻不再授與土地給前往德克薩斯的外國墾戶，還特地在東部納科多奇斯（Nacogdoches）駐軍阻絕（Bannon, 1974: 196-203, 209; Meed, 2002: 13; Wikipedia, 2023: Spanish Texas; West Florida Controversy）。



來源：Wikimedia Commons（2023: File:United States land claims and cessions 1782-1802.png）。

圖 13：美國在『1783年巴黎條約』後的領土（1782-1802）

¹⁵ 有關於德克薩斯在 1777-93 年的人口，見 Tjarks（1979）。

當小弟的西班牙在 1800 年被迫簽訂『第三次聖伊德方索條約』(*Third Treaty of San Ildefonso, 1800*)，將路易斯安那歸還大哥法國，然而，拿破崙 (Napoleon, 1799-1815) 為了籌備軍費，竟然於 1803 年轉賣美國，許多西班牙人只好遷往德克薩斯、佛羅里達、或其他殖民地；比較麻煩的是，法國先前與西班牙並沒有明確交代彼此在路易斯安那的邊界，而西班牙本身對於路易斯安那與德克薩斯的界線也不清楚，反正是自家的領土、沒有必要計較那麼多¹⁶，日後才會節外生枝；揭櫫自由帝國 (Empire of Liberty) 的美國總統傑弗遜 (Thomas Jefferson, 1801-1809) 宣稱路易斯安那購地往西延伸到洛磯山脈 (Rocky Mountains)，包羅密西西比河、及密蘇里河流域，不只包括大部分西佛羅里達、還主張擁有沙賓河以南到格蘭河¹⁷ (Rio Grande) 土地，即德克薩斯全境；西班牙堅持路易斯安那購地並不包含西佛羅里達、或伊利諾領地 (Illinois Territory)，況且路易斯安那僅止納科多奇斯，更不用說德克薩斯 (Wikipedia, 2023: Spanish Texas; Bannon, 1974: 205, 210)。



來源：Swenson (2022)。

圖 14：沙賓中立地 (1806-21)

西班牙國王卡洛斯四世 (Charles IV of Spain, 1788-1808) 下令勘查地界，軍事對峙、一觸即發，幸好前線指揮官在 1806 暫時取得停火協議，只不過，這塊沙賓中立地 (Neutral Ground (Louisiana), 1806-21) 儼然無政府狀態，美國亡命之徒 (filibuster) 時而越界生事；在墨西哥獨立戰爭 (Mexican

¹⁶ 其實，有些法國人獻策將兩地的界線由納契托什 (Natchitoches) 南移沙賓河，幸好，西班牙政府在 1793 年決定沒有必要調整 (Wikipedia, 2023: Spanish Texas)。

¹⁷ 墨西哥稱為北布拉沃河 (Río Bravo del Norte)，簡稱布拉沃河 (Río Bravo)。

War of Independence, 1810-21) 期間，美方有所謂古提耶雷斯-麥吉遠征隊 (Gutiérrez-Magee Expedition, 1812-13) 來犯、建立德州共和國 (Republic of Texas, 1813)，在麥地那戰役 (Battle of Medina, 1813) 死亡 1,300 人，又有朗遠征隊 (Long Expedition, 1819) 建立短命的德州共和國 (Republic of Texas, 1819) (Wikipedia, 2023: Spanish Texas; Neutral Ground (Louisiana); Republic of Texas; Battle of Medina; 2022: Gutiérrez-Magee Expedition; Long Expedition; Long Expedition))。

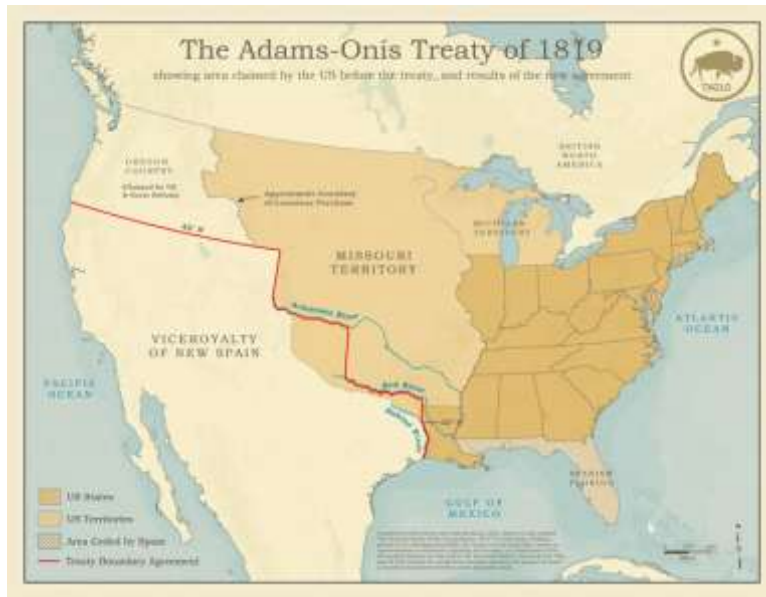


來源：Wikimedia Commons (2023: File:Viceroyalty of the New Spain 1800 (without Philippines).png)

圖 15：新西班牙總督轄區領土（1810）

由於美國亟欲控制密西西比河出海口，一再要求購買佛羅里達，西班牙終於簽訂『亞當斯-奧尼斯條約』（1819）放棄；雙方同意以沙賓河、紅河、及阿肯色河（Arkansas River）為界，往西沿著北緯 42 度線直達太平洋岸，

特別是以沙賓河往北到北緯 32 度線作為路易斯安那與德克薩斯的界線；儘管美國承認西班牙擁有德克薩斯，以交換西班牙放棄對北美洲西北部領土的聲索，許多美國人依然堅持德克薩斯是美國的領土；到了 1820 年，既然美國撒手德克薩斯的主權，西班牙為了遏止美國侵犯、及印第安人騷擾的緩衝，大膽放寬規定、歡迎新天主教徒前來移民，摩西·奧斯汀(Moses Austin)獲得授與土地，地方政府對於擅自佔地者(squatter)睜一隻眼、閉一隻眼，並未積極驅逐出境(Wikipedia, 2023: Adams-Onís Treaty; Texas revolution; Moses Austin; General Colonization Law)。



來源：Texas General Land Office (n.d.)。

圖 16：『亞當斯-奧尼斯條約』（1819）

參、墨屬德克薩斯

墨西哥在贏得獨立戰爭後承續西屬德克薩斯，西班牙邊地頓時成為墨西哥邊地(Mexican Borderlands)；墨屬德克薩斯(Mexican Texas, 1821-36)

的西南方是科阿韋拉、西北方是新墨西哥，東鄰美國的路易斯安那，由於人口未能達到建州門檻，暫且跟科阿韋拉劃在一起、合稱科阿韋拉及德克薩斯（Coahuila y Texas），不變的是美國的領土野心，內憂的墨西哥政府無力面對外患（Wikipedia, 2023: New Spain; Spanish Texas; Mexican Texas; Texas Revolution; Mexican War of Independence）。



來源：Wikimedia Commons（2010: File:Mexico states evolution.gif）。

圖 17：墨西哥的 19 個州（1824）

墨西哥在獨立後，發現無法複製西班牙自來於赤瓦瓦（Chihuahua）、科阿韋拉、及新萊昂所採行的邊防措施，苦惱成立教會同化、兼設置邊塞防守的作法失效，特別是在德克薩斯的問題最嚴重，既不能防止西邊印第安人掠奪牲口、也無法堵住東邊猖狂的美國亡命之徒，憂心邊患往南蔓延經濟

重心新加利西亞¹⁸ (Nueva Galicia)，異想天開仿效美國屯墾鞏固邊疆政策，通過『一般墾殖法』(*General Colonization Law, 1824*)、建立墾首(*empresario*) 請照開發制度，提供土地鼓勵歐美移民前來墾荒、開發農場、設置牧場；具體而言，墾首在 6 年內每引入 100 戶就可以分配到 23,000 英畝土地，歡迎來自路易斯安那的法國裔、或西班牙裔天主教徒，條件是必須使用西班牙文公證文件、學西班牙話、放棄美國國籍、歸化為墨西哥公民、及宣誓效忠墨西哥；在 1820 年代，摩西·奧斯汀之子史蒂芬·奧斯汀 (Stephen F. Austin) 克紹箕裘，帶領 1,200 戶前來拓荒，與墨西哥政府維持良的好關係 (Bannon, 1974: 168-69; Rauf, 2019: 17-20, 47-51; Olson-Raymer, 2014; Wikipedia, 2022: *Empresario*; 2023: *General Colonization Law*; Stephen F. Austin; Moses Austin)。

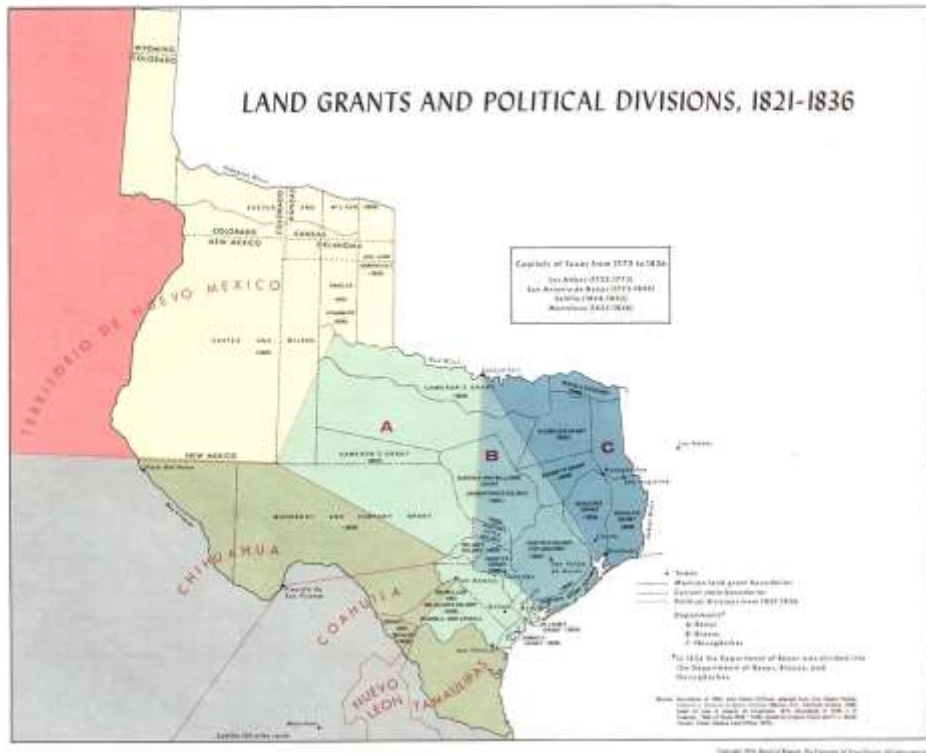
正值 1819 年經濟恐慌 (Panic of 1819) 爆發，美國人紛紛前來德克薩斯尋找新天地，不只圖謀廉價、甚至免費的土地，有些人是負債走投無路而離鄉背井，盤算墨西哥跟美國並沒有引渡條約；另外，不少人預期美國遲早會著手兼併，看好屆時土地價格飆漲，授田證 (Texas land scrip) 大受歡迎，連北方廢奴州的百姓也趨之若鶩；到了 1823 年，非法居留者已有 3,000 人，這時墨西哥已經獨立，百廢待舉，駐軍也不過 200 名、無力約束；墨西哥政府沒有料想到開門揖盜，蜂擁而入的是來自密蘇里平原走陸路、或由新奧爾良 (New Orleans) 搭船前來加爾維斯敦 (Galveston) 的新教徒，他們既拒絕皈依天主教、又不願效忠墨西哥，一些人甚至自行宣布成立雷多尼亞共和國 (Republic of Fredonia, 1826-27)，奧斯汀當時還率領民兵加入墨西哥軍隊圍剿的行列 (Bannon, 1974: 6; Rauf, 2019: 21-22; Olson-Raymer, 2014; Harstad & Resh, 1964: 293-94; Wikipedia, 2023: *Texas Revolution*; *Fredonian Rebellion*)。

在 1829 年，母親是黑奴的墨西哥總統格雷羅 (Vicente Guerrero, 1829) 禁止蓄奴，不少美裔德克薩斯人 (Texians) 儘管投機取巧規避¹⁹，眼見黑奴

¹⁸ 這是過去新西班牙總督轄區的一個自治王國，包含當下的阿瓜斯卡連安特 (Aguascalientes)、瓜納華托 (Guanajuato)、科利馬 (Colima)、哈利斯科 (Jalisco)、哈利斯科 (Nayarit)、及薩卡特卡斯 (Zacatecas) 等州 (Wikipedia, 2023: *Nueva Galicia*)。

¹⁹ 墨西哥政府禁止黑奴買賣，並規定黑奴的小孩 14 歲就必須放走；美裔移民的對策是強迫

西逃內地各州，怒火中燒，相信只有分離才能一勞永逸；接下來，政變上台的布斯塔曼特（Anastasio Bustamante, 1830-32, 1837-39, 1839-41）判斷美國遲早動手強取德克薩斯，乾脆立法（*Law of April 6, 1830*）禁止美國人前來墾殖，並首度課徵進出口的關稅、嚴加取締走私，卻防不勝防，官民關係益加緊張（Rauf, 2019: 21-22; Wikipedia, 2023: Texas Revolution）。



來源：University of Texas at Austin, Bureau of Business Research（1976a）。

圖 18：德克薩斯的土地授與（1821-36）

直到在墨西哥獨立前，德克薩斯土生土長西班牙裔居民（*Tejanos*，德哈諾人，*Hispanic Texans*）主要分布於東北不納科多奇斯、中部巴爾塔薩（*Bexar*）

黑奴簽約改為契約勞工（*indentured servitude*）、志願當長工抵債，只不過，由於工資態低，黑奴根本沒有機會還錢獲得自由（Olson-Raymer, 2014: 4）。

與戈利亞德（Goliad）之間的聖安東尼奧河（San Antonio River）流域、及南部努埃塞斯河與格蘭河間，前者從事邊界貿易，後兩者以經營牧場為主，他們小心翼翼、聽命行事，片面走人形同叛逃，而邊地荒涼、人口稀少、駐軍有限，維生不易；在 1821 年，西班牙裔只有 2,500 人，外來墾殖者不多，此後，由於墨西哥政府的鼓勵，美裔墾殖戶開始大規模前來，移民在 1830 年已有 20,000 人、加上黑奴 2,000 人，本地人也不過 5,000 人，直到 1835 年，美裔已達 35,000 人；因為雙方對於前景有不同想像，即獲得獨立、或爭取自治，而蓄奴、課稅、及墾殖糾紛層出不窮（Bannon, 1974: 6; Rauf, 2019: 21; Olson-Raymer, 2014; Sjursen, 2018; Wikipedia, 2023: Tejanos; Spanish Texas; General Colonization Law; Texas Revolution; Tjarks, 1979）。



來源：University of Texas at Austin, Bureau of Business Research（1976b）。

圖 19：西屬德克薩斯的邊塞及傳教站（17-18 世紀）

美裔德克薩斯人於 1832 年 10 月在聖費利佩（San Felipe）開會（Convention of 1832），推舉奧斯丁為主席，前往首都請願政府開放移民、

免關稅、建州、自治等，地方官員應允將民瘼上呈國會，州民悲憤稍得宣洩，卻因為政府虛應故事，次年 4 月再度於原地續開會議(Convention of 1833)，提出同樣的要求，休士頓(Sam Houston)受命帶領小組草擬州憲；儘管政府展現妥協、同意廢法、重新開放美國人入境，卻已經擋不住萬馬奔騰的獨立洪流(Rauf, 2019: 22; Wikipedia, 2023: Law of April 6, 1830; Convention of 1832; Convention of 1833)。

肆、美國的盤算

在 19 世紀上半葉，美國南部農業與北部工業州之間的本位主義(Sectionalism)分歧日益嚴重，特別是路易斯安那領地後來衍生 15 個州，蓄奴州(slave states)與反蓄奴州(free states)在國會相互角力、紛擾不已；大體而言，北方的州擔心要是西部的領土擴張太快，人都跑光了，恐怕會影響本身工業所需的勞力，另外，又憂心新設置的州會加入蓄奴的陣營，唯恐新增的領土破壞既有的政治生態平衡；特別是密蘇里領地在 1818 年打算建州，北方希望納為反蓄奴州、南方則期待加入蓄奴州，互不相讓，最後的妥協是北緯 36 度 30 分線以北廢除蓄奴，但是讓密蘇里成為蓄奴州，此即「密蘇里妥協」(Missouri Compromise, 1820)，暫且相安無事；只不過，根據『亞當斯-奧尼斯條約』(1819)，奴隸只要跨入墨西哥國界就可以獲得自由之身，美國南方各州耿耿以懷，而德克薩斯的土地、及氣候適合經營大農場(plantation)，自是引人垂涎，無論強取、殖民、購買、獨立、或併吞，終究要不擇手段拿到手(Rauf, 2019: 14; CRE, n.d.: 1-3; Harstad & Resh, 1964: 293; Wikipedia, 2023: Missouri Compromise)。

早在 1812 年，美國就嘗試跟西班牙購買墨西哥北方的邊省，到了 1820-30 年代，一再要求購買德克薩斯未果：亞當斯總統(John Quincy Adams, 1825-29)開價 100 萬²⁰，不過，下台後當眾議員(1831-48)改變初衷，以

²⁰ 美國跟西班牙所簽訂的『亞當斯-奧尼斯條約』，經過『墨美限制條約』(Treaty of Limits (Mexico-United States), 1828)才確認，不過，國內對於界線並不滿意，亞當斯遭大使波因

為既然墨西哥已經廢奴（1837），沒有必要合併德克薩斯，因此反對約翰·泰勒總統（John Tyler, 1841-45）所提合併德克薩斯之議²¹；泰勒主張路易斯安那購地包含德克薩斯，認同民主黨（Democratic Party）前總統傑克森（1829-37）的擴張主義看法，認為亞當斯在擔任國務卿時（1817-25）所簽『亞當斯-奧尼斯條約』不該放棄德克薩斯，將價碼提高到 500 萬，墨西哥沒有答應，他在下台前臨去秋波承認德克薩斯，與墨西哥關係劍拔弩張，反蓄奴州控訴他是刻意挑釁、引誘對方忍無可忍先出手（King, 2000: 65; Olson-Raymer, 2014; Morrison, 2013: 1, 4; Harstad & Resh, 1964: 295; Wikipedia, 2023: John Quincy Adams; Andrew Jackson）。

范布倫總統（Martin Van Buren, 1837-41）原先是傑克森的副手，由於反蓄奴立場而不願意蕭規曹隨納入德克薩斯，因而未能獲得民主黨的提名連任，被哈里森（1841）取代而飲恨，美國此後 20 年政局嚴重分歧，現任總統都無法連任；在 1844 年的大選，民主黨的候選人波爾克²²（James K. Polk, 1845-49）在傑克森的鼓勵下高舉擴張主義的大旗，力主兼併墨西哥的德克薩斯、上加利福尼亞、及新墨西哥，甚至於揚言不惜動武強取；波爾克黑馬上台，欺善怕惡，先跟強硬的英國解決俄勒岡的爭端，沒有後顧之憂，便開始著手併吞德克薩斯，得隴望蜀連結新墨西哥、及加利福尼亞（Harstad & Resh, 1964: 295; Rauf, 2019: 59; Sjursen, 2018; CRE, n.d.: 3; Wikipedia, 2023:

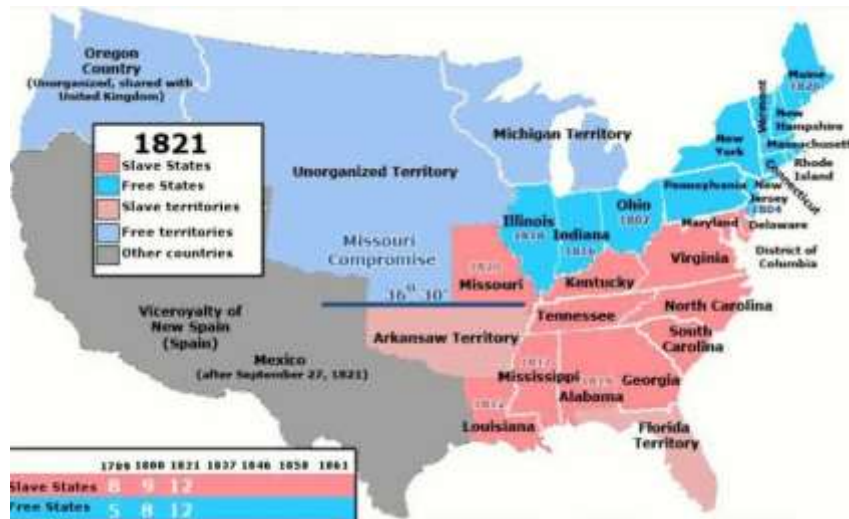
塞特（Joel Roberts Poinsett, 1825-29）協商購買德克薩斯、新墨西哥、上加利福尼亞，以及部分下加利福尼亞、索諾拉（Sonora）、科阿韋拉、新萊昂，未被接受（Wikipedia, 2023: Joel Roberts Poinsett）。

²¹ 泰勒先前是民主黨員（1828-34）、後來因為國家銀行法案加入輝格黨（1834-41），在哈里森總統（William Henry Harrison, 1841）病故後扶正，不到半年就被輝格黨質疑吃回頭草而開除黨籍；面對 1844 年大選連任，他需要可以重返光榮的議題；大體而言，民主黨認為合併德克薩斯可以改善佃農的生活相對地，輝格黨認為這是泰勒的陰謀，憂心西擴帶來的土地增加是糖衣毒藥，只會讓下階層成為經濟倚賴的小農、持續蓄奴制度、製造階級矛盾（Morrison, 2013: 2-3; Joy, 2003: 63; Wikipedia, 2023: John Tyler）。

²² 輝格黨候選人克萊（Henry Clay）態度曖昧，原本希望能迴避，終究轉而反對合併德克薩斯；民主黨判斷任何台面上的人物都會造成黨的分裂，只好陣前換將、改提沒有全國知名度的波爾克，獲得選舉人票 170 比 105 險勝（普選 1,339,494 票 49.5%對 1,300,005 票 48.1%）（Morrison, 2013: 3-4; Rauf, 2019: 58; CRE, n.d.: 9-11; Wikipedia, 2023: Martin Van Buren; 1844 United States presidential election）。

Martin Van Buren)。

美國國會在 1845 年 12 月 29 日同意接受德克薩斯為第 28 個州，墨西哥威脅動兵，兩國之間的關係急速惡化；波爾克總統於 1846 年 1 月藉口對方拒絕談判邊地購買為由，悍然派遣軍隊入侵格蘭河以北地區；墨西哥不甘示弱在 4 月進行反攻，雙方正式開戰，經過將近兩年的戰爭，美軍除了佔領加利福尼亞、新墨西哥、及墨西哥北部，於 9 月 13 日攻下墨西哥的首都墨西哥市，終究如願取得墨西哥大半土地（Wikipedia, 2023: Texas annexation; Mexican-American War; Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo）。



來源：Wikimedia Commons（2023: File:US Slave Free 1789-1861.gif）。

圖 20：密蘇里妥協（1820）



來源：Wikimedia Commons（2010: File:Mexico states evolution.gif）。

圖 21：德克薩斯併入美國（1845）

伍、墨西哥與德克薩斯的衝突

在墨西哥獨立戰爭之初，軍頭伊圖爾維德（Agustín de Iturbide）奉命討伐革命軍，後來見風轉舵結合保守份子發動政變，總督奧多諾胡（Juan de O'Donojú）被迫簽訂『哥多華條約』（*Treaty of Córdoba, 1821*）同意獨立；美國因為領土齟齬與西班牙交惡，對於墨西哥的獨立運動採取樂觀其成的態度，在西班牙棄守後就率先加以承認；墨西哥一開頭嘗試君主立憲，伊圖爾維德東施效顰拿破崙自封為墨西哥第一帝國（First Mexican Empire, 1821-23）皇帝阿古斯丁一世（Agustín I, 1822-23），在位不到一年就被軍隊推翻。此後兵連禍結，在 1822-47 年之間就有 50 個軍事政權，地方軍閥擁兵自重（King, 2000: 64-65）。

接續的墨西哥合眾國²³（United Mexican States, 1824-35）仿效美國憲法制訂新憲（*Constitution of Mexico, 1824*），採取聯邦制。軍閥聖塔·安那²⁴（Antonio López de Santa Anna）在 1832 年發動政變推翻布斯塔曼特政府、墨西哥陷入內戰，德克薩斯參加 1832 年議會的美裔墾殖者代表，見機加入反政府陣營、趕走政府駐軍，墨西哥政府啞巴吃黃連，威信美國在後面搗鬼，目標是併吞德克薩斯；兵荒馬亂，德克薩斯民心沸騰，奧斯丁銜命呈獻建州新憲草案，在 1833 年 7 月 18 日抵達墨西哥市；戈麥斯·法里亞斯（Valentín Gómez Farías, 1833-34, 1846-47）政府從善如流恢復開放美國人移民德克薩斯，也接受跟墨西哥法制不同的陪審制，還將英語納為第二官方語言；不料，奧斯丁被羅織煽動叛亂，在 1834 年 1 月未經起訴或審判而羈押入獄、一再移監，雖然終究在 12 月獲得保釋候審，卻被限制不得離開首府；奧斯丁還在 1835 年 1 月發文表忠，說明德克薩斯人要的是建州、而非獨立，終於獲得特赦，在 8 月經新奧爾良返鄉（Rauf, 2019: 23; Wikipedia, 2023: Texas Revolution; Valentín Gómez Farías; Convention of 1833; Mexican Texas; Stephen F. Austin）。

²³ 又稱為墨西哥第一共和國（First Mexican Republic）。

²⁴ 聖塔·安那是政壇不死鳥，多次主政、被迫下台、不屈不撓（Wikipedia, 2023: Antonio López de Santa Anna）。

聖塔•安娜在 1833 年 4 月上台，將政務交給副手戈麥斯•法里亞斯，由於後者的改革措施受阻，他只好重作馮婦；他歸咎墨西哥積弱在於聯邦制，解散國會、制訂新憲（*Siete Leyes, 1835*），改朝換代為中央集權共和國（Centralist Republic of Mexico, 1836-46），改弦更張為單一體制，還取消在墾殖頭 10 年的免稅優惠，並且強制執行廢奴、及移民改宗等規定；奧斯丁被關了將近 1 年，眼見中央集權之勢無可挽回，轉而支持獨立，前往華府尋求軍經援助；德克薩斯革命（Texas Revolution, 1835-36）在 1835 年 10 月 2 日爆發，奧斯丁領軍起義打贏了首役岡薩雷斯之戰（Battle of Gonzales, 1835）（Rauf, 2019: 23-24; Sjursen, 2018; Wikipedia, 2023; Antonio López de Santa Anna; Valentín Gómez Farías; Centralist Republic of Mexico; Mexican Texas; Stephen F. Austin; Battle of Gonzales; Texas Revolution）。



來源：Wikimedia Commons（2022: File:Mexico 1835-1846 administrative map-en-2.svg）。

圖 22：墨西哥合眾國行政區劃（1835-46）

聖塔·安那御駕親征展開北伐，於 1836 年 2 月揮軍進入德克薩斯，麾下在墨西哥灣一路勢如破竹，於戈利亞德攻勢（Goliad Campaign）處死所有戰俘，他本人在阿拉摩之戰（Battle of the Alamo, 1836）也是不留活口，休士頓率軍突襲奏捷、如法炮製處決俘虜；美裔墾殖者於 1836 年 3 月 2 日宣佈獨立、成立德克薩斯共和國（Republic of Texas, 1836-45），驅逐墨西哥駐軍，展開一場將近 10 年的獨立戰爭；聖塔·安那於 4 月 21 日在聖哈辛托戰役（Battle of San Jacinto, 1836）遇襲兵敗被俘，簽訂『貝拉斯科條約』（*Treaties of Velasco, 1836*），姑且同意撤軍到格蘭河以南、割讓德克薩斯，以交換自由之身，墨西哥國會拒絕接受城下之盟（Rauf, 2019: 24-32; Wikipedia, 2023: Antonio López de Santa Anna; Texas Revolution; Battle of the Alamo; Battle of San Jacinto; Treaties of Velasco）。



來源：n.a. (n.d.)。

圖 23：美國與墨西哥所認知的德克薩斯邊界

根據美國的說法，西班牙的地圖往往將界河沙賓河（右邊）與左邊的內奇斯河（Neches River）錯置，宣稱正確的界線是往前推進的內奇斯河才對，

德克薩斯與墨西哥之間始終為了疆界紛爭時起勃發，墾殖者不斷越界前來德克薩斯，禁不勝禁；美國根據『貝拉斯科條約』，堅持西南部的界線並非努埃塞斯河、而是更往南 240 公里的格蘭河²⁵，如此擴大聲索涵蓋南邊由馬塔莫羅斯（Matamoros）到拉雷多（Laredo）以北的墾地，與德克薩斯風馬牛不相干，就墾殖的歷史來看根本站不住腳；關鍵在於格蘭河起源科羅拉多，美國進而聲索當下新墨西哥一半領土，從阿布奎基（Albuquerque）、聖塔菲（Santa Fe）、甚至於到陶斯（Taos），連英國、及法國都認為是獅子大開口（Rauf, 2019: 30-40; CRE, n.d.: 5-6; Wikipedia, 2023: Sabine River (Texas-Louisiana); Adams-Onís Treaty; 2022: Nueces Strip）。

陸、美墨戰爭開打

德克薩斯的美裔墾殖者自始希望能加入美國，只不過，由於美國南部支持蓄奴州與北部反對蓄奴州平分秋色，雙方不願意破壞參議院自從 1820 年來好不容易取得的均勢，更不願因此與墨西哥勢同水火，因此，聯邦政府只同意承認德克薩斯為獨立國家，而努埃塞斯地塊爭議卻是治絲益棼；輝格黨總統泰勒相信只有併吞德克薩斯才能一勞永逸、並確保 1844 年底大選，因此在所不辭背叛黨的立場，還嘗試向墨西哥購買加利福尼亞、及新墨西哥未果；由於與德克薩斯所簽訂的『合併條約』（*Treaty of Annexation - Texas, 1844*）被參議院否決，泰勒最後改以國會兩院決議方式如願（*Joint Resolution of the Congress of Texas, 1845*）；德克薩斯在 1845 年 12 月 29 日正式建州，墨西哥認為形同侵略、憤而跟美國斷交，兩國不可避免兵戎相見，正中美國的下懷（Rauf, 2019: 56; Olson-Raymer, 2014; CRE, n.d.: 12; Wikipedia, 2023: Texas annexation; John Tyler）。

到了 1845 年，當時德克薩斯人口 125,000 人，主要的組成是美裔移民，連黑奴人口 27,000 都遠超過西班牙裔本地人；由於預期蓄奴制度將會獲得

²⁵ 這塊土地稱為努埃塞斯地塊（Nueces Strip）、或野馬沙漠（Wild Horse Desert），適合放牧（Rauf, 2019: 36-44; Wikipedia, 2022: Nueces Strip）。

保障，連新奧爾良人口市場在年內就上揚了 21%（Sjursen, 2018）。當時，自由派的墨西哥總統埃雷拉（José Joaquín de Herrera, 1844-45, 1848-51）為了勸阻德克薩斯加入美國，嘗試以時間換取空間，原本願意承認其獨立、交換對方接受以努埃塞斯河為界，沒有料到被解釋為示弱，德克薩斯議會在 1845 年 7 月 4 日得寸進尺決議加入美國；墨西哥自認軍事實力遠勝於美國，判斷美國一旦開打只能仰賴志願軍上戰場，更不用說補給的路線路途遙遠，因此跟美國曉以大義、不要輕舉妄動，重申國界是在努埃塞斯河；美國總統波爾克自來主張納入德克薩斯，初試啼聲贏得大選，卻誤判埃雷拉捍衛領土的決心，自信只要大軍壓境、墨西哥必然知難而退，屆時連加利福尼亞、以及新墨西哥都唾手可得（Rauf, 2019: 57; Joy, 2003: 63; Olson-Raymer, 2014; CRE, n.d.: 9-13, 16-17; Wikipedia, 2023: James K. Polk; José Joaquín de Herrera）。



來源：Wikimedia Commons（2020: File:Taylor's Camp Along Corpus Christi.jpg）。

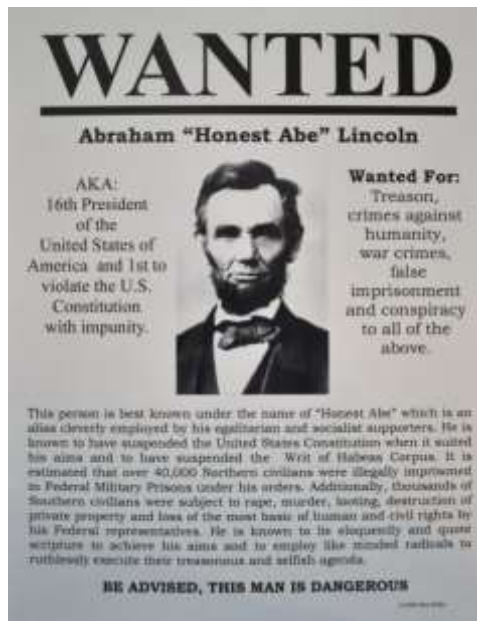
圖 24：美軍駐紮科珀斯克里斯蒂（1845）

波爾克在 1845 年 6 月 25 日派遣老將扎卡里·泰勒²⁶ (Zachary Taylor) 率兵 4,000 進駐努埃塞斯河東北岸，埃雷拉則派兵北上格蘭河南岸，雖然兩軍相持不下，然而，雙方似乎還有談判的空間；波爾克扭捏作態，希望能營造被挑釁的樣子再反擊，因此訓令不要先動手，派出斯萊德爾(John Slidell) 前往墨西哥談判，強人所難以格蘭河為國界，另外出價 2,500 萬強買加利福尼亞；保守派的軍閥帕雷德斯 (Mariano Paredes, 1845-46) 反對承認德克薩斯獨立，發動政變推翻埃雷拉，久候不耐的波爾克決心開戰，指控墨西哥冥頑不靈、拒絕接見求和來使，宣稱「墨西哥已經跨越美國國界、侵略領土，美國人在美國的土地上流血」(Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory, and shed American blood upon American soil.)，國會在 1846 年 5 月 13 日同意宣戰，波爾克下令在努埃塞斯河口南岸科珀斯克里斯蒂 (Corpus Christi) 練兵的泰勒南進格蘭河，這時已有 6,000 人 (Rauf, 2019: 57-67; Morrison, 2013: 4; CRE, n.d.: 18-28; Sjursen, 2018; Meed, 2002: 26; Wikipedia, 2023: James K. Polk)。

當時，美國南方、及西方各州對於討伐墨西哥躍躍欲試，而北方、及新英格蘭反蓄奴州則強烈反對，憂心驟然大規模土地掠奪恐將擴大蓄奴州勢力；反對黨輝格黨質疑波爾克總統出兵的正當性，特別是為何泰勒將軍率兵南渡努埃塞斯河前往爭議之地。該黨來自伊利諾伊州的菜鳥眾議員林肯 (Abraham Lincoln, 1847-49) 初試啼聲，他認為波爾克總統謊言連連，質疑美國的用兵並非出於自衛、而是根本沒有必要的侵略，畢竟，格蘭河地區看起來比較像是墨西哥人佔有的地方，委實沒有必要為了一塊爭議性領土大動干戈；林肯嘗試提出『點決議』(Spot Resolutions, 1847)，要波爾克總統具體指出，究竟美國阿兵哥是在哪裡被攻擊，未獲得搭理；執政黨指控他不愛國，連一些輝格黨的同志也擔心被牽連，而家鄉的報紙更將他比為美國獨立戰爭時的頭號叛徒班奈狄克·阿諾德(Benedict Arnold)，情何以堪(Meed, 2002: 70-71; CRE, n.d.: 28-31; Wikipedia, 2023: Spot Resolutions)。

²⁶ 泰勒個人對於波爾克在大選中的擴張主義相當不以為然，認為總統好大喜功的、輕率魯莽。

其實，墨西哥心中有數美國垂涎加利福尼亞已久，而德克薩斯只不過是藉口罷了。在 1842 年，駐紮在秘魯的海軍指揮官瓊斯（Thomas ap Catesby Jones），風聞美國與墨西哥爆發戰爭、憂心英國藉機佔領加利福尼亞，未經證實趕緊拔錨，率領 3 艘戰艦千里迢迢北上，帶領水兵、及陸戰隊輕易佔領蒙特雷港（Monterey），浩浩蕩蕩遊街宣布美國接管；到了第二天，領事拉金（Thomas Oliver Larkin）毫髮無損出現、表示兩國並未開戰，瓊斯才發現自己搞了一個天大的烏龍；墨西哥當局啼笑皆非，卻已經感受到山雨欲來風滿樓的氛圍（Meed, 2002: 16; Wikipedia, 2023: Capture of Monterey）。



來源：ConfederateShop.com（n.d.）。

說明：底下的文字細數他的罪狀「This person is best known under the name of “Honest Abe” which is an alias cleverly employed by his egalitarian and socialist supporters. He is known to have suspended the United States Constitution when it suited his aims and to have suspended the Writ of Habeas Corpus. It is estimated that over 40,000 Northern civilians were illegally imprisoned in Federal Military Prisons under his orders. Additionally, thousands of Southern civilians were subject to rape, murder, looting, destruction of private property, and loss of the most basic of human and civil right by his Federal representatives. He is known to lie eloquently and quote scripture to achieve his aims and to employ like minded radicals to ruthlessly execute their treasonous and selfish agenda.」。

圖 25：南北戰爭時期懸賞林肯的諷刺海報

美軍兵分 5 路入侵墨西哥國境：泰勒將軍率兵由科珀斯克里斯蒂進攻蒙特雷 (Monterrey)，伍爾將軍 (John E. Wool) 由聖安東尼奧 (San Antonio) 進攻薩爾蒂約 (Saltillo)，基爾尼將軍 (Stephen W. Kearny) 帶 1,700 人由堪薩斯萊文沃思堡 (Fort Leavenworth) 西攻新墨西哥、及加利福尼亞，多尼芬 (Alexander William Doniphan) 領志願軍由新墨西哥、赤瓦瓦、打到薩爾蒂約，老將史考特 (Winfield Scott) 10,000 人主力登陸維拉克魯茲²⁷ (Veracruz)，速戰速決直搗墨西哥市、嶄首逼和 (Meed, 2002; Rauf, 2019: chaps. 4-5; CRE, n.d.: chaps. 4-6; Eisenhower, 1989; Clary, 2009; Wikipedia, 2023: Mexican-American War)。



來源：Meyers (n.d.)。

圖 26：美國海軍陸戰隊不小心攻下蒙特瑞

美軍在德克薩斯旗開得勝後劍指加利福尼亞，墾首弗里蒙特 (John C. Frémont) 策動美國非法移民組成民兵，在 1846 年接管墨西哥在舊金山灣區 (San Francisco Bay Area) 北岸的前哨索諾瑪 (Sonoma)，他們冉冉升起加利福尼亞熊旗，宣佈成立加利福尼亞共和國 (California Republic, 1846)；斯洛特將軍 (John D. Sloat) 奉命率領太平洋分艦隊 (Pacific Squadron) 7 艘

²⁷ 維拉克魯茲包圍戰 (Siege of Veracruz, 1847)，是美國史上首度由海上發動兩棲登陸作戰。

戰艦駛入加利福尼亞海域，風聞熊旗革命（Bear Flag Revolt, 1846），立即接管蒙特雷、高掛熊旗；然後由海軍少將史塔克頓（Robert F. Stockton）接手南攻聖塔芭芭拉（Santa Barbara）、及聖佩德羅（San Pedro），未發半顆子彈輕取洛杉磯，基爾尼將軍在年底前來會合（Rauf, 2019: 68-70; Meed, 2002: 36-40; Wikipedia, 2023: California Republic; Conquest of California）。



來源：Wikimedia Commons（2021: File:Mexican-American War (without Scott's Campaign)-en.svg）。

圖 27：美墨戰爭（1846-48）

兵變上台的帕雷德斯內鬥內行、外鬥外行，灰頭土臉倉皇下台、流亡法國；這時候，流亡古巴的聖塔·安那說服美國總統波爾克安排他偷渡回墨西哥，佯裝配合、重作馮婦，搖身一變成為領導抗拒美軍的英雄，號召 20,000

志願軍北上，敗於對手的砲兵優勢，轉進回防首都再敗，流亡牙買加；美軍首度佔領他國首都，不過，在這場戰有 1,733 人陣亡、加上 11,550 人病死，墨西哥則有 5,000 人陣亡（Rauf, 2019: 78-79, 85; Wikipedia, 2023: Mariano Paredes (President of Mexico); José Joaquín de Herrera; Antonio López de Santa Anna; Mexican–American War）。



來源：Wikimedia Commons（2020: File: Battle-of-Buena-Vista-Robinson.jpeg）。

圖 28：布宜納·威斯塔戰役（1847）

在美墨戰爭中，美國由於常備兵不足，國會授權招募 50,000 志願兵²⁸，其中最特殊的是人數 200 左右的聖派翠克營（Saint Patrick's Battalion），主要是由愛爾蘭裔美國人所組成；他們是在愛爾蘭大饑荒時期（Great Famine, 1845-52）移民美國，由於是天主教徒，上岸後飽受排外歧視，因此在優渥軍餉、及授田證的誘惑下從軍；沒有想到軍中的凌虐難忍，而美軍攻佔城鎮後往往恣意摧毀教堂、強姦修女、甚至殘殺手無寸鐵的平民，更讓他

²⁸ 當時，美國陸軍正規軍編制只有 7,400 人，後來前後募到 30,000 志願兵，再加上當地的德克薩斯州騎警（Texas Ranger）；其實，早在德克薩斯革命戰爭（1835-36），由美國各地蜂擁而來的自願軍，特別是來自南部、中西部的中低階層，除了出保衛家園的愛國主義、或是於浪漫的昭昭天命感召，很多是受到戰後誘人的授田吸引而來，期待能夠在伊甸園翻身，更不用說土地投資公司的推波助瀾（CRS, n.d.: 32; Meed, 2002: 34, 52; Tucker, 1991）。

們深痛惡絕，另外，被強權支配的錐心之痛感同身受，因此，當墨西哥號召他們起義加入對抗不義之戰，不少人選擇跨河帶槍投靠；他們多半負責砲兵，也有騎兵、及步兵，有些人還參與過南美洲的獨立戰爭，因此讓美軍吃盡苦頭（Uenuma, 2019; Meed, 2002: 34, 50-51; King, 2000: 66-67; Wikipedia, 2023: Saint Patrick's Battalion; Great Famine (Ireland)）。



來源：Wikimedia Commons（2022: File:Sanpatricioshang.jpg）。

圖 29：被吊死的愛爾蘭裔聖派翠克營士兵（1847）

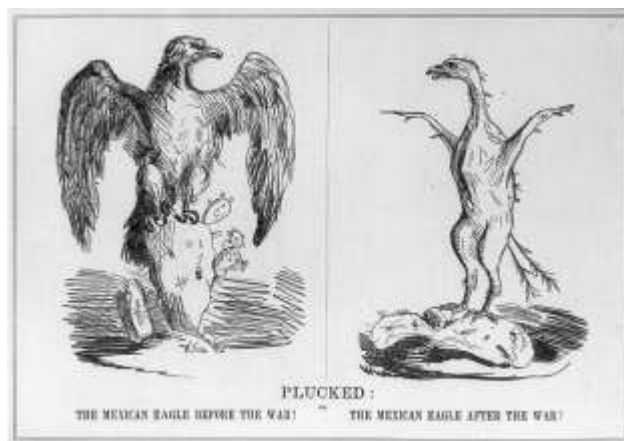
美國對於愛爾蘭裔官兵倒戈覺得臉上無光，在進攻墨西哥市之前於 1847 年 8 月 20 日擄獲撤退不及的 72 名聖派翠克營士兵，決心嚴懲不貸；史考特將軍下令處決其中 30 名，將繩子套在頸上，令其遙望 3 哩外夏布林特佩克之役²⁹（Battle of Chapultepec, 1847）砲擊及槍林彈雨，美軍於 9 月 13 日清晨發動攻擊，9 點 30 分攻下軍校查普爾特佩克城堡（Chapultepec Castle）、搶攻升上美國國旗，劊子手拉開絞架活門結束這些人生命；這是美國史上規模最大的集體處死，違反當時國際上的『戰爭條款』（Articles of War），因為逃兵的處罰是槍決，絞刑只用於間諜、及對平民施暴者，而美軍叛逃者有 9,000-10,800 人（8.3%，美國史上最高、越戰的兩倍），卻沒有

²⁹ 在此役，5 名軍校生及 1 名教官不顧撤走的命令死守，年紀在 13-19 歲之間，其中一名為了不讓國旗蒙塵，最後裹著旗幟跳下 61 公尺高的城堡自殺，被譽為少年英雄（Niños Héroes），這一天是墨西哥的國慶日（Wikipedia, 2023: Battle of Chapultepec; Niños Héroes）。

一個非愛爾蘭裔被絞死；軍方下令封口，直到史考特在 1852 年參加總統初選，對手跟愛爾蘭裔選民揭露；迄今，墨西哥人把他們當作殉道者，每年會在聖派翠克節加以追悼（King, 2000: 66-67, 74; Uenuma, 2019; Sjursen, 2018; Wikipedia, 2023: Saint Patrick's Battalion）。

柒、戰爭結束

終究，雙方簽訂『瓜達盧佩-伊達爾戈條約』（*Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848*），除了確認美國併吞德克薩斯（包含部分現在的科羅拉多、新墨西哥、奧克拉荷馬、及懷俄明）、確立以格蘭河為德克薩斯的南界，墨西哥還出讓加利福尼亞、及新墨西哥（包含現在的內華達與猶他全部、亞利桑那絕大多數、科羅拉多及懷俄明的小部分地區），美國付款 1,500 萬，如願完成到太平洋岸的領土拼圖；墨西哥國會擔心美軍繼續推進，只好批准條約，卻是元氣大衰（King, 2000: 66; Wikipedia, 2023: Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; Mexican Cession）。只不過，波爾克總統原本期待領土擴張有助於民主黨總統候選人卡斯（Lewis Cass）的聲勢，卻沒有想到反而讓輝格黨的泰勒將軍贏得大選（1849-50）。

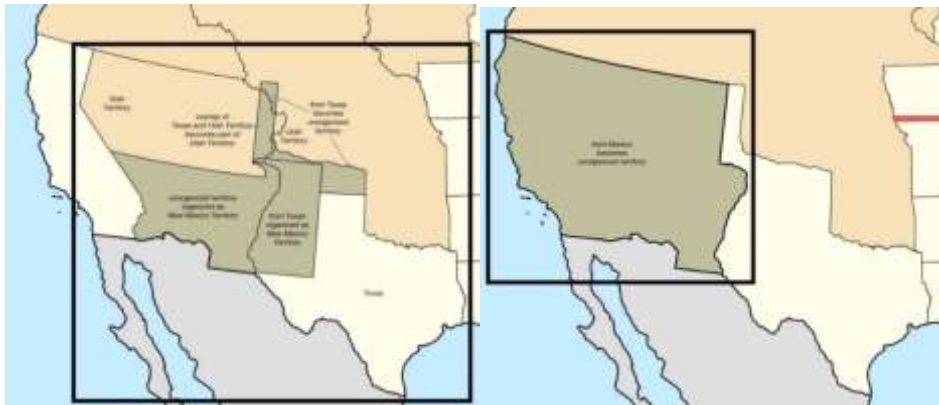


來源：Yankee Doodle（1847）。

圖 30：剝雞的墨西哥白頭海鵬

這是美國子弟首度在外國土地作戰，也造就了未來南北戰爭中（American Civil War, 1861-65）雙方的將領³⁰，包括約瑟·E·強斯頓（Joseph E. Johnston）、羅伯特·李（Robert E. Lee）、尤利西斯·格蘭特（Ulysses S. Grant）、喬治·B·麥克萊倫（George B. McClellan）、喬治·米德（George G. Meade）、P·G·T·博雷加德（P. G. T. Beauregard）、傑佛遜·戴維斯（Jefferson Davis）及湯瑪士·喬納桑·傑克森（Thomas Jonathan Jackson），西點軍校的前後期，日後反目成仇（Sjursen, 2018; Meed, 2002: 21; Wikipedia, 2023: Winfield Scott）。

戰後，南北方的分歧日益嚴重，特別是北方擔心南方蓄奴州為了增加農業生產需要土地、勢必全力拉攏新增的領地加入行列；終究，根據「1850 年妥協案」（Compromise of 1850），加利福尼亞獲許加入成為反蓄奴州，德克薩斯必須放棄部分領土、併入另外成立的新墨西哥領地³¹，有利於國家授與土地、興建鐵路貫穿到西岸（New Mexico Territory, 1850-1912）、及猶他領地（Utah Territory, 1850-96）（Richey, 2018; Wikipedia, 2023: Compromise of 1850; Gadsden Purchase）。



來源：Richey（2018）。

圖 31：1850 年妥協案前後的德州領土

³⁰ 美國陸軍將領原本多半支持輝格黨強幹弱枝的財政立場，波爾克總統任命的 13 位將軍，通通是民主黨籍的，高度政治化（Sjursen, 2018）。

³¹ 包含後來分出的新墨西哥州、及亞利桑那州，還包含部分內華達州、及科羅拉多州。

沒幾年，美國為了構築橫貫大陸鐵路（Transcontinental Railroad）的南線，由南部連接到太平洋岸，經過勘查發現山路崎嶇蜿蜒不好走，規劃往南挪移，便在 1853 年跟墨西哥購地，稱為蓋茲登購地，也就是經由德州的休士頓及艾爾帕索（El Paso）、新墨西哥領地的土桑（Tucson）、到加州的洛杉磯的南太平洋鐵路；聖塔·安那東山再起（1853-55），要錢建軍對付叛軍、抵抗美國，加上看破美國不免強取，下加利福尼亞、及索諾拉，只好勉強同意以 1,000 萬縮小範圍售地，卻還是被老百姓視為叛國，又被推翻流亡，直到 1874 年才獲允告老還鄉（Southern Pacific Railroad）（Rauf, 2019: 77; Bailey, 2017; Wikipedia, 2023: Gadsden Purchase; Antonio López de Santa Anna）。



來源：W. W. Norton & Co. (2005)。

圖 32：蓋茲登購地與南太平洋鐵路

當下美國「非法」移民最嚴重的幾個州包括加州、亞利桑那、新墨西哥、及德州，過去都是墨西哥的領土；要不是美國發動戰爭強取，這些土地就不會變成國土，可惜，只有少數美國人知道這場戰爭，幾乎很少人會去探討美國大動干戈的動機，更不會相信多少美國疆土是征服而來的（Sjursen, 2018）。思想家愛默生（Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1803-82）當年預言：「美國將會征服墨西哥，不過，正如一個人吞下砒，墨西哥會毒死我們」（The United States will conquer Mexico, but it will be as the man swallows the arsenic, which brings him down in turn. Mexico will poison us.）（Emerson, n.d.）。

Harstad 與 Resh (1964: 289) 注意到，在美西戰爭百年之際，美國媒體、或學界靜悄悄，似乎羞愧自己國家的貪得無厭。他們兩人歸納學術研究對於引發美西戰爭因素的探討，一開頭集中在南方蓄奴州的陰謀，也就是藉著德克薩斯的納入增加本身在國會的實力，逼迫政黨、及政治人物表態，而總統大選只不過是交心表態的舞台；相對地，進入 20 世紀，歷史學者經過良心反思，大致上同意癥結在於美國的擴張主義，而不管是上帝選民的優越感、還是國家榮耀，都只不過是藉口，不能掩飾欺負弱小的事實，畢竟，當時的民意是民族主義大旗的後盾，換句話說，站在經濟擴張的角度，取得西部土地是必要的，而舊金山港口更是跨越太平洋所必須，因此，德克薩斯與蓄奴都只是借題發揮，至於墨西哥欠錢不還、或外交失禮也是藉端，連所謂英國的威脅都是興風作浪的託詞，終究就是要取得綿延到加利福尼亞的廣闊土地，墨西哥只是剛好倒楣擋路罷了。換句話說，不管是哪一個政黨執政、或是哪一個人當總統，墨西哥的土地是絕對要拿的，一丘之貉，只有手段的文雅與粗暴的差別。



來源：WorldAtlas (2023)。

圖 33：美國與墨西哥的邊界

不管如何，一個蓄奴的強國攻佔一個已經廢奴的弱鄰，弱肉強食、勝之不武，在道德上更是站不住腳的。在泰勒將軍麾下、後來當上總統的美國總統格蘭特（Ulysses S. Grant, 1869-77）坦承³²，美國自始就是要吞噬墨西哥的土地。墨西哥總統迪亞斯（Porfirio Díaz, 1876-80, 1884-1911）嘆到：「可憐的墨西哥啊，離天主那麼遠、離美國那麼近！」（Poor Mexico, so far from God and so close to the United States!）（Wikipedia, 2023: Porfirio Díaz）。《湖濱散記》（Walden, 1854）的作者梭羅（Henry David Thoreau, 1817-62）為了抗議蓄奴制度、及美墨戰爭拒絕繳稅，在 1846 年被捕入獄，出獄後寫了〈論公民的不服從〉（Resistance to Civil Government, 1849），挑戰不公不義的政府，他的思想影響俄羅斯的托爾斯泰（Leo Tolstoy）、印度的 Mahatma Gandhi（Gandhi）、金恩牧師（Martin Luther King, Jr.）。

在 1910 年，墨西哥爆發革命（Mexican Revolution, 1910-20），戰火引發墨西哥邊境戰爭（Mexican Border War, 1910-19），龐丘·比亞（Pancho Villa, 1878-1923）率領的農民義軍攻到新墨西哥，潘興將軍（John J. Pershing, 1860-1948）受命越界討伐；一次世界大戰（World War I, 1914-18）開打，美軍佔領維拉克魯茲，以防止德國軍火援助墨西哥；美國騎兵在卡里薩爾戰役（Battle of Carrizal, 1916）重挫，威爾遜總統（Woodrow Wilson, 1913-21）黯然下令撤軍，轉派歐洲戰場（Wikipedia, 2023: Mexican Border War (1910 - 1919)）。

³² 原文：The occupation, separation and annexation were, from the inception of the movement to its final consummation, a conspiracy to acquire territory out of which slave states might be formed for the American Union.（見附錄）

附錄 1：好萊塢沒有說的美國領土擴張³³

約翰韋恩自導自演的美國史詩電影〈邊城英烈傳〉(*The Alamo*, 1960)，描寫 185 名來自田納西的屯兵，在 1836 年如何死守德克薩斯小城阿拉莫，在 7,000 名墨西哥大軍圍攻下，彈盡援絕淪陷、壯烈犧牲。由於領導者大衛·克拉克是傳奇的西部英雄，配上四兄弟合唱團 (The Brothers Four) 的金獎民謠〈夏日綠葉〉(*Green Leaves of Summer*)，呈現美國人開疆闢土的艱苦卓絕，特別是在最後一幕，砲兵上尉狄更森妻兒在斷壁殘垣死裡逃生，墨軍將領聖塔·安那致敬放行，令人動容，原來，美國人的民主自由是國人奮不顧身捍衛而來。

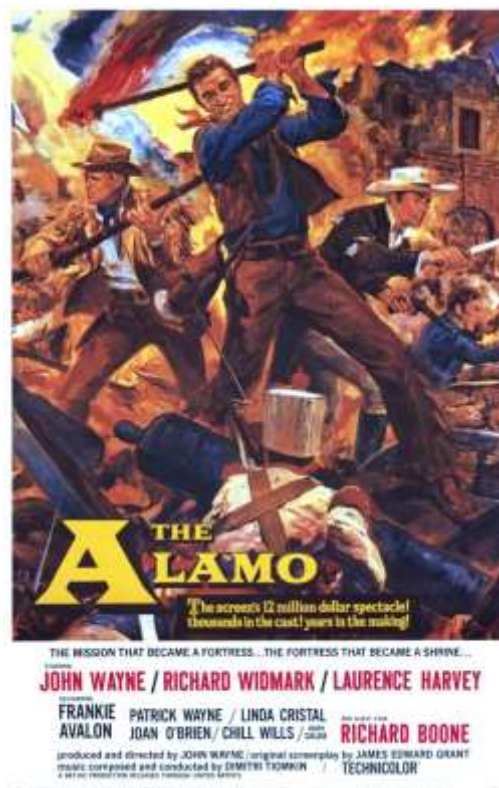
等到美國唸書，修習美國在 19 世紀的領土拓展，由孤立主義到擴張主義，才發現事實與好萊塢電影的描述相反。墨西哥在 1821 年脫離西班牙獨立，北疆鞭長莫及，為了遏止印第安人的騷動，鼓勵天主教徒前往開墾，沒有想到卻是引狼入室。一批美國新教徒聞風而至，蠶食鯨吞、製造爭端，而且食言而肥拒絕改宗，甚至伺機追求獨立、進而要求加入美國，宛如俄羅斯之於克里米亞、頓內次克、及盧甘斯克。先製造既定事實、再以自決要求併吞，那是委婉的帝國主義。

美國最早由北美洲 13 塊殖民地於 1776 年宣布獨立所建，也就是德拉瓦等 13 州，日後增設緬因等 5 州；國會在 1789 年確認西北領地，亦即中西部俄亥俄等 6 州。接著在 1803 年透過路易斯安那購地，包含日後的路易斯安那等 15 州大部份，又在 1821 年取得西屬佛羅里達。在 1845 年，美國納入德克薩斯共和國、引發美墨戰爭，強取加利福尼亞等 8 州土地。奧勒岡領地在 1846 年確立，即日後奧勒岡等 5 州，阿拉斯加在 1867 年購自俄羅斯、夏威夷則於 1898 年吞噬。

美國自從開國揭櫫不干預主義，主要是因為得天獨厚而不用捲入歐洲大陸強權的競逐，加上老百姓對於國際事務冷漠，一時孤立主義高漲。然而，在完成橫跨北美洲大陸的昭昭天命後，旺盛的精力必須有其他宣洩之

³³ 施正鋒 (2022)

處，以滿足既崇高、又有幾分社會達爾文主義的傳教使命感，企盼透過基督文明散播民主的種子。此外，第二次工業革命帶來生產過剩的製造物，也必須透過海外市場來消化，同時又要尋覓原料，而海權則是確保航線、煤站、及貿易協定的後盾。



來源：Wikimedia Commons (2022: File:The Alamo 1960 poster.jpg)。

圖 34：電影〈邊城英烈傳〉海報（1960）

從南北戰爭結束、到第一次大戰爆發間，美國積極著手領土的擴張，除了加緊大西部邊疆的開發，還恣意在太平洋、及加勒比海大展身手，更介入拉丁美洲的政爭。美國在美西戰爭後迎頭趕上，順手牽羊波多黎各、菲律賓、及關島等三塊殖民地，儼然晉身世界級的強權。表面上，美國鼓勵這些領地走向民主、賦予自治，實際上視之為殖民地、認為必須經過教化才能獨

立，因此，不僅菲律賓的獨立運動慘遭打壓，連古巴的獨立也不過是名目上的而已、迄今不得翻身。

我在 1990 年代中期，獲美南台灣同鄉會邀請前往聖安東尼奧的夏令會演講，人生唯一聽眾起立鼓掌激勵，一個年輕教授，無上光榮；會後，同鄉載我去參觀阿拉莫故地，這是美國人愛國主義的聖地，卻是愁上心頭。站在墨西哥人的立場來看，無疑美國帝國主義的烙印，奇恥大辱；然而，那些生下來就是美國人的墨西哥裔（Chicano），應該是愛恨交織吧？

附錄 2：善霸還是土匪³⁴

一般人對於美國的印象是「善霸」，意思是說不曾侵略其他國家、不會佔領他人的土地，講好聽是「喝牛奶不用養乳牛」、維持勢力範圍就好。其實不然，我們目前看到由東部大西洋到西部太平洋的領土，表面上看來天然渾成，無非在「招招天命」的藉口下豪奪巧取而來。

美國在 1776 年宣布脫離英國獨立，先後由法國、及西班牙購買路易斯安那、及佛羅里達，賡續印地安戰爭蠶食鯨吞土地，進而從 1830 年起驅趕東部所有原住民族到密西西比河以西的保留區，聽任苟延殘喘。最淒慘的是被列為文明部落的切羅基人，手無寸鐵，在寒冬走上「血淚之路」，顛沛流離。

墨西哥於 1821 年由西班牙獨立，美國覬覦其北部尚未開發的邊地，在 19 世紀中趁人之危，先是驅策遊民侵佔、伺機併吞德州，又得寸進尺引發美墨戰爭、強迫割地，墨西哥失去半壁江山。總計美國在西南部、及西部所攫取的土地，包括現今加州、德州、科羅拉多、新墨西哥、奧克拉荷馬、懷俄明，平添 1/3 疆域。

美國在南北戰爭前採取「門羅主義」，昭告天下，西半球是美國的後院、臥榻之旁不容他人酣睡。內戰結束，美國積極往外擴張，首當其衝的是西班牙的殖民地，特別是古巴，藉口緬因號戰艦被炸而興師問罪、發動美西戰爭，除了順手牽羊取得波多黎各、關島，又強買菲律賓、殖民 48 年，直到二次大戰結束。

在太平洋，美國除了納入玻里尼西亞的中途島等所謂鳥糞島嶼，還跟英國、德國瓜分取得薩摩亞的東半部。另外，夏威夷本來有自己的王國、還獲得美國的承認，無奈被視為前往亞洲的中繼站，美國富商先是發動政變，陸戰隊再以護僑為由登陸。被黜的女王利留卡拉尼投訴無門，只能四處彈奏烏克麗麗抗議。

老羅斯福高舉「巨棒外交」，美國此後在西半球動武 10 多次，包括強

³⁴ 施正鋒（2025）

納古巴、及巴拿馬為保護國，接管多明尼加共和國海關，眾人敢怒不敢言。巴拿馬原屬哥倫比亞，在美國卵翼下獨立，運河於 1904 年開挖 10 年完工；卡特在 1978 年要求國會歸還、延宕多年才於 2000 年物歸原主，川普迄今仍然耿耿於懷。

美國在商言商，能買就買，譬如阿拉斯加購自俄羅斯、維京群島買自丹麥。川普覬覦丹麥所屬的格陵蘭，一方面揚言武力佔領、另一方面曉以大義收購，退而求其次鼓動當地住民獨立。川普在首任下台前，為了拉攏以色列與阿拉伯國家媾和，私相授受西撒哈拉給摩洛哥，所謂「接管」加薩走廊之議，早有前科。

傳統的霸權自恃軍事優勢、遂行經濟利益，美國則高唱民主自由、強調人權、慈眉善目，在國際舞台呼風喚雨百年。然而，從過度生產、到過度消費，美國捉襟見肘，已經顧不了「美國治下的和平」，更不用說將過去一手擘劃的國際自由經濟體制棄之如敝屣，斤斤計較，甚至於自詡為開發商，土匪行徑、不像霸主。

東亞國家戰後由進口替代到出口導向，由製造業到晶片，付出環境、勞工等成本，更不用說人才輸出，大家分工、你情我願。分攤可談，說攫取太沉重，情何以堪。

附錄 3：格蘭特回顧美墨戰爭³⁵

There was no intimation given that the removal of the 3d and 4th regiments of infantry to the western border of Louisiana was occasioned in any way by the prospective annexation of Texas, but it was generally understood that such was the case. Ostensibly we were intended to prevent filibustering into Texas, but really as a menace to Mexico in case she appeared to contemplate war. Generally the officers of the army were indifferent whether the annexation was consummated or not; but not so all of them. For myself, I was bitterly opposed to the measure, and to this day regard the war, which resulted, as one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation. It was an instance of a republic following the bad example of European monarchies, in not considering justice in their desire to acquire additional territory. Texas was originally a state belonging to the republic of Mexico. It extended from the Sabine River on the east to the Rio Grande on the west, and from the Gulf of Mexico on the south and east to the territory of the United States and New Mexico—another Mexican state at that time—on the north and west. An empire in territory, it had but a very sparse population, until settled by Americans who had received authority from Mexico to colonize. These colonists paid very little attention to the supreme government, and introduced slavery into the state almost from the start, though the constitution of Mexico did not, nor does it now, sanction that institution. Soon they set up an independent government of their own, and war existed, between Texas and Mexico, in name from that time until 1836, when active hostilities very nearly ceased upon the capture of Santa Anna, the Mexican President. Before long, however, the same people—who with permission of Mexico had colonized Texas, and afterwards set up slavery there, and then seceded as soon as they felt strong enough to do so—offered themselves and the State to the United States, and in 1845 their offer was accepted. The occupation,

³⁵ Grant (1885: Vol. 1, Chap. 3)。

separation and annexation were, from the inception of the movement to its final consummation, a conspiracy to acquire territory out of which slave states might be formed for the American Union.

Even if the annexation itself could be justified, the manner in which the subsequent war was forced upon Mexico cannot. The fact is, annexationists wanted more territory than they could possibly lay any claim to, as part of the new acquisition. Texas, as an independent State, never had exercised jurisdiction over the territory between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande. Mexico had never recognized the independence of Texas, and maintained that, even if independent, the State had no claim south of the Nueces. I am aware that a treaty, made by the Texans with Santa Anna while he was under duress, ceded all the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande—, but he was a prisoner of war when the treaty was made, and his life was in jeopardy. He knew, too, that he deserved execution at the hands of the Texans, if they should ever capture him. The Texans, if they had taken his life, would have only followed the example set by Santa Anna himself a few years before, when he executed the entire garrison of the Alamo and the villagers of Goliad.

In taking military possession of Texas after annexation, the army of occupation, under General Taylor, was directed to occupy the disputed territory. The army did not stop at the Nueces and offer to negotiate for a settlement of the boundary question, but went beyond, apparently in order to force Mexico to initiate war. It is to the credit of the American nation, however, that after conquering Mexico, and while practically holding the country in our possession, so that we could have retained the whole of it, or made any terms we chose, we paid a round sum for the additional territory taken; more than it was worth, or was likely to be, to Mexico. To us it was an empire and of incalculable value; but it might have been obtained by other means. The Southern rebellion was largely the outgrowth of the Mexican war. Nations, like individuals, are punished for their transgressions. We got our punishment in the most sanguinary and expensive war of modern times.

附錄 4：林肯針對美墨戰爭的演說³⁶

Some, if not all the gentlemen on, the other side of the House, who have addressed the committee within the last two days, have spoken rather complainingly, if I have rightly understood them, of the vote given a week or ten days ago, declaring that the war with Mexico was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President [James K Polk]. I admit that such a vote should not be given, in mere party wantonness, and that the one given, is justly censurable, if it have no other, or better foundation. I am one of those who joined in that vote; and I did so under my best impression of the truth of the case. How I got this impression, and how it may possibly be removed, I will now try to show. When the war began, it was my opinion that all those who, because of knowing too little, or because of knowing too much, could not conscientiously approve the conduct of the President, in the beginning of it, should, nevertheless, as good citizens and patriots, remain silent on that point, at least till the war should be ended. Some leading democrats, including Ex President Van Buren, have taken this same view, as I understand them; and I adhered to it, and acted upon it, until since I took my seat here; and I think I should still adhere to it, were it not that the President and his friends will not allow it to be so. Besides the continual effort of the President to argue every silent vote given for supplies, into an endorsement of the justice and wisdom of his conduct—besides that singularly candid paragraph, in his late message in which he tells us that Congress, with great unanimity, only two in the Senate and fourteen in the House dissenting, had declared that, “by the act of the Republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that Government and the United States,” when the same journals that informed him of this, also informed him, that when that declaration stood disconnected from the question of supplies, sixty seven in the House, and not fourteen merely, voted against it—besides this open attempt to prove, by telling the truth, what he could not prove by telling the whole truth—demanding of all who will not submit to be misrepresented, in justice to themselves, to speak out—besides all this, one of my colleagues (Mr. Richardson) at a very early day in the session brought in a set of resolutions, expressly endorsing the original justice of the war on the part of the President. Upon these resolutions, when they shall be put on their passage I shall be compelled to vote; so that I can not be silent, if I would. Seeing this, I went about preparing myself to give the vote understandingly when it should come. I carefully examined the President’s messages, to ascertain what he himself had said and proved upon the point. The result of this examination was to make the impression, that taking for true, all the President states as facts, he falls far short of proving his justification; and that the President would have gone farther with

³⁶ Lincoln (1848)。

his proof, if it had not been for the small matter, that the truth would not permit him. Under the impression thus made, I gave the vote before mentioned. I propose now to give, concisely, the process of the examination I made, and how I reached the conclusion I did. The President, in his first war message of May 1846, declares that the soil was ours on which hostilities were commenced by Mexico; and he repeats that declaration, almost in the same language, in each successive annual message, thus showing that he esteems that point, a highly essential one. In the importance of that point, I entirely agree with the President. To my judgment, it is the very point, upon which he should be justified, or condemned. In his message of Decr. 1846, it seems to have occurred to him, as is certainly true, that title—ownership—to soil, or any thing else, is not a simple fact; but is a conclusion following one or more simple facts; and that it was incumbent upon him, to present the facts, from which he concluded, the soil was ours, on which the first blood of the war was shed.

Accordingly a little below the middle of page twelve in the message last referred to, he enters upon that task; forming an issue, and introducing testimony, extending the whole, to a little below the middle of page fourteen. Now I propose to try to show, that the whole of this,—issue and evidence—is, from beginning to end, the sheerest deception. The issue, as he presents it, is in these words “But there are those who, conceding all this. to be true, assume the ground that the true western boundary of Texas is the Nueces, instead of the Rio Grande; and that, therefore, in marching our army to the east bank of the latter river, we passed the Texan line, and invaded the territory of Mexico.” Now this issue, is made up of two affirmatives and no negative. The main deception of it is, that it assumes as true, that one river or the other is necessarily the boundary; and cheats the superficial thinker entirely out of the idea, that possibly the boundary is somewhere between the two, and not actually at either. A further deception is, that it will let in evidence, which a true issue would exclude. A true issue, made by the President, would be about as follows “I say, the soil was ours, on which the first blood was shed; there are those who say it was not.”

I now proceed to examine the Presidents evidence, as applicable to such an issue. When that evidence is analyzed, it is all included in the following propositions:

1. That the Rio Grande was the Western boundary of Louisiana as we purchased it of France in 1803.
2. That the Republic of Texas always claimed the Rio Grande, as her Western boundary.
3. That by various acts, she had claimed it on paper.
4. That Santa Anna, in his treaty with Texas, recognized the Rio Grande, as her boundary.
5. That Texas before, and the U. S. after, annexation had exercised jurisdiction beyond the Nueces—between the two rivers.

6. That our Congress, understood the boundary of Texas to extend beyond the Nueces.

Now for each of these in its turn.

His first item is, that the Rio Grande was the Western boundary of Louisiana, as we purchased it of France in 1803; and seeming to expect this to be disputed, he argues over the amount of nearly a page, to prove it true; at the end of which he lets us know, that by the treaty of 1819, we sold to Spain the whole country from the Rio Grande eastward, to the Sabine. Now, admitting for the present, that the Rio Grande, was the boundary of Louisiana, what, under heaven, had that to do with the present boundary between us and Mexico? How, Mr. Chairman, the line, that once divided your land from mine, can still be the boundary between us, after I have sold my land to you, is, to me, beyond all comprehension. And how any man, with an honest purpose only, of proving the truth, could ever have thought of introducing such a fact to prove such an issue, is equally incomprehensible. His next piece of evidence is that “The Republic of Texas always claimed this river (Rio Grande) as her western boundary[.]” That is not true, in fact. Texas has claimed it, but she has not always claimed it. There is, at least, one distinguished exception. Her state constitution,—the republic’s most solemn, and well considered act—that which may, without impropriety, be called her last will and testament revoking all others—makes no such claim. But suppose she had always claimed it. Has not Mexico always claimed the contrary? so that there is but claim against claim, leaving nothing proved, until we get back of the claims, and find which has the better foundation. Though not in the order in which the President presents his evidence, I now consider that class of his statements, which are, in substance, nothing more than that Texas has, by various acts of her convention and congress, claimed the Rio Grande, as her boundary, on paper. I mean here what he says about the fixing of the Rio Grande as her boundary in her old constitution (not her state constitution) about forming congressional districts, counties &c &c. Now all of this is but naked claim; and what I have already said about claims is strictly applicable to this. If I should claim your land, by word of mouth, that certainly would not make it mine; and if I were to claim it by a deed which I had made myself, and with which, you had had nothing to do, the claim would be quite the same, in substance—or rather, in utter nothingness. I next consider the President’s statement that Santa Anna in his treaty with Texas, recognized the Rio Grande, as the western boundary of Texas. Besides the position, so often taken that Santa Anna, while a prisoner of war—a captive—could not bind Mexico by a treaty, which I deem conclusive—besides this, I wish to say something in relation to this treaty, so called by the President, with Santa Anna. If any man would like to be amused by a sight of that little thing, which the President calls by that big name, he can have it, by turning to Niles’ Register volume 50, page 336. [See Santa Anna Treaty.] And if any one should suppose that Niles’ Register is a curious repository of so mighty a document, as a solemn

treaty between nations, I can only say that I learned, to a tolerable degree [of] certainty, by enquiry at the State Department, that the President himself, never saw it any where else. By the way, I believe I should not err, if I were to declare, that during the first ten years of the existence of that document, it was never, by any body, called a treaty—that it was never so called, till the President, in his extremity, attempted, by so calling it, to wring something from it in justification of himself in connection with the Mexican war. It has none of the distinguishing features of a treaty. It does not call itself a treaty. Santa Anna does not therein, assume to bind Mexico; he assumes only to act as the President-Commander-in-chief of the Mexican Army and Navy; stipulates that the then present hostilities should cease, and that he would not himself take up arms, nor influence the Mexican people to take up arms, against Texas during the existence of the war of independence [.] He did not recognize the independence of Texas; he did not assume to put an end to the war; but clearly indicated his expectation of its continuance; he did not say one word about boundary, and, most probably, never thought of it. It is stipulated therein that the Mexican forces should evacuate the territory of Texas, passing to the other side of the Rio Grande; and in another article, it is stipulated that, to prevent collisions between the armies, the Texan army should not approach nearer than within five leagues—of what is not said—but clearly, from the object stated it is—of the Rio Grande. Now, if this is a treaty, recognizing the Rio Grande, as the boundary of Texas, it contains the singular feature [sic], of stipulating, that Texas shall not go within five leagues of her own boundary.

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Next comes the evidence of Texas before annexation, and the United States, afterwards, exercising jurisdiction beyond the Nueces, and between the two rivers. This actual exercise of jurisdiction, is the very class or quality of evidence we want. It is excellent so far as it goes; but does it go far enough? He tells us it went beyond the Nueces; but he does not tell us it went to the Rio Grande. He tells us, jurisdiction was exercised between the two rivers, but he does not tell us it was exercised over all the territory between them. Some simple minded people, think it is possible, to cross one river and go beyond it without going all the way to the next—that jurisdiction may be exercised between two rivers without covering all the country between them. I know a man, not very unlike myself, who exercises jurisdiction over a piece of land between the Wabash and the Mississippi; and yet so far is this from being all there is between those rivers, that it is just one hundred and fifty two feet long by fifty wide, and no part of it much within a hundred miles of either. He has a neighbour between him and the Mississippi,—that is, just across the street, in that direction—whom, I am sure, he could neither persuade nor force to give up his habitation; but which nevertheless, he could certainly annex, if it were to be done, by merely standing on his own side of the street and claiming it, or even, sitting down, and writing a deed for it.

But next the President tells us, the Congress of the United States understood the state of Texas they admitted into the union, to extend beyond the Nueces. Well, I suppose they did. I certainly so understood it. But how far beyond? That Congress did not understand it to extend clear to the Rio Grande, is quite certain by the fact of their joint resolutions, for admission, expressly leaving all questions of boundary to future adjustment. And it may be added, that Texas herself, is proved to have had the same understanding of it, that our Congress had, by the fact of the exact conformity of her new constitution, to those resolutions.

I am now through the whole of the President's evidence; and it is a singular fact, that if any one should declare the President sent the army into the midst of a settlement of Mexican people, who had never submitted, by consent or by force, to the authority of Texas or of the United States, and that there, and thereby, the first blood of the war was shed, there is not one word in all the President has said, which would either admit or deny the declaration. This strange omission, it does seem to me, could not have occurred but by design. My way of living leads me to be about the courts of justice; and there, I have sometimes seen a good lawyer, struggling for his client's neck, in a desperate case, employing every artifice to work round, befog, and cover up, with many words, some point arising in the case, which he dared not admit, and yet could not deny. Party bias may help to make it appear so; but with all the allowance I can make for such bias, it still does appear to me, that just such, and from just such necessity, is the President's struggle in this case.

Some time after my colleague (Mr. Richardson) introduced the resolutions I have mentioned, I introduced a preamble, resolution, and interrogatories intended to draw the President out, if possible, on this hitherto untrodden ground. To show their relevancy, I propose to state my understanding of the true rule for ascertaining the boundary between Texas and Mexico. It is, that wherever Texas was exercising jurisdiction, was hers; and wherever Mexico was exercising jurisdiction, was hers; and that whatever separated the actual exercise of jurisdiction of the one, from that of the other, was the true boundary between them. If, as is probably true, Texas was exercising jurisdiction along the western bank of the Nueces, and Mexico was exercising it along the eastern bank of the Rio Grande, then neither river was the boundary; but the uninhabited country between the two, was. The extent of our territory in that region depended, not on any treaty-fixed boundary (for no treaty had attempted it) but on revolution. Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up, and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable,—most sacred right—a right, which we hope and believe, is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government, may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can, may revolutionize, and make their own, of so much of the territory as they inhabit. More than this, a majority of any portion of such people may revolutionize, putting down a minority, intermingled with, or near about them, who may oppose their movement. Such minority, was precisely the case, of the tories of our own revolution. It is a quality of revolutions not to go by old lines, or old laws; but to break up both, and make new ones. As to the country now in question, we bought it of France in 1803, and sold it to Spain in 1819, according to the President's statements. After this, all Mexico, including Texas, revolutionized against Spain; and still later, Texas revolutionized against Mexico. In my view, just so far as she carried her revolution, by obtaining the actual, willing or unwilling, submission of the people, so far, the country was hers, and no farther. Now sir, for the purpose of obtaining the very best evidence, as to whether Texas had actually carried her revolution, to the place where the hostilities of the present war commenced, let the President answer the interrogatories, I proposed, as before mentioned, or some other similar ones. Let him answer, fully, fairly, and candidly. Let him answer with facts, and not with arguments. Let him remember he sits where Washington sat, and so remembering, let him answer, as Washington would answer. As a nation should not, and the Almighty will not, be evaded, so let him attempt no evasion—no equivocation. And if, so answering, he can show that the soil was ours, where the first blood of the war was shed—that it was not within an inhabited country, or, if within such, that the inhabitants had submitted themselves to the civil authority of Texas, or of the United States, and that the same is true of the site of Fort Brown, then I am with him for his justification. In that case I, shall be most happy to reverse the vote I gave the other day. I have

a selfish motive for desiring that the President may do this. I expect to give some votes, in connection with the war, which, without his so doing, will be of doubtful propriety in my own judgment, but which will be free from the doubt if he does so. But if he can not, or will not do this—if on any pretence, or no pretence, he shall refuse or omit it, then I shall be fully convinced, of what I more than suspect already, that he is deeply conscious of being in the wrong that he feels the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to Heaven against him. That originally having some strong motive—what, I will not stop now to give my opinion concerning—to involve the two countries in a war, and trusting to escape scrutiny, by fixing the public gaze upon the exceeding brightness of military glory—that attractive rainbow, that rises in showers of blood—that serpent’s eye, that charms to destroy he plunged into it, and has swept, on and on, till, disappointed in his calculation of the ease with which Mexico might be subdued, he now finds himself, he knows not where. How like the half insane mumbling of a fever-dream, is the whole war part of his late message! At one time telling us that Mexico has nothing whatever, that we can get, but territory; at another, showing us how we can support the war, by levying contributions on Mexico. At one time, urging the national honor, the security of the future, the prevention of foreign interference, and even, the good of Mexico herself, as among the objects of the war; at another, telling us, that “to reject indemnity, by refusing to accept a cession of territory, would be to abandon all our just demands, and to wage the war, bearing all its expenses, without a purpose or definite object[.]” So then, the national honor, security of the future, and every thing but territorial indemnity, may be considered the no-purposes, and indefinite, objects of the war! But, having it now settled that territorial indemnity is the only object, we are urged to seize, by legislation here, all that he was content to take, a few months ago, and the whole province of lower California to boot, and to still carry on the war—to take all we are fighting for, and still fight on. Again, the President is resolved, under all circumstances, to have full territorial indemnity for the expenses of the war; but he forgets to tell us how we are to get the excess, after those expenses shall have surpassed the value of the whole of the Mexican territory. So again, he insists that the separate national existence of Mexico, shall be maintained; but he does not tell us how this can be done, after we shall have taken all her territory. Lest the questions, I here suggest, be considered speculative merely, let me be indulged a moment in trying [to] show they are not. The war has gone on some twenty months; for the expenses of which, together with an inconsiderable old score, the President now claims about one half of the Mexican territory; and that, by far the better half, so far as concerns our ability to make any thing out of it. It is comparatively uninhabited; so that we could establish land offices in it, and raise some money in that way. But the other half is already inhabited, as I understand it, tolerably densely for the nature of the country; and all its lands, or all that are valuable, already appropriated as private property. How then are we to make any thing out of these lands with this

encumbrance on them? or how, remove the encumbrance? I suppose no one will say we should kill the people, or drive them out, or make slaves of them, or even confiscate their property. How then can we make much out of this part of the territory? If the prosecution of the war has, in expenses, already equaled the better half of the country, how long its future prosecution, will be in equaling, the less valuable half, is not a speculative, but a practical question, pressing closely upon us. And yet it is a question which the President seems to never have thought of. As to the mode of terminating the war, and securing peace, the President is equally wandering and indefinite. First, it is to be done by a more vigorous prosecution of the war in the vital parts of the enemies country; and, after apparently, talking himself tired, on this point, the President drops down into a half despairing tone, and tells us that “with a people distracted and divided by contending factions, and a government subject to constant changes, by successive revolutions, the continued success of our arms may fail to secure a satisfactory peace[.]” Then he suggests the propriety of wheedling the Mexican people to desert the counsels of their own leaders, and trusting in our protection, to set up a government from which we can secure a satisfactory peace; telling us, that “this may become the only mode of obtaining such a peace.” But soon he falls into doubt of this too; and then drops back on to the already half abandoned ground of “more vigorous prosecution.[“] All this shows that the President is, in no wise, satisfied with his own positions. First he takes up one, and in attempting to argue us into it, he argues himself out of it; then seizes another, and goes through the same process; and then, confused at being able to think of nothing new, he snatches up the old one again, which he has some time before cast off. His mind, tasked beyond its power, is running hither and thither, like some tortured creature, on a burning surface, finding no position, on which it can settle down, and be at ease.

Again, it is a singular omission in this message, that it, no where intimates when the President expects the war to terminate. At its beginning, Genl. Scott was, by this same President, driven into disfavor, if not disgrace, for intimating that peace could not be conquered in less than three or four months. But now, at the end of about twenty months, during which time our arms have given us the most splendid successes—every department, and every part, land and water, officers and privates, regulars and volunteers, doing all that men could do, and hundreds of things which it had ever before been thought men could not do,—after all this, this same President gives us a long message, without showing us, that, as to the end, he himself, has, even an imaginary conception. As I have before said, he knows not where he is. He is a bewildered, confounded, and miserably perplexed man. God grant he may be able to show, there is not something about his conscious, more painful than all his mental perplexity!

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The American Annexation of Mexican Territories

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Abstract

We shall begin with a brief review of the process of American territorial expansion. We then look into how Spanish Texas was encroached and how Mexican Texas was taken. We further endeavor to understand American calculations. In addition, we examine American-Mexican conflicts and its their escalation into the Mexican–American War. Finally, we scrutinize how the United States annexed Mexican territories after the war.

Keywords: American territorial expansion, Mexico, Spanish Texas, Mexican Texas, Mexican-American War

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