

de aquella nacion, con fecha de ayer, manifiesta que esta pronto á tratar con el comisionado ó comisionados de esta republica, acerca de las proposiciones de paz que esta autorizado á hacer pidiendo se señale proxicamente dia para la reunion en el punto que se estime conveniente para ambas partes.

El infrascrito ha recibido orden del E. S. Presidente para manifestar al Sor. Trist, en contestacion que ya se ocupa de nombrar á la mayor brevedad los comisionados para oír las proposiciones que tenga viene á hacer el mismo Sor. Trist, los cuales concurriran á las cuatro de la tarde del dia de mañana en el pueblo de Atzacaposalco como punto intermedio entre los que ocupan las fuerzas de ambas naciones, siempre que en esta designacion no encuentre inconveniente el Sor. Trist, á quien el infrascrito ofrece las seguridades de su distinguida consideracion.

J. R. PACHECO.

Al Sor. Don NICOLAS TRIST,
Comisionados de los Estados Unidos de America.

[No. 5.]

TACUBAYA, August 26, 1847.

The undersigned, commissioner of the United States of America, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note of this date, H. E. Señor Pacheco, Minister of Relations of Mexico, acquainting him that if no objection exists on his part to the place indicated, he will be met by commissioners on the part of Mexico to-morrow at four o'clock of the afternoon, at the village of Atzacapusalco, as being an intermediate point between those occupied by the respective forces of the two nations.

The undersigned has the honor to state, in reply, that he accepts with pleasure this invitation, in the hope that this first meeting will promptly be followed by a satisfactory settlement of all differences between the sister republics.

He renews to Señor Pacheco the assurance of his distinguished consideration.

N. P. T.

H. E. Don J. R. PACHECO, &c., &c., &c.,
Minister of Relations of the Mexican republic.

[No. 6.]

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA, GENERAL DE DIVISION, BENEMERITO DE LA PATRIA, Y PRESIDENTE INTERINO DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS MEJICANOS.

A todos los que el presente vieren, saber :

Que habiendo resuelto en uso de las facultades que me concede la constitucion federal, oír las proposiciones de paz que quiere hacer el gobierno de los Estados Unidos de America, por medio de su comisionado el Sor. Don Nicolas Trist, y teniendo entera confi-

anza en el patriotismo, ilustracion, y demas recomendables circunstancias que adornan al E. Sor. General de Division, Don José Joaquin de Herrera, al Sor. Lic. Don José Bernardo Couto, al Sor. General de Brigada, Don Ignacio Mora y Villamil, y al Sor. Lic. Don Miguel Atristain, he venido en comisionarlos para que pasen al pueblo de Atzacaposalco á recibir y transmitirme las citadas proposiciones que viene á hacer el mencionado Señor Don Nicolas Trist; para cuyo efecto les concedo á los cuatros el pleno poder necesario; autorizando al Sor. Don Miguel Arroyo para que les asista y acompañe en clase de secretario é interprete por la confianza que igualmente mereze.

En fé de lo cual he hecho espedir el presente firmado de mi mano, autorizando con el sello nacional, y refrendado por el Secretario de Estado y del despacho del Ministerio de Relaciones Interiores y exteriores en el Palacio Federal de Mejico, á los veinte y siete dias del mes de Agosto del año de mil ochocientos cuarenta y siete, vigesimo septimo de la independencia.

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

Refrendado—

J. R. PACHECO.

[L. s.]

[No. 15.—Confidential.] HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE U. S. ARMY,
Tacubaya, September 4, 1847.

SIR: The conference between the Mexican commissioners and myself, on the 2d instant, resulted in my saying that if they would submit to me a formal proposition to establish as the boundary between the two republics the one defined in the accompanying paper, (enclosure No. 1,) I would transmit it to Washington, and would propose to General Scott to consent to the continuation of the armistice until the answer of our government should be received; the calculation being that this would require from forty to forty-five days, sending expresses both to Tampico and Vera Cruz. The idea had been thrown out by one of them, (not without his being interrupted by the others, to remind him that their instructions did not in any way warrant any such proposition or intimation on their part, but just the reverse,) that provided I should agree to the other parts of a boundary nearly coinciding with the one above referred to, they might possibly obtain permission to relinquish New Mexico. This, he said, was the utmost possible extent to which they could go, in the way of sacrifices to the cause of peace; and supposing that they should succeed in obtaining the consent of the government to its being made, which was exceedingly doubtful, it would then remain more doubtful still whether the government could maintain itself in a position so highly perilous with reference to the sentiment of the country, and affording so great advantage to those disposed to assail it, as well as to those who, independently of this motive, were banded together as opponents of all negotiation, ready to brand as a traitor every man who manifested

a different sentiment. In a word, the practicability of carrying the thing through was problematical in the extreme. Nevertheless, the government might possibly be induced to venture upon it. If, however, we insisted upon more, the war must go on. Their reverses would probably continue. Well, if it must be so, it could not be helped; but at least we should have to content ourselves with possessing no other title to any of their territory than that by conquest, in all its nakedness, and subject to all the odium and to all the insecurity that inseparably attach to it.

These remarks were made by _____, after I had quieted the objections of his associates to his proceeding, by stating, that everything said by him, or either of them, would be regarded by me as a confidential expression of their individual views, and as merely an evidence of their own sincere and strong inclination to peace, unless the character of a formal proposition were expressly given to it by themselves. After this, he was allowed to proceed; and the conversation became very unreserved on the part of all, and was extended to considerable length. In the course of it, their concurrence in his suggestion, and in the convictions expressed by him, was manifested in ways which left no doubt on my mind (indeed, it was already free from any) as to their being most sincerely disposed to go all practicable lengths to restore peace; and, also, in regard to their being fully and conclusively satisfied that they could venture no further; that it was the utmost possible extent to which the government could go, with any hope of thereby advancing the cause. A single step beyond it, and this cause would inevitably be prejudiced; as could not but be the consequence of placing it upon grounds rendering the consummation of the measure impossible. This was, beyond doubt, their honest conviction. My own is, that it rests upon the most solid grounds; and, that they were perfectly correct in saying, as one of them did, (and he was echoed by the rest, in tones and looks showing that they were most unaffectedly, and anxiously, impressed with the force and momentousness of the truth uttered by him,) "If we are to succeed in accomplishing a peace, herein does it lie;" his finger, as he spoke, running over the territory comprehended between the Nueces and the Bravo, on the map before us.

My concurrence in this conviction, is, as I have already stated, entire; I can see no reason, whatever, to hope for the possibility of any nearer approximation to our ultimatum; I believe that the alternative presented to us by the state of things in this country, actual and prospective—supposing that a full and perfect knowledge of every fact and every circumstance pertinent to the subject were possessed at Washington—would be clearly seen to be to accept this approximation, or to relinquish, for an indefinite period, all idea of a treaty. At any rate, this is, beyond all doubt, the state of the case at the present moment; and, knowing it to be so, although I deemed it in the very highest degree improbable, that our government could assent to this modification of the boundary proposed by it, (and I so stated to the commissioners,) I made the offer above mentioned; this being the only course left me, except

that of announcing that their non-assent to the ultimatum prescribed to me put an end to the negotiation, and with it to the armistice; thus scattering to the winds all hopes of bringing the war to a close, by breaking up, at its very inception, the *peace party*, a nucleus for which had been formed from the moment that the commissioners on the part of Mexico had been prevailed upon to accept the appointment; particularly General Herrera and Señor Coúto, (General Mora having long been a decided and *pronounced* friend to negotiation, even before the war commenced, whilst the fourth member, Señor Atristain, though respectable, is a man of far less note and weight,) whose committal to the cause of pacification was a point of immense value; for, down to that moment, it was predicted by all Santa Anna's opponents, (among whom they both are, as highly distinguished members of the *moderado* party,) and universally believed, that he would not be able to prevail on any but his own *creatures* to take upon themselves the responsibility of having anything to do with the business.

I had, at the beginning of this conference, formally laid our ultimatum before them, so far as regards the line of boundary; remarking, as I handed them the paper, that they would find in it a confirmation of what I had said the day previous, respecting the slightness of the difference between the boundary proposed in the projet and that which I was bound to insist upon; whilst, on the other hand, it would make a great difference in the amount which I could offer in consideration of their acceding to that boundary. This amount I had not made known to them, because no suitable occasion had presented itself for so doing; and on the present, from the turn which the question took, I could not, without manifest indelicacy, and without the certainty of wounding and offending their national pride, bring forward, as being calculated to exercise a preponderating influence with them, a consideration which, it was evident that they attached no sort of consequence to, as compared with others.

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Next in importance to the retention of this barrier, comes that of New Mexico. Both honor and interest, they say, forbid them to surrender it. They could not, without ignominy, "sell" a portion of the population of the country, who have given such striking proofs of fidelity to the republic, and of their determination to retain the character of Mexican citizens. On the other hand, interest required them to hold on to that part of the republic as one of its main dependencies, for meat to feed its inhabitants. Upon these grounds, set forth in considerable detail, rested the special objection to parting with New Mexico. They could, at the utmost, give us but a portion of it—the less peopled part; beginning the boundary line on the Pacific, at latitude 36° 30', and running it due east until it passed Santa Fé; then down, southward, some distance, and again eastward so as to strike the head of the Nueces.

To these objections I replied by pointing out the examples of Louisiana and Florida, in proof of the great enhancement in value which the property of the citizens of New Mexico would experience; and which, if it was their pleasure to relinquish the quiet and safety secured to their country by the transfer, would enable them with the proceeds of sale of their present possessions to remove to the adjacent parts of Mexico, and there to acquire property of double, treble, or quadruple the value now attached to the former. As to the supplies now drawn from the pastures of New Mexico, they would, under the influence of American enterprise and management, soon be afforded in greater abundance, of a better quality, and at a far less price; and this dependence (as they objected that it would be) of Mexico upon a foreign country for a primary want was altogether ideal and fallacious, since the reality of the matter would be a mutual dependence of the two parties for a supply and for a market; a relation which could not fail to foster between the two countries, as far as its influences, direct and indirect, should reach, a spirit of good fellowship and an aversion to any falling out.

Finally, this second *sine qua non*—as it at first seemed likely to prove, and as it yet may turn out to be—was conditionally abandoned by the commissioner to the extent and *in the sense* stated at the commencement of this communication; that is to say, they agreed to lay my offer before their government for such new instructions as it might decide to give. In order to preclude mistake, the boundary contemplated in this offer was written down by me: in the first instance, by commencing on the Pacific, as had been suggested by them, and afterwards by beginning on the Atlantic, because I found greater prolixity occasioned by the former starting point than by the latter. In tracing this boundary, two points will catch your attention: the first, that I have left out the Paso del Norte; the second, that I have left out part of Upper California. In regard to the first point, although I am convinced, as you are aware, of the importance of the Paso del Norte to us, or at any rate that it is very desirable to us to hold it, yet its importance did not seem to me sufficient to warrant the risk attendant upon the multiplication of the grounds of clamor against the treaty, which risk would have been incurred by running the line south of the Paso; for this would have been to “dismember a State,” that post being, so far as could be judged, within Chihuahua. With respect to the lower part of Alta California, the commissioners had insisted upon the absolute necessity of their possessing an overland passage to Lower California; and although they were, I believe, forcibly struck with the truth which I pointed out to them, that their possessing the lower part of the Colorado would inevitably give rise, in a very short time, to the old Mississippi question over again; yet they are so completely mastered by the *need of the moment*, (to part with the least possible amount of territory,) that it outweighs every consideration, the force of which admits of being staved off. This I believe was the only reason for their catching up at once my remark, that my instructions did not require me to insist upon Lower California, and their setting down the abandon

ment of this part of our pretension as a settled point, regardless of the curtailment of the pecuniary compensation which I told them would necessarily result therefrom. In their hearts they were convinced of the truth of what I said, (nay, it was expressly assented to,) that no benefit whatever resulted to Mexico from the possession of Lower California, whereas she would derive great advantage from the influences exercised over her sea coast opposite to the inner shore of that peninsula, by the flourishing commercial towns which would in a very short time spring up under the American flag. But this conviction had no influence, nor could it be expected to have any influence, over the determination of minds pre-occupied by the one overwhelming consideration to which I have adverted.

Their retention of Lower California being decided upon, it followed, (so they said,) as a matter of course, that they must reserve also a land passage to that portion of their territory; though I believe that here also their real motive was to save appearances, more than anything else, and to avoid exposing themselves, and the treaty into which they might enter, to the clamor that they had insulated Lower California, and by so doing had placed it at the mercy of our maritime power. That the possession of the land communication makes no practical difference whatever, under the existing circumstances and prospects of the two countries, is perfectly obvious.

Among the points which came under discussion was the exclusion of slavery from all territory which should pass from Mexico. In the course of their remarks on the subject, I was told that if it were proposed to the people of the United States to part with a portion of their territory, in order that the *inquisition* should be therein established, the proposal could not excite stronger feelings of abhorrence than those awakened in Mexico by the prospect of the introduction of slavery in any territory parted with by her. Our conversation on this topic was perfectly frank, and no less friendly; and the more effective upon their minds, inasmuch as I was enabled to say, with perfect security, that although their impressions respecting the practical fact of slavery, as it existed in the United States, were, I had no doubt, entirely erroneous; yet there was probably no difference between my individual views and sentiments on slavery, considered in itself, and those which they entertained. I concluded by assuring them that the bare *mention* of the subject in any treaty to which the United States were a party, was an absolute impossibility; that no President of the United States would dare to present any such treaty to the Senate; and that if it were in their power to offer me the whole territory described in our projet, increased tenfold in value, and, in addition to that, covered a foot thick all over with pure gold, upon the single condition that slavery should be excluded therefrom, I could not entertain the offer for a moment, nor think even of communicating it to Washington. The matter ended in their being fully satisfied that this topic was one not to be touched, and it was dropped, with good feeling on both sides.

In regard to all matters of subordinate consequence, I gave every

proof which the nature of the subject permitted of the strongest disposition on our part to spare their national pride, and to save their pecuniary interests. For instance, in regard to artillery and the armament of the country generally, they proposed that their fortifications should be restored in the state in which they had been taken. This I declined to accede to, saying that we had exercised and would continue to exercise the right, universally recognized, to retain trophies. But, I added, this right would be exercised with moderation; and I related a conversation recently had between General Scott and myself on this subject, which showed that his views and disposition in regard to it were liberal and generous in the extreme, extending even to the restoration of their *field* artillery, (with the exception of a very limited number of trophies,) on the ground that he had no desire to strip the country of her means of defence, and wished not only that peace should take place, but that it should be "a *healing* peace." They were evidently touched with this, and inquired if there would be any objection to the field artillery being included in the stipulation? to which I replied that I could not engage to enter into such a stipulation without the express consent of General Scott, although I had no doubt that it would be cheerfully given. (And it was given, so soon as I informed him of the conversation.)

In the view of the extreme destitution of the government, and the urgent need in which it will stand, now more than ever, of pecuniary resources *to maintain itself*, should a treaty be negotiated, I offered, simultaneously with the *signature* of a treaty, to enter into an agreement, subject to the approval of the President, that their custom-houses shall be restored to them forthwith, and that they shall have the entire management and control of duties upon imports: this agreement to embrace all duties upon previous importations not actually collected at the time when the President's order shall be received at the respective ports. This offer had a most marked effect, not only as an evidence of the general disposition on our part towards them, but because of the importance of the pecuniary relief of which it affords a promise. I beg leave to suggest that the subject be taken into consideration as early as practicable; and that if my offer be approved, the order (modified so as to exempt our army supplies from all duty or inspection) be despatched at once, to come into effect upon a notification from me that a treaty has been signed. The influence of such an order, or its *fruits* rather, will be highly important towards procuring the ratification of a treaty; and even if we should fail now, it cannot but prove a strong card in my hands, so long as any prospect whatever may exist of negotiating one.

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Should my offer be accepted, this will go by quadruplicate, two by Vera Cruz and two by Tampico, under the security afforded by double passports.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

N. P. TRIST.

HON. JAMES BUCHANAN,
Secretary of State.

[Enclosure in No. 15.]

The boundary line between the two republics shall commence at a point in the Gulf of Mexico three leagues from land, opposite to the middle of the southernmost inlet into Corpus Christi bay; thence through the middle of said inlet, and through the middle of said bay, to the middle of the mouth of the Rio Nueces; thence up the middle of said river to the southernmost extremity of Yoke lake, or Laguna de las Yuntas, where the said river leaves the said lake, after running through the same; thence by a line due west to the middle of the Rio Puerco; and thence up the middle of said river to the parallel of latitude six geographical miles north of the fort at the Paso del Norte, on the Rio Bravo; thence due west along the said parallel, to the point where it intersects the western boundary of New Mexico; thence northwardly along the said boundary, until it first intersects a branch of the river Gila; (or if it should not intersect any branch of that river, then to the point on the said boundary nearest to the first branch thereof, and from that point in a direct line to such branch;) thence down the middle of said branch and of the said river Gila, until it empties into the Rio Colorado, and down or up the middle of the Colorado, as the case may require, to the thirty-third parallel of latitude; and thence due west along the said parallel, into the Pacific ocean. And it is hereby agreed and stipulated that the territory comprehended between the Rio Bravo and the above defined boundary, from its commencement in the Gulf of Mexico up to the point where it crosses the said Rio Bravo, shall forever remain a neutral ground between the two republics, and shall not be settled upon by the citizens of either; no person shall be allowed hereafter to settle or establish himself within the said territory for any purpose or under any pretext whatever; and all contraventions of this prohibition may be treated by the government of either republic in the way prescribed by its laws respecting persons establishing themselves, in defiance of its authority, within its own proper and exclusive territory.

[No. 16.—Confidential.] HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE U. S. ARMY,
Mexico, September 27, 1847.

SIR: The news of the renewal of hostilities, and of the capture of this city, after another series of actions, in which our troops have again covered themselves and their country with glory, will have prepared you for an account of the failure of the negotiation.

On the 5th instant I received a visit from the secretary of the Mexican commissioners, who came to make an appointment for a meeting at the usual place on the following day. I was there at the hour named, (10 o'clock,) and officers were there to receive me; but the commissioners did not make their appearance until the hour of one. Apologies were not wanting on their part, but they were not needed by me, for I understood their position perfectly;