

am not one who does not believe that there are some in Mexico) have hastened to second the chief of the French army, with whom, at the hour I write, you will probably have formed an acquaintance, or at least you will not delay in doing so. I hope, my good friend, he will do you justice, and that within a few years I shall be able to procure for you the acquaintance of some good friends I have here, and who, as well as I, desire a complete triumph to you.

As I have informed you, Subervielle, dead, Labadie, it is clear to believe so, will have modified his opinion a little about the displeasure the French expedition caused him.

As you will well understand, all the packets are waited for with great impatience. Within a few days we shall have news to the 18th of October from Vera Cruz, and at the end of the month until the 1st instant. General Forey and his army will have been able to commence their march, and it is probable that it may be with complete success. God grant it!

Yours, with all my heart,

O'LAMBELL MAURICIO.

PARIS, (via SAN NAZARIO,) November 15, 1862.

GENTLEMEN: We have the honor to confirm you our letter of the 30th of August last. Since then we have received yours of August 28 and September 30, the contents of which we have learned with interest. We have given a letter of recommendation to you to Messrs. Villet and Jacqueme, inspectors of the treasury, who go to Mexico with the mission to study the financial state of the country. We have believed that you could give them useful information, and at the same time it would be convenient for you to know them.

We know that a collector general, Mr. Budin, also is to start soon with a mission. We do not know him, and we cannot have occasion to direct him to you. Nevertheless, we invite you to place yourselves in relation with him if the opportunity presents itself.

Accept, gentlemen, the security of our perfect consideration,

J. FORTUIGUERO.

Messrs. J. P. JECKER & Co., Mexico.

PARIS, November 7, 1862.

MY DEAR BROTHER: I have been in Paris for some days, and it has cost me no trouble to convince myself that our protectors had neglected nothing in serving us. The opposition has been so great that to conquer it it has been necessary to work upon his Majesty; and it has been done. I have taken away the pamphlet of Luis, and amused Mr. de M.; one cannot attempt more. Messrs. Finlay have done what has been possible for them, translating and publishing your small memorial, and communicating it to John Russell. In fine, they have expedited the articles in which the question is treated, &c., &c.

As to your creditors, they hope you will take advantage of the first moment of confusion from the entrance of the French to liberate yourself by means of the payment of equivalencies, that you divide your iron-works, mines, &c., &c., into shares of \$5,000 or \$10,000; that you will give them in movables, estates, &c., &c. Although the situation now may be such, it cannot remain in the same state, and it will be necessary to take a step before the 1st of January, 1863. Those gentlemen of London, whom we have seen here some time before, repeat it to us, and we must respect their opinion.

The Commandant la Pierre will relieve M. de Chevardie. These gentlemen could not do less than send a new agent, and, besides, the Marquis de P. is on his death-bed. \* \* \* This has not concealed your position from us; I have taken note of all he has said, \* \* \* and without doubt he likes you, and is disinterested. He had repeated to me that protecting Villanouve near you had contributed to place him in Tasco, and, as by a great fault, your iron-works, mines, &c., &c., are so distant from one another that he could not help being robbed. It appeared to him that you embraced too much. In fine, what I encounter is that you are fifty, I fifty-eight; the Jeckers are of bronze in character but not in body. M. de Gabriac is sad. He calculated upon being the chief of the cabinet of his friend Drouyn. Oh! he is deceived. \* \* \* Manage it so that M. de Saligny may do all he can with Forey for our house, and not for what is intended as recompense for him. His Majesty likes him, and appreciates him. Tell him I wish no other proof than the trouble he has taken to vindicate himself in the eyes of his detractors, making them understand, besides, that his recall is the triumph of Juarez. I know the exact words he has used with Forey, by which he has been obliged to subject himself to Saligny. Have you received the bulletin that contains your naturalization? Luis has sent two or three copies to you.

PORENTU, November 3, 1862.

MY DEAR BROTHER: The Marquis of P., who has painted your situation to us in sombre colors, considering above all the mines as the gnawing polypus that impedes all distribution, is very near death.

I have told you previously that I would occupy myself with the estimates of the dying marquis. I have thought that he was something of a fatalist, but I have faith in his friendship for you, and looked upon him as a frank and loyal man. Now that I see his predictions realized, now that I see two thinkers like the Finlays, twice within the interval of six months, use identical language, first with me, afterwards with my son, it is necessary that I partake of his own opinion with much more reason, as all the creditors have partaken of it. In other times I wrote to you about the danger of giving too great an extension to your business on account of the excess of the speculation; this was after the departure of Mr. Portu; now I repeat it to you, with all the world, that you have embraced too much, and that, not being able to repair the evil now, it is necessary to impede it and to diminish it. I will explain myself: Make use of a momentary credit which the entrance of the French will give you immediately to liquidate seriously, and as you will not be able even to pay in specie your just accounts the first of January, 1863, it is necessary to endeavor to arrange them in equivalencies with a dividend, &c., &c. The creditors will see themselves obliged to accept, &c., &c., &c.

I finish with some words about the bonds. It is requisite that by order of his Majesty we operate directly upon Forey or through Saligny, so that these equivalencies may be placed in way of payment immediately, because, be it Forey, be it the new government, they will repel it and will resist very naturally, and precise instructions will be necessary from M. Drouyn to conquer the resistance. Seeing the interest that all our friends have in it, I throw this case upon them, because, what could I do? Luis has the threads of all the plot. He will do his duty. Very likely I shall go to Paris very soon, either to take his place or to aid him to know, in fine, if I must sell the rest of our furniture to pay our creditors in Paris. It is absolutely necessary that the question be ventilated the first of January, 1863, because uncertainty is the worst of evils; a formal liquidation under your direction would be good. Without you it is death for us; that will replace the agony we have suffered for two years and a half. It would be better \* \* \* \* \*

NEW INTERCEPTED CORRESPONDENCE WITH JECKER.

[Published with the authority of the Department of Foreign Relations.]

PARIS, October 27, 1862.

DEAR UNCLE: My predictions were correct in reference to the choice of the chargé d'affaires of M. M. When I wrote my opinions to you and the details which I had been able to collect from M. Chervasier in reference to M. Lapiere, Almonte's aid, and M. de Saligny's ambassador to his Majesty in July last, M. M. would have most anxiously desired that my studies had been finished, in order to intrust me personally with this mission with all the influence and all the recommendations possible; but papa, frightened at the sad fate of his agents, (the Marquis de Pierres is in his agony at this moment, and when you receive this, will certainly have ceased to exist,) would not have consented but with the greatest difficulty, especially in consequence of the malady with which I am yet convalescent; moreover, I am distrustful of my experience and of my aptitude for a mission so delicate. To be brief, an intermediary course was adopted. As the necessity for an envoy was apparent, especially in October or November, the time of the entrance of the French into Mexico, when I should be at sea, M. de M. resolved to intrust provisional power to M. Lapiere, reserving to himself the right of annulling his authority and transferring it to me if he did not attain his object. This M. Lapiere has, to a certain extent, been made acquainted with my ideas. He does not know M. de M.; but the duke has very warmly recommended him, saying that he was one who had thoroughly understood the mission of M. Pierre, and who was qualified to accomplish it, while he contented himself with the advantages which were proposed to be granted, if influence and confidence were accorded to him. I will tell you, in one word, who this personage is. The confidence and the powers granted to him by M. de M. are summed up in full in the following letter which has been written to him by M. de M. and which is his credentials and his means of making himself known to you; but he is a rascal, an intriguer, and so be careful how you act with him. He is an adventurer, who barked with hunger when he was recommended to M. de M. I copy below the letter to which I refer; he has nothing else from M. M.; he knows no other secrets than those contained in the letter itself, which in no wise compromise us;

and if he tries to persuade you of the contrary, all that he may say beyond this will be merely what his natural sagacity may have enabled him to penetrate, without any possibility on his part of showing his proofs. Do not permit yourself to be swayed by him. I have here the letter which M. M. has transmitted to me, with the request that I would transcribe it for you. It has been written under the dictation of the duke and corrected by him.

SIR: Your letter dated at Vera Cruz, August 30, has reached me, and I hasten to reply to it. Filled with sentiments of benevolence towards you and me, my friend and protector has thought that we might be mutually useful to each other, and he has spoken of our affairs in Mexico, which he knows only very superficially. Here is in what they consist:

Having had intercourse for a considerable time with M. Jecker, whom the unfortunate affairs of Mexico and the hostility of some rival houses have brought into discredit, I find myself his creditor for quite considerable sums: I have, therefore, an interest in aiding him to rise, and I am so much the more interested as I believe him to be a very able and a very honorable man; as also because many French houses and nearly all our countrymen in Mexico are, like myself, his creditors; in fine, because he is the victim of an arbitrary, unjust, and plundering system of government.

I have undertaken, in concert with M. de Elsesser, brother-in-law of M. Jecker, who has come from Switzerland to Paris for this purpose, to defend his interests by informing the government and the public as to the validity of his claims, especially in that concerning the negotiation of the bonds, known under the name of the Jecker bonds, the cause, in a great measure, of his failure, and which may likewise prove a reason for the re-establishment of his house and the restoration of his affairs.

Public opinion had totally gone astray in regard to this affair. M. Elsesser has published a memorial which I enclose to you, and which sets the affair in a new light. Hereafter, our diplomatic agents should sustain it.

For your part, sir, you can serve this cause, which is that of an honorable house odiously persecuted, in the like manner as is French and foreign commerce.

It would be suitable in this case that you should put yourself in communication with M. Jecker, with much secrecy and discretion, whenever it may be necessary; in regard to which this letter will be sufficient to accredit you and to bring you to such an understanding as to cause you to work together, as well in reference to our minister in Mexico as to our general.

If the issue crowns your efforts, we can do no less than leave to the benevolent and trusty friend who has produced our intercourse, the duty of fixing the remuneration which is in justice due to you.

Receive, &c., &c., &c.

M. de Chevarrier, whom his suspicions already designated to Lapiere as his successor, regarded him with evil eye and spoke to him with coldness. He told me that Lapiere departed from Mexico under very unfavorable auspices of the French army, and left there only most odious reminiscences. Whatever there be of exaggeration in these words should be attributed to the wounded susceptibility of M. de Chevarrier. In 1849 and 1850, in the time of the republic, Lapiere was one of the editors of the *Corsaire*, a petty Bonapartist paper which every day appeared with a profusion of truisms and challenges to the republicans. Sometimes he had to support his pen with the sword, and he did it with courage. He is brave, intriguing, unscrupulous. In one word, he has all the qualities of a *chevalier d'industrie*. He is a double-edged sword that may be used with profit, but which must be handled very prudently. M. de M. T. would start at the idea of seeing the doubloons that he might have in his chest in the hands of such a gentleman. Therefore it is that he authorizes me to entreat you to deliver nothing to him personally, and to send to M. Hodgson or us whatever you may have to transmit in future.

I presume you have received my last, of the 15th of October. I should regret very much if you had not, for it contained important matters. I acknowledge the receipt of all which you have sent to me. The manner in which you address them to us is so secure that I avail myself of it for the present letter, the tenor of which is of too serious a nature to be intrusted, without protection, to the fidelity of the Mexican mails. I told you in my last that I had a conversation with M. Hodgson, and I mentioned to you the pleasure and confidence which were excited in him by my assurances that the house was under a high protection.

I congratulate myself on having made to him spontaneously this act of half-confidence; because in the last visit which he made me, M. Fournier, secretary of M. de M. T., came in, charged with a commission from him to me. After I had presented him to M. de Hodgson, he spoke to me very lightly of my approaching presentation to my lord the duke, and other things of a formal nature calculated to dispel the suspicions of M. Hodgson, if he had any remaining; but which fully confirmed the little story which I had already related to him.

The evening of the departure of M. Hodgson, the *Moniteur* announced the appointment of M. Drouyn de l'Huys to the department of foreign affairs in place of M. de Thouvenel; and he manifested much agitation at this, and came to me to see me immediately, in order to know the degree of intimacy that might exist between our protectors and M. Drouyn de l'Huys; because, said he to me, he is, unfortunately, on intimate terms with Lord John Russell, who represented England in the congress of Vienna, and who showed himself very pliant in reference to some points of secondary interest, in order to prove to M. Drouyn de l'Huys, the French ambassador in the same congress, the spirit of conciliation with which he was animated. I could not satisfy him at the moment, because those gentlemen are temporarily absent, but I promised to write to him as soon as he should return to London. I took advantage of this opportunity to address to him, some days afterwards, a letter with an amplification of papa's defence, and of your memorial on the real interests of commerce in the negotiation of bonds, requesting him to have them translated into English, and to seek an opportunity to present them to Lord John Russell, in order to destroy his odious suspicions in regard to our affair; also, to represent to him that the interests of English commerce were likewise involved in it, and that his house was very much interested in its happy solution. In order to give more authority to my words and more latitude to my counsels, I pretended that they had been inspired into me by M. de G., in our common interest. "M. Drouyn de l'Huys," said I to them, "has not yet formed any opinion in regard to the bonds, but M. de G., who is a very intimate friend of his and of the Baron d'Andree, his chief secretary, will probably be called in a short time to the minister's house in order to give him some explanations. No one is more suitable than he is to do so, and he will use all his influence in the furtherance of our interests. The entrance of M. Drouyn de l'Huys into the cabinet is a very favorable omen for the triumph of conservative ideas. It is a reaction against liberal ideas. Let us hope that the new minister will not diverge from his general course of policy in this affair only of the bonds. But you know very well, gentlemen, it will be much more easy to form the opinion of M. Drouyn if it be not already fixed, to turn it to our favor, if, perchance, it should be unfavorable, when now he is not yet beset by powerful solicitations, by hostile insinuations. In order to effect this it is necessary to combat calumny in its very source, to make an effort to enlighten John Russell. In view of an English interest he will hesitate. The bitterness which he has manifested in persecuting us will, perhaps, be somewhat diminished, and that will be an immense victory; it will be to destroy hostility — hostility personified by the English minister!! — After John Russell, — public opinion, — it would, in fact, be very useful to publish some articles in the *Times*, in concurrence with our articles in Paris, when the time shall come." These gentlemen replied to me immediately, telling me that they hastened to do what I wrote to them, and that they had been translated as soon as my letter had been received. They manifest much zeal and great confidence. I hope that their zeal will be still further quickened by the letter which I address to them with this. I tell them that we have achieved a great triumph during these few days past, but I do it in discreet terms, because it is good to acquaint them with the results in order to give them confidence and to incite them to assist in the restoration of the house; but it is useless to divulge the means to them. As their only objection against the prosperous issue of the efforts which they are going to make is, that the affair of the bonds is a private interest, I insinuate to them that it depends on them to make it one of public interest and to attain a double object at the same time; to secure its favorable settlement by changing the English policy in reference to it, in consideration of the interest that they and other English houses may take in it, and to realize great profits, since, as you say, it is an affair of two millions five hundred thousand dollars of duties to be collected at Vera Cruz, with the entrance of merchandise in its port. I think that a letter from you of a commercial and argumentative character would make a great impression on these gentlemen now that the ground is prepared.

Perhaps the result which we have obtained is the most decisive stroke of policy that has been achieved since these gentlemen have taken up the question of the bonds. Under date of August 15 or 28, M. de Saligny has addressed from Orizaba to M. de Pierres a very important letter, in which he represents Laurencez as an unfortunate individual, incapable, worthy rather of pity than of hatred, on account of the sad state of his health; but he attributes all the evil to Valaye, his chief of staff, who by his haughtiness and his incapacity had, according to him, caused the failure of the whole expedition. He says, likewise, that he has suffered so many calumnies on account of the affair of the bonds, that he will no longer be able to act so directly as heretofore; that it will be necessary to send out there some safe and skilful person to watch for the ripening of the fruit. After some incidental words against Noël, he concludes by saying that formal instructions are being sent him in order to place him in a condition to act and to regulate his position properly. M. de M. T. gave it to me in order to attend to it as far as concerned the house and Noël, and in order to present the affair as a French interest in concurrence with

English interests, an interest misrepresented by the disloyal course of Wyke, who, in order to increase the security of the English creditors, whose interests were assured by the same pledges as the bonds, was not afraid to reject this affair, notwithstanding its justice, and to make himself the official interpreter of all the calumnies of Juarez and his associates, &c., &c.

I applied myself as best I could to the performance of this task, including the greatest number of ideas in the fewest possible words, in order that it might not be supposed that, in expatiating at length on this affair, M. de Saligny gave it any other importance than that of indignation at seeing a dishonest infamy on the part of Wyke thus gained, and the efforts of French diplomacy frustrated in an affair so just. I strove, moreover, to preserve in the style its tone of military brusqueness and manly indignation. The letter appeared very good to those gentlemen, and M. de M. T. hesitated whether he should give it the name of an extract, or of a copy, or should make it pass as an original, when there arrived by the last post a second letter from M. de Saligny, dated at Orizaba, September 15, and no less important than the former one. Both were put together, and on the following day my lord duke presented it to his Majesty, who read it with much interest. His confidence in M. de Saligny, already excessive, was still more augmented. "My," said he to the duke, "it is necessary that all these difficulties in M. de Saligny's position should cease; I will make my arrangements in regard to it; but there is one thing in his letter which gives me much cause for reflection. He has strong suspicions of Noël, and yet I believe him to be an honorable man. Moved by the calumnies that were circulated, I ordered, some time ago, an investigation to be issued in the ministry of foreign affairs, and it has had no effect." "Nevertheless," interposed the duke, "I am certain of it." "Well, then," replied his Majesty, "try to collect the proof of the fact, and, if there is any certainty, he will be displaced." These gentlemen are aware of Noël's hostility to G., who has received instructions from Almonte; but this is a little vague. I have promised those gentlemen to give them all information on the subject, and I have gone to the residence of Padre Maguin in order to put him on the track, paying him off with the first reason that occurred to me, proper to excite his zeal. I have now returned, and according to what he has told me, I believe that Noël has nothing to look for in this affair. Amor Escandon, son-in-law of Subervielle, a very intimate friend of Father Maguin, came yesterday to take leave of him, because he is going, as I think, to Mexico. Dexterously enough in the course of the conversation, Father Maguin suddenly asked him: "Do you not know a person named Noël, a director in the department of foreign affairs? I have some one to whom to recommend him." "No," replied the other, "I do not know him at all." Maguin persisted in his inquiry, but he could get no other answer. I have related this conversation to M. de M. T. this morning, but he perseveres in his suspicions. I shall be presented to-morrow at mid-day (October 30) to M. de My.; he has desired to see me; I know not whether it is to judge whether I am fit for some future mission. If my letter had not to be despatched to-day, in order that the Messrs. Hodgson & Co. may have time to put it in their packet, I would wait until to-morrow to tell you the result of the conversation. If there be anything of importance, I will inform you of it in the letter which I will address to Nr. after to-morrow, (October 30,) but as it is necessary to be prudent, I shall designate his Majesty as No. 1, M. de My. as No. 2, M. de M. T. as No. 3. I am much obliged to you for the little note which you have addressed to me. I shall set out very soon for the silver mines of Sougibault, and I shall do all that may lie in my power in order to acquire connexions there that may be useful hereafter. The creditors are well disposed. As soon as papa arrives, within two or three days, we are going to present a petition entreating his Majesty to extend his protection to the house in the name of French interests. This petition, signed with the names of your creditors, will be presented directly by No. 2 to No. 1; judge of its importance!! Gabriac is somewhat slow and timorous; he has an excessive dread of compromising himself if he is urged to exertion. Mt. has acknowledged to me that he (Gabriac) shared half the profits of the bonds. I have told him in reply that he had some interest in the house; he has promised me to tell it to him as if it came from the Count de Pierres, and to urge him on, because he can be very useful to us on account of his intimacy with Drouyn. I think that instructions will be sent to M. de Saligny. Mt. desires to serve you with his Majesty in respect to your lands in Sonora. He has collected all the details that I have been able to give him. Communicate, if you please, this letter to Nr.; I have not time to speak to him of your progress.

Adieu, my dear uncle. Assuring you of all my heart's love, I remain your most affectionate nephew,

LUIS ELSESSER.

WASHINGTON, March 31, 1863.

ROMERO.

A true copy:

*Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, April 12, 1863.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 31st ultimo with its enclosures, in continuation of other similar communications with which you have favored me, relating to events in Mexico, growing out of the unhappy foreign war in which that republic is involved.

Thanking you for the pains you have taken in keeping me so fully informed of transactions equally vital and interesting, I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

SEÑOR DON MATIAS ROMERO, &c., &c., &c.

*Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.*

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES,

Washington, November 6, 1863.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you, for the knowledge of the department over which you preside, a translation into English of the debates which took place in the Corps Legislatif of France on the 6th and 7th of February of the present year, in relation to the Mexican question. The translation referred to has been faithfully made from the official report of the proceedings of that assembly, as published in the *Moniteur Universel*, Nos. 38 and 39, of the 7th and 8th of February mentioned, pages 182, 183, 184, and 185, and 191, 192, and 193.

I profit by this opportunity to convey to you, sir, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, &c., &c., &c.

[Le Montieur Universel, No. 38—February 7, 1863—page 182, vol. 5th.]

*Debates in the French Legislative body.*

SESSION OF FRIDAY, February 6.

His excellency the Duke de Morny, president, in the chair. The session was opened at a quarter past two o'clock. The minutes were read by M. the Marquis de Talhouët, one of the secretaries, and adopted.

THE PRESIDENT. I have received from M. Alfred Le Roux a request for leave of absence for fifteen days. Is there no opposition? The leave is granted. Does any one desire the floor to make a report?

COUNT NAPOLEON DE CHAMPAGNY. I have the honor to present a report on the bill to authorize the department of Morbihan to effect a loan and to levy an extraordinary impost.

THE PRESIDENT. The report will be printed and distributed. The regular order of the day is the continuation of the discussion on the address. (The government benches were occupied by Messrs. Baroche, president of the council of state; Billault, Magne, ministers without portfolios; M. de Parieu, vice-president of the council of state; General Allard, Messrs. Boudet, Vuillefroy, Boinvilliers, and Vuitry, chairmen of committee in the council of state.)

The Chamber yesterday stopped at paragraph the third. An amendment has been proposed to this paragraph. M. Picard, one of its proposers, is entitled to the floor. The amendment is as follows:

"We admire the heroism of our soldiers combatting in Mexico under a destructive ecliate, and we send them our wishes of sincere sympathy; but the care of the national

honor does not dispense a political assembly from judging an enterprise of which it can now know the cause and foresee the consequences. The forces of France ought not to be rashly engaged in ill-defined and adventurous enterprises and expeditions, and neither our principles nor our interests counsel us to proceed to inquire what government the Mexican people may desire."

M. ERNEST PICARD. Gentlemen, if there was needed a striking illustration in justification of the great principles of freedom enunciated here yesterday, I believe that it would be furnished to us by the history of the Mexican expedition. It has been decided upon without you, followed out without you, and I can assert, without fear of contradiction, that it has never been restrained by any excess of control or publicity; for it is to be regretted that what was done at the time when the Crimean war was most actively waged, the publication of documents relative to the war, should not have taken place with regard to the Mexican expedition.

I know that our army is repairing at this moment the faults of our diplomacy. I know that, thanks to their intrepidity, the issue is not doubtful. A year ago the honorable minister of foreign affairs without portfolio told us that our troops should, at the very moment of his speech, be entering Mexico; I would wish to be able to give the same assurance to-day. But what I do know is that, in this discussion in which such deep-rooted differences of opinion may cause us to disagree with the government, at least we are inspired with a unanimous sentiment of sympathy by the energy and the valor of our troops. It is not then exactly of the Mexican war that I desire to offer a few remarks; it is in regard to our policy, it is in regard to the undertaking which must be finally judged in public debate.

Is it proper, gentlemen, to discuss this undertaking? Is it opportune to do so at the present moment? We could not do it sooner to any useful purpose; for while the Spanish Parliament, while the English Parliament were in possession of the diplomatic documents capable of throwing a certain light on the subject, the French government had thought proper to defer laying them before the Chamber; but now, gentlemen, the documents speak, and events speak yet more loudly than the documents, and we can know what the treaty of London is worth and what the expedition undertaken in consequence of it.

The treaty of October 31 has united in one common action three great powers which seemed to have the same interest, but which were to proceed to Mexico with quite opposite sentiments.

England, who, if I may use the expression, possesses Mexico by her titles of credit; who has, by regular contracts, for many years caused the resources and the revenues of Mexico to be hypothecated to herself, and who can claim, beyond controversy, 300 millions of francs the day when Mexico will be in a condition to pay them; England, gentlemen, was the power that seemed least disposed to take part in the expedition. Spain, on the contrary, attracted by ancient reminiscences, wishing to re-establish in that country a dominion which she had formerly exercised; Spain, moreover, offended at a personal insult, was more eager than England and than France, and it appears from the despatches before us that, even previous to the year 1860, she thought of the expedition. She had received a personal offence; her ambassador, Don Francesco Pacheco, at the time when Juarez held at Vera Cruz while the government of Miramon expired at Mexico, had passed through Vera Cruz and gone to find Miramon, whom he had recognized as the legitimate government almost to the eve of the day when it was to fall under the blows of the Mexican nation. He had been expelled for having taken part in the intrigues in progress at that moment; Spain had never pardoned this offence.

You see, gentlemen, how and with what interests England on the one side, and Spain on the other, were called to Mexico. England, who knows how to count, had stipulated, in the treaty of London, an arrangement according to which no nation could obtain particular advantages; she thus preserved her rights and her credits; moreover she took but a very moderate part in the expedition, for she had informed our government that she would not furnish any troops for disembarkment in the country.

As to France, gentlemen, as to French interests, the honorable minister without portfolio spoke of them in eloquent terms, in two discourses present to your memory. He said that the accumulated outrages of twenty years demanded that a French force should be sent to protect our countrymen and at last compel justice to be done to them.

Twenty years! that would be pretty long for France; and if such has been the sole motive of the expedition, if these accumulated outrages, of which the honorable minister spoke with so much eloquence, were the real cause of the enterprise, I would make you but one reproach, that of having undertaken it, not twenty years, but at least ten years too late for the responsibility of the present government.

The Chamber should understand it well, for it is the main point of debate in the question before you.

There were indeed some grievances, some claims founded on the part of our countrymen. For three years Mexico was rent by civil war, for three years especially there were two

governments, and neither of the two was sufficiently powerful to restrain the marauding bands that infested the roads and attacked those who exposed themselves to meet them. We have in Mexico a little French colony composed of from 2,000 to 3,000 persons. Claims, which have not been yet sufficiently justified, had been indeed carried to the consulate. In fine, it was the state of the country which had brought on these new grievances, and with the exception of one serious case which interested the English much more than us, it might be said that if grievances existed for twenty years, they had not augmented. In these last years, there was a serious grievance. The old president, Miramon, at the moment when he was about to fall, finding no more resources to pay his last troops, had laid hands on 660,000 piastres deposited in the English legation. He had seized on it with the assistance of Marquez and certain other persons, and that was one of the reasons which decided England to interfere.

Here, gentlemen, I pause a moment. Juarez was just installed at Mexico. He was in extreme penury; in such penury that M. de La Fuente, his ambassador in France, could not leave for want of funds to pay his passage. I ask of the government if that was the moment to proceed to avenge our countrymen, and to require payment of indemnities which an exhausted treasury could not give?

Was there, however, on the part of the government of Juarez, a bad faith or ill-will to justify the expedition? That has been maintained; but an attentive scrutiny shows the reverse. If, obliged to seek resources from all quarters, he issued the decree of July 17, which suspended the payment of the indemnities due to the three powers that signed the treaty of London—if he did this, representations were made by our agents, his ministers consented to reconsider that decree, and alleged only their inability to furnish pecuniary satisfaction.

So, you will immediately see a still more complete demonstration: that was not the sole, the real motive of the enterprise which is now carried on, and of which I have to seek the causes. It is certain, and this can no longer be called in question, that there existed, in the ideas of two of the contracting powers, the design of favoring the establishment in Mexico of a monarchical form of government. This was denied in the session of March 13, 1862; it was denied also in the session of the month of June, but now a clearer light is thrown on these denials; and indeed, gentlemen, I proceed to furnish you immediately a moral proof of it which will strike your mind. I was saying just now how our little French colony, given to a very limited commerce, could not furnish the elements of a credit of such a nature as to explain, on the part of a government such as that of France, the resolution of undertaking such an expedition as this to Mexico.

Claims then were wanting; and this is so true, that the only creditor who now claims, in the ultimatum of our plenipotentiaries, a considerable sum, a sum of from sixty to seventy-five millions—this creditor is a well-known banking-house—that of Jecker.

Well, gentlemen, give me your attention, and tell me whether what I am now going to reveal to you does not show you what spirit prevailed in the organization of the Mexican expedition. The Jecker banking-house was Swiss; its chief was Swiss; he was born at Porentruy, at a period when that city did not belong to France. Do you know, gentlemen, at what time this creditor, who is going to be protected, has become French? Do you know what is the date of his naturalization? The date of his naturalization is the 26th of March, 1862. You may refer to the *Bulletin des Lois*, No. 13,441, under the date of August 31, 1862, and you will see that a decree, dated March 26 preceding, has rendered him French, in whose name we now proceed to claim an enormous sum, which claim has been one of the causes of the rupture of the treaty of London in Mexico and the departure of the allies. I have then reason to say that the causes of the expedition well studied are not those which you can read in the discourses of the honorable minister; time has advanced, and truth has advanced with time, and discloses to us to some extent the real nature of things.

As to this project of favoring the establishment of a monarchical authority, of a monarchy in Mexico, in truth if our diplomacy has conceived it, it was ignorant of what all the world knew, and did not follow those rules which I believe superior to those of diplomatic skill, namely, the rules of justice and of common sense. Who of you, gentlemen, has not already understood that, if we went with arms to Mexico, with the idea of proposing to that country to choose a government freely, Mexico, terrified by the display of these ambassadors and these mediators, would see in it an attempt at invasion, and not the benevolent mediation of powers animated by kindly sentiments? Wherefore, reason inflexibly dictated the result which has not failed to be produced—that is, one of two things: either the Mexicans, degraded as you said they were, knowing them badly, would yield to the foreigner and surrender their rights as a people; or else, uniting in one common sentiment against the invaders, and finding in the national opinion their resources for defence—poor, it is true, but the peoples that are poor are sometimes those that defend themselves most energetically—would form in effect one nation, but one nation turned

against those who brought them this offensive mediation. Wherefore, also, you could not succeed except on condition that you paid yourselves the price of your triumph. Behold, gentlemen, a policy which judged itself, as it has been judged by events, and which was understood long ago by men possessed at the same time of intelligence and authority in their country. Indeed, you told the English minister what your hopes were. What did he reply to you? Or rather what did he tell you in those despatches, since published? Earl Russell wrote under date of the month of February, 1862, to the ambassador at Vienna:

"I have received your excellency's despatch on the subject of the propositions to place the Archduke Maximilian on the throne of Mexico, and you observe that this project has been conceived by the Mexican refugees at Paris. This class of people are notorious for their unfounded calculations on the strength of their partisans in their native country, and for the extravagance of their hopes of assistance. Your excellency will see by the documents laid before Parliament; that Marshal O'Donnell is of opinion that it is a chimerical idea to wish to establish a constitutional monarchy in Mexico by means of a foreign intervention."

Behold, gentlemen, what everybody repeated; behold what was understood by every one except you; and see how, when you asked English diplomacy to consent to the establishment in Mexico of a monarchy to be governed either by the Archduke Maximilian or by some other candidate, English diplomacy smiled and said to you: We are willing, but yours be the undertaking. So then, gentlemen, on this point there cannot be two opinions; and in the discourse of a man who more especially represented your policy in Spain, in the discourse of M. Mon—discourse, gentlemen, which, like that of General Prim, has not been published in the French journals that I know of—in the discourse of M. Mon we read this:

"Why this word *afrancisados*, by which it is sought to designate certain persons? Let it be clearly explained: let them tell us what are the French interests which we are going to defend in the question in debate. What are they? If there is any one who can say, he certainly knows neither the treaty, nor the negotiations, nor the motive of the expedition. What interest had Spain? Spain had greater interests involved in this question than any of the powers that have signed the treaty. Spain had the great interests which I have mentioned and which gave us a part to act superior to that of the other nations. And France, gentlemen—what are the interests of France in this question; what are the powerful motives that she had to unite with Spain in such distant countries, where so many events have happened, where we have procured her so many occasions of disgust, where she has had so many mischances? What was the interest of France? A claim for certain sums of money; the protection of some three or four thousand Frenchmen employed in a little trade.

"Such was the interest of France, who sent an expedition to which the majority of the empire was opposed, because it was contrary to its interests. As to me, when I met in the streets of Paris my particular friends, men of importance in the country, they said to me, 'We understand that you are satisfied; but we, what are we to do there? what have we to gain there? what compensation are we to obtain for all the money that we are going to spend, for all the men that we are going to lose?' Who wished Prince Maximilian to be monarch of Mexico? What interest had France in this? What matter was it to the Emperor that Prince Maximilian should be King of Mexico?"

See, gentlemen, how impossible it is to mistake the import of the treaty of London. That treaty is judged by itself; no diplomatist of character can have signed it, with the end proposed, without gravely compromising the interests of the policy of our country.

I assert it, gentlemen, in the name of reason, in the name of logic; but if I wished to rise higher, to rise to principles which the country cannot abandon without losing something of its strength and of its moral influence in the world, I would say that it is with profound regret, with profound grief, that we have seen France obliged to address to the Mexicans a proclamation which recalls that addressed in 1792 to France by the generalissimo of the armies of Prussia and Austria. (Exclamations from a great number of benches.)

Some voices: Very good.

M. ERNEST PICARD. Yes, gentlemen. And my words must not be misunderstood—must be taken in the sense, in the only sense, which I wish to give them. There is no doubt, gentlemen, with regard to the language which a nation, whether animated by good or by bad intentions, is obliged to use when presenting itself in arms before another nation. Do you know how the Duke of Brunswick expressed himself in 1792? "Convinced," he says, "that the same part of the French nation abhors the excesses of a faction that holds it in subjection, and that the great majority of the inhabitants await with impatience the moment of assistance to declare themselves openly against the odious undertakings of their oppressors, his Majesty the Emperor and his Majesty the King of Prussia call upon

them and invite them to return without delay to the path of reason and of justice, of order and of peace. It is with these views that I, the undersigned, commander-in-chief of the two armies, declare:

"That, drawn into the present war by irresistible circumstances, the two allied courts propose to themselves no other end than the happiness of France, without any intention of enriching themselves by conquests."

I do not wish, gentlemen, to insist on this idea, which, I am certain, is yours, too; by insisting upon it, I would fear to hurt the sentiments I experience myself; but I say that the treaty of London, thus understood, can have none but unfortunate results, and that what should come to pass can be, and ought to be, foreseen by men who should have considered what necessary consequences may flow from their acts.

And, in fact, gentlemen, what was to come to pass? The troops depart for Mexico, and from the first hour a disagreement shows itself. There is question first of settling the amount of the sums due to us; an ultimatum must be drawn up. Here, again, in the name of my country, I feel the blush rise to my cheek, when I think of what has been said in the presence of our plenipotentiaries, what they have been obliged to hear.

See how a man who, I acknowledge, does not sympathize with your policy, and who, moreover, is now irritated, see how General Prim renders account of the first conference. [Exclamations and murmurs.] Be calm, gentlemen, I take the words uttered by General Prim at a time when he was not irritated, and I take them simply to state facts.

"It was then for Admiral Jurien to give account of the ultimatum proposed by M. de Saligny, and it is here the disagreement commenced. The French claims comprise the payment of twelve millions of piastres, the figure at which the French minister has estimated those which he deems legitimate. They comprise the execution of a contract of Miramon with a commercial house originally Swiss, and afterwards become French, concluded at the moment when his government was in the agonies of dissolution.

"At the mention of the Jecker contract, the English representatives cried out in one voice that that was an inadmissible demand.

"This disagreeable incident paralyzed for the moment the progress of the negotiations, and placed us in a position of great embarrassment."

In fact, gentlemen, from this first moment, for this first motive, discord shows itself; community of action in effect ceases; each one of the nations will itself defend its own ultimatum, whereas neither the English nation nor the Spanish nation is willing to accept the pretensions of our ministers.

They talk of it in France. Now, in France, what is said, and how shall we explain the singular ignorance in which the minister of foreign affairs was left in this regard?

In a conversation between Lord Cowley and M. Thouvenel, the latter expresses himself thus, as it appears from a letter of Lord Cowley to Lord John Russell: "M. Thouvenel says that, neither in his conversations with me, nor in his instructions to M. de Flahault, has he consented to abandon the Jecker claim; that he had never known so as to form an opinion on the subject; that he did not know to what point French interests were involved in it; that, consequently, he should leave the whole affair to the discretion of M. de Saligny, in whose probity he reposed entire confidence."

See how things went on; and if you will please to remember that on the 26th of March, 1862, (this despatch is dated the 14th,) at this date only, that is, ten days after this despatch, the banker Jecker obtained his letters of naturalization, you will see that there is in this affair an enigma which the lucid speech of the minister for foreign affairs without portfolio would strive to make us understand. [Murmurs of approbation and disapprobation.]

So, scarcely had this first cause of discord manifested itself, when, behold, a second arises. A vessel brings to Vera Cruz the famous Miramon, Padre Miranda, and thirty persons more or less celebrated of the last government of Mexico. Then the English minister pretends that ex-President Miramon having laid hands on 660,000 piastres which belonged to the English legation, he should be considered not as a political individual, but as an ordinary malefactor, and that, in consequence, his first duty is to demand that he should be compelled to re-embark.

Who resists this re-embarkation? At first it is General Prim, but he yields. This argument, says Sir Charles Wyke, had its weight with General Prim, but it was only half accepted by Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, and M. Dubois de Saligny always opposed it. The packet brought Miramon with thirty persons, among whom was the famous Father Miranda and other members of the clerical party. It seems that his partisans awaited him on the coast with horses and arms, and all that was necessary to renew the civil war.

You can understand, gentlemen, that in such circumstances, when the conferences were opened which are known under the name of the Preliminaries of La Soledad, it is evident that the plenipotentiaries were destined not to find themselves unanimous.

But before terminating this incident of the history of the Mexican expedition, let me

be permitted to recall to your minds the remarkable speech delivered before you by the minister of foreign affairs. You know how the honorable M. Billault, fascinating you by his eloquence, elicited your applause by telling you that in that country, Mexico, they called a robbery a seizure, and that the tribunals condemned only to civil reparation those who had taken away the property of others. He made allusion to a judgment of the 10th of August, 1861, rendered precisely on the occasion of the carrying off of the funds of the English legation, and of which the motive is as follows:

"Considering as being comprised in the first category the seizure of the funds destined for the payment of English creditors, effected by order of the rebel chiefs Miramon and Marquez, November 17, 1860, in the house No. 11, street of the Capuchins ———."

You understand, gentlemen, that the Mexicans, whatever confidence they may have had in our words, in our proclamations, must feel very uneasy with regard to the success of a regeneration which commenced by the introduction of Miramon, of Father Miranda, and of several others; of Marquez, gentlemen, who now fights under our flag, and who, nevertheless, was celebrated in Mexico for his ferocity; of Marquez, who is one of the principal persons concerned in those armed attacks committed on the highways against which our countrymen were to be protected.

What policy, then, gentlemen, inspired the government when it acted in this way? And to what influence did it yield? In truth, when I inquire what the conditions are of the regeneration of Mexico, and what on the point of these conditions was the real idea of the government, I find it quite hesitating, and I commence to fear that the government is committing serious errors in principle and doctrine.

When, for the first time, it addressed itself to England, asking the concurrence of the latter with it in a plan of action in common, England, gentlemen, which in matters of external policy has a fixed idea, asked two things: An amnesty and the establishment in Mexico of religious liberty. What did our government reply? I find the evidence of it in a despatch of M. Barrot of June 2, 1862. It replied that it consented to the amnesty, but that it refused the establishment of religious liberty in Mexico. It replied in the following terms, or at least its ambassador, M. Barrot, expressed himself in those terms:

"The cabinet of London desires at the same time a general amnesty and the adoption of a system of religious toleration. The first of these measures seem also to the Emperor's government indicated by the situation the day when the parties shall have been reconciled. But it has not concealed from the British government that the establishment of religious liberty in Mexico appeared to it to offer a serious objection, besides being uncalled for by any necessity in the political or moral condition of the country."

These facts being known, is it not unnecessary to say, with the English ministers who were witnesses of it, what I find in a despatch of the ambassador of London to Earl Russell, thus couched, under date of May 2, 1862:

"I would deceive your lordship," says he, "if I concealed from you my personal conviction that there exists a fixed determination, though not avowed, to overturn the government of Juarez, whatever may be the consequences of that act, and whether civil war results from it or not."

See how our policy in Mexico was understood. The honorable minister to whom I reply will say, perhaps, that it was judged severely and judged by rivals. But I would wish that, at least, the events could answer for him, and that those which have followed should not have happened.

The preliminaries of La Soledad are opened; the conferences are held, and you know how a discord breaks out. Here also I accuse, and I accuse directly, the government of an act which I find one of those acts the most to be regretted and the most painful that exist in our diplomatic history.

Arrived in Mexico, at Vera Cruz, under a climate where the yellow fever reigns, our plenipotentiaries, in the interest of the health of our troops, obtain from the government of Juarez permission for them to proceed to the upper plateau, beyond the defiles guarded by the Mexican troops, during the deliberations; on their word of honor that, when those deliberations should be terminated or broken off, if broken off they should be without result, they should resume their position and return to this side of the defiles. Well, in accordance with an order issued from hence, our troops, who would have a thousand times preferred to take these defiles which would not have resisted them, were obliged to march forward to establish themselves at Orizaba, and to assist in sorrow at the violation of the engagements made.

Oh, gentlemen, it is always imprudent to desire to regenerate the people when we are not sufficiently sure of ourselves; and, indeed, when the government pursues in Mexico such conduct as I have briefly sketched, I ask myself whether it has not understood what there is rash in this expedition, and whether it does not regret bitterly to have neglected, in undertaking it, the counsels and the control of the representatives of the nation.

So, also, you know how, on the 9th of April, the conference being broken off, according

to orders issued directly from here, Admiral Jurien de la Graviere declares that he will march on Mexico; the English declare that they are going to withdraw, a thing which, I think, they had foreseen in advance; and the Spanish imitate them.

I pass no opinion on the conduct of the Spanish, and I agree with what the minister has said in regard to the English, who seem not to have deceived us. Yet I find in this rupture of the alliance, in this cessation of action in common thus coming to pass without the French government being able to make any cause of complaint out of it, to protest against its allies, or to reply to what has been said in every assembly with regard to our diplomatic conduct—I find I say, an occasion to address a very severe reproach to those who represent our policy, a reproach for the want of foresight against which, it seems to me, they will find it difficult to defend themselves.

See, gentlemen, how the Mexican expedition has been conducted to this day. What will be the consequences of it? What will be the result? What do you wish to do in Mexico, and what, in fine, is your policy? I know that at this moment, and at this moment only, when the conferences are broken off, when all things have passed as I have said, there appears unexpectedly a system of grand policy which seems to have been kept in reserve, and which, in any case, would save appearances only at the expense of the frankness of our agents.

They tell us that there is an interest superior to this that the United States of the north should not encroach upon Mexico, that we must resist their invading power, and that it is an interest of great policy, of very great policy, which has taken us to Mexico and which keeps us there.

Oh, gentlemen, I do not examine, I shall not examine at length the after-thought scheme thus inaugurated; I find that it is in such manner judged by the facts, in such manner refuted by the first principles of political and common sense, that I am unwilling to believe that it is the foundation of the discourse which we shall hear in reply to our observations.

How, indeed! Go to Mexico in arms, that is to develop American sentiment in Mexico; to invade Mexico with the assistance of French, Spanish, or English troops; that is giving up Mexico to America. That was the opinion of one of the colleagues of the minister, when, in 1849, in the discussion on the affairs of La Plata, M. Rouher said that it was inexpedient to undertake the expedition, because this expedition would only develop the American spirit which it was not our interest to develop.

And the proof; do you wish to have it? You will find it in connexion with the course of argument which I have the honor to submit to you. The next day after that on which they are threatened by you, what steps do the Mexicans take? in what direction do they turn their eyes? to whom do they apply? where is their refuge? who is the man that becomes that day the most important in the diplomatic corps? It is the representative of the United States. And when the government of President Juarez says to us, "I have just been installed yesterday; I am without resources, without money; I cannot satisfy your claims; I cannot give you a dollar; but I am going to borrow, I am going to borrow of the United States; I will pledge to them a part of our territory;" we must reply to it, "Your territory is pledged to us; consequently we forbid you to hypothecate it in order to pay us." This argument, I am sure, ought to be appreciated by the minister as it deserves; it is an expedient of war and diplomacy; but it is no less true, and it is the only truth which I would wish to set clearly before your eyes, that from the day when France assumes a threatening attitude to Mexico, that very day Mexico turns to the United States, and, so to speak, surrenders itself up to them.

Consequently, let us lay aside this political scheme; it dates from the day of the rupture of the conferences and the departure of the allies, and I much fear that the only end sought in this is the wish to redeem a blunder by an imaginary profundity of plan and scheme.

There remains then, gentlemen, the political question on which you have, in my opinion, to exercise a great and legitimate interest.

The question is submitted to you in the draught of an address, you hope that the war will have a happy and speedy termination. Who would not subscribe, gentlemen, to these expressions? But at the same time we find them quite inoffensive; that the war should have a happy and speedy termination, every one wishes that. But how should it finish? what policy should we pursue in Mexico? Should we, as the Spanish, who wish to resume the conferences, ask us, prepare ourselves for a temporary occupation? Do you wish to inaugurate in Mexico, at the distance of 2,000 leagues from us, a new Algeria, which you will try to colonize while you prepare the *senatus consultum* which is to finish the colonization of the other Algeria, which you have for thirty years so little and so badly colonized? Do you wish that the resources of France should be periodically and annually sent to aid the revolutions or the tumults of the Mexican agents who have duped you, and of whom you are only the followers in this policy of enterprise and adventure in which you have involved yourselves? Do you wish this? say so, at least; and in a question