

acter. You can, then, rest satisfied, as I now do, with regard to the future which is to be prepared for you by this triumvirate, which will assume the reins of government from the 24th of June.

Mexicans: In placing in the hands of these three provisional chiefs of the nation the powers which circumstances have given me, in order to exercise them for your benefit, I desire to render you my thanks for the active and intelligent co-operation which I have met in you. I shall ever preserve a grateful remembrance of those relations which have caused me to appreciate, at their just value, your patriotism and your respect for order, which have made you so worthy of the interest of France and of the Emperor.

FOREY,

General of Division, &c., &c., &c.

MEXICO, June 23, 1863.

No 6.

*Manifesto of the Supreme Executive Power to the nation.*

MEXICANS: Having been appointed, by the superior committee of government, to exercise the supreme powers of the nation, it is right that we should instruct you of the very grave situation in which we find ourselves, and of our designs in fulfilling the mighty charge that we have received.

Never was the Mexican nation seen with more misfortunes nor with more solid hopes. A disciplined and courageous army, a great and civilized power, have undertaken to save us from the unfathomable abyss of evils to which, as blindly as impiously, a misled minority of our countrymen have brought us. They labor for our national restoration not by the terror of arms, nor by anti-social principles.

The force that comes to protect us will only be used to conquer that which persists in destroying us; to the errors which have perverted us there will be opposed the truths that regenerate nations; to the demoralization which has overturned everything there will be applied the justice which maintains the order of nations.

We know how many sophisms and calumnies those who have persisted in our ruin have employed and employ to diffuse among you aversion or mistrust with respect to the intervention. Compare their sophisms with the facts which you behold; their calumnies with the conduct which is observed; their insidious promises with the evidence of the disasters and desolation that you contemplate. Compare the deeds with the words of the magnanimous and enlightened Emperor: No hostility to the nation, and sufficient mildness even toward those who compromise it and tyrannize over it.

Driving from the capital the power which the pretended constitution of 1857 systematized in evil, by evil, and for evil, the representatives of the Emperor have made no delay in establishing the provisional Mexican government, which will govern until the nation, more amply represented, shall fix freely and definitively the form of government which Mexicans ought to have permanently. The chimeras of conquest with which it was attempted to alarm the thoughtless are made evident and vanish. Mexico has again self-government, and is able and at liberty to choose, among all the political institutions, that which suits it best, and has the most glorious titles and firmest guarantees of stability.

In the mean time it is incumbent upon us to govern *ad interim* this suffering and disorganized nation; a task immensely arduous and complicated, and much superior to our strength. Can we, in our transitory administration, repair the disorders and injuries of half a century? That which was founded by three centuries of peace, and a gradual progress, is not restored in a few days; we can only aspire to take the road and guide you in the first steps. No doubt Divine Providence reserves to more competent persons the consummating all the moral, social, political, and industrial restoration of Mexico.

The work is grand, and will be the sooner realized according as your co-operation is decided and general. We shall do very little if just men of all classes, parties, and ranks of our society do not aid our intentions in their respective spheres.

We behold you vacillating and uncertain about the future of our beloved country, as dejected with cares and anxieties, as fearful of new misfortunes, anxious for peace, and distrustful of provoking new wars; ruined and panting for tranquillity to restore your fortunes, with aversion for the political and administrative theories which we have tried, and jealous of trying other new ones. Order and disorder, misery and prosperity, conciliation and discord, are at your choice. You have two powers in view—one whose long tyranny and bad passions you have so wofully experienced, and another whose measured and just behavior you are able to observe: the one which is not satisfied with all your treasures, nor with your most necessary furniture, and the other which commences by relieving you of taxes, and introducing the severest economy: the one which fled from this city without any other

support than the faction whose illegitimate interests it fomented, and the other which, solidly fixed in Europe, will rest upon the legitimate interest and cardinal principles of society: that, in short, which, sacrificing to personal interest, or that of party, all that was orderly, just, useful, respectable, and sacred, brought our country to wars, and this, which, by the light and unconquered force of Catholicism, according to the invincible rules of good government, and supported by the bountiful protection of France, omitted nothing, that Mexico may rise in the New World as vigorous, enlightened, and improved as corresponds to the admirable abundance of her elements of prosperity.

Very grave affairs are about to occupy our attention. Peace, which has its roots only in justice and well-defined liberty; agriculture, now so decayed, the basis of every kind of industry, and which for so long has been the common prey of revolutionists and highwaymen; commerce, so paralyzed and fallen, from the public insecurity in the country; mining, a first-rate branch of industry, in decay from the prejudices and special burden which it has suffered; the unmeasured exactions in the towns and the demoralization in agreements; the arts either destroyed or impoverished; the administration of justice, with some honorable exceptions, so corrupt and tardy; security on the highways or in the inhabited places altogether lost; the vagrancy of all classes and ranks serving as a food for disorder and national depravation; finally, the reparation of the moral and physical disasters made by the so-called system of liberty and reform, for which the two powers will co-operate together as far as concerns them, united or separate, and the tribunals in cases within their competency.

The well-deserving army will likewise merit a preferable attention, and their sufferings will be taken into consideration, proceeding, without delay, to its reorganization. The worthy mutilated of the national independence will not be forgotten, nor less the suffering widows of the honored soldiers who have died in defence of their country.

The Catholic religion is re-established and free. The church will exercise its authority without having an enemy in the government, and the state will concert with it the manner of resolving the grave questions which are pendant.

The atheism which has been planted in the establishments of instruction, and the infamous propaganda of immoral doctrines which have ruined us, must cease. Catholic instruction, solid and of the greatest possible extent, and new literary careers and guarantees for good teachers, will be the object of our labors.

We have still to get rid of the so-called constitutional government, which is only able and only knows to do evil, which courts no good in its career of innovations and destruction. Whilst it exists, we Mexicans shall have no peace, nor our fortunes security, nor commerce increase. The Franco-Mexican army will, as the first act they perform, pursue it until it surrenders or is driven from the national territory, and, in proportion as the towns shake off their intolerable yoke, they will begin to feel the repose and prosperity which the people already liberated enjoy. At the same time suitable measures will be dictated to expedite the pacification of the departments, and diminish the ruin which the agents of demagogism still occasion them.

Our misdeeds, and the acts committed by terrorists against friendly nations, have discredited us in the Old World. Good and dignified relations will be opened again with injured governments and with the Sovereign Pontiff; every effort will be made to ratify the obligations of Mexico with friendly powers, and with the protection of France and the other nations that shall support the new government, we shall be respected abroad, and the honor and credit of the nation will be repaired.

We have told you frankly what we think of the new situation, and what we intend to do in the difficult commission which we have received, in spite of our insufficiency. Much will be done if eminent men of all kinds assist. Let our disgraceful discord at last end. Let the scandal which we have given to the world cease. Let there be concord, union, peace, and public spirit among us. Let the sordid speculations at public misfortunes be extirpated, and let those riches be turned to great and lucrative industrial enterprises. Let honest labor be the foundation of fortunes; let functionaries have no power over the laws, nor the laws over morality. Let religion and authority, property and liberty, order and peace, be at last precious realities for Mexicans. May the God of armies, who has so directly favored our cause, reward the generosity and sincere intervention of France, and the patriotic intention with which we good Mexicans have accepted it, with the speedy grandeur and prosperity of the nation.

Palace of the supreme executive power in Mexico, the 24th of June, 1863.

JUAN N. ALMONTE.

JOSÉ MARIANO SALAS.

JUAN B. ORMAECHEA.

## No. 7.

SECRETARYSHIP OF STATE AND OF THE OFFICE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS,  
PALACE OF THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE POWER,  
Mexico, July 11, 1863.

The provisional supreme executive power has been pleased to address me the following decree:

"The provisional supreme executive power of the nation to the inhabitants thereof. Know ye, that the Assembly of Notables has thought fit to decree as follows:

"The Assembly of Notables, in virtue of the decree of the 16th ultimo, that it should make known the form of government which best suited the nation, in use of the full right which the nation has to constitute itself, and as its organ and interpreter, declares, with absolute liberty and independence, as follows:

"1. The Mexican nation adopts as its form of government a limited hereditary monarchy, with a Catholic prince.

"2. The sovereign shall take the title of Emperor of Mexico.

"3. The imperial crown of Mexico is offered to his imperial and royal highness the Prince Ferdinand Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, for himself and his descendants.

"4. If, under circumstances which cannot be foreseen, the Archduke of Austria, Ferdinand Maximilian, should not take possession of the throne which is offered to him, the Mexican nation relies on the good will of his Majesty Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, to indicate for it another Catholic prince.

"Given in the Hall of Sessions of the Assembly, on the 10th of July, 1863.

"TEODOSIO LARES, *President.*

"ALEJANDRO ARANGO Y ESCANDON, *Secretary.*

"JOSE MARIA ANDRADE, *Secretary.*

"Therefore, let it be printed, published by national edict, and circulated, and let due fulfillment be given thereto.

"Given at the palace of the supreme executive power in Mexico, on the 11th of July, 1863.

"JUAN N. ALMONTE.

"JOSE MARIANO SALAS.

"JUAN B. ORMAECHEA.

"To the UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE AND OF THE OFFICE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS."

And I communicate it to you for your knowledge and consequent purposes.

J. M. ARROYO,

*Under Secretary of State and of the Office of Foreign Relations.*

## No. 8.

SECRETARYSHIP OF STATE AND OF THE OFFICE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS,  
PALACE OF THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE POWER,  
Mexico, July 11, 1863.

The provisional supreme executive power has been pleased to address me the following decree:

"The provisional supreme executive power of the nation to the inhabitants thereof: Know ye that the Assembly of Notables has thought fit to decree as follows:

"The Assembly of Notables, in view of the decree of this date, has thought fit to decree:

"Until the arrival of the sovereign the persons appointed, by decree of 22d of June last, to form the provisional government, shall exercise the power in the very terms established by the decree referred to, with the character of regency of the Mexican empire.

"Given in the Hall of Sessions of the Assembly on the 11th of July, 1863.

"TEODOSIO LARES, *President.*

"ALEJANDRO ARANGO Y ESCANDON, *Secretary.*

"JOSE MARIA ANDRADE, *Secretary.*

"Therefore, let it be printed, published, and circulated, and let due fulfillment be given thereto.

"Given at the palace of the supreme executive power in Mexico, on the 11th of July, 1863.

"JUAN N. ALMONTE.

"JOSE MARIANO DE SALAS.

"JUAN B. ORMAECHEA.

"To the Under Secretary of State and Foreign Relations, Don JOSE MIGUEL ARROYO."

And I communicate it to you for your knowledge and consequent purposes.

J. M. ARROYO,

*Under Secretary of State for Foreign Relations.*

## No. 9.

*The offer of the crown.—Señor Estrada's address to Maximilian.*

PRINCE: The powerful hand of a generous monarch had hardly restored liberty to the Mexican nation when he despatched us to your imperial highness, cherishing the sincerest wishes and warmest hopes for our mission. We shall not dwell upon the visitations Mexico has had to undergo, and which, as they are notorious, have reduced our country to the verge of despair and ruin. There is no means we have not employed, no way we have not tried, to escape a situation full of misery for the present and foreboding catastrophes for the future. We have long endeavored to extricate ourselves from the fatal and ruinous position into which the country had fallen on adopting, with credulous inexperience, republican institutions, at variance with its natural arrangements, its customs and traditions; institutions which, though they resulted in the greatness and prosperity of a neighboring nation, have only become a source of trials and desperate disappointments in our case. Nearly half a century, Prince, has elapsed, carrying with it for Mexico barren tortures and intolerable humiliation, but without deadening the spark of hope and indomitable vitality in our breast. Full of unshakable confidence in the Ruler of human destinies, we never ceased to look out for a cure of our ever-growing national malady. We may say we awaited its advent true to ourselves. Our faith was not in vain. The ways of Providence have become manifest, opening up a new era, and exciting the admiration of the greatest minds by an unexpected turn of fortune.

Once again master of her destinies, Mexico, taught by experience, is at this moment making a last effort to correct her faults. She is changing her institutions, being firmly persuaded that those now selected will be even more salutary than the analogous arrangements which existed at the time she was the colony of a European state. This will be all the more certain if we should be destined to see at our head a Catholic Prince, who, with the high and recognized worth of his character, with the nobility of his feelings, knows how to couple that firmness of will and self-sacrificing devotion which are the inheritance of those only who have been selected by God Almighty in decisive moments of public danger and social ruin, to save sinking peoples and restore them to a new life. Mexico expects much from the spirit of those institutions which have governed it for three centuries, and which, when they fell, left us a brilliant, but, alas! now spoiled inheritance. The democratic republic endeavored to do away with the traces of former grandeur. But whatever may be our confidence in such institutions, their efficiency will be only perfect when crowned in the person of your imperial highness. A king, the heir of an old monarchy, and representing solid institutions, may render his people happy, even in the absence of distinguished qualities of mind and character; but very different and exceptional qualities are required in a prince who intends to become the founder of a new dynasty and the heir of a republic.

Without you, Prince—believe it from these lips which have never served the purposes of flattery—without you, all our efforts to save the country will be in vain. Without you will not be realized the generous intentions of a great sovereign, whose sword restored us to liberty and whose powerful arm now supports us in this decisive hour. With you, however, experienced in the difficult art of government, our institutions would become what they ought to be, if the happiness and prosperity of our country are to be guaranteed. With you they would have for their foundation that genuine liberty which is coupled with justice and moderation—not the spurious counterfeit we have become conversant with during half a century's ruinous wars and quarrels. Such institutions, equally as they are in harmony with the spirit of the age, will also become the unshakable corner-stone of our national independence. These sentiments, these hopes, which have been long entertained by all true friends of Mexico, are now in the hearts of all in our country. In Europe, too, whatever sympathies or antipathies may have been roused on the occasion of our present

step, there is only one voice in regard to your imperial highness and your noble consort, who, shining by personal worth and high virtues, will share your throne and rule over our hearts. The Mexicans require only to see you in order to love you.

Faithful interpreters of the longing desire and the wishes of our country, in its name we offer to your imperial highness the crown of Mexico—that crown which a solemn resolution of the Assembly of Notables has of its free will and accord handed over to your imperial highness. Even now that resolution has been confirmed by the assent of many provinces, and will soon be sanctioned by the entire nation. Nor can we forget, Prince, that by a fortunate coincidence of circumstances this great national act is taking place on the day on which Mexico celebrates the anniversary of the victorious appearance of the national army, carrying high the banner of independence and monarchy. May it please your imperial highness to fulfil our prayers and accept our choice. May we be enabled to carry the joyous tidings to a country awaiting them in longing anxiety; joyous tidings not only for us Mexicans, but also for France, whose name is now indissolubly bound up with our history, and gratitude for England and Spain who began the work of revival, and for the illustrious house of Austria, connected by time-honored and glorious memories with a new continent.

We do not undervalue the sacrifice to be made by your imperial highness in entering upon so great a task with all its consequences, and in severing yourself from your friends in Europe—that quarter of the globe which, from its centre, diffuses civilization over the world. Yes, Prince, this crown which our love offers you is but a heavy burden to-day, but it will soon be made enviable by your virtues, our zealous co-operation, our loyal devotion and inextinguishable gratitude. Whatever may be our faults, however deep our fall, we are still the sons of those who, inspired by the sacred names of religion, king, and country, hesitated not to run the greatest risks, engage in the grandest enterprises, combat and suffer in their course. These are the sentiments which, in the name of our grateful country, we lay at the feet of your imperial highness. We offer them to the worthy scion of that powerful dynasty which planted Christianity on our native soil. On that soil, Prince, we hope to see you fulfil a high task, to mature the choicest fruits of culture, which are order and true liberty. The task is great, but greater is our confidence in Providence, which has led us thus far.

## No. 10.

*Reply of the Archduke Maximilian, on the 3d of October, 1863, to the Mexican deputation.*

"I am profoundly grateful for the wishes expressed by the Assembly of Notables.

"It cannot be other than flattering to our house that the thoughts of your countrymen turn to the descendants of Charles V.

"It is a proud task to assure the independence and the prosperity of Mexico under the protection of free and lasting institutions. I must, however, recognize the fact—and in this I entirely agree with the Emperor of the French, whose glorious undertaking makes the regeneration of Mexico possible—that the monarchy cannot be re-established in your country on a firm and legitimate basis unless the whole nation shall confirm by a free manifestation of its will the wishes of the capital.

"My acceptance of the offered throne must, therefore, depend upon the result of the vote of the whole country.

"Further, a sentiment of the most sacred of the duties of the sovereign requires that he should demand for the proposed empire every necessary guarantee to secure it against the dangers which threaten its integrity and its independence.

"If substantial guarantees for the future can be obtained, and if the universal suffrage of the noble Mexican people select me as its choice, I shall be ready, with the consent of the illustrious chief of my family, and trusting to the protection of the Almighty, to accept the throne.

"It is my duty to announce to you now, gentlemen, that in case Providence shall call me to the high mission of civilization which is attached to this crown, it is my fixed intention to open to your country, by means of a constitutional government, a path to a progress based on order and civilization, and, as soon as the empire shall be completely pacified, to seal with my oath the fundamental agreement concluded with the nation.

"It is only in this manner that a truly national policy can be established, in which all parties, forgetting their ancient quarrels, will unite to raise Mexico to the high rank which she should attain under a government whose first principle will be law based on equity.

"I beg of you to communicate these my intentions, frankly expressed, to your countrymen, and to take measures to obtain from the nation an expression of its will as to the form of government it intends to adopt."

## No. 11.

*Note addressed by the government of the republic to the governments of friendly powers.*

NATIONAL PALACE, SAN LUIS POTOSI, July 22, 1863.

To His Excellency the MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF ———:

The undersigned, minister of foreign affairs of the republic of Mexico, has the honor of addressing himself to his excellency the minister of foreign affairs of ———, with reference to the events which have lately taken place in the city of Mexico.

The undersigned has to commence by stating to his excellency the minister that the president, having become convinced that policy did not dictate a resistance to the invader in the former capital, ordered that the supreme powers of the federation should be transferred to this city. This decree was executed a few days after its publication, after the national congress had terminated its sessions by the expiration of the period of its second term.

Some days later, not only the president, invested with extraordinary powers by congress, but also the permanent deputation of congress which subsists during the recess of that body, and finally the supreme court of justice, which completes the *personnel* of the supreme powers of the country, were established in the new capital, where they discharge with perfect regularity the attributes conferred upon them by our organic law.

The government of the republic in all its branches receives, as is natural and due, the recognition and the obedience of the nation, excepting only the few places which the army of France hold subject and oppressed. But the power arrogated by the invader of our soil is so limited and so uncertain in its tenure, besides being so odious and so strongly resisted, that there is not held by him a single foot of ground not controlled by his military posts. However near to these other towns may be, they obey—the same as all the rest of the nation—the authorities which Mexico, in the exercise of its sovereignty, and by the free vote of its citizens, has thought proper to place at the head of its internal administration. In fine, even the line from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico, the line which should be certain and secure to the enemy's army, is incessantly cut by the national troops.

But even if this line were not and should not be disputed by our forces, and although the French should succeed in executing their plan—which has transpired—of extending the influence of their arms to the radius of twenty leagues from the city of Mexico, there would even then have been conquered by their forces only a mere fraction of the republic, (a portion incomparably less than that which remains,) and which, animated by a sense of right and a consciousness of strength, is resolved not only to continue to resist the foreign invader, but to recover those portions where the legal order has been interrupted by the momentary triumph of force over justice and right, over patriotism the most noble, and over courage itself.

Such being the actual condition of affairs, it is difficult for the undersigned properly to qualify the act which has just been committed in the former capital of the republic by the general in chief of the invading army. Immediately upon the occupation of the city of Mexico he has thought that the hour had arrived to announce that the government of the federation had been destroyed and annihilated. He therefore proceeded to name thirty-five individuals, in order that they, in their turn, should elect a triumvirate who should be charged with the executive power, and should also name two hundred and fifteen other persons who, with the title of "notables," should be intrusted with authority to determine the form of our government. Pronouncing themselves in favor of a monarchy, they selected for emperor his royal highness the Prince Maximilian of Austria, and declared that the provisional government should take the name of regency.

Considering these acts in their true light, and deducing from them their only practical and effective consequences, it results that there is in the city of Mexico a combination of three persons, called triumvirs, and now members of a regency; and that there is a prince who has been called to reign over Mexico as emperor by two hundred and fifteen individuals, seconded, at most, by only the places occupied by the troops of the Emperor Napoleon. But as the entire party resigned to accept the foreign prince whom the invader is so anxious to give us only embraces the inhabitants dominated by the French army and a few impotent and fugitive bands, and as all this lacks very greatly of even approaching to be a majority of the people of the country, who, as a matter of fact, adhere to the constitutional government, it follows logically that the empire and the regency do not constitute a government *de facto*, nor prove anything more than a desire and an attempt to establish such a government. In fine, so long as the orders of the government of Mexico are respected and obeyed throughout almost the entire nation, that is the supreme authority which inter-

national law teaches should be recognized, independent of its other legitimate titles, under the presumption that a state accepts, or at least tolerates, that government which it obeys without resistance.

Coming to the question of right, the undersigned finds a source of embarrassment in its discussion from the abundance of the reasons which demonstrate the justice with which the Mexican people reject the bastard and despicable government which General Forey seeks to impose upon them.

The undersigned even fears that it may be considered an undue yielding to force to attempt the formal proof of a thing so clear and self-evident. But he feels it his duty to conform to the usage of civilized nations, and, by complying loyally with the sacred obligation imposed upon him by the vote and the confidence of the republic, provide for its defence by all the legitimate and proper means that may be within his reach.

The Emperor of the French, violating the most sacred and important of the restrictions with which civilization has tempered the right of war, has declared it against Mexico, and is making it solely on account of a miserable debt, whose payment has been offered to him, and for certain other causes equally destitute of consistency and of justice, such as the reclamation of Jecker, which has no existence, except at his hands, the mere enunciation of which causes has filled the world with astonishment.

Hostilities have been opened without waiting for the refusal of such satisfaction as might with justice be demanded of us, and only once have his agents treated of negotiations, and that was to infringe and to prove false to the stipulations of Soledad, exchanging thereby the unhealthy positions of their forces for others more salubrious and more advanced. The Emperor and his agents have not sought to obtain reparation through peace, nor have they made war upon Mexico to obtain it. Their true design, well known even before the government of France had lifted the veil with which it was covered—the design which for a long time had been openly spoken of and discussed by the politicians and the journals of Europe—was to overthrow republican institutions in Mexico, to destroy its government, and to raise a throne for the Prince Maximilian of Austria.

It is for this reason that the agents of the Emperor have declared that they would never treat with the president, which is equivalent to saying that peace should never be made; for the president, not having obtained his position through force or fraud, as have so many ambitious men in ancient and modern times, but by the free vote of his fellow-citizens, can neither reject the confidence which they have bestowed upon him, by violating his most sacred duties and obligations and abandoning his post in the day of peril for the republic, nor can they consent that the chief magistrate charged by them with the functions of government and with the duty of representing its sovereignty abroad should be removed from power to please a foreign enemy, even if that should be the sole condition required for the re-establishment of those friendly relations which have been interrupted.

As all of the events of a political character which have occurred in the city of Mexico have taken place and are sustained solely by the direction of General Forey, and as from the very nature of these events it is not possible to ascribe them to any other origin or support, it follows that France, by means of force, is intervening to the extent of her power in the administration and government of Mexico, and has therefore again inaugurated that unhappy era which it had been the glory of the nineteenth century to have terminated; for war will be full of iniquity and of interminable disasters to the nations when the power of one over the others shall have no longer the restraints of international right.

The French government, in the blindness of its ambitious designs, has forgotten that this pretended right of intervention was once applied to France, although to the present imperial family this memory should be indelible.

If national sovereignty is the basis upon which rest the rights of mankind, it is easy to see how great and profound, how alarming for all the states of the globe, is this outrage which is being done to Mexico by the Emperor Napoleon III.

The undersigned will now descend to refer to the acts which the general of the invading army and his adherents have had the boldness to present as sufficient titles to attribute to their mock government a character of true nationality. They assert that the place where the empire was proclaimed has the virtue of legalizing that act both within and without the republic.

General Forey, after having occupied the city of Mexico, announced that the military question had terminated, and that they had now to decide the political question. But the truth is that the military question is scarcely commenced, and that the political question is very far from having been opened, much less closed, by the election of a monarch in that city. The city of Mexico is without doubt a very important place for us; but it by no means has the importance and influence which in some other countries is exercised by the capital. The Mexican people made war upon Spain with vigor and with success, notwith-

standing the city of Mexico remained up to the last moment submissive to the colonial government; and later, when the insurrectionary party held the same city, with many others, it was only at the end of a three-years' war that they could be driven out of all by the irresistible uprising of the nation.

The consciousness of right, and the determination to sacrifice everything in the defence of our liberties, are sentiments diffused throughout the utmost bounds of the republic, and one or many cities lost cannot weaken our resolution, as it will not diminish the justice of our cause, or lessen the immense value of the objects we are defending.

It is in vain that they talk of a pretended right upon which they seek to found the appointment of the notables. In truth, even if a custom by which necessity or abuse has established among us certain governments, merely provisional, could be applicable at the time when there was a government obeyed and respected throughout all the land, and even admitting a compromise between these governments and that permanent one which the new notables imagined they could create, it would still be evident that such a custom, whether good or bad, has not been, nor can it ever be, accepted in the contingency of being invoked and used by the general of the foreign army, an invader of the country.

The organic law of Mexico, however, does not exist in abolished customs, but in the lawful constitution of the country, framed by its legitimate representatives and sustained and defended by the will and by the blood of the Mexican people. Her sovereignty, the same as that of all the nations, has for its first basis the right of Mexico to manage freely and alone her own government. And what species of public right is that which commences by depriving of the equality of citizens the Indians, who form the majority of the nation?

It has been even said that the intervention has in its favor the wishes of a majority of the Mexicans; but the demonstrations of joy extorted by the police in the city of Mexico, and at other points which the enemy holds in his power, upon which alone this assertion is based, offer any appearance rather than that of a spontaneous and universal adhesion. Nor can the undersigned do more than refer to the other boasted proof of sympathy for the intervention taken from the numbers present at a ball given in Mexico by the officers of the French army. Treason, which has declared itself in Mexico, is, without doubt, a horrible crime; but it is not peculiar to the Mexican people, as is proved by history, and very especially by that of France; and neither here more than there does it justify, in any manner, the invasion of a state and the annihilation of its sovereignty.

It also appears very clear to the undersigned that to constantly repeat, as the French government and its agents have repeated, that they only desire to make us happy, is not to advance in the light of those sound principles, which certainly cannot be abolished by a phrase which any ambitious government can use, and, in fact, which has been used with eager readiness in the most iniquitous wars. Nor can it be seriously maintained that any one can by force be obliged to receive a benefit.

In one word, Mr. Minister, the intervention which the Emperor of the French is exercising in this country involves not only an immeasurable outrage to Mexico, but a menace against all other nations, while, with reference to the reality of events, it has in fact only reached the point of being a humiliation imposed by the French army upon the few towns which have fallen in their power, and remains a pure phantasy for the immense majority of the republic.

The republic has not forgotten the heroism of its sons who, without other aid than their own efforts, achieved its independence and gave it the right to inscribe its name upon the honored catalogue of free nations. The defence of Puebla de Zaragoza is demonstrating to the world that our race has not degenerated, although the contrary was said when they were preparing against us this most unjust war.

We shall preserve our institutions in all their force, and the spirit of the nation will rise more and more with the passage of each day, and become more determined in its opposition and inextinguishable in its hatred against the enemies of its repose and the destroyers of its rights.

The men who have violated in the most flagrant manner the law of nations, in contriving pretexts for this war, in the employment of their means of hostilities, and in setting forth with falsehood its ends, concealing the truth, and which ends are in all points unjustifiable; the men who have conspired to rob the country of its sovereignty and to overthrow its free institutions; the men who have caused our soldiers to be murdered when prisoners and dropping with fatigue, and have forced them to hard labor in deadly climates, or to take arms in their ranks to fight against the cause of their country; the men who have stripped from the faithful servants of the government of the nation their property; those who have caused the assassination of a commander of an escort guarding a foreign consul; the men who have thought to degrade the majority of our fellow-citizens, declaring them pariahs in the land of their birth, which has been enriched by the blood their fathers shed in achieving

its independence, and by their own shed in the long struggle to establish it free: the men, in fine, who have re-established the odious and abolished punishment of the lash, even for feeble women—these men never can have the love, never will receive even the tolerance, of the Mexican people, who refused to accept for their emperor even their liberator himself.

The undersigned persuades himself that these facts and these considerations will be sufficient to lead the government of your excellency to approve the protest which the government of Mexico makes, by means of this note, against whatever arrangement, treaty, or convention in which the so-called regency or the supposititious emperor of Mexico shall have part; and the government of the undersigned trusts that the enlightened government of your excellency will not recognize the said regency or empire as the government of Mexico, as it is not, with truth, either in fact or of right.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to offer to your excellency the assurances of his high consideration.

JUAN ANTONIO DE LA FUENTE.

No. 12.

*Protest of the Permanent Deputation of the Congress of the nation.*

The permanent deputation of the sovereign congress of the united Mexican States would fail in one of the most eminent and sacred of its duties, if it should maintain a criminal silence in view of the infamous and scandalous events which have recently taken place in the city of Mexico.

The nation has been outraged in all its rights. The most sacred principles of justice, of reason, and of morals have been mocked at and trampled upon under the shadow of the ephemeral power of foreign soldiers—soldiers who have not known how to conquer, and who have failed to humiliate the heroic republicans who defended the walls of Puebla de Zaragoza. Joined to these, a faction of traitors and cowards, a thousand times conquered in our intestine struggles; of cruel fanatics, who, safe from peril themselves, decree the death of the most loyal patriots; a faction of miserable egotists, who sacrifice everything to their love of gain; of degraded adventurers, the scum of all the parties in our civil wars, have pretended to despoil the nation, and forever, of the most glorious of the titles of a name engraven in the history of its independence, won and preserved by the blood of its best citizens, of its institutions the most cherished, and of its liberties the most precious.

And this small faction of abject and imbecile beings, who to-day adulate and serve the foreign power, and to-morrow will be the objects of its utmost disdain and contempt, never tire of repeating to us, with the same flagrant duplicity that has always characterized their language, that Louis Napoleon, generous and benevolent, without ulterior views, without ulterior design, without illegitimate interests, has caused his soldiers to cross the ocean, at the cost of enormous expense to the treasury of France, solely to comply with a pious and benevolent mission, solely to give us peace, liberty, all those benefits which constitute the happiness of a people, and to leave us free to enjoy in tranquillity these great benefits, without reproach to our honor, without sacrifice to our integrity, and without offence, even the slightest, to our national existence.

The foreign general, associating himself with feigned generosity with this perfidious faction of traitors, has repeated these treacherous words, which, incoherent and inexplicable as they are, have not required the evidence of the events which have occurred to prove their falsehood.

To declare himself triumphant and the victor, after he had occupied, without other resistance than that of Puebla de Zaragoza, two or three cities, abandoned from motives of policy, in a country possessed of an immense extent of territory; to assume that the military line of Vera Cruz to Mexico, incessantly attacked by the national forces, and upon which the invader holds no more than the soil upon which he stands, is equivalent to the conquest of eight millions of inhabitants, the great majority of whom were born and have lived free from the dominion of a foreign yoke; to assume to domineer over this country under such a title, and immediately to attempt to impose upon it laws and to name public functionaries; to appoint a committee of government, without other representation than the will of the self-styled conqueror, and to order it to elect another committee of so-called

notables, all residents of one single town, clothed by him with authority to pronounce in an oracular manner what should be the form of government which it is the will of Mexico to have; for this committee to respond that the absurd and fantastic plan, preconceived and contrived in the Tuileries more than two years ago, is equivalent, quite equivalent, to the free vote of the nation, and that, of their free and spontaneous will, the Mexican people wish to place themselves under the monarchical system, calling for that purpose a foreign prince, a stranger, without ties, without antecedents, and without a knowledge of the country—all this, and still more, which the traitorous faction have wished to do, in testimony of their submission and blind obedience to the most iniquitous of invaders, supplanting the truth, lying in the face of the civilization of the age, and covering the country with opprobrium and reproach, is a gross tissue of absurdities and marvels, such as no history has recorded, and which would be unworthy of all credit if they were not inscribed in irrefragable documents.

Thus do they pretend that a nation can, with easy facility, abdicate its most precious prerogatives—that a state, a moral entity, distinct and independent of all other states, can transmit to another the right of establishing, of changing, or of abolishing the form and character of its government; thus it is pretended in this nineteenth century to obliterate and destroy the autonomy of a people; and thus it is hoped that the Mexicans, strong and numerous, and with the same right to be free as the most prosperous nation of the world, shall disown their political being, shall forget their most sacred traditions, lay aside their most established habits, shall outrage the memory of their greatest sons, and, cowards and ingrates, voluntarily consent to this shameful and humiliating intervention which conceals and covers up its true ends; which is founded in no legitimate motive; which has been born of allied cupidity, through falsehood, calumny, and treason; which invades even the domestic hearth, under the pretext of allotment of brutal soldiers; which sequesters and embargoes private property, and which heaps the infamy of its odious lash upon the shoulders of feeble men and of unprotected women.

However often the traitors may repeat it, kissing the yoke that is imposed upon them, foreign intervention is not compatible, is never compatible, with the sovereignty of the nation. This right is complete, absolute, inalienable, and exclusive; it cannot be ceded nor transferred, nor given in exchange, nor held in partnership. Every sovereign nation, whatever may be its political form, governs of itself alone, and independent of any foreign control. A sovereignty, limited, modified, protected, placed in tutelage, sustained by foreign influence or by foreign arms, cannot be free, cannot live a natural life, and can have no other existence than that given to it by the power upon which it leans; and when, before the occupation by the French arms, not even one single spontaneous manifestation was heard in favor of foreign intervention, and when, in the very districts now occupied, only insignificant villages and persons of obscure position have declared in favor of this national ignominy; when nine-tenths of the Mexican people still remain under the rule of the national and legitimate authority, and multitudes of pacific families have abandoned their hearths and their connexions, in order not to remain in contact with the foreign enemy, and the valiant soldiers who fell in their power on the occupation of Puebla escape from their ranks, in order to reunite themselves to the national army—when so many explicit manifestations prove the invincible repugnance with which the invading force is viewed, yet, in the face of all this, in the capital of the republic has been improvised a phantom of government, which, from its bastard origin, from having at its head the first of traitors, has not and cannot possess either dignity or power, which is only sustained by the bayonets of France, and which has no other mission than that of strutting its little brief period of triumph, sterile and in vain, because it has no foundation in public opinion, and is neither based upon nor supported by the will of the nation, which is already inaugurating a new era in this struggle, which will be more obstinate and more bloody than any which Mexico has before sustained against her invaders.

The permanent deputation, in the name of the congress of the union, and as the faithful interpreters of the national sentiment, so energetically and universally manifested, believes that it fulfils a most solemn obligation in reproducing, as by these presents it does reproduce, all the declarations and protests before made by the sovereign congress itself, by the executive, and by the other legitimate and loyal authorities of the country—declarations which disavow and declare null and of no effect, as against the sovereignty of the Mexican people, and without force or legal value, all acts done or which may be done by virtue of the power or under the influence of the foreign invader; and it declares that, in the constitutional orbit of its functions, remaining always at the side of the government which the nation, in the exercise of its sovereign will, manifested in conformity with its organic law, has freely established, until the next session of the national assembly shall take place, it will co-operate, with all the energy and self-devotion inspired by patriotism, in repelling

force by force, and in using every means to disconcert and defeat the machinations of treason and of conquest, in order to maintain secure the independence, the sovereignty, the laws, and the perfect freedom of the republic.

FRANCISCO ZARCO, *President*.  
 JOAQUIN M. ALCALDE.  
 PONCIANO ARRIAGA.  
 BARTOLOME E. ALMADA.  
 JESUS CASTANEDA.  
 PEDRO CONTRERAS ELIZALDE.  
 JOSE DIAS CORAMBIAS.  
 FRANCISCO P. GOCHICOA.  
 SEBASTIAN LERDO DE TEJADA.  
 GENARO I. LEYVA.  
 IGNACIO OROZCO.  
 G. PRIETO.  
 MANUEL POSADA.  
 FELIX VEGA.

IGNACIO POMBO, *Deputy Secretary*.  
 SIMON DE LA GARZA Y MELO, *Deputy Secretary*.

SAN LUIS POTOSI, July 22, 1863.

*Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.*

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
 Washington, February 24, 1864.

Mr. SECRETARY: As further proof for the injustice and impropriety which, with such foundation, are attributed to the intervention which the French Emperor is pretending to establish in the Mexican republic by the statesmen and political writers of France, despite the many restrictions which hold the press enchained in that empire, I have the honor to enclose with this note, for the information of the government of the United States, a translation into English of an important pamphlet published lately in Paris, under the title of "Solution of the Mexican Question," by Mr. A. Malespine, editor of L'Opinion Nationale.

The statements and deductions contained in that pamphlet respecting the policy pursued in Mexico by the imperial government are of such nature that I think it proper to commend them to the consideration of the government of the United States.

I avail of this occasion to repeat to you, sir, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

SOLUTION OF THE MEXICAN QUESTION.

By A. MALESPINE.

I

CAUSES OF THE FRENCH INTERVENTION.

It seems, in the first place, needless to look back to the causes which led to the French intervention in Mexico. The wrongs done to our fellow-countrymen in person and property have been many, and even the government of Juarez admits in principle the justice of our demands. He disputes, however, the amount of the indemnity claimed, and complains that he is charged with not only the material responsibility, but also the moral responsibility, of crimes done by his political adversaries.





CARTE  
DU  
MEXIQUE

Territoire non occupé  
Parties du Territoire occupé par les Français

Echelle

