

wisdom alone can break, the responsibility of France commences where her action commences, and her protection is extended which we could not disavow without dishonor to ourselves. [Good.]

It is certain, then, that in those first moments, when negotiations were going on, when the exiles made frequent journeys to Vienna, when they broached the matter to Prince Maximilian, the government knew all these things, and approved them. The government foresaw that eventuality; that the exiles might stir up a reactionary movement in their country, thanks to the presence of the French armies, and then it seemed opportune, if a throne was raised, to seat upon it a prince of the house of Austria.

These purposes could not continue confined to the government alone; public opinion and this Chamber are judges of them. They may be good or bad; but it is evident that you would renounce your right of initiative if you did not express some opinion on this point. I have no opinion to offer; in accordance with the ideas which I enunciate, and of which you must acknowledge the simplicity and force, I hasten to proceed with the examination to which you have been invited.

France, thus involved with these exiles, saw a double prospect opened before her. She was going to Mexico to avenge the injuries done there to our countrymen; she had the right to do this. She was going there to obey the instigations of the exiles and to establish there that eventual monarchy for which she reserved her eventual candidate also; in this I positively maintain that France had not the shadow of a right to support her—she had in her favor only an intrigue of which she made herself the instrument. [Several voices: Good, good.]

Are we, then, reduced to this remarkable degree of humiliation that we have to discuss here in your presence the question whether a great people can proceed to instigate internal changes among another friendly people by means of the appearance in its waters of an armed force unfurling there the standard of a party?

I do not wish to insult you so far as to believe that any discussion could be had on this subject within these walls. The law of nations condemns, brands, such attempts; whenever they have been tried in history, they have almost always met with the pointed condemnation of impartial and honorable minds.

M. GLAIS BIZON. Good, good.

M. JULES FAVRE. Yes; I have the right to assert that, in this war undertaken by France, there were two motives—the one perfectly legitimate, the other not so.

Now, what has happened? These things were so well understood that, at the discussion of the address of 1862, when events were yet in a state of uncertainty, it was sought to throw a discreet veil—too discreet, perhaps, for the veracity of the French administration—over facts which now stand forth in the full light of day.

When this Mexican expedition was resolved upon, when the Chamber was called upon to take it into consideration in the discussion of the address of 1862, we, gentlemen, for our part, saw in it the germs of real misfortune to our country; we asked—and you will see in what terms—that this expedition should be restricted within what appeared to us legal limits; and certainly, gentlemen, many of those who do me the honor of listening to me, and, I am convinced, many of those even who deemed it their duty, in obedience to the dictates of their consciences, to vote against an amendment presented by the opposition, wished in the bottom of their hearts that no departure had ever been made from that policy.

"We see with regret," said we, "the Mexican expedition undertaken; its purpose seems to be to interfere in the internal affairs of a people. We request the government to prosecute only the reparation of our grievances."

This, gentlemen, was the interest of France, which we defended. As to the other object, which appeared to us involved in clouds and obscurity, we manifested our distrust and warned the government.

Now, gentlemen, rumors have reached us in Europe from the American shores which have given us to understand that there was an underground intrigue carried on, and that there was already some agreement with a prince of the house of Austria. We said so to the Chamber. Our assertions received from him who sat on that bench [the speaker points to the bench occupied by the commissioners on the part of the government] the most unqualified denial. Listen, gentlemen, to the words of the honorable M. Billault:

"And as to those rumors," said the honorable member, "which gave umbrage to the ambassador of her Britannic Majesty, permit me not to dwell upon them. Some officers, at their departure, said that they were going to Mexico to enthrone a foreign prince there. How! Do you imagine that the great secret of the diplomacy on the subject, if it ever had any existence, would have thus been intrusted to the first comer setting out to Mexico? This surely is not serious. If, as you say, our ally has been disquieted by such rumors, you told us also that she immediately applied to that quarter where she could really learn whether they were well founded; she asked our minister of foreign affairs, and you acknowledge yourselves the answer denied all these rumors.

"The facts then remain as they really are: a war legitimately imposed on us by our

honor and our interests, and which, in concert with our allies, we will carry on with earnestness; a hope, a possibility, for the unfortunate Mexicans, if they have strength, or energy, or cohesion enough to desire to procure for themselves the benefits of a good government; if they know how to save themselves in that way; we will be glad of it; we will find in it the only real guarantee of the security of our countrymen; we will guide them with our counsels and with our moral support; but to constrain them to it by force, never!"

Is it clear, gentlemen? In fact, it is perfectly certain that the English ambassador applied for information to the honorable M. Thouvenel, that the *chargé d'affaires* of the United States of America made the same request, and that they were answered that there was no truth in the report of negotiations with a prince of the house of Austria. Now, the negotiations did exist; they existed before the departure of our troops; they had been made the subject of one of the secret conditions of the treaty of October 31, 1861. If you interrogate the text of that treaty, assuredly you will find there nothing of the kind; but if you go to the official documents which were unknown at that time, and which I might call the official documents of diplomacy, you will see in them, gentlemen, that the plan had been prepared in advance, that the name of Prince Maximilian had been suggested, and that he had already received the support of France. This appears, among other papers, (for I could make numerous quotations to you in this regard,) from a despatch which bears the date of October 11, 1861, addressed by the minister of foreign affairs of France to the French ambassador in London. It is, as you see, anterior to the treaty which bears the date of the 31st of the same month, and here is what we collect in it relative to the subject with which we are now occupied: "I replied," says the minister, "to the English ambassador that I was perfectly agreed with his government on one point: that I acknowledged, with Lord Russell, that the legitimacy of our coercive action in regard to Mexico evidently resulted only from our grievances against the government of that country, and that those grievances, as well as the means of redressing them and of preventing their recurrence, could constitute the only object of an ostensible treaty." There was then a treaty which was not ostensible, and the despatch proceeds to inform us on what it might turn. Here, in fact, is what I read further on:

"But that it seems to me useless to go beyond this, and to prohibit in advance the eventual exercise of a legitimate participation in the events of which our operations might be the origin," &c., &c. And further on: "We are allowed to suppose, in fact, that if the issue of the American crisis," (listen to this, and see how much reason we had yesterday to tell you that, in the forecast of the government, the Mexican expedition and the enthronement of the Archduke Maximilian were connected with the dissensions of the United States, and that about that time it was towards this end that all the wishes of the government were directed,) "we are allowed to suppose, in fact, that if the issue of the American crisis confirmed the separation of the north and the south, the two new confederations would both seek for compensation, which the Mexican territory, delivered up to social dissolution, would offer to their competition. Such an event could not be a matter of indifference to England, and the principal obstacle which could, in our opinion, prevent its accomplishment would be the establishment in Mexico of a reparative government strong enough to arrest its internal dissolution."

So, gentlemen, it is not only for the purpose of avenging our countrymen, it is not only to obtain a miserable indemnity, (which most assuredly could never be considered as a thing of very great importance in comparison with events so great as those indicated,) that the government decided to proceed against Mexico; it wished to prepare, to facilitate its own domination; it wished, in view of what was being accomplished in the United States, to have its place and its share of power by the side of the great American republic, in that great state which was going to be founded under its patronage, and which should be its vassal for long years, and thus to exercise in the New World a preponderance worthy of the great name of France.

Such, gentlemen, was the idea; I find it in the despatch which I have just read.

Now, it is not necessary that the minister of state, ignoring here the ideas which at that period were those of the government, should desert the true ground of the question—that is to say, that of the preparation of a monarchy for Mexico, that of the negotiations entered into in accordance with the suggestions of the exiles, that of the responsibility of France, which was already embarrassing.

And on this subject, also, I take the liberty of remarking to the Chamber that if the interests of France could, to a certain point, understood in a certain manner, excuse or explain utopias so dangerous as these, the government ought to be stopped by a consideration which it was not allowed to ignore: it was that of the rights of Mexico, of its nationality, which France could not attack without proving recreant to the principle on which her own government was founded, and without committing a real act of high treason against the law of nations.

SEVERAL VOICES. Good, good.



M. JULES FAVRE. You are acquainted, gentlemen, with the events that ensued, and I have but a few words to say of them.

You know how the alliance, which existed between Spain, England, and France, was broken at Orizaba. At that period, when those events were known in Europe, the discussion was reopened on the subject on the occasion of the voting of the budget. We reproduced our observations; we said that the government had by experience learned the emptiness of the hopes entertained by the exiles; that it knew what reliance could be placed on their promises; that it was evident that they were destitute of popularity in their country; that the aggression of the French army, (even the latter had the exiles in its camp,) far from enfeebling the government of Juarez, would, on the contrary, strengthen it; and that we hoped it would be pleased to stop short and discontinue operations which thenceforward would be causeless. In fact, the reparation of the grievances which they went to obtain could then be procured, for the French had taken possession of Vera Cruz and Tampico; they were in healthy locations which they could keep secured from all kinds of epidemics, where they could not only treat, but wait until those treaties had been carried into effect.

What reply did we then receive from the government? Did it tell us, as the minister of state has just done, that we were in presence of an enemy, and that it was necessary for us to follow him up in an implacable manner; that it was impossible for us to treat with Juarez, who was branded as an odious tyrant by the animadversions of all honorable men to whom the interests of Mexico were dear?

Not at all. Here is the language used by the government, and I recommend it also to your attention:

"When the French flag, which I hope will happen soon, shall float over the walls of the city of Mexico, we shall not desist from this generous and protective policy; all, reactionists or liberals, violent men or moderate men, shall be admitted alike to this grand expression of the public will; there shall be freedom for all under the folds of the flag of France; and you know well that it will not be the first time that it shall have harbored just national manifestations under its tutelary folds. To all there shall be left entire liberty of choice, and then, if the tyranny of Juarez suits them, yes, if it suits them, they will say so!"

And you all, gentlemen, cried out, "Good, good."

As for me, I could entertain no other opinion than this, with the reservation, however, that it appears to me at least very strange that, in order thus to hold the electoral urn in which the votes of the Mexicans are to be deposited, we should be under the necessity of sending out forty thousand French. But, as to the principle, I confess that it is beyond censure. Yes, if France is willing to remain neutral in presence of the national will, I have nothing more to say, unless it be that she has continued, in spite of the official declaration, to attack it openly, since that national will manifested itself by facts the most expressive, since the government of Juarez rallied around itself, I shall not say the unanimous entirety, but a sufficient portion of the Mexican people to wage war against our brave soldiers.

Is it not true that our government and our army have been deceived? Is it necessary to remind you of that dolorous but eloquent order of the day issued by General Lorencez, who, on turning back to those who called themselves his friends, and who, in reality, were only traitors to him, said to them, You have told us that, in marching towards your cities, we would find only crowns of flowers; yet we have met with an energetic resistance, favored, it is true, by natural accidents, a resistance which certainly has not stopped our brave soldiers, by the action of which French blood has flowed, and flowed in consequence of lying promises. This was the result of the expedition in its first phase.

At the time of the discussion of the address of 1863 we renewed our opposition. In view of the events that had transpired, we demanded, in the name of justice, the cessation of that expedition which to us appeared fraught with mischief for France.

I know, gentlemen, at that time to which I refer, as you can do yourselves, the honorable minister of state replied to me in words of eloquence which sent a thrill of sympathy throughout this hall, to which I was somewhat grieved that I could not respond.

Yes, in our nation, which, above all, is generous and warlike, whenever the flag appears compromised or threatened, there are no reasons, no scruples, no opinions that can arrest us; we go where honor, danger calls, where our brethren are threatened. [Good, good]

And yet, is it not true that alongside of these great interests for which our predilections are as strong as yours, there is another one which towers above them all? Must we not ask ourselves whether, before we seek for glory, we ought not to be most sedulously regardful of justice? And, supposing we did not have justice on our side, would it not be most impious and unchristian to assert that, because the flag of France has been not vanquished, but obliged to suspend its career of victory for a time, on account of fallacious promises, it is absolutely necessary, in order to redeem its honor, to plunge it again in human blood? [Divers manifestations.]

As to us, we have protested against that doctrine, and whilst avoiding the utterance of a single word that could wound the susceptibilities of the nation, we have thought it our duty, as it was our right, to tell the country what we believed to be the truth.

You voted, gentlemen, against the amendment which we presented. You know what resistance was encountered before the walls of Puebla; twenty-two days of struggle and conflict before an open city! If those unfortunate soldiers, who know no obstacles, who lavish their lives with an intrepidity which is wholly irresistible, yet were stopped during that fatal time which weighed on all our hearts like a mournful anxiety, it was quite necessary that they should be employed at something. It was repeated to you with the utmost complacency, in order to obtain your votes, that there was in Mexico only the phantom of a government, which would disappear at the breath of Almonte. That phantom has clothed itself with all the energy of will, of power, and of national resistance.

After that event it could no longer be doubtful to any one that that mistake, stated to be such even in 1862, had acquired all the light of evidence. We had fallen into the trap of exiles; we were carrying out their designs—that is to say, the designs of men legitimately detested, covered with crimes, and who could not do aught else than compromise our troops. [Cries of dissent.] It was forbidden to us to go any further, unless to go to the city of Mexico, whither we had made an engagement to go. The route was open. We were received there as conquerors; the official reports so assert. Many triumphs of that kind have been dearly bought by those who obtained them.

However that be, the army entered the city of Mexico. There, in my opinion, terminated the military expedition, and the political expedition commenced. How was this double mission managed?

As to the political mission, according to the report of General Forey, it appears that, from the moment our troops entered the capital, the city was in a measure encircled by a cordon of partisan rangers, who rendered the country around impracticable to such a degree that fears were entertained for the safety of our communications. In this condition of things, General Forey felt the necessity of constituting a civil power as soon as possible, and he did well.

But how did he do in order to constitute a civil power? It is here that it is important to refer to the words uttered by the honorable M. Billault, which determined your vote; for, once again, I rely on the acts of the government and on yours, asking of the government and of you no more than to apply the consequences which flow from the premises to which I refer.

Well, M. Billault told us that when we should reach the city of Mexico, we should plant there the standard of France—that is to say, the standard of liberty and of respect for nationalities; that all, without exception, would be called upon to manifest the national will. That, gentlemen, was the declaration. Ah! I do not complain of official documents, I do not complain of discourses delivered within these halls, I do not complain of programmes which are pompously announced here; I only say that facts are in flagrant contradiction with speeches and writings.

So, after you had announced to France and to Europe that the government which was to be established should rest exclusively on the national will, see what has been done.

M. Dubois de Saligny, the person on whose counsels the government much relied—too much, if I am well informed, since M. Dubois de Saligny has ceased to be in the service of the department of foreign affairs—M. Dubois de Saligny, whose predilections were well known, who could not, moreover, fail to support the success of those friends with whom he had made the campaign, nominated a junta composed of thirty-five persons. Out of these thirty-five persons there were twenty-two who had held public functions under the government overthrown by that of Juarez. And if I wished—a thing, however, which I will take care not to do—to go through their biographies, you would see how far these persons were involved in the reactionary policy, which, notwithstanding, we had assumed to ourselves no mission to reinstate.

Better still, in referring to the history of Mexico and of its late revolutions, I find that those constituent juntas and provisional governments were a kind of national custom, and that when in 1860 General Miramon, of whom I have a word to say directly, attained power by a *coup d'état*, he formed and immediately assembled a junta.

Well, I have had the consolation of finding among the members of the junta of 1863 the greater part of the members of the junta of 1860.

This, gentlemen, is the way in which the national will has been consulted. Then these 35 members named 195 others; these 195 constituted, with the 35, an assembly of 230 persons.

Is there any serious man that can have a moment's doubt as to the results of the vote of such an assembly? The papers announced that it was unanimous. Certainly; and there was something stronger still, and it must be told: that vote was dictated by the force of circumstances, and it was impossible for any of the members of that junta to have preserved a real and serious independence. But what must we say of those 230 persons thus



assembled to flaunt in the eyes of Europe and the world the pretended miseries of their country, to accuse it of every crime, of every disgrace, of every indignity, when they had been themselves in the service of every preceding government which they attack!

SEVERAL VOICES. Good, good.

M. JULES FAVRE. That is a spectacle of abjection and abasement most disgraceful, from which I turn away my eyes, and on which I ask your permission to insist no longer. [Murmurs of disapprobation from some benches; approbation from others.]

But what is most serious is, that this junta, thus constituted, has not contented itself with saying that it represented the national will; it has done something much better; it has cast a vote, and what is that vote, gentlemen? It has been for a constitutional monarchy. They have not stopped there; they have chosen a prince.

Now, who could this prince be? The reply is in every mouth, and it is very certain that, as we did not for an instant doubt the unanimity of the Assembly of Notables, so there was no more reason to doubt that their candidate would be Prince Maximilian.

Well, gentlemen, permit me to say, if ever the Archduke Maximilian succeeds in reaching the throne, I hope, and you all hope, he will be the model of princes; but what I assert is that, for the present, he is the model of official candidates, [boisterous laughter from some benches; marks of disapprobation from others,] and I know not that a man has ever been presented with such a manoeuvring of precautions and such a concurrence of chances of success. And when the Assembly of Notables met again, the announcement might well be made:

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

"The sovereign shall take the title of Emperor of Mexico. The imperial crown of Mexico is offered to his Imperial Highness Prince Ferdinand Maximilian, archduke of Austria, for himself and his descendants.

"In case the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian should not, on account of unforeseen circumstances, be able to take possession of the throne which is offered to him, the Mexican nation leaves it to the kindness of his Majesty Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, to designate another Catholic prince to whom the crown should be offered."

Let us go to the bottom of things, gentlemen; let us reason like serious men, like honorable men, and let us say this vote is not the vote of Mexico, but the vote of France, represented by her victorious army; it is the will of France that prevails, that is imposed on the Assembly of Notables, and thereupon I here replace my question. This Prince Maximilian, whom I found at the beginning of the negotiations, I find here again in the vote of the junta, which is the expression of the ideas of Marshal Forey, there representing his government, and I interrogate, gentlemen, the honorable member of the government who is now before the assembly, and I ask him: Is not that there the influence, the act, and the influence of France? Are we to be made to believe that, when the glorious eagles of France occupied Mexico, when the blood of our soldiers had flowed in streams before Puebla—

[Interruption.]

His excellency the MINISTER OF STATE. You are not willing to avenge it.

M. JULES FAVRE. We all regret it alike, and I know not that we can make use of any expression of sympathy in this respect which would appear exaggerated.

What is certain is that the enterprise had succeeded; we had reached the city of Mexico, victorious, all-powerful, and once more, no reasonable man can doubt but that whatever victorious France may wish can be and will be done.

The candidacy and proclamation of Prince Maximilian were the work of France, the work of the army. Do you believe that, in an event of so much importance, there was involved the accomplishment of promises most solemnly made and engagements entered into by France? This is what it behooves us to examine well in this presence.

When General Forey departed from Europe he did not set out without instructions from his government, and we will find in the imperial letter, to which allusion has already been made, an exact and circumstantial plan of the line of conduct to be followed by the commander-in-chief of the army after his entrance into the city of Mexico; and here again we ask ourselves whether the words in this affair have not been belied by the acts.

Here is what the Emperor said: "When we shall have reached the city of Mexico, it is desirable that all the conspicuous men, of every shade of opinion, (of every shade of opinion,) who shall have embraced our cause, should come to an understanding with you to form a provisional government."

And listen, gentlemen: "That government shall submit to the Mexican people the question of the political régime that is to be definitively established. An assembly shall then be elected in accordance with the Mexican laws."

Here are the instructions which you gave, and these you have violated. [Divers exclamations.] The Mexican people have not been consulted.

His excellency the MINISTER OF STATE. They will be consulted.

M. JULES FAVRE. It was not the people that declared that the monarchical principle was re-established and that Prince Maximilian should be called to the throne; it was the junta. [Renewed exclamations.]

Thus you acted in opposition to your instructions, to the orders which you received from your sovereign to conform yourselves to the national sovereignty; these instructions you have violated, and instead of seeking for the elements of a provisional government in an assembly composed of different opinions, among all men of note, you have sought for them only in one party; that party alone has been the executor of your orders, and those orders were the destruction of the republic. [Prolonged interruption.]

SEVERAL VOICES. Now you have it. [Prolonged disturbance and various manifestations.]

M. JULES FAVRE. And it is not only the Emperor of the French who thought that there could be imposed on the Mexican people a government which was not of their choice, and that it was necessary, above all, to consult them. The Archduke Maximilian has used the same language, and this is also one of those points over which there reigns an obscurity which, for my part, I would wish with all my heart to see completely dissipated.

In fact, we have all reasoned, or at least the speakers who have preceded me have reasoned on this supposition, that the Archduke Maximilian accepted the crown. Where is his letter of acceptance? Is it in the desk of the minister of state?

As you were told, the post of king will end by becoming so difficult that no one will desire it, and whenever a crown becomes vacant it will be hard to find any one to take it. As to Prince Maximilian, do not believe that he has unconditionally accepted that which has been offered to him.

When the Mexican deputation left America to come to Europe, it was received in France with all the regard due to it; but, if I am well informed, the reception with which it met in Austria was very much cooler indeed; it had not the honor of being received into the presence of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, although assuredly his Majesty appears extremely interested in the destinies of his brother.

His Majesty believed that this affair was of such a nature, that it partook so much of the romantic, that he would have nothing to do with it.

In fact, gentlemen, in the correspondence printed in all the journals of Europe, I find the following fact: The Emperor Francis Joseph has been asked what part he intended to take in the instalment of his brother, and here is what he answered: "What do you wish me to do? If my brother had desired to retire to a convent, I could not have prevented him from doing so; how could I hinder him from going to Mexico?"

There is, perhaps, a great difference between the two suppositions. I do not wish the Archduke Maximilian to renounce the world and enter into religion, but I do not certainly wish him any the more to try the Mexican adventure.

That which is an official fact is that the speech delivered by the young archduke at Miramar, in presence of the delegation, did not receive the honor of insertion in the Austrian Moniteur, and that speech deserves to be cited, at least in some of its points, for it complicates still more the situation which we are seeking to clear up. What does the archduke reply? "On the result of the vote of the assembly of the country, I must, therefore, in the first place, make the acceptance of the offered throne depend."

And this is not all: "If solid guarantees are obtained for the future."

Here is something for France, who is the godmother, who presents her candidate. The prince to whom she addresses her request says to her: I must have guarantees; without guarantees there can be no acceptance. Such has been the stipulation of the prince. He understands remarkably well that it is a slippery position; that the part of improvised Emperor cannot be played with impunity in Mexico unless the actor is sustained by some important power like France. He wishes France to sustain him. Such are the guarantees that he demands.

"And if the universal suffrage of the noble people of Mexico points to me, I shall be ready, with the consent of the illustrious chief of my family, and confiding in the protection of the Almighty, to accept the crown."

Well, I ask the government where is the acceptance, where are the guarantees, where is the vote of the Mexican people; and as long as all these preliminary conditions are not fulfilled, France has no right to interfere, to carry on war, to prolong an expedition which has no purpose, which has no longer any cause, unless it be a war waged against a people defending their independence and their nationality. [Numerous cries of disapprobation.]

This is the position in which we stand. I spoke to you just now of the Austrian cabinet. See how a sheet, which is not its official organ, but its officious organ, expresses itself in reference to the speech delivered at Miramar by the young archduke: "It is easily understood that the archduke could so much the less accept the offer of the Assembly of Notables, (an offer which, hitherto, has met with no adhesions except in a small number of departments occupied by the French troops,) as other conditions, such as particularly the effective support of the maritime powers, are yet only matters of doubt. England has not yet



officially promised her support, although public opinion in that country is favorable to the project."

Well, England has explained her position. I do not wish to fatigue your attention with quotations already too long, but I have in my possession the words spoken by Lord Russell, in which he declares that, whatever modifications may be effected in Mexico, he will not oppose them, but that at the same time he will give them no kind of support.

So England confines herself to a strict neutrality, and isolated in the midst of the American continent, surrounded by jealous rivals, the Emperor whom we are going to install in Mexico will have no other safeguards than the guarantees which we shall have given him and which he asks in the most formal manner of us.

Well, I have reason to say that in this affair the purpose which France had in the beginning, the reparation of the grievances of our countrymen, is entirely lost to view. You can no longer say that you pursue the reparation of the grievances of our countrymen; it is impossible. That great and legitimate object has been attained.

Now, do you wish to oppose the will of the Mexican people, and are we condemned to undergo those strange conditions made for us by this expedition which I am right to call deplorable, which, to establish a government in Mexico, to constitute an empire there, has placed us under the necessity of sacrificing French blood? [Interruption.]

They tell us that the population is unanimous; that we are not only masters of the city of Mexico, but that, from all quarters, the partisans of Juarez are abandoning him and coming over to us.

What truth is there, gentlemen, in such talk? If we must consult official documents—and I take them from the *Moniteur*—here is what I find, gentlemen:

"We call the attention of our readers to the correspondence from Mexico which we publish below. These documents testify to the extreme eagerness with which the Franco-Mexican troops have been received by the people of the cities and localities successively occupied, and give us reason to presume that at no distant day the greater part of Mexico will have spontaneously adhered to the empire."

The word *spontaneously*, gentlemen, deserves to figure elsewhere than in the columns of the grave *Moniteur*. It is certain, that when people are forced to acknowledge that the adhesions come only from the points occupied by our troops, to add, then, that the empire is *spontaneously* recognized is assuredly to presume a little too much on the credulity of its readers.

The truth is, that in Mexico we are really masters only of the territory which is under the wheels of our cannons, under the steps of our soldiers. [Marks of disapprobation.]

Here is something that proves it in an invincible manner: We are masters of Vera Cruz; we have entered the city of Mexico. Instead of seeking to consult the national will, in conformity with the instructions given him, General Forey has organized an expedition; we have resumed military operations; and why? What can be the object of them? Who can now explain and assign a reason for this military movement, this new sacrifice of men and money? Evidently, gentlemen, there is no man who can explain it in reference to the legitimate interest of France; and if it is not possible to explain how this military enterprise thus continues, do you know what it means? It is, that outside of the city of Mexico we meet resistance, which we are under the necessity of vanquishing, if not at the cannon's mouth, at least by the presence of our arms. Yes, wherever we tread the soil we are masters of it; but as to any adhesions whatever coming from countries not occupied, we are not informed of a single one.

As to military events, God forbid that I should come here with premature news, to throw alarm in any way through the country. [Interruption from many benches.]

BARON DE GEIGER. You are not doing anything else but that.

M. JULES FAVRE. They have spoken to you of triumphal marches; they have told you that, wherever we have presented ourselves, we have been received as liberators. Yet we cannot conceal from ourselves that Guadalajara resists, and that we are on the point of undertaking the siege of it; and, if military operations are yet indispensable, I ask the government, once again, to tell us what can be the cause and the excuse for them. Is it not evident that it is because we are fighting against Mexican nationality? [Murmurs of disapprobation from several benches.]

I would much like to know what kind of a government it would be that could resist the co-operation extended to adverse parties by a victorious army in possession of its capital. As to me, I know none to which I would give the advice to make a trial of the kind.

Mexico resists, notwithstanding; and it is here that we have to ask ourselves what we have to do; whether it is possible for us to continue such a policy, and if we must march even to San Luis de Potosi.

You have only to cast your eyes on the map, and you will be convinced that the commissioner on the part of the government fell into an involuntary but capital error when

he told you that we occupied the greater part of the Mexican territory. [Cries of disapprobation.]

SEVERAL VOICES. He did not say that. He said the greater part of the people.

M. JULES FAVRE. What we occupy—I shall not go into details—are the great centres of population; but we do not occupy all the great centres of population. To the north as well as to the west there are yet found cities of vast importance, in which the Mexican authority, which we combat, is found installed and disposed to resistance. And it will therefore be necessary for us to undertake a campaign against each of these cities. And, over and above the 40,000 men already in Mexico, we must yet send thither 10,000 or 15,000 men; that is, henceforth we must augment our effective force in Mexico, in order to carry on this deplorable expedition, to effect the conquest of Mexico for the benefit of an Austrian prince, to dissipate the clouds which the Mexican exiles have gathered, and to create that power which is repudiated by those even who have most interest in sustaining it. The country must be told that it is yet necessary to keep 50,000 or 60,000 men in Mexico, with all the materials requisite for their transportation and maintenance. Is that what you wish? [Manifestations of denial.]

Now, is it difficult to know how and why we cannot, under present conditions, constitute anything in Mexico? You were told yesterday, gentlemen, in very precise terms, the reason of our feebleness compared to our military power, which nothing resists. It comes from the fact that we rely on the support of a detested party, composing only a minority of the nation.

We have expended fifteen millions in feeding and clothing the Mexican army; we have made our generals grasp the hands of Miramon and Marquez. Miramon and Marquez! Do you know who they are—what they represent? Here are the official documents, which testify that, in 1857, Miramon and Marquez, repulsed from Vera Cruz, entered Tacubaya. There they ordered the massacre of the prisoners and of the sick who were in the hospitals.

A VOICE. And of the surgeons.

M. JULES FAVRE. They had them deliberately shot. Among the victims were seven physicians, one of them an Englishman. The seven physicians suffered the same fate as the rest. Here is the order to Marquez, signed by Miramon:

"YOUR EXCELLENCY: This very evening, and under the strictest responsibility of your excellency, you will cause to be shot all the prisoners belonging to the class of officers, subaltern and superior, and you will render me an account of the number of those who shall have met this fate. God and law.

"MEXICO, April 14, 1859."

"MIRAMON.

And as among these prisoners there was an English physician, England protested; and see in what energetic terms the first secretary of the department of foreign affairs in England expresses himself:

"Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald has replied to me, that it was inopportune on my part to make complaints to the government of her Majesty, when he had in his hands a remonstrance, written by a merchant of the city of Mexico, (he was not pleased to tell me his name,) concerning Mr. John Duvall, a subject of her Britannic Majesty, who, in company with several others, foreigners and natives, had been assassinated in the cruellest, most inhuman, and most shameful manner, by order of the authorities of the city of Mexico, solely because they had found them in attendance on the wounded at Tacubaya, as it was their duty to be in their quality of surgeons. He added, that her Majesty's government has never known of acts so barbarous, so unworthy of a people pretending to pass for civilized, yet meriting the execration of the whole world."

And it is through such scenes of blood, gentlemen, in the midst of such crimes, that Miramon attained the reins of power! At that period Marquez was thrown into prison. Do you know why? Why? Because he had carried off 600,000 francs belonging to the English legation.

The first act of Miramon, on attaining power, was to set him at liberty. England protested; and see in what energetic terms:

"The undersigned desires particularly to persuade his Excellency S. D. Theodosio Larés that, in conformity with the well-known sentiments of her Majesty's government, of which sentiments he is happy to be at this moment the interpreter, he will always be at his excellency's disposal, to aid him to issue from the position in which the administration, of which he forms a part, is actually placed, in case that administration should present some plan of conciliation, to put an end to the civil war which desolates the republic in so



lamentable a manner, and which, if it continues, will imperil even its existence as a nation. But he would be wanting in his duty, and to the assurance which he has given to his excellency of the interest which the British government takes in the continuation of its amicable relations with Mexico, and in the honor and prosperity of the republic, if he neglected to call his excellency's attention to the rumor, mentioned in the papers, of the liberation of General Marquez, and of his being placed at the head of an important military command.

"Since the arrival of the undersigned at Mexico, that general has rendered himself guilty of several atrocious assassinations, among others, one of a British subject, (Dr. Duvall, one of the victims of Tacubaya,) who was seized at the moment that he fulfilled the duties of his profession as surgeon, duties considered sacred among all civilized nations, and he committed the still greater baseness of desiring to justify himself by calumniating his victim.

"Some weeks afterwards he rendered himself again guilty of an assassination committed on the person of an American citizen, put to death by his orders and without any form of trial.

"Subsequently he seized the money confided to his charge for transportation, and aggravated his crime by alleging, in order to exculpate himself, that he had need of money to establish the government and the opinions which he pretended to sustain."

These are the acts of which we have demanded an account from Juarez, and for this we have become the friends and allies of those who have dishonored themselves by committing them. And you are astonished that resistance is offered to you when we place such men as this at the head of the Mexicans, who remember those abominable acts that deserve to be branded with infamy by all civilized nations.

No, no, we have deceived ourselves; let us withdraw. Our brave soldiers, our officers, men of so much delicacy of feeling, and so full of honor, have no business in the midst of such vile and bloodthirsty adventurers, among whom they find themselves astray. [Vehement applause from some benches; murmurs of disapprobation from others.]

At Mexico, how do they act? You know that General Forey was scarcely installed there when he issued that decree of sequestration which the government has been under the necessity of revoking; but it was not possible for him to escape from the inflexible law of his situation. He had come to sustain those who, after having flattered him, were going to become his masters; they tried at least to be so, and when the provisional government was established in the persons of General Almonte, General Salas, and the archbishop of Mexico, then the pretensions of the reactionists were clearly manifested; they desired to go back upon the past.

Ah, you believe that the Mexicans, whom you have gone to sustain, understand the generosity of France? They have seen in her intervention the success of their schemes, of their guilty hopes; they have wished to rescind the decree of Juarez and resume the property that had been sold. Then the general ordered in a firm tone that justice should have its course, that no change should be made as to the execution of the obligations relative to the national property. And what ensued? The provisional government resisted; it resisted the hand that had raised it from the dust, that had made it what it is, that had invested it with its ephemeral power.

General Bazaine spoke in a commanding tone; he caused a *communication* to be inserted in the papers. Out of three members of the provisional government, two humbled themselves; as to the third, it was in his conscience that he obtained his strength. Far be it from me to reproach him for having entirely separated from the government; but in the name of the dignity of France, I find my sensibilities very much hurt at seeing one of those three heads turning against us and appearing to teach us an insolent lesson by placing beside the *communication* of General Bazaine the protest which I here quote. It was printed in the official journal. Assuredly, in France, such a thing would have been impossible. General Forey says, in his proclamation, that he brings to the Mexicans the benefit of warnings in matters regarding the press; it is not certainly for that that we have made war. [Exclamations and laughter.] But, in spite of that legislation, after the *communication* of General Bazaine, Monseigneur, the archbishop of Mexico, had the following printed:

"His illustrious excellency Monseigneur the archbishop, being opposed to taking any part in the questions of the *promises to pay*, of the sales, and of the continuation of the constructions, and other points decided in accordance with the sense of the two preceding communications, published in the number of the Official Gazette to which this is a supplement, makes his dissent known to the public, in order to relieve himself from all responsibility on the subject."

So he separates from us; he declares that we have violated the divine law; that as for him he cannot follow us in such a course. He has sent in his resignation, and the papers have reported that when mass was to be heard by that army, which everywhere met with

passive and due obedience, Monseigneur closed the doors of his church, and mass was heard only because cannons were planted to blow down the gates of the cathedral. [Various demonstrations and disturbances throughout the Chamber.]

Such is the order which you have established in Mexico; I advise you to congratulate yourselves on it. As for me, such order appears anarchy; for you have placed in power those whom the national will had overthrown; you combat those whom it sustains. Such is your real situation, and it is for this that I earnestly ask of you to put an end to it.

The government tells us that it is going to reply. It has uttered one expression which I have received with real satisfaction: it has told you that there was no other solution than universal suffrage.

Well, if the information given to us in the session of yesterday is correct, if in reality we occupy a territory representing a population of 5,500,000 inhabitants—that is the figure given; it has been given officially, and we must keep it in mind in order that we may be able hereafter to regulate the truth of any assertions that may be made to us—if, I say, you have in your favor five millions five hundred thousand inhabitants, make them vote, and make them vote freely. The imperial order makes this a duty. It is in the name of national sovereignty that you have landed in Mexico. You have no intention of abjuring your principle; it must be propagated. This principle you consider as the source of truth and right, and according as you proclaim it, you will not certainly stifle it under the heels of your victorious generals. Well, if you wish to have a vote, you have under your hand an electoral population sufficient for the vote; make them vote. Only you are permitted—I am mistaken, you are ordered, while supervising the vote and conforming yourselves to the lofty ideas of the Emperor, you are ordered not to influence that vote. You should leave the election to the Mexican nation itself. In this peaceful accomplishment of its most sacred rights, it is necessary that Mexico should make known its wish; it is necessary that from its entrails, not torn by the knife of the sacrificers like those of the ancient victims, [noisy demonstrations,] but, on the contrary, rendered fertile by modera law, by the benefits of civilization, should issue at last that cry which will be the proclamation of its real sovereignty. Here is what the government ought to do.

But I confess, gentlemen, in view of the resolutions which have been taken, in view of consummated facts and of those now being accomplished, I frankly acknowledge my fears lest the part which it seems determined to act should prove very difficult of execution; and yet the unanimous sentiment of this assembly, the sentiment of all France, is that this occupation of Mexico should not be prolonged; it is that, as far as the honor and interests of France allow, it should cease as soon as possible; it is that our brave soldiers now in Mexico should soon again see their native land. Numerous considerations of various kinds have been laid before you to justify this opinion; permit me, in conclusion, to produce only one. [Hear, hear.]

Is it true that the lessons of history will be always lost, that they will teach nothing to those who, notwithstanding, ought constantly to draw their inspirations from them? Is it a fact that in them we shall not find, by going back to the events of bygone years, salutary warnings by which we ought to profit?

Gentlemen, fifty-six years ago, the chief of the powerful house which now reigns over France, to whom we cannot certainly refuse the possession either of genius or power, who had accustomed Europe to tremble before his slightest will, whose friendship was sought by the greatest potentates, that man one day had his Mexico also. He conceived the idea, in accordance with a policy which always appeared to me fatal, though however it has been celebrated as grand, of levelling the Pyrenees for the sake of a family alliance; and it must be granted, gentlemen, there seemed to be special pretexts in that case, as in this one of Mexico. Whom need I remind of the state of the Spanish nation at that time? Her monarchy was represented by an aged monarch almost imbecile; beside him a dissolute and violent queen, a favorite justly unpopular on account of his haughtiness and his usurped power; and to crown all, gentlemen, a son secretly conspiring, an impious son who had learned in the teachings of the Jesuits that all means are good when they can conduce to success. What did the Emperor do? The Emperor wished to regenerate Spain. He constituted himself the sovereign judge of her chiefs, summoned them before him at Bayonne, and by a stroke of his hand dashed the crown from the head of the king. He took it up to give it to his brother. The latter passed the Pyrenees. Were there ovations wanting to him? Was not he, also, able to gather up crowns of flowers? Did not courtiers throng around the triumphal car of the new king? You have been told with reason, the race of courtiers is imperishable. After success came the conflict; it lasted five years, a heroic conflict, signalized by victories that eminently displayed the valor of our soldiers; a sterile conflict, however, for their blood could never cause the tree to grow whose roots they had to fertilize on the soil of Spain. And then one day the storm lowered from the north; the tempest burst in its fury; and then the great captain saw with anguish his glorious legions sacrificed for an interest which was not a French interest,



and the clash of arms on many a battle-field [louder, we cannot hear] resounded a grand lesson to the world.

Well, gentlemen, can we say, at the present time, that all is calm, that all is security around us? On casting our eyes around us, are we not struck, as the honorable M. Thiers said yesterday for Mexico, with the small number of those who declare themselves our friends? Ah! when we find before us these causes of distrust, we can all declare, with legitimate pride, they do not frighten us; for if we can be divided when there is question of internal affairs, if we cry out for liberty with earnestness, if you sometimes refuse it to us, [cries of disapprobation,] when there is need of making headway against Europe we are all united, and all united we are invincible. [Good, good.] But do you know on what condition? On condition that we always have justice on our side, and that it be not possible some day, as was done in 1813, to arouse against us the feelings of the nations, by their being told that we have violated their rights, falsified the promises of France, and oppressed their liberty. [Murmurs from some benches; applause around the speaker.]

*Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, March 8, 1864.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 25th of February, accompanied by translations into English of the discourses pronounced in the French Chambers on the 25th, 26th, and 27th of January last, concerning Mexican affairs.

Thanking you for your courteous attention, I avail myself of the opportunity to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, &c., &c., &c.

*Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.*

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Washington, February 26, 1864.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to enclose to you, for the information of the government of the United States, copies in English of some of the protests made by the authorities and citizens of the Mexican republic against the intervention which the Emperor of the French has been engaged in carrying through in my country.

I much regret that I have not in my possession all the protests of this kind which it would be fitting to submit to the consideration of the civilized world, that it might know without difficulty on which side the national will really lies upon the question now debated in Mexico. However, such as I have been able to collect, and which I send enclosed, are, in my opinion, sufficient to place beyond all doubt the fact that while the French and their agents have occasion for all the pressure of their bayonets to obtain in places occupied by their forces some acts of adhesion, signed by persons unknown, and often full of fictitious names, the same towns, when freed from military pressure, expressed their will against intervention, through the medium of the most distinguished citizens among the local authorities, freely and popularly chosen, who represented faithfully, therefore, the will of their constituents, and are again doing the same thing the instant they see themselves free from the foreign invaders. It is notorious that many of the protests against intervention have been made in places in which, at the time, there was no armed force of the national government. They were, therefore, the free expression of the will of those who signed them, and there cannot

be the slightest suspicion that they could have been dictated by fear or violence, which there was no means of bringing into play.

I avail of this opportunity to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, &c., &c., &c.

*Manuel Doblado, governor of the state of Guanajuato, to its inhabitants.*

GUANAJUATO, July 28, 1863.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The honorable congress of the state, upon terminating its legislative labors, has delegated to me the exercise of its powers, amplifying the extraordinary facilities with which it had before invested me.

This new testimony of confidence imposes upon me the duty of addressing you, in order to make known to you the use that I propose to make of the authority which has been deposited in my person.

The events which have recently occurred in the city of Mexico have placed the foreign question in its true light, and presented it with a precision and an exactitude which removes all possibility of error. These events reveal nothing less than the deliberate intention of converting the republic of Mexico into a colony of France.

The theatrical farce by which it has been sought to divide and to distract public opinion has no other object than to place the country, by means of certain artificial transitions, under the domination of the French arms.

In all this there is only the good faith that a conquered people may hope to receive from their conqueror.

The invading general has affected to believe that the military question was concluded, when he yet has the intimate conviction that it has only commenced.

No one now is ignorant of the deplorable causes which contributed to bring about the disasters which occurred to the armies of the east and of the centre.

The invading general also knows them, and he knows that without the aid of those causes he would not to-day be in Mexico.

The military question begins now on the day when the country raised the flag of resistance. The solution of this question is yet known only to Providence. He will award to each that which is his just due.

The political question is a question of right, and on this field Mexico is omnipotent.

Nationality is the life of a people. The Mexicans have inherited independence from their fathers. They achieved that independence by virtue of their courage and their sacrifices, not by intrigue; nor did they purchase it with corrupt gold.

The right which exists on our side is evident; it is incontrovertible, unprescriptible. It is the right which England has, and Spain and France, under their respective nationalities; and to place this right in doubt is to reject all public law, is to imperil the very existence of nations as independent states, to attack at its very base the principle of natural right, and to introduce chaos into established international relations.

Force is not right. It is necessary to repeat this principle a thousand times, however trite it may seem. Force disposed, many years ago, of Poland, but the rights of the Poles still exist, and only burst forth the more brilliantly each time the sacred fire of insurrection appears.

The Emperor Napoleon has had the power to invade Mexico, but he has no right to convert it into a colony of France. It has been attempted to found a right upon the unhappy condition of the republic, and upon its continual revolutions.

But this is only the sophistry of bad faith, in which even its authors do not believe. It is true that we have committed many errors, and that all parties, in attempting to put in practice their respective theories, have failed, devoured by the revolutionary spirit. But only the Mexicans have a right to complain of these evils. The right to reproach is exclusively our own. Foreigners have no right to take cognizance of our domestic dissensions, and still less to bring charges against us for acts done in the exercise of our national sovereignty.

The invader well knows these truths, and it is for this reason that each step he takes in the country he repeats the deceitful watchword of his designs: "We do not come to impose a government upon Mexico; we come to protect the free choice of that the Mexicans wish to give themselves." This hypocritical pretence does not merit refutation; it has already been set aside by the nation *en masse*, when it laughed with scorn at the news of the monarchy of Maximilian.