

His discourse being loudly applauded, Mr. BEEKMAN then said:

"GENTLEMAN: There is among our invited guests a gentleman, who, having done commercial business for some years in the city of Philadelphia, we will consider as the Mexican representative of that hardworking and intelligent profession. This gentleman is Señor Fernando de la Cuesta, a member of the Mexican legation, who is at present here, and whom, I hope, we will have the pleasure of hearing to-night. I request of our friend, the ex-mayor of this city, who represents New York commerce, that he will be pleased to respond to this toast, after which I promise myself that Señor Cuesta will favor us with a speech."

Mr. OPDYKE said:

"GENTLEMEN: In the name of the merchants of this city, to whose society I have the honor to belong, and of the city itself, whose mandate and representative I had the honor to be for the last two years, although it is no longer permitted me to speak officially in its name, I have the pleasure of expressing my profound sympathy for the cause which the people of the neighboring republic are sustaining against European invasion. My attention could not but have been most strongly called to the fact which our distinguished guest referred to concerning what M. Thiers said in the corps legislatif of France on the manner in which, in his judgment, the Archduke Maximilian would be received in this city. So far would we be from making him demonstrations of regard and sympathy that, as you know, and I think it right to remark on this occasion, we have made such demonstrations precisely to those powers that are least the friends of France. When the Russian squadron arrived at this port the whole city, as you will remember, received it with enthusiasm, and the most distinguished members of our society gave it welcome and honored it, as it was right to do with the noble sailors of a great nation, which has given us so many proofs of sympathy and consideration under circumstances the most difficult that our country has ever passed through, and which, far from desiring to draw any advantage whatever from our misfortunes, magnanimously desires their speedy termination. When latterly a French squadron arrived at our port there were not wanting those who would desire that similar demonstrations to those offered to the Russians should be made to the French. I, as chief magistrate of the city, opposed myself to any such act, and, in proceeding thus, I am sure of it, and you know it well, I was only the faithful interpreter of the will and desire of the city which honored me with its confidence. If, during the time in which I was mayor, the Archduke Maximilian should have passed through here, and if there had been any one who would pretend to offer him a public demonstration of sympathy, I would not have permitted it; and I believe that no citizen who has self-respect will permit it if, by accident, Napoleon should think of sending him through here to try the sentiments of the people of the United States in reference to the enterprise which he is endeavoring to carry out in the Mexican republic. The sentiment of all our classes and all our parties is only one in this matter, as has been said with much justice. It is, then, entirely hostile to any armed intervention of Europe on this continent, and more especially to that which seeks to overthrow a republic to erect a monarchy."

After the applause brought forth by the preceding speech, Mr. DE LA CUESTA said:

"GENTLEMEN: It would be superfluous, perhaps presumptuous in me, to add one more word to what has been already said; yet I cannot help tendering you my most sincere and heartfelt thanks for the beautiful manner in which you have been pleased to express your good wishes and warm sympathy for the land where I first saw the light and breathed the sweet air of life. As the last draught of water to the camel in the desert cheers and comforts him through the dreary path that lies before him, so will the remembrance of this night cheer and comfort me, whatever may be my path in life, to sustain the liberty, independence, and integrity of our national soil. I cannot answer better the allusion made by the gentleman who so worthily occupies the chair as to my representing the commerce of Mexico, having once followed its pursuits, than by proposing the following toast:

"The city of New York—first in sciences, arts, commerce, wealth; in fact, in all. First, also, let me add, in extending to us her noble sympathies for our holy cause. May she always prosper as she has hitherto prospered; and may she not only be the metropolis of the United States, but the metropolis of the whole world."

This toast was saluted with loud applause.

Mr. BEEKMAN then said:

"GENTLEMEN: There has been in Mexico great advancement in the fine arts. A proof of this we find in the San Carlos Academy, where painters and sculptors of undeniable merit have been educated. We find a proof, also, in the paintings of Cabrera, Cordero, Mata and several others, as well as in the admirable buildings constructed by such Mexican architects as Tolsa, to whom Mexico owes her mining college. I propose a toast to Mexican fine arts, and let us hear what our learned friend Mr. Sturges will say about this."

This toast having renewed great applause, Mr. STURGES said:

"Mr. CHAIRMAN: I am taken quite by surprise in being called upon by you to respond to your allusion to the fine arts and architecture of Mexico. On some other occasion I should be most happy to speak upon such a theme; at present I prefer to speak a few words of encouragement to our distinguished guest, in the hope that his noble country may soon be free from her foreign and domestic enemies. When that is accomplished, we shall see everything that is beautiful, noble, and useful springing to life with new vigor, and that glorious country will become all that God intended she should be. We know what it is, sir, to have foreign and

domestic enemies, although we have no foreign enemy on our soil. It is not from any love which the enemy of Mexico bears us that his armies are not in Texas and Louisiana. It is the fear of his own people that restrains him. I have the word of a French gentleman 'who knows whereof he speaks' to support this statement. He said to me, 'Rest assured, sir, the Emperor will withdraw from Mexico the moment he can do so with any kind of credit to himself. The French people are against him in his Mexican movement, as they are against any interference in your affairs.' I do not think, sir, that our honored guest can have failed to discover that the determination is as firmly fixed in the hearts of our people that no foreign government shall be established in Mexico, as it is that no separation shall take place between the States of this Union. Our own affairs settled, and it would not be sixty days before our armies would be in Mexico if her people desired it. My prayer to God is that she may hold out until we are ready for this. I respond most fully to the closing sentiment of my honorable friend, Mr. Bancroft: 'Let the Austrian lamp burn in the grave of Austria; it will not burn in the free atmosphere of America.'"

After this, Mr. BEEKMAN spoke as follows:

GENTLEMEN: Mexico too has had her illustrious governors, who have advanced the people over whom they have commanded, and who are well worthy of our homage. The actual President of the republic, before reaching that high position, was governor of the state of Oaxaca, and during the eight years that his administration lasted he accomplished so much good, and developed so well the resources of that rich state, that he succeeded in placing it in the first rank of the various states composing the Mexican confederation. General Doblado is another model governor, whose beneficent administration, even during a period of terrible intestine commotions, caused the state of Guanajuato to prosper to such a degree that it has been the astonishment of the other Mexican states. Let us drink, then, gentlemen, to the governors of Mexico, and we hope that our illustrious friend, who formerly was governor of this state, will be pleased to answer to this toast.

The toast having been received with general approbation, Mr. Washington Hunt responded to it in a lengthy speech, which we cannot give here, trusting to memory alone, for fear of not doing justice to it. With the object that there should be the greatest accuracy possible in the report of the speeches we have made, Mr. Romero requested the gentlemen who had delivered them to give him a memorandum, as far as they could recollect, of what they had said. Mr. Hunt, in reply, wrote the following letter:

ALBEMARLE HOTEL, NEW YORK, March 31, 1864.

DEAR SIR: It would afford me pleasure to comply with the request contained in your note of yesterday, but as my remarks were desultory and unprepared, instead of attempting an accurate sketch, I will confine myself to two leading points, which I deem of the most essential import at the present juncture.

1. I intended to utter an earnest and emphatic protest against the French invasion of Mexico, and the audacious efforts to overthrow the republic and erect upon its ruins a monarchy, to be upheld by a foreign force, acting in conjunction with a small faction of domestic traitors. I denounced it as a wanton offence against republican liberty and the independence of nations.

2. I intended to express the opinion that the United States will not permit, for any long period, the armed occupation of Mexico by a foreign power.

Our domestic conflict will terminate in the re-establishment of the national authority over all the States of the Union. The attainment of this result is not, I trust, very far distant.

Then the people of this country will manifest their sympathy for the people of Mexico in active and efficient co-operation, and if need be they will rally to your aid in a resolute and manly struggle for the recovery of your national liberty and independence.

The time approaches when our government will reassert and maintain its well-defined policy, which is, that no European power shall be allowed to subjugate the people or destroy republican institutions on any part of the American continent.

I remain, with great respect, your obedient servant,

WASHINGTON HUNT.

HON. MATIAS ROMERO, &c., &c., &c.

Mr. BEEKMAN then said: "Gentlemen, you must know that in Mexico there have not been wanting historians of great merit. The names of Mora, Zavala, and Bustamante must be familiar to some of you. We will drink, then, to the historians of Mexico, and we hope that our illustrious friend, the president of the New York Historical Society, will say a few words on this matter."

Mr. De PEYSTER, rising, said: "I yield, sir, to your request, merely in the private character I am here this evening. I came to express, by my presence, the sympathy which I feel towards a sister republic, torn by intestine strife, brought upon her by a party that should have soothed, not inflicted, a national wound. I am reminded of the sad position of Mexico by the like sad realities which press upon my country. I know full well what would be the intensity of my feelings were my native land invaded by foreign bayonets, to compel her to change her free government for one obnoxious to her people. I came here with a further view, to testify towards our distinguished guest my deep interest in the cause which he

represents—not by words—for I came to listen, not to speak; and therefore took no thought with reference to the latter.

“But, Mr. Chairman, being up, I have ideas furnished by the suggestive remarks just made by Señor Romero. I well remember the *points* presented by him in December last in a speech made on an occasion similar to the present. He considered the church party in Mexico as the direct cause of the civil war there, as slavery is of the rebellion here. He alleged that this church party sought foreign intervention to re-establish its power, as the slave power here sought the like intervention, in order to build up a confederacy based on the perpetual sacrifice of certain human rights, and designed to be destructive of our national sovereignty.

“Thus far, this parallel between the United States and Mexico truly extends. But, sir, there is a difference in the analogy of these cases not to be overlooked. Were foreign intervention to take here the course it has pursued in Mexico, the result in this country would be as a tornado is to the storm now sweeping over our land. England and France know this! It is not their good will that stays their further interference, but the danger of the risk from the blows which a free people, aroused to do their utmost at any sacrifice, could and would inflict in return.

“Educated in the school of democracy, I have, sir, adhered to the principles learned there. When our civil war broke out, I had doubts, on constitutional grounds, regarding the rights of slave-owners. But when I observed how slaves were made instruments to defend freemen striving to preserve the Union, I deemed, in a military point of view, that it was indispensable to strike from the hands of rebels their main prop; and all my constitutional scruples vanished before this military necessity. I believe, sir, all loyal men—loyal without mental reservations—deem it right to remove any obstacle for the preservation of the Union! Therefore, I have no affinity with traitors, either south or in disguise among us, who keep ‘the promise to the ear;’ or with ‘peace democrats,’ in my judgment more alive to party interest than to our national struggle.

“What, sir, is the result thus far in our civil war? Why, as slavery proved itself to have been the source of all our evils, loyal men gave it its death blow. Like all monsters of great strength, determined purpose, and defiant resistance, it will die hard; but despite its struggles, die it will.

“Now, from our conflict let me for a few moments turn to our sister republic and to her accumulated ills, and contrast her purposes with our own. Mexico, with a fertile soil, genial climate, and unbounded mineral wealth, is divided into various conflicting parties. Her church party is the predominant class, intent in maintaining its present influence and recovering its lost power. There are the patriots, struggling for the government of their choice; and, if I am rightly informed, there is a class, influenced by the ecclesiastics, either hostile to or indifferent towards the present republican form of government. It is said that the church party now wavers in their appreciation of French intervention. If this be so, and Mexicans would unitedly rally as the people of our loyal States have rallied, the ills which Mexico is now experiencing would be in the condition of the monster evil that we have mortally wounded. The form of domestic treason in Mexico we know. The motives of the French Emperor are too patent to be disguised. Señor Romero has thrown ample light on both these subjects.

“Whether a recently published mention of a leave-taking between the Emperor and his Austrian *protégé* be true, or a *jeu d’esprit*, it is suggestive of probable ground of belief. ‘You go,’ said the former, ‘to embrace a rock of silver’—a figure of speech which symbolized the mineral wealth, of which bars of silver and Mexican dollars had proved to be in Europe the best of advertisements.

“The church party in Mexico had long suffered under a disease of very great prevalence at all times and everywhere. The Emperor caught it through this party contact, and he gave it to his Austrian favorite. This disease in ancient Rome was called *auri sacra fames*. There, where the central word (*sacra*) was connected with offering to the infernal deities, or with impious or unholy purposes, it meant the reverse of its proper definition—namely, *accursed*. The tripartite association just alluded to, under the hallucination created by this disease, have this ‘accursed desire of wealth,’ and think to overthrow the Mexican republic, to build up in its stead a monarchy, and thus possess this ‘rock of silver.’

“Sir, the snake is the emblem of evil. We took the reptile up when feeble and warmed it in the national bosom. When it gained strength it turned and stung us. It has its reward. If Mexicans will rally round their national standard, and imitate the gallant bird on their national arms, who has in his beak a malignant snake, and with his determined courage and undaunted decision extinguish, like him, the reptile’s ability to do further mischief, all will yet go well in their beautiful land. In due season our rebels will have to ‘succumb’ to the loyal will. Then the republics of North America will shake hands in brotherly sentiment and alliance, and unitedly maintain, inviolate, ‘the Monroe doctrine.’

The chairman then said: “We have among us, gentlemen, a very distinguished gentleman from Brooklyn—that sister and neighbor of ours. We would like to hear what, in her name, he will tell us in relation to a matter that has been the theme of so many speakers.”

Mr. Henry E. Pierrepont then spoke, and in short and eloquent phrases said that he was sure that the feelings of the citizens of Brooklyn, with respect to the French policy in Mex-

ico, were identical with those of the citizens of New York and of the entire country; that on that account, and fearing to tire the audience, he would not speak at length on the subject. He concluded by showing that the people of all classes and parties in the United States sympathized greatly with those Mexicans who were resisting the French invasion, and saying that he would act according to that feeling on the first opportunity offered to him.

The president again arose and solicited Mr. Clift, in the name of the lawyers of New York, to express his feelings.

Mr. CLIFT said that his voice being hoarse on account of a cold, he could only say a few words. That he, as well as all of his profession, and the entire American people, sympathized greatly with the holy cause that the Mexican people were defending at present. That he had the firm conviction that the Mexicans alone would conquer their European invaders; and in case of this not happening, they should have the powerful help of this nation, which never will allow the establishment of a European monarchy on the American continent. And lastly, that he coincided in the opinions of the distinguished persons who had preceded him, and especially with those of the venerable Mr. Bryant.

The president said that, according to his views, all the persons there present would have great pleasure in hearing some words from Mr. Charles A. Bristed, who, rising, said: “Once upon a time the Saracens—then a mighty people—took it into their heads that it would be a nice thing to conquer Old Spain, and they did conquer Spain so effectually that it took eight hundred years to drive them out. But they were driven out, and none of them are there at this day. I believe that, in like manner, the French will be driven out of Mexico, if it takes eight hundred years to do so.”

A gentleman exclaimed, “We do things faster now-a-days. Say eight years.”

The chairman, pointing to Mr. Dodge, said: “I think that our young and esteemed friend will have something to tell us, in the name of Young America, which he so well represents.”

Mr. DODGE spoke as follows: “As perhaps the youngest, Mr. Chairman, who has been honored by an invitation on this most interesting and delightful occasion, it is my right and privilege to speak for that large and influential class in our country known as ‘Young America,’ and I can assure our honored guest that the full and entire sympathy of the young men of the land is with him and with his oppressed country. The tread of a French invasion on this continent is to them a direct insult; and were our own sad war over, I believe there is not a town, or village, or hamlet, where a full company would not spring to arms to aid our sister republic in her glorious struggle. I give, sir, as a sentiment, in which I know all will heartily join—The Monroe doctrine; Americans can never allow the heel of European despotism to place its imprint upon the soil of our western continent.”

This toast was loudly applauded, after which Mr. Beekman proposed one in honor of the committee of stewards who had so splendidly discharged their duties, begging Mr. Hamersley to speak in behalf of the committee.

This toast was much applauded, and three cheers were given for the stewards.

Mr. JOHN W. HAMERSLEY, in the name of the stewards, (himself, Mr. Astor, and Mr. Clios,) said:

“Sir, it is hardly fair to call on us while your hearts are beating with fervid thoughts, and your ears ringing with burning words. Had this toast been on the programme, one of my coadjutors would have prepared an address worthy of the compliment and the occasion. This committee, sir, was not chosen for their gifts of utterance, but for those humbler tastes which only lend a grace to eloquence. Our duties are æsthetic, industrial, and artistic. We have compassed the ends of the earth, the depths of the sea. We have levied contributions on the four winds of heaven, to cluster here all that can tempt the appetite or fascinate the ear and eye, and we fancied our mission accomplished. However, there is the post prandial law, the despotism of the wine cup, to which we owe allegiance—the only despotism, sir, which the descendants of the Huguenots or pilgrim fathers will ever tolerate on the continent of North America. We are here, sir, in menace to none, but firmly and respectfully in the majesty of manhood and in consciousness of power to reassert a principle imbibed with our mother’s milk, a household word, a dogma of American faith; but while we cordially grasp the hand of a sister republic in the darkest hour of her trial, that grasp has due emphasis and significance. With her, sir, we have kindred traditions. Each of us has hewn an empire from the wilderness; each of us has expelled the oppressor; and both of us, with tattered banners drenched in the gore of hero martyrs, are now appealing from treachery to the God of Battles. We have a common future; for who can doubt that our successes, (and the death knell of treason has already rung)—who can doubt that the triumph of our arms will be the signal for the eagles of Ansterlitz ‘to change their base’ from the pyramids of Puebla for their perch on the towers of Notre Dame? Permit me here, sir, to express a hope, suggested by the *season*, (God grant it may be a prophecy,) that the Easter chimes of Mexico of the coming year, with the glad tidings of a Saviour risen, shall peal from sierra to sierra, from ocean to ocean, with the glad tidings of a nation risen, a nation born again. (Cheers.)

“Sir, I would offer a toast seldom forgotten in this Eden of women. It is wise to fling the garland of chivalry over the stern realities of life, nay, over the carnage of the battle-field. It is graceful in our honored guests to seek in the bright eyes and warm hearts of those they love, in their sunset home, a solace for hope deferred. It is meet in us all, revelling amid

these symbols of hope and joy, of passion and power, our twin standards nestling in each other's folds in sweet communion of the staried past and gushing hopes, (these roses and violets breathing incense to the throne of grace, their Easter hymn of thanks and praise,) to remember who it is that scatters these jewels of Paradise over our thorny path, who it is that smoothes the pillow of affliction. And when our statesman soldier shall send these our greetings to his fatherland, let him say that these are sons of sires who wielded the destinies of our country, whose names are carved on her escutcheon, like the name of Phidias on the shield of Minerva. Here are her merchant princes, whose argosies girdle the globe; here are her gifted men, whose thoughts touch the hearts or nerve the souls of the nomad in his desert and the prince upon his throne. Say, sir, that here is our western lark, who lends to devotion the muses' wings. Say, sir, that the author of 'Thanatopsis,' and these sons, worthy of their sires, send a brother's blessing to sisters bowed in grief. Fire their souls with the thrilling words of the Spartan matron giving a shield to her son: 'Return with this or upon this.' Tell them of the mother of the Gracchi, whose only jewels were her sons. Tell them of the death dirge of our red man, with 'back to the field and feet to the foe.' Tell them that the spirit of your own Guatimozin hovers around your war-path, and exhort, nay, adjure them to swear their brothers over the fresh graves of their comrades never to bury the tomahawk while the iron heel of Europe treads your soil. Sir, it is fitting, while the accents of sweet music recall tender and happy memories, (man imaged by that armed cactus, woman by that graceful palm,) it is holy to consecrate the hour to her who was last at the cross and first at the sepulchre. Sir, I propose a toast, to which your heart's pulse will echo:

"THE DAUGHTERS OF MEXICO—Fair as her sons are brave."

After the very enthusiastic and prolonged applause which Mr. Hamersley's beautiful toast brought forth, the chairman said that the audience were anxious to hear the other member of the committee of stewards then present, (Mr. CLIROS,) who, after having remarked that he had not at all been prepared to speak, said as follows:

"MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: Enough has been said in the speeches already made this evening to indicate most conclusively the sympathy which prevails in our midst in behalf of our sister republic, all of which I heartily indorse. The unanimous and vociferous voices show unhesitatingly the determination to oppose all encroachments of foreign powers upon any portion of this continent. Mexico, in her present struggle, needs assistance, and soon we shall be in a position to afford it. The principles of republican rule are so strongly imbedded in the minds of the people of both Mexico and America as to secure, for all time, that as the mode of government, and to cause both countries to stand in sympathy by each other."

These remarks were received with applause. It was 12 o'clock, and the enthusiasm of that interesting party had not diminished. At that time the audience took leave of Señor Romero and the Mexican gentlemen who accompanied him, expressing in earnest words the sincerity of their sentiments in favor of Mexico.

Thus ended this demonstration made by persons who undoubtedly represent the most select portion of society in this country, whilst at almost the same time the real representatives of the people, that is to say, the House of Representatives itself declared "unanimously" that the United States would never consent to the establishment of a monarchy which would arise, under the auspices of Europe, upon the ruins of a republic on the American continent.

After all this, can Maximilian ever sit quietly upon the Mexican throne, when he beholds at his feet a precipice? Can he enjoy the possession of his imperial crown, when it can only be a crown of thorns? A sad reign, indeed, awaits him; nay, more than sad, it will be but transient.

MENU.

Le mardi 29 Mars, 1864.

HUITRES.

POTAGES.

A la Salvator. Consommé de volaille.

HORS D'ŒUVRES.

Variés. Variés. Boudins de gibier à la Richelieu.

RELEVÉS.

Saumon de Kennebeck à la Régence. Aloses, sauce béarnaise. Filet de bœuf à l'Andalouse.

ENTRÉES.

Chapons à la Périgord. Trimbale à la Parisienne. Salmi de bécassines aux truffes. Paté de foie gras en bellevue. Chauffroid de pluviers.

SORBET.

Cardinal au vin du Rhin.

ROTIS.

Paons truffes. Canvas-back ducks.

ENTREMETS.

Petits pois. Flageolets. Artichauts farcis. Asperges.

ENTREMETS SUCRÉS.

Trimbale à la don Bazan. Pouding à la Dalbertos. Gelée muscat. Patzo di Borgo. Pain de fraise aguado. Gâteau portugais. Biscuit d'Espagne. Charlotte Doria. Pièces mexicaines. Sultane aux marrons. Bombo Spongada. Napolitaine.

FRUITS ET DESSERT.

DELMONICO.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, June 2, 1864.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 28th ultimo, covering a translation into the English language of the documents previously enclosed to me in your unofficial note of the 26th ultimo.

I avail, &c.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor M. ROMERO, &c., &c., &c.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Washington, May 31, 1864.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, extracts of two discussions, translated into English, relating to the affairs of Mexico, which took place about the middle of the month ending this day, in the legislative assembly of Paris, in relation to the budget of the French empire. The first extract, which is translated from No. 132 of "Le Moniteur Universel," of Paris, (page 164,) under date of the 11th of May referred to, contains the portion of the speech which the deputy, Mr. Berryer, made during the session of the 10th, in reference to the resources which the French government expects to obtain from what it terms "the Mexican indemnity." From this speech it appears that the loan which the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria, now called the Emperor of Mexico, has attempted to negotiate in Europe, would yield him, supposing the whole amount of it were negotiated, the sum of one hundred and twenty millions of francs, so that the pecuniary responsibilities which he has accepted thus far would compel him to disburse the sum of one hundred and twenty-five millions of francs. From this alone, it can readily be seen that, even should the Arch-

duke Maximilian meet with no other difficulties in the Mexican republic than the pecuniary ones, he would find himself unable to establish, and even still more so to consolidate, the monarchical government which the Emperor of the French has sent him to set up on this continent.

The pecuniary responsibilities which the Emperor of the French has caused the said archduke to accept, and the amounts which he would have to pay for the support of an army and navy required to keep some of our cities subject to his control, and to blockade some of our ports, cannot be less than from forty to fifty millions of dollars per annum; while all the resources of the Mexican republic, supposing that he could control them all, cannot produce, under the present circumstances, more than fifteen millions of dollars.

The second extract, among those enclosed, contains those passages referring to Mexico, in the speeches delivered in the same assembly during the session of the 12th of May, by the deputy, Mr. Jules Favre, and the minister of state, Mr. Rouher.

In the first of these speeches you will find very judicious reflections upon the versatility and deep cunning of the policy adopted by the Emperor Napoleon in reference to my country.

In the second, will be noted, besides the arguments already known, and which are founded upon the misrepresentation of facts, artfully prepared and sustained by all the imperial agents, sundry allusions to the policy of the United States, and a circular from the department for foreign affairs addressed to the French diplomatic agents, which was read by Mr. Rouher, and in which an account is given of the interview between Mr. Dayton and Mr. Drouyn de l'Huys, respecting the resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 4th of April last, in reference to the French intervention in Mexico, in a manner somewhat different from that given to you by Mr. Dayton himself, as appears from the correspondence recently sent by the President to the House of Representatives, on this subject.

I therefore omit the remarks to which these speeches give rise, because they cannot escape the observation of the government of the United States.

These last-mentioned speeches are taken from the No. 134, of the "Moniteur Universel," (pages 669 and 670,) dated the 13th of the said month of May.

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

M. ROMERO.

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

CORPS LEGISLATIF.

SESSION OF TUESDAY, May 10, 1864.

M. DE MORNAY, president, in the chair.

After the reading of the journal and some preliminary proceedings, the discussion of the budget was resumed, and M. BERRYER addressed the body. The part of his speech relating to Mexican affairs was as follows:

M. BERRYER. * * * The second resource will give us an occasion for more sad and more pointed observations. This second resource is the Mexican indemnity. What is the state of things in this respect? We have regulated the indemnity for the war—for the war which really began in a costly manner only from the time of the departure of General Forey, if I am not mistaken, in the commencement of 1862. For two years past we have fixed the indemnity due by Mexico at a sum of two hundred and seventy millions. That is the figure set down in the convention.

Two hundred and seventy millions! Pardon me if I insist upon an assertion which I believe I did not make without due consideration, at the beginning of this year, when I said that the annual expense of our Mexican expedition could be estimated for 1864, as for the other years, at one hundred and fifty millions. Now we are told, "See, we have reached only two hundred and seventy millions."

You have made an estimate on terms extremely favorable to the government which you have established in Mexico; you have made an estimate of two hundred and seventy millions. That, for two years, is very near the sum of three hundred millions, to which I foresaw the expenses would amount—a sum to which I believe they have in fact amounted. We shall see afterwards.

However that may be, we have fixed our indemnity at two hundred and seventy millions. Out of these two hundred and seventy millions a loan has been contracted for and a creation of *rentes* decided on. By a decree issued at Miramar, on the 11th of April last, two sections of *rente* have been established; one of twelve millions for the wants of the new government at Mexico, and one of six million six hundred thousand francs on account of the two hundred and seventy millions due to France as an indemnity for the war; that is to say, we are assured of a sum of sixty or sixty-six millions.

Such is one of the provisions of the decree. A loan is effected; the negotiators of the loan are the English firm of Glynn & Company. I know not who has entered to participate in their enterprise, in their speculation, or at least into the commission which they receive. The negotiators announce to the public that they are going to borrow eighteen million six hundred thousand livres of *rente*. Pardon me, and attribute it only to the too intimate knowledge which I have of the jurisprudence of the courts that decide on the means of raising an imaginary credit; pardon me if my experience exerts too great an influence upon the estimate which I make of the manner in which the Mexican loan has been announced. I have here in my hand the prospectus of the negotiators. It announces an English and French loan. What does that mean? Has England, has France, borrowed? That England and France should contribute to the loan which is made for Mexico I can understand, and we will presently see to what extent. But such an announcement would seem to indicate to unreflecting minds that England and France are to a certain extent guarantors of the loan which is about to be issued.

This loan is announced by the negotiators as yielding a net interest of ten per cent. It is moreover announced that it is going to be issued at 63, and they promise a reimbursement of the intermediate sum of eighty francs for every six francs of *rente*. Finally, it is announced that there is a financial committee; that this financial committee is established at Paris; that it is composed of a Mexican commissioner, an English commissioner, and a French commissioner; and that this financial committee, sitting at Paris, has the honor of being presided over by one of the most important men in our financial affairs—a senator and former governor of the bank—the Count de Germiny. With all this show and parade it is that the loan is placed before the public. I may say even that it amounts to an abuse to employ all this superfluity of announcements.

However that be, what has become of the loan? That is a question which I address to the representatives of the government. It is important for us to know, on various accounts. There are two sections in the loan. There is, first, that of twelve millions of *rente* for the account of the Emperor Maximilian; then there is a second division of 6,600,000 francs of *rente* for the account of the French government, to which this amount of *rente* is remitted in place of the indemnity of two hundred and seventy millions which is acknowledged to be due to it. What has become of the loan? Is it negotiated? We need some information on the subject. It is not from the point of view of our 6,600,000 francs of *rente* that I spoke just now. It is from the point of view of the real resources that are going to be placed at the disposal of the Emperor Maximilian, and which are the pledge for us for several recoveries, of which it will also be necessary to speak.

In regard to these recoveries, what have we to do? This is a very important subject. The government cannot refuse to give us some information on the state of the negotiation of this loan, so important to the finances of France, in consideration of what we are to be paid hereafter. I have the honor to be in communication with some persons who are very well posted in affairs, who would not seek to mislead me, who would be indulgent towards me, and who would not expose me to the disgrace of asserting, in an assembly as respectable as this, and consequently before the whole country, a thing that would not be true. However ill, therefore, I may be informed, I can say that the loan is not negotiated, or at least that it is very far from being negotiated for twelve millions. Is it for eight millions? I have reason to think that it is not. The precise figure will be given us by the government, which is under the obligation of placing us right on this subject.

In the present state of things, I believe that we have reason to fear that in the resources which are to be placed at the disposal of the Emperor Maximilian we will not find all the security on which our treaty would give us the right to count.

Now, how is it with our *rentes*? The Glynn firm announced in its prospectus that it would negotiate 18,600,000 francs of *rentes*; that it would open subscriptions in France and in England; that is to say, that it was commissioned to make at the same time a loan of twelve millions of *rentes* for Mexico, and a loan of 6,600,000 francs of *rentes* for France. Such was the announcement of the firm of Glynn & Company.

In the secret committee I asked if we could know on what conditions the English company undertook the negotiation of our 6,600,000 livres of *rentes*. The minister of state told me on that day that he had not in his possession any treaty that might have existed between the French treasury and the English company. He had it not in his possession, but he

promised to make it known to us afterwards. Now I believe he will not have to make it known to us, for no treaty any longer exists.

If these things are true, we offered to Mr. Glynn to intrust him with bonds at the rate of 60 francs, which he was to negotiate with the public at 63 francs, and he has thought proper to decline the bargain. Yet it was a very fine commission that we allowed him—a commission of three per cent., as we yielded to him at 60 francs what he was to negotiate in public at 63 francs; and still he has been unwilling to accept.

What is the consequence, gentlemen? If these things—this is a question which I address to the government—if these things are in the state which I have just indicated; that is to say, if Mr. Glynn has refused to undertake the negotiation of our 6,600,000 livres of rentes; if, even with a commission of three per cent., he has been unwilling to undertake to become the holder of them—well, what will become of these bonds?

They remain in the portfolio of the treasury. That is true; we have in the portfolio of the treasury 6,600,000 livres in Mexican bonds. These bonds will be negotiated hereafter as the Italian bonds have been negotiated.

You have not forgotten, gentlemen, that, after the treaty of Zurich, the government of Turin, which, perhaps, has never attached sufficient importance to that treaty, was to reimburse us for the sum of 100 millions which we had advanced for it to the Austrian government. How have these 100 millions been reimbursed? By the remittance of Italian bonds. We have had Italian bonds remitted to us at the rate of 80 francs 35 centimes. This amount in bonds represented a capital of 75 millions and some fraction—the exact figure does not matter.

We have negotiated these Italian bonds as we may be able to negotiate hereafter, I know not when, the Mexican bonds which will remain in our portfolio. But at what price have we negotiated these Italian bonds? We have negotiated them at such a price that we have lost 11,800,000 francs on the 75 millions—that is, from 15 to 16 per cent. If we are to negotiate our Mexican bonds on the same conditions, you will easily understand how, when we very exactly set down in our two budgets a certain sum of 66,900,000 francs, we shall have sadly miscalculated, and we shall be very far from an adjustment of balances.

What, in fact, is the condition of these Mexican bonds? I do not now consider the political question; I only consider the financial aspect of the case. In my opinion it is less favorable even than that of the Italian bonds. If we have lost from 15 to 16 per cent. on the Italian bonds we will lose still more on the Mexican bonds, when we shall have need of negotiating them in order to supply a deficit of 35 millions in the budget of 1864, and a deficit of 13,900,000 francs in the budget of 1865. We will therefore lose much; that is incontestable. I fear so much the more that we may lose heavily, as I cannot indulge any hopes. Yet I would gladly pray for the success of the negotiation of the Mexican bonds; for I assure you that if the 66 millions could be considered as ready money, if they could be considered as likely to restore order in our finances, I should be perfectly satisfied, although I hold here the language of a member of the opposition.

Much has been said of the financial feature of the new Mexican government; our very honorable and very eminent friend Mr. O'Quinn, the author of the report, has told us that he does not share the apprehensions which some entertain on the financial destiny of the Mexican government.

Gentlemen, I have in my hands a document which does not allow me to share those hopes, or rather which does not permit me to abandon myself or to urge my honorable colleagues to abandon themselves to such illusions. This document, which I have in my hands, is the report which M. de Aranjuez, formerly minister of finance in Mexico before the presidency of Juarez, has made to the Emperor Maximilian in regard to the state of affairs in Mexico. This report has been copied for me most faithfully, and yesterday, by order of the Emperor Maximilian, it has been published in the *Morning Post*, of which a copy has been sent to me, which I have compared with the transcript previously communicated to me, of which I could therefore recognize the perfect correctness.

Now, what said the Mexican minister of finances? He said that, in the actual state of the revenues of Mexico, which amounted to a very low sum, 10 or 11 millions of piastres, that is, 50 or 55 millions of francs, it was indispensable with these revenues, in comparing them with the amount of the internal debt, the amount of the external debt, the amount of the debt due to France—and this debt he estimated only at 200 millions or 40 millions of piastres—it was indispensable to effect a loan of 750 millions.

It is for a country for which such resources are recognized as necessary by a man who was its minister of finance a few years ago, and who now makes a very complete, very clear, very methodical report to the Mexican Emperor; it is for a country which has need of 750 millions, that it is sought to effect a loan of 120 millions nearly, a loan represented by these 12 millions of bonds which it is sought to negotiate in the interest of the new government.

Such is the state of the case; I derive no hope from it to see the speedy realization of all those financial resources which Mexico, according to the fancy or the reasoning of some of our colleagues, should very soon produce.

I am so much the less disposed to entertain such a hope, as in the same report I have read, and I now read, that the new Emperor will require at least two years to re-establish civil order in the country, to assess the taxes, to organize its financial government, and to restore

the *alcaldas* or duties which have been suppressed, in order to replace them with monopolies which can no longer exist in a government imbued with principles of liberty, as the establishment of this new empire in Mexico ought to be, those monopolies which constituted the principal source of revenue for the Spanish government when it possessed and administered that country in 1820.

Such are the observations made by the Mexican minister. Well, gentlemen, to these observations I add mine also, such as have been suggested by the document which I have studied, a document which is well known to the government; for the copy of this report of M. de Aranjuez was transmitted to the French government before it was made known in London.

I have already said, gentlemen, that we must use the 66 millions that should proceed from the negotiation of the Mexican bonds; we must negotiate those bonds, I know not when, nor at what price; but first or last, at any price whatever, it can only be done with heavy loss. How could we be covered by what is due to us from the Emperor Maximilian? I have already said it too, and I will be corrected if, in my position as a stranger to the management of internal affairs, I am not rigorously exact in my knowledge of things; I have already said, the loan was not entirely subscribed for the Emperor Maximilian, and it was very doubtful whether he would succeed in getting the 120 millions which he hoped to obtain from the negotiation of his 6 per cent. bonds.

But suppose that this loan, which has not been subscribed to either in England or in Holland, and which has scarcely been taken anywhere else than in France, suppose that this loan is entirely taken; suppose that it will be negotiated without any loss, without any commission prejudicial to the interests of the Emperor Maximilian's finances; suppose that in consequence the Emperor Maximilian raises 120 millions. I make a very large concession here. Well, permit me now to see what the obligations of the Emperor Maximilian are, according to the terms of the treaty of Miramar.

According to that treaty the Emperor Maximilian should immediately deposit, through the agency of the committee of finance, presided over by M. de Germigny, four instalments of our rente of 6,600,000 francs in the bureau of deposits and consignments. He should, likewise, deposit four instalments of the rente negotiated in France for the 12 millions; that is to say, he should deposit four instalments of an annual rente of 18,600,000 francs. Now, if I am not mistaken, four instalments represent about 37,200,000 francs. This seems to me incontestable. It is necessary, therefore, that he should pay them down immediately, and that he should take them out of the 120 millions which he is to obtain from the very doubtful realization of his loan.

Independently of the thirty-seven millions of francs which he should deposit immediately, according to the terms of the treaty, in the French bureau of deposits and consignments, he should also arrange with England, for England has an English commissioner a member of the Mexican committee of finance, established in Paris, and this commissioner assuredly watches over the interests of his country.

What has the Emperor Maximilian done for England?

There existed a debt of English bonds to the amount of fifty-one millions of piastres, that is, two hundred and fifty millions of francs. Well, the Emperor Maximilian has consolidated this amount of English bonds into 3 per cent. rentes, at a less figure; and then, in the quality of a sovereign entering the country as a man able to pay his debts and the debts of the country of which he is going to be the sovereign, he has declared that there were twenty coupons of these English bonds which had not been discharged for a certain number of years, and that consequently he established a 3 per cent. rente similar to that in consolidation of the English bonds, that he established in favor of English creditors a rente of 3 per cent., which would amount to 3,800,000 francs.

He has, therefore, in regard to England, created a rente of 3 per cent., of which the two sections, the one a consolidation of the capital of fifty-one millions of piastres, the other a consolidation, reduced, it is true, but still a consolidation, of the amount of twenty coupons, amount in all to a rente of twelve millions and some fraction.

What is the English commissioner going to do? What he has done, and what he ought to do, most undoubtedly. He is going to demand the preliminary deposit of the interest for two years, as it has been demanded for the 18,600,000 francs.

The Emperor Maximilian must, therefore, add twenty-two or twenty-four millions for two years' interest of this rente which he has established in favor of England. Here, then, are twenty-two or twenty-four millions for England that must also be added immediately by a deposit as instantaneous as the deposit of thirty-seven millions of French interest.

Independently of these engagements, there is one other made with you, and upon which we count in our estimate of receipts for 1864, as well as for 1865. So we were told yesterday. I do not speak of the Emperor Maximilian's engagement to pay us 1,000 francs for each soldier that may be left in his territory; I do not speak of that. The Emperor Maximilian has made an engagement, embracing several matters, to pay us twenty-five millions. These twenty-five millions we have to apply to the budgets of 1864 and 1865.

Here, then, is a sum of twenty-five millions, or, taking in the semi-annual instalment of 12,500,000 francs for 1864, 37,500,000 francs in all, which the Emperor Maximilian must expend in order to discharge his obligation to pay us twenty-five millions a year; and we count

so confidently upon this, that, having in the amount of the Mexican rente only fifty-four millions of which we could dispose, we dispose of sixty-six millions of this same rente, and we appropriate fifty-three millions of it in the budget of 1864, and thirteen millions in the budget of 1865; we count with entire assurance upon that money. Here, then, are twenty-five millions for 1865, and 12,500,000 francs for the half of this year, on which we count; they are our eventual resources. Thus it is 37,500,000 francs that the Emperor Maximilian must expend out of the money which is to be raised for him by the loan in the condition in which we know that to be. (Murmurs.)

There is yet another engagement made by the Emperor Maximilian. While we remain there, he ought to relieve us immediately, dating from the first of July, from the enormous expense of maintaining the Mexican army. The Mexican army, if I refer to the figures that are given us in the budget, is for us a charge of 18,600,000 francs; for I have seen in the corrected estimate, and in the report of our honorable colleague, that it was for one-half year 9,300,000 francs. It is necessary, therefore, that, for eighteen months, the Emperor Maximilian should remain charged, in our place, with this expense of 18,600,000 francs, or else he will not pay his army.

The sum of 18,600,000 francs a year, makes, for eighteen months, twenty-seven millions and some hundreds of thousands of francs which the Emperor Maximilian will have to spend. Please add up—and all these figures are incontestable—add up all that, in accordance with these decrees, with treaties, and with agreements, the Emperor Maximilian is obliged to spend immediately, before entering his empire, before being able to establish his government there, before being able to introduce there the necessary means for the establishment of order, peace, and security, and the creation of interests around him; he has to pay one hundred and twenty-five millions out of the one hundred and twenty millions which he will have borrowed. [Laughter on several benches.]

M. GLAIS-BIZOIN. Very good; very good. [Murmurs of disapprobation.]

M. BERRYER. Pardon me, gentlemen, for these long developments with which I fatigue you, [No, no. Go on.] But I consider it only my duty as a good citizen to dispel from your minds the illusions that would induce you to accept as realities what in fact are only chimeras, and nothing but chimeras.

Independently of all these external obligations which must be fulfilled in the interval of eighteen months, and the greatest part immediately, there is an internal debt. Is this new Emperor, who goes to restore peace, order, confidence in his states, to commence by bankruptcy as to the internal debt? Is he not going to be obliged to acknowledge and provide for it? What would be the condition of a new government that would commence by saying: "There are debts; I will not pay them?"

All these considerations should be weighed by you. They are true; they are of serious importance; they demand to be received as reasons determining us to recognize the impossibility of hoping for an equilibrium in the budget through the means of the income which we presume to be derivable from the Mexican indebtedness. This seems to me established by the fullest evidence. The budget is very far from finding the thirty-seven millions which Mexico owes us for eighteen months, and the 66,600,000 francs which are allotted to us, and of which we dispose as available assets. We are so far from being able with any certainty or reason to count upon that, that we must acknowledge that there will be a deficit, and a very considerable deficit, in our budget.

Most unfortunately, there will be a deficit for other reasons also, and this is still more sad; for all that I have said is only in relation to our finances abroad. As to position, attended with more or less risk, of the Archduke become Emperor, we have made the expenditure, we have balanced it; we await sufficient indemnities to cover the balance. Will those indemnities fail us? That will be a transitory misfortune; but it is not a misfortune attributable to ourselves. It is the weakness, the poverty, the chimerical illusions of other parties, that have brought us to it. We will pass over this subject. But there are other illusions which, although they do not result in figures so important, appear to me worthy to be the object of most serious reflections on the part of the government. These are the estimates which we make of the revenue derivable from taxes, and especially from indirect taxes, as available resources. As to these estimates, we are told in the report of the committee, "We need estimate for 1864 a deficit, a falling off, a diminution, of three millions in the receipt of indirect taxes."

In view of this hope, of this estimate of the committee, I look at the figures of the returns, in the *Moniteur*, of the revenue from our indirect taxation during the first half of the year 1864, and I see that there is a falling off of receipts, compared with 1863, of 6,673,000 francs. Now, when the first half of the year presents a deficiency of receipts to the sum of 6,673,000 francs, I ask on what grounds does the committee assert that, in the course of the whole year, there will be a diminution of receipts only of three millions?

It is a bad beginning, whereon to predict that there will be only a deficit of three millions during the whole year, when the first half alone presents a deficit of 6,673,000 francs.

CORPS LEGISLATIF.

SESSION OF THURSDAY, May 12, 1864.

His excellency the DUKE DE MORNAY, president, in the chair.

After the reading of the journal, in which some corrections were made, and the presentation of various reports, the order of the day came up, being the consideration of the budget for 1865. M. JULES FAVRE claimed and obtained the floor. The opening of his speech and the part relating to Mexican affairs were as follows:

M. JULES FAVRE. Gentlemen, when in the session of yesterday our honorable president advised us not to overload the discussion of the budget with irrelevant debates, it was not certainly and it could not have been his idea to debar us from the serious examination of those affairs that are involved in the regulation of finances.

In fact, gentlemen, if it is important to know the amount of our expenses and of our receipts, it is not less so to know how these expenses are incurred, and if the sacrifices which they impose upon the country turn to its welfare and its prosperity internally, to its security, to its repose, to its honor, to its alliances externally.

It is, therefore, gentlemen, useful to examine the condition in which our diplomacy has placed us, and I ask your permission to make this examination in your presence, throwing aside, as far as it will be possible for me, all incidental questions, and occupying myself only with those which should principally claim your attention. And if it is impossible for me, speaking in the name of the opposition, to intimate my approval of the domestic and internal policy of the government, it is no less impossible for me to show any satisfaction with its external policy, and this, gentlemen, for a reason which applies to both. In fact, we reproach both alike with appearing to be what they are not, with exciting without satisfying, and with thus creating everywhere a condition of things full of doubt, uncertainty, and danger. [Interruption.]

In order to justify this opinion, gentlemen, I must go through with you the principal questions to which I alluded just now; not that I make the rash pretension to present here the diplomatic history of the government which directs us; I desire to confine myself to a brief review of the events that have transpired and that are now transpiring since the corps legislatif has met. And it is precisely, gentlemen, in examining these events that I shall find the justification of the opinion which I have had the honor of enunciating before the chamber. And in the very beginning, gentlemen, permit me to tell you that it would be a grave error to suppose that diplomacy should restrict itself to the surveillance of facts that are being accomplished, and to the consideration of the transitory interest that might arise from them. Assuredly, gentlemen, it cannot despise either the one or the other, but in order to be really strong, it is necessary that, as for internal policy, it should have a fixed principle, a reason to direct it, a reason to serve as a lamp and guide on all important occasions whereon it may find itself engaged. Now, gentlemen, what cannot be disputed by any one that does me the honor of listening to me is, that in the contest now waged in Europe, and which, unfortunately, does not yet draw near its end, France, by her external action as well as by her internal policy, should, under pain of degenerating from her high station, represent the new spirit. And what must we understand by this expression? In my mind, here is what it means—the ancient spirit having its source in theocracy, which is the representation of the most elevated of despotism, has taken the name of divine right in order to be the more feared and the more submitted to by the people. This is the name which it has assumed in order to be able to reign without limitation, and to make all understandings be silent in its presence. But in opposition to this right to which I must restore a more logical name by calling it the imposed right, there appears the right which I name consented right, and it is this, gentlemen, which is the personification of the new spirit, that is, the liberty of the human soul which takes possession of the world, and which desires, through the power of the collective individualities called to govern their own affairs by themselves, to reveal itself and assume its proper place.

SEVERAL MEMBERS. Good.

M. JULES FAVRE. Now, it is not doubtful, and I was right in saying that upon this point I would have no person to contradict me among you, that France is the champion of this latter principle. Undoubtedly, and here again we are all of one accord, her policy ought to have a fixed rule. It ought also to avoid showing itself adventurous, utopian, and especially propagandist. It should rely for support on that which constitutes its proper force, but should not seek to impose itself abroad. It should respect the principle on which it rests, and protect that principle on all occasions when that protection is allied with possibility and the interests of the nation.

Well, gentlemen, has France been faithful to her commission in the events which have been unfolded before you? Has she respected these rules of conduct? Has she shown herself prudent, reserved, and logical? Unfortunately it is impossible for me to give her this credit.

Italy is not the only or the most serious embarrassment in which France finds herself involved; she carries a still heavier chain: it is that of Mexico, [exclamations,] and we would