

This Mexican question has become a most prominent one in the policy of the Emperor, and the more his invasion of that country is complained of, the more anxious does he seem as to its success.

Please let me hear from you on this subject.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, &c.

WILLIAM L. DAYTON.

[Translation of extract from the journal La France.]

We understand that Mr. Slidell, envoy of the Confederate States, was received on Thursday last by the Emperor, during the short stay that his Majesty made at Paris.

We have reason to believe that the visit of Mr. Slidell was connected with the idea of recognizing the Confederate States of the south, and of thus giving new force to the peace party, which is increasing every day in the States of the north.

The sympathies of the south for France have just been manifested in a striking manner. Richmond has been illuminated upon the occasion of the capture of Puebla, while this great feat of arms was received at the north with an unalloyed feeling of regret.

We are informed, also, that Messrs. Roebuck and Lindsay, members of the British Parliament, have had the honor of being received by his Majesty the Emperor.

It is known that these honorable deputies have presented a motion in Parliament, which ought to be discussed next week, and which has for its object the recognition of the southern States.

The cause of the confederates gains new sympathies every day, and their heroic resistance on the one side, on the other the impotence of the armies of the north, prove that there is in them a people strongly organized, worthy, in fine, to be admitted among the independent states.

We are assured that Spain, in particular, will show herself disposed to recognize the south upon the condition, easy to be arranged, that the new confederation would recognize, in its turn, the secular rights of the Spanish government over the island of Cuba, and would interdict itself from all aggression against this island.

A. RENAULD.

Mr. Dayton to Mr. Seward.

No. 323.]

PARIS, July 2, 1863.

SIR: I have communicated to Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys to-day the substance of your despatch No. 357, in reference to Mexico, and the refusal of Mr. Corwin to take charge of the business of the French legation. He did not seem to consider the reasons assigned by Mr. Corwin to be very good ones.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, &c., &c., &c.

WM. L. DAYTON.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Dayton.

No. 374.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 17, 1863.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your despatch of the 2d of July, No. 323, in which you have related a conversation which you had just before held with Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys upon several subjects affecting our relations with France.

Your proceeding in making the explanations concerning the action of Mr. Corwin in regard to the protection of French subjects in Mexico is approved.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

WILLIAM L. DAYTON, Esq.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Dayton.

No. 378.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 25, 1863.

SIR: I enclose a copy of a despatch from Mr. Burton, United States minister at Bogota, and of the correspondence to which it refers, relative to a supposed design of the French upon the independence of Ecuador. These papers may be considered sufficient to warrant an inquiry of M. Drouyn de Lhuys upon the subject, and a request for such an explanation as the answer to that inquiry may call for.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

WILLIAM L. DAYTON, Esq.

Mr. Dayton to Mr. Seward.

[Extract.]

No. 336.]

PARIS, August 21, 1863.

SIR: Your despatch No. 378 has been duly received, and I have called Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys's attention to the subject therein referred to. He assures me that France has no purpose or design upon the independence of the republic of Ecuador; that should any change in its territory take place, or should it be absorbed in another government, as in the republic of Colombia, this would not, in the language of Baron Gowry du Roslan, their minister, pass unobserved by the government of France, but its observation of such events would apply only to such change of ministers or agents as the absorption of two governments into one might render necessary. If they had any claims against the country or territory so absorbed, they would reserve the right to press them, of course. But he said he recollected nothing of a special character in the despatches of Baron Gowry du Roslan on these subjects; he would, however, examine them further.

It is not improbable or unnatural that, in view of the course of France in Mexico, the republics of Central America may have become alarmed for their future. They look, therefore, with great suspicion and distrust upon the language of all French officials, which seems to imply a purpose upon the part of the Emperor to interfere further.

In this connexion I should add, that Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys took occasion again to say that France had no purpose in Mexico other than heretofore stated; that she did not mean to appropriate permanently any part of that country, and that she should leave it as soon as her griefs were satisfied, and she could do so with honor. In the *abandon* of a conversation somewhat familiar I took occasion to say that in quitting Mexico she might leave a *puppet* behind her. He said no; *the strings would be too long to work*. He added they had had enough of colonial experience in Algeria; that the strength of France was in her compact

body and well-defined boundary. In that condition she had her resources always at command. There is much force in the suggestion, as applied to this government, which is so emphatically a military power.

You will put upon this conversation as to Mexico your own construction, and draw your own inferences. It seemed to me, however, that Mr. Drouyn de l'Huys was disposed to avail himself of the opportunity to relieve, as far as possible, the suspicion and distrust which our government might, from late events, naturally entertain of the purposes of France in that country.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WM. L. DAYTON.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Dayton.

No. 390.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 31, 1863.

SIR: I have received your three despatches, namely, No. 329, under date of July 30; No. 332, of August 4, and No. 333, of August 5.

Under the uniform aspect of our domestic affairs, the matters presented by these papers may safely pass unnoticed.

You will perceive that the course of events in Mexico is giving rise to much speculation, as well in this country as in Europe, and this speculation takes a direction which may well deserve the consideration of the Emperor's government, for it indicates a disposition in some quarters to produce alienation between this country and France. This government has said nothing upon the subject, except what is contained in a previous communication made by me to yourself, and it lends no materials or encouragement to the debate to which I have referred.

I have told you in a previous despatch that the interests of the United States in Texas are not overlooked. I have now to add that preparations have been made, which, as I trust, will be effectual in establishing the national authority in that State.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

WILLIAM L. DAYTON, Esq.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Dayton.

No. 392.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 7, 1863.

SIR: Your despatch of August 21 (No. 336) has been received. The explanations of Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, in regard to the views of the Emperor's government concerning the Central American states, are unexceptionable; and I shall take pleasure in making them known to the parties in whose names the inquiry was instituted.

I have read with much interest the statement you have given me of the remarks which Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys made informally to you concerning the position of the imperial government in Mexico. If we were now authorized to regard them as guaranteed by the Emperor, it would go far to relieve a solicitude, not only here, but in Europe, which I cannot but believe is becoming as inconvenient to

France as it is to the United States. Before this despatch will be received you will probably have ascertained, in compliance with a previous instruction of mine, whether we are authorized to understand Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys as speaking by authority in the explanations he has thus made.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

WILLIAM L. DAYTON, Esq.

Mr. Dayton to Mr. Seward.

No. 345.]

PARIS, *September 14, 1863.*

SIR:

In the course of conversation reference was made to the almost universal report that our government only awaits the termination of our domestic troubles to drive the French out of Mexico. This idea is carefully nursed and circulated by the friends of secession here, and is doing us injury with the government. The French naturally conclude that if they are to have trouble with us, it would be safest to choose their own time. M. Drouyn de Lhuys referred to these matters, and said the Emperor had recently asked him if it were true, as the public journals alleged, that the United States had made a formal protest against the action of France in Mexico, and he had told him that no such protest had been made. I told him that, so far as I was concerned, I had received no orders to make such formal protest; that, relying on the constant assurances of France as to its purposes in Mexico, and its determination to leave the people free as to their form of government, and not to hold or colonize any portion of their territories, my government had indicated to me no purpose to interfere in the quarrel; at the same time we had not at all concealed, as he well knew, our earnest solicitude for the well-being of that country, and an especial sensitiveness as to any forcible interference in the form of its government. He said that these were the same general views held by you to M. Mercier, and reported by him to this government. I told him that France must well understand that we did not want war with her; to which he answered that she did not certainly wish war with us.

When I referred to the rumored cession of Texas and part of Louisiana to the Emperor, he, in denying the fact, said these rumors were diabolical. He added that France wanted no territory there.

I enclose you a slip cut from Galignani, containing the substance of what is, I presume, a semi-official exposition of the government as to its action in respect to the rebel ship Florida at Brest.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM L. DAYTON.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.

Mr. Dayton to Mr. Seward.

No. 347.]

PARIS, *September 16, 1863.*

SIR: I did not receive the communication for Mr. Mercier which Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys promised me until last night. It came then in an open envelope, with a note requesting me, after reading it, to seal it and send it by my next courier, (meaning thereby the next despatch bag.) Having sealed it according to request, I herewith send it in an envelope to you, begging that you will have it promptly

delivered to Mr. Mercier. The despatch commences with a remark complimentary to myself, and then goes on to state that I had inquired of him as to the truth of certain rumors afloat, to wit, that the Emperor had decided to recognize the south, and had even already signed a treaty by which the south agreed to cede to France, for herself or to be reconveyed to Mexico, Texas and part of Louisiana, and that Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, at the same time, asked me if I had not heard other rumors calculated to disturb the good relations existing between our two countries—as that the United States had made its protest against the action of the French government in Mexico; had sent its fleet to Vera Cruz; and made a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Russia. He goes on to say that these suggestions were made less with a view to inquiring as to their truth than for the purpose of fortifying me against a belief in the rumors I had first referred to, the truth of which rumors he expressly denied. He then tells Mr. Mercier that I said I had no knowledge of and did not believe in the report that our navy was before Vera Cruz, or that we had made a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Russia, and that if you had instructed me to make a formal protest against their proceedings in Mexico I should have done so, which I had not; although, under the influence of your general correspondence on this subject, I had made him aware of the painful impression caused in my country by European intervention in Mexico, and our anxious solicitude as to any interference with the form of government there. He then tells Mr. Mercier that he had attached little importance to the rumors he had referred to, which probably originated in the same source as those to which I had referred. He then says to Mr. Mercier, "I repeated to him (Mr. Dayton) that which I had already often said to him, that we were not seeking, either for ourselves or others, any acquisition in America. I added (says he) that I hoped the good sense of the people of the United States would do justice to the exaggerations and false suppositions by the aid of which it was sought to mislead and embitter opinion, and that I counted upon his concurrence to try and make prevail a more just appreciation of our intentions and of the necessities which our policy obeyed."

He then directs Mr. Mercier to communicate this conversation to you, and to use the text thereof to correct false judgments and unjustifiable imputations about him.

I should add that as this despatch is, in part, in reference to the intentions of France in Mexico, in which you and the country are just now so much interested, I have thought it best to avoid mistakes by sending you the above, the last twenty lines of which are little less than a translation of that part of Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys's despatch.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WM. L. DAYTON.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, &c.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Dayton.

No. 400.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 21, 1863.

SIR: The French forces are understood to hold in subjection to the new provisional government established in Mexico three of the states, while all the other constituent members of the republic of Mexico still remain under its authority. There are already indications of designs, in those states, to seek aid in the United States, with the consent of this government if attainable, and without it if it shall be refused; and for this purpose inducements are held out,

well calculated to excite sympathies in a border population. The United States government has hitherto practiced strict neutrality between the French and Mexico, and all the more cheerfully, because it has relied on the assurances given by the French government that it did not intend permanent occupation of that country, or any violence to the sovereignty of its people. The proceedings of the French in Mexico are regarded by many in that country, and in this, as at variance with those assurances. Owing to this circumstance, it becomes very difficult for this government to enforce a rigid observance of its neutrality laws. The President thinks it desirable that you should seek an opportunity to mention these facts to Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, and to suggest to him that the interests of the United States, and, as it seems to us, the interests of France herself, require that a solution of the present complications in Mexico be made, as early as may be convenient, upon the basis of the unity and independence of Mexico. I cannot be misinterpreting the sentiments of the United States in saying that they do not desire an annexation of Mexico, or any part of it, nor do they desire any special interest, control, or influence there, but they are deeply interested in the re-establishment of unity, peace, and order in the neighboring republic, and exceedingly desirous that there may not arise out of the war in Mexico any cause of alienation between them and France. Inasmuch as these sentiments are by no means ungenerous, the President unhesitatingly believes that they are the sentiments of the Emperor himself in regard to Mexico.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

WILLIAM L. DAYTON, Esq., &c., &c., &c.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Dayton.

No. 401.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 22, 1863.

SIR: I enclose, for your information, a translation of a note of the 20th of July last, which has been addressed to me by Mr. J. M. Arroyo, who calls himself under-secretary of state and foreign affairs of the Mexican empire, setting forth recent proceedings, with a view to the organization of the new government at Mexico; also a copy of a memorandum which has been left with me by a person calling himself General Cortes, alleged to have been formerly governor of the Mexican state of Sonora. No reply has been, or probably will be, made to either of these papers.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

WM. L. DAYTON, Esq.

Mr. Arroyo to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

PALACE OF THE REGENCY OF THE EMPIRE OF MEXICO,
July 20, 1863.

The undersigned, under-secretary of state and of foreign affairs of the Mexican empire, has the honor to address the present communication to his excellency the Secretary of State and of Foreign Affairs of the United States of

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America, to the end that he may be pleased to place within the knowledge of his government the recent important events which have finally resulted in the organization of an appropriate, strong, and durable government, with a view that the nation might be constituted.

This capital having been occupied on the 10th ultimo by the allied Franco-Mexican army, the first care of the general-in-chief was to issue a decree convening a superior gubernative junta of thirty-five members, composed of the most distinguished notabilities; and, moreover, another of two hundred and fifteen notables, in order that, united to the former, they might form an assembly of two hundred and fifty persons selected from all classes of society, and from all the departments, which, in conformity to public law and to the traditional usages of the country, should express the wish of the nation as to the form of government that would best suit it.

The gubernative junta having met, decreed the establishment of a provisional executive power composed of three members, appointing the most excellent the generals of divisions, Don Juan N. Almonte and Don Mariano Salas, and the most illustrious the archbishop of Mexico, Don Pelagio Antonio de Labastida, at present absent in Europe, and to act as his substitute the most illustrious Don Juan B. Ormaechea, bishop elect of Tulancingo, who, in such character, immediately took up the reins of government.

The assembly of the notables having convened in conformity to the decree of the thirteenth of June last, was engaged in causing to be made the important declaration in regard to the form of government, with a view to its permanent stability and the future happiness of the nation. The final result of their labors has been the solemn decree, a copy of which the undersigned has the satisfaction to enclose to his excellency, in which appears the following declaration:

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

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

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

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

This solemn and explicit declaration was received by all classes of society with gratification, and even with enthusiasm, manifested in such a way that the undersigned does not fear to anticipate its complete realization; and so much the more so, since he receives every day numerous manifestations of accession, notice of which his excellency will see in the official journal of the empire, which is annexed.

Consequently the undersigned relies on the moral co-operation of the governments which are friendly to Mexico, among which he has the satisfaction of enumerating that of the United States of America, which has given so many proofs of its interest in the happiness of Mexico.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to offer to his excellency the Secretary of State of the United States of America the assurances of his distinguished consideration.

J. M. ARROYO.

His Excellency the SECRETARY OF STATE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS
of the United States of America.

Mr. Arroyo to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

SECRETARYSHIP OF STATE AND OF THE OFFICE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS.

PALACE OF THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE POWER,
Mexico, July 11, 1863.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“TEODÓSIO LARES, *President.*

“ALEJANDRO ARANGO Y ESCANDON, *Secretary.*

“JOSÉ MARIA ANDRADE, *Secretary.*

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

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

“JUAN N. ALMONTE.

“JOSÉ MARIANO SALAS.

“JUAN B. ORMAECHEA.

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

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

J. M. ARROYO,

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

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Mr. Arroyo to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

SECRETARYSHIP OF STATE AND OF THE OFFICE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS.

PALACE OF THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE POWER,
Mexico, July 11, 1863.

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

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

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

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

"Given in the Hall of Sessions of the Assembly on the 11th of July, 1863.
"TEODOSIO LARES, *President*.

"ALEJANDRO ARANGO Y ESCANDON, *Secretary*.

"JOSÉ MARIA ANDRADE, *Secretary*."

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

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

"JUAN N. ALMONTE.

"JOSÉ MARIANO DE SALAS.

"JUAN B. ORMAECHEA.

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

"DON J. MIGUEL ARROYO."

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

J. M. ARROYO,

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

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Mr. Dayton to Mr. Seward.

No. 352.]

PARIS, September 25, 1863.

SIR: Your despatch, No. 391, as to the proceedings of our minister resident at Salvador, in reference to French interests there, and the despatch from him to you on that subject, were at once communicated by me to the Foreign Office here. As it was evident that a copy of Mr. Partridge's despatch, stating what he had done in relation to French interests in that country, should be on the files of the Foreign Office here, I left the same temporarily with Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, at his request, that he might have it copied, if so disposed.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM L. DAYTON.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

Secretary of State, &c., &c., &c.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Dayton.

[Extracts.]

No. 406.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, September 26, 1863.

SIR: Your confidential despatch of September 7, No. 342, has been received and carefully considered. * * * * *

It is well understood that through a long period, closing in 1860, the manifest

strength of this nation was a sufficient protection, for itself and for Mexico, against all foreign states. That power was broken down and shattered in 1861, by faction. The first fruit of our civil war was a new, and in effect, though not intentionally so, an unfriendly attitude assumed by Great Britain, France, and Spain, all virtually, and the two first named powers avowedly, moving in concert. While I cannot confess to a fear on the part of this government that any one or all of the maritime powers combining with the insurgents could overthrow it, yet it would have been manifestly presumptuous, at any time since this distraction seized the American people, to have provoked such an intervention, or to have spared any allowable means of preventing it. The unceasing efforts of this department in that direction have resulted from this ever-present consideration. If in its communications the majestic efforts of the government to subdue the insurrection, and to remove the temptation which it offered to foreign powers, have not figured so largely as to impress my correspondents with the conviction that the President relies always mainly on the national power, and not on the forbearance of those who it is apprehended may become its enemies, it is because the duty of drawing forth and directing the armed power of the nation has rested upon distinct departments, while to this one belonged the especial duty of holding watch against foreign insult, intrusion, and intervention. With these general remarks I proceed to explain the President's views in regard to the first of the two questions mentioned, namely, the attitude of France in regard to the civil war in the United States.

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The subject upon which I propose to remark, in the second place, is the relation of France towards Mexico. The United States hold, in regard to Mexico, the same principles that they hold in regard to all other nations. They have neither a right nor a disposition to intervene by force in the internal affairs of Mexico, whether to establish and maintain a republic or even a domestic government there, or to overthrow an imperial or a foreign one, if Mexico chooses to establish or accept it. The United States have neither the right nor the disposition to intervene by force on either side in the lamentable war which is going on between France and Mexico. On the contrary, they practice in regard to Mexico, in every phase of that war, the non-intervention which they require all foreign powers to observe in regard to the United States. But, notwithstanding this self-restraint, this government knows full well that the inherent normal opinion of Mexico favors a government there republican in form and domestic in its organization, in preference to any monarchical institutions to be imposed from abroad. This government knows, also, that this normal opinion of the people of Mexico resulted largely from the influence of popular opinion in this country, and is continually invigorated by it. The President believes, moreover, that this popular opinion of the United States is just in itself, and eminently essential to the progress of civilization on the American continent, which civilization, it believes, can and will, if left free from European resistance, work harmoniously together with advancing refinement on the other continents. This government believes that foreign resistance, or attempts to control American civilization, must and will fail before the ceaseless and ever-increasing activity of material, moral, and political forces, which peculiarly belong to the American continent. Nor do the United States deny that, in their opinion, their own safety and the cheerful destiny to which they aspire are intimately dependent on the continuance of free republican institutions throughout America. They have submitted these opinions to the Emperor of France, on proper occasions, as worthy of his serious consideration, in determining how he would conduct and close what might prove a successful war in Mexico. Nor is it necessary to practice reserve upon the point, that if France should, upon due consideration, determine to adopt a policy in Mexico adverse to the American opinions