The Bistory of Foreign Intervention in that County.

BY HON, HENRY J. RAYMOND. The project of intervention in Mexico first ok diplomatic form on the 31st of October, 1861, when the Convention between England, France, and Spain was signed in London. The estensible reason for the intervention thus agreed upon was the decree of the Government of Mexico of July 17, 1861, by which Mexico suspended payment of her foreign debt. But to understand both these events we must go back in the history of Mexico, and ascertain her political condition at the time.

On the 12th of January, 1857, a Constitution was adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Mexico, in which every State was represented. In this Constitution (Article 41) it was declared to be "the will of the Mexican people to constitute themselves a representative, demo-cratic, federal republic, composed of States free and sovereign in all that concerns their interior regimen, but united in a federation established according to the principles of this fundamental law." This Constitution, on being submitted to the people, was ratified and adopted by the popular vote in every State. The adoption of this Constitution was the result of a severe and protracted struggle against the system of pronunciamientos which Mexico had been governed for forty years, and was hailed everywhere as the be ginning of a new and a better era. In accordance with Article 75 of the Constitution, General Comonfort was elected President of the republic, and December 1, 1857, took the oath of office; and by Article 79 it was declared that in case of vacancy in the office of President, the Chief Justice should be acting President until a successor had been chosen.

Two laws were passed of great importance, both in themselves and by reason of their bearing on future events—(1) one bringing mortmain property held by the Church into circulation, indemnity according to the annual value of the property being made in every ease; and (2) the second subjecting to the laws those of the clergy and army who had been previously exempt and responsible only to special courts called fueros, which were

The clergy and army, thus deprived of their special privileges, conspired against the new order of things, and under their influence Comonfort, the President, December 17, 1857, only sixteen days after taking the oath, in connection with General Zuloaga, overthrew the Constitution he had sworn to support, and declared in favor of a reactionary plan drawn up by himself and his agents, and known as the plan of Tacubaya. He arrested Juarez, Chief Justice, and threw him into prison, but being satisfied that he was in this the tool of others, released him on the 11th of January, 1858, whereupon Juarez immediately repaired to Guanajuato, and on the 19th issued an address, declaring the treason of Comonfort and taking possession of the vacant Presidency in accordance with the Constitution. Cemoufort virtually abandoned the Presidency, and acknowledged the justice of his own deposition, by ceasing to sign as such; but only as General. A Government was organized and held its sittings at Guanajuato. On the 22d, three days after the regular Government began operations at Guanajuato, the insurgents under Zuloaga took possession of the vacant capital. Another contest followed. The insurrection was, however, confined to the cities of Mexico, Queretaro, and Puebla-all the rest of the republic, eighteen States in full and others in part-adhering to the Constitution of 1857 and the Government of Juarez established

It is not necessary to follow the history of this contest farther. At the very outset, on the 23d of January, representatives of France and England, the former M. de Gabriac, and the latter a charge d'affaires, Mr. Lettson, recognized the insurrection, which had been for the moment, owing to the treason of Comonfort, triumphant in the capital; but this recognition gave no rightful authority to that insurrection, nor did it affect the supreme authority of the Constitution of 1857, any more than the recognition of the Southern Confederacy at any time by foreign Ministers would have overthrown the Constitution of the

United States. But the conspirators had for the moment possession of power, and they proceeded to undo the work of the Constitution. First, by decree, dated January 28, 1858, they abolished the law respecting the alienation of ecclesiastical property, and then re-established the fueros or privileged tribunals for the clergy and army. The people rose in arms, the contest raged, and the reactionists resorted to taxes to supply themselves with funds. By decree of May 15, 1858, they imposed a tax of one per cent. on all capital employed in any industry whatever over \$5000. This aroused universal execration, and was protested against by John Forsyth, United States Minister, May 22, and soon after by merchants, traders, and everybody else, including the Ministers of England and France. But the necessities of the Treasury were inexorable.

In February, 1859, personal properties of \$1000 were included in these exactions. By decree, May 30, 1859, household property was decree, May 30, 1859, household property was taxed ten per cent.; and by another decree, July 19, 1859, by the Peza law, all these taxes were made payable a year in advance. And, finally, Miramon, who, by a new insurrection in the bosom of the Union party, had been, December 25, 1858, put at the head of the Tacubaya Government, issued a decree dated March 20, 1860, by which freely taxed. March 20, 1860, by which fresh taxes were imposed, which raised the rate to four times the amount they had been three years before. And these exactions fell upon foreigners without discrimination. Meantime the war was waged by Miramon and his troops-the offscouring of Mexico-the most atrocious massacres were perpetrated, a hospital full of sick and wounded being in one instance, at Tacubaya, April 11, 1855, mercilessly slaughtered by Marquez, by orders of Miramon, including

seven surgeons in attendance, one of whom

was an Englishman, named Duval.

In its extreme distress the Government published a decree, October 29, 1859, which resulted in what is known as the Jecker bond transaction, by which the Swiss banker Jecker, by an actual payment of less than £300,000, became possessed of bonds to the amount of £3,000,000. The Government of France afterwards insisted that the regular Government was bound to redeem these bonds. The English at this point began to doubt the propriety of their recognition of the insurrectionary Government. Mr. Otway, English Minister, in a note to the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, August 4, 1859, said "it was not sure it had done well in giving an uninterrupted preference from the commencement of the troubles to the Government of which that Minister was the organ." And, December 16, 1859, he said it was difficult to say which was the de facto Government of Mexico, for while England and France had recognized the President who was in possession of the City of Mexico, the United States had recognized the President at Vera Cruz," Finally, while Miramon was pressing the siege of Vera Cruz, the English Minister, Mr. Mathews

(Otway having been recalled), and M. de Gabriac, the French Minister, tendered to the two contending parties, April 12, 1860, their mediation for the conclusion of an armistice, "during which they should proceed to elect a National Assembly to decide the definite form of government for the country." They insisted upon a preliminary declaration of civil and religious liberty. The Miramon Government demurred to this, saying it would be a surrender of sovereign power. Juarez objected to the surrender of civil and religious liberty. On the 8th of May, 1860, M. de Gabriac.

On the 8th of May, 1800, M. de Gabriac, being recalled, left Mexico for France. Miramon sent Zuloaga (the real President of the insurgent forces) into the interior, and claimed to be the substitute President. The British Minister refused to recognize him in that capacity, and as the Mexican authorities declined to hold intercourse with him on any other footing, Mr. Mathews, by order of his Government, broke off relations with the Mexican authorities, and on the 17th September, 1860, withdrew to Jalapa. Relieved of his presence, the authorities renewed their exactions—demanding first of Mr. Jecker £2000, and on his refusal to pay it, breaking into his house and finding nothing; next levying £100,000 upon twenty-six capitalists; and finally seizing by armed force the sum of £152,000 belonging to English bondholders, and deposited for safe keeping, until it could be shipped to England, with the English Logation, under protection of its seals. The seals were violated, the locks broken open, and the money taken by a band of men acting under orders of General Marquez, the Quartermaster-General of the forces of Miramon. Against this proceeding M. Pacheco, the Spanish Min-ister, and the Minister of Russia protested, and Mr. Mathews, the British Minister, de manded restitution and an apology; but the authorities did not even condescend to reply.

During all this time the war had been going on at various points. The spirit of the people was aroused in support of the Constitutional Government at Guanajuato, which had never suspended its functions, and in December, 1860, the army commanded by General Ortega had advanced upon Mexico, scattered the forces of Miramon, and on the 11th of January, 1861, precisely three years after he left it, Juarez, returned to the capital and resumed his position there as constitutional President of the Republic. The first act of the Government thus reinstated was to dismiss M. Pacheco, the Minister of Spain, together with the Papal Nuncio and the Ministers of Guatemala and Ecuador, on account of their complicity with enemies of the Republic. On the 17th of March, 1861, M. de Saligny, the newly arrived French Minister, recognized the Government of Juarez, and the Ministers of all the other powers continued their diplomatic relations with it. Fragments of Miramon's army continued to hover around the capital, and to harass the country as predatory bands; but as an army it had ceased to exist. The Mexican Congress elected, June 27, General Ortega to be Chief Justice—intending by that act, ac-cording to Mr. Corwin (despatch June 29, 1861), to make him President if Juarez could be induced to resign.

The Government was greatly embarrassed by the exhaustion of the war, the pressure of foreign Governments for their claims, the entire lack of money, and the necessity for rigorous measures of administrative reform. A new Cabinet was formed in June, 1861, and the Government addressed itself to its new task. One of its first acts was to reorganize its financial system. By conventions of two or three years' standing, 35 per cent. of the revenues from French imports were appropriated to the payment of English claims. The expenses of collection, amounting to 30 per cent., were paid by Mexico—so that only 35 per cent. of the duties on French goods and 19 on English goods remained for the use of the Government. Congress, therefore, on the 17th of July, 1861, passed an act "suspending all payments for two years, including the assignments for the loan made in London and for foreign conventions." The obligations of these debts were expressly acknowledged, and a Commission was authorized to make arrangements for their future payment. The measure was temporary and one of absolute necessity, if the Government of Mexico was to continue its active existence.

But with this act properly commences the history of foreign intervention in the affairs of Mexico. Instantly upon its passage the Minister of France, M. de Saligny, and the Minister of England, C. Lennox Wyke, de-manded to know if it was authentic. The Mexican Government entered into the most elaborate and sincere explanations of the circumstances which made such a resort inevitable, and gave the most solemn assurances of the inviolability of the debts, and of ample provision for their payment. But all was to no purpose. On the 25th of July, 1861, both these Ministers, having previously demanded the annulment of the decree within twentyfour hours, and that demand having been refused, broke off all official relations between their respective Governments and the Government of Mexico. The Mexican Government addressed itself most anxiously to the Governments represented by these Ministers, but without effect. M. Thouvenel, then French Minister for Foreign Affairs, refused peremptorily on the 3d of September to listen to any explanations from Mr. De la Fuente, the Mexican Minister, and declared to him that they fully approved the conduct of M. de Saligny: they had issued their orders in concert with England, and that a squadron composed of vessels of both nations would exact from the Government of Mexico due satisfaction; and, he added, "Your Government shall learn from our Minister and Admiral what are the claims of France." Previous, however, to despatching this squadron, the London Convention of October 31, 1861, was concluded; but, before giving its terms let us examine its history.

During the fall of 1860 and the winter of 1861, while the reactionary party in Mexico was approaching its downfall, several of its more prominent chiefs had repaired to Enrope, and were known to be in active communication with the leading powers. Rumors filled the public prints of schemes on foot for foreign intervention in Mexico, for establishing a new form of government there, and for placing on the Mexican throne a European prince, to be maintained by foreign authority. Among these exiles were Almonte, Comonfort, and others. At London, so far as appears, they received no countenance. The English Government had claims and reclamations upon Mexico, but it would enforce them only by seizing upon her seaports, and would have nothing whatever to do with her internal affairs. In France these schemes were received with more favor, and without committing itself absolutely to their projects, the Government certainly did not repel them. But in Spain they seem to have had still greater success. That power, after a long and ignoble sleep, had been seized with a sudden revival of her old ambition. Her army had met with success in Morocco. Dominica, formerly one of her possessions, had repudiated republican institutions, and again invoked Spanish authority. Spain had a magnificent colony in Cuba, a splendid port, and a superb base of operations; and as it became clear that the United States, the only power she had to fear,

was about to plunge into a gigantic civil war, dreams of future conquest in Mexico undoubtedly began to seize upon the Spanish imagination. Indeed, it is by no means difficult to trace in the diplomatic correspondence of Spain, for two or three years before this crisis had arrived, indications of a purpose to bring the affairs of Mexico into the open field of European polities, for such disposition as the powers of Europe might see fit to make of them. And the leading actor in this whole scheme seems to have been the Spanish Minister in Paris, Mr. Mon, who, as early as November 24, 1858, suggested in a despatch to M. Walewski, then French Minister of Foreign Affairs, the necessity of esta-blishing a firm and stable Government in Mexico. In this, however, Mr. Mon seems to have been acting upon his own responsibility, for in a despatch dated January 3, 1859, to Mr. Calderon Callantes, the Foreign Minister of the Spanish Government, he complains that he is unable to impress his own views properly upon the Spanish Government.

"The thought," he says, "that I have not been able to make your Excellency comprehend is to find out if it is not possible to aid in forming a Government in Mexico, which, supported at first by the three powers, might afterwards exist without any assistance." And he asks Mr. Callantes to inform him "what form is best, and what means most available to attain this end." The Spanish Secretary, in reply, on the 10th, concedes that it is of the utmost importance to establish a strong and he thinks "moral suasion and diplomatic dis-Mexico to such a course. This was in January, 1859, a year and a half before the rupture

durable Government in Mexico," and adds that cussions" will prove adequate to induce of France and England with Mexico, and shows clearly that European intervention in the internal affairs of Mexico had been a favorite idea with Spain long before it was carried into execution. Nor did she stop with the efforts referred to. Her scheme was vigorously pressed upon the French and English Governments throughout the interval. the 16th of March, 1860, the Spanish Minister began to urge his claims against a country "the situation of which could not be worse On the 18th of April Mr. Callantes speaks still more explicitly, and refers to the efforts pre-viously made by the Spanish Government to enlist England and France in her favorite project of intervention. "Your Excellency knows," he says, "of the attempts made several times by the Government of her Majesty to join in the adoption of measures to

the following very explicit manner: "I had a consultation some time ago on this grave affair with M. Barrot, the French Ambassador. M. Barrot transmitted my remarks to the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Emperor, and recently he read me an extract from one of his despatches, which says that the Gov-ernments of France and England are now dis-posed to combine their efforts to establish a Government in Mexico to be recognized by the whole nation, and put an end to the painful condition of that unfortunate country. "M. Thouvenel thinks the best way would be to propose a constituent assembly to fix a permanent form of government and settle all ex-isting difficulties, whatever their nature or im-

put an end to the anarchy now exhausting the

Mexican republic." And he then proceeds in

isting difficulties, whatever their nature or importance.

"Her Majesty's wish is that your Excellency have an interview with M. Thouvenel to try and contrive some way for the three powers to intervene in the disorders of the Mexican republic. Her Majesty's Government thinks that the simple news of this resolution and the first steps taken will be enough to encourage the honest people of Mexico, and dispose them to act in favor of that Government which, without limiting the exercise of legitimate rights and guarantees enjoyed in other civilized countries, may suppress the spirit of rebellion that has caused so much harm to that unhappy country."

There is no intimation here of a purpose to change the form of government in Mexico, but only to make it stable. But in a despatch dated two months later than the one just quoted, hints are thrown out that the Mexi can people may prefer a monarchy, and early in September, 1861, Mr. Mon, the Spanish Minister at Paris, who seems from the begin ning to have been the spring and strength of the whole project, in a despatch to his Government, after stating the embarrassments of the Government of the United States in consequence of the war then beginning, says, "The Government ought to know that this is a good opportunity to awaken old memeries and place upon the throne of Mexico a Prince of the Bourbon blood, intimately connected with that House."

To all these suggestions it is simple justice to say, England gave no encouragement. On the 27th of April, 1860, in reply to the pro-posal of cooperation, Lord John Russell informed Mr. Isturitz, the Spanish Minister in London, that England would not reject it if it was understood that no force was to be used in its execution, but he added that England would require protection to Protestant worship, to which Mr. Isturitz rejoined that in this she could not have the cooperation of Spain. M. Thouvenel also, on behalf of the French Government, on the 18th of May, 1860, disclaimed all ideas of using coercion against Mexico, whereupon the Spanish Government hurried her military preparations, despatched a fleet with troops to Cuba and sent secret instructions to the Captain-General of that Island. On the 6th of September, 1861, the Spanish Government instructs its Minister in Paris to inform the French Government that a Spanish expedition is on the eve of departure for Mexico. The matter of a joint expedition has been in process of discussion, and on the 11th of October, 1861, M. Thouvenel writes to the French Minister in London, Count de Flahaut, saying that he agrees with the English Government that their coercion of Mexico "should be caused by their complaints against that Government,;' and that "the prevention of their repetition was the only ostensible excuse for a Convention;" and he adds:-

"But it seems to me useless to object to legal participation in the events caused by our operations. It is lawful to suppose that if the result of the American crisis should be a separation of the North and South, the two new confederations would seek compensation on Mexican territory offered by anarchy to their rivairy. England would not remain indifferent to such an event; and the only thing, in my opinion, that could prevent it, would be the establishment of a new Government in Mexico long enough to prevent its internal derangement. \* As to the form of government, any that would offer proper guarantees would suit us; and I believe England has no preference, and bas come to no conclusion. But if the Mexicans themselves, weary of their former miserable Governments, should return to the instincts of their race, and form a monarchy, I think we ought to aid them, yet leave them free to select whatever form of government they may think most conducive to their happiness. Continuing these ideas in the form of a confidential conversation, I added that, in case of such an event, the Government of the Emperor, entirely disinterested, did not propose a prince of the Imperial family, but, willing to satisfy all partles, would be pleased to see the Mexicans select a Prince of the House of Austria." "But it seems to me useless to object to legal

All this is a report of what was said in conversation with Lord Cowley, the English Minister in Paris—before the Convention of October, 1861—and in the same despatch M. Thouvenel relates a conversation with the Spanish Minister, Mr. Mon, to whom he said that, in case of a monarchy in Mexico, France would accept the Austrian Archduke. Spain, however, as has been seen, had already pro-nounced for a Prince of the Bourbon blood.

Herein lies the secret of the subsequent withdrawal of Spain from the enterprise.

Spanish troops meantime were on their way to Vera Cruz, and the draft of a Convention had been canvassed by the three powers, with very different ideas and motives. (1) England would consent to nothing beyond the satisfaction of their claims upon Mexico. (2) Spain was for giving Mexico a stable government, and in case the people should choose a monarchy, she wanted a prince of the Bourbon blood. (3) France was for the same thing, but wanted a prince of the House of Austria. With these views the three powers, on the 31st of October, 1861, feeling compelled by the arbitrary conduct of the authorities of Mexico to demand more efficacious protection for the persons and properties of their subjects, as well as a fulfilment of the obligations contracted towards them by the Republic of Mexico," signed the Convention of London,

1. That the three powers would send a joint force sufficient to seize the fortresses on the coast of Mexico, and that the commanders of the allied forces should be authorized to "execute the other operations which may be considered on the spot most suitable to effect the object specified in the preamble, and specifically to insure the security of foreign resi-

2. The parties engaged not to seek for themselves any acquisition of territory, nor any special advantage, nor to exercise in the internal affairs of Mexico any influence of a nature to prejudice the right of the Mexican nation to shoose and to constitute freely the form of its Government.

3. A Commission of three was authorized to distribute the indemnity that might be se-

4. It was agreed that the United Stafes should be invited to join in the Convention, but operations were not to be delayed for the purpose of obtaining their accession. This was the Convention of London. It

seemed to be sufficiently explicit in its terms, and it would be difficult to find in its language any excuse for the different interpretations that were put upon it. The military inovements which followed its

adoption are reserved for another chapter of this historical sketch.

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