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*Some of the facts and arguments  
which led to the recognition of the  
First Chief of the Constitutionalist  
Army in charge of the Executive  
Power of the Mexican Republic, Mr.  
Venustiano Carranza, as the de facto  
government in Mexico. ∴ ∴ ∴  
By Heriberto Barron, friend and  
follower of Mr. Carranza, and a  
member of the Constitutionalist party*

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**MR. VENUSTIANO CARRANZA, FIRST CHIEF OF THE CONSTITUTION-  
ALIST ARMY, IN CHARGE OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER OF THE  
MEXICAN REPUBLIC.**



*Heriberto Barron.*

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## *The Legitimacy of the Government of Mr. Venustiano Carranza in Mexico*

San Antonio, Texas, July 16, 1915.

To The Honorable Woodrow Wilson,  
President of the United States,  
Washington, D. C.

Your Excellency:

I request that you fix your attention on this letter, because in it I will present to you a legal study, applied to the events which have taken place in Mexico from February 18, 1913, until the present date, and in which I propose to demonstrate that the government of Senor Don Venustiano Carranza is constitutionally legal and should have been recognized by the United States and other nations of the world from the time of First Chief of the Constitutionalist army, complying with the duties imposed by the Constitution of the Mexican Republic, refused to recognize the usurper's Government of General Victoriano Huerta.

To arrive at this result, I will review briefly the events which took place in the City of Mexico from February 9 to February 22, 1913, during which period the President of the Republic, Don Francisco I. Madero, and the Vice-President, Don Jose M. Pino Suarez, were assassinated.

On February 9, 1913, Generals Bernardo Reyes and Felix Diaz, liberated from the prison in Mexico City in which they were held on charges of rebellion, and accompanied by a body of troops and the alumni of the Military School of Aspirants, made an attack on the National Palace, which was repulsed by the garrison, General Bernardo Reyes perishing in the fight.

Felix Diaz, at the head of the rebellious troops and a group of his civil partisans, then directed an attack on the Ciudadela, taking possession of this building, establishing himself in it by force, and declar-

ing his refusal to acknowledge the constituted authorities.

The President of the Republic, Don Francisco I. Madero, meanwhile, having knowledge of what had taken place, went on horseback from Chapultepec to the National Palace, encountering on the way General Victoriano Huerta, who protested his loyalty and offered his sword to defend the Government. Upon arrival at the National Palace, General Huerta was named military commander of the City of Mexico and placed in command of the loyal troops destined to battle with Felix Diaz and his companions.

From February 9 until February 18 the battle in the streets of Mexico between the troops defending the Government and the rebellious troops did not cease. General Huerta, notwithstanding that he was amply supplied with the elements of war, did not make a single resolute and decisive attack against the rebels in the Ciudadela, who did not number 1,000, and this is a proof that he then meditated the treason which he later consummated.

On February 18, after conferring secretly with the Archbishop of Mexico, Don Jose Mora y Del Rio, to secure the aid of the Catholic clergy; with the American Ambassador, Henry Lane Wilson, and with a group of reactionary senators—partisans of Porfirio Diaz,—Huerta substituted the loyal garrison that commanded the National Palace, with the Twenty-ninth Battalion commanded by the traitor, Aureliano Blanquet, who was already in combination with Huerta; and while Huerta was breakfasting with Gustavo Madero, brother of the President, still protesting his adhesion to the President, Blanquet declared a rebellion in the National Palace, and after a violent scene made prisoners of the Presi-

dent, the Vice-President and his ministers.

While this transpired, Deputy Gustavo Madero was conducted to the Ciudadela and assassinated by bullets that same night, to satisfy a vengeance and to terrorize the other deputies.

On February 19, during the course of the day, the relatives of Senor Madero sought to convince him, through the continued menaces of Huerta, that the only course to save his and the vice-president's lives was to present their resignations of the high posts in which they had been placed by popular election. This resignation was written, signed and deposited in the hands of the Secretary of Foreign Relations of the Cabinet of Senor Madero, Don Pedro Lascurain, with the condition that it would not be presented to Congress until the President and Vice-President arrived aboard a Cuban vessel lying in the harbor at Vera Cruz to transport them to Havana.

Huerta, without complying with his promise to save the lives of the President and the Vice-President, obliged Lascurain by force to present the resignations of these high officials before Congress, which was also compelled by Huerta by force to assemble, the Chamber of Deputies being surrounded with troops and the threat being made to shoot whichever deputy refused to obey the orders of Huerta. The resignations were accepted, Lascurain took possession of the Presidency for half an hour, named Huerta Secretary of Gobernacion, renounced the Presidency, and Huerta, still by violence and duress; and by means of a comedy of legality, became Provisional President of the Republic, consummating the manifest usurpation.

These are the striking features of the events consummated in Mexico up to February 19, before the assassination of the President.

Now let us see what the Constitution of the Mexican Republic provides in several of its articles and their relation to that abnormal situation.

Article No. 121, of the Constitution, provides as follows:

"Every public functionary without any exception, before taking possession of

his post, shall make the protest to guard this constitution and the laws emanating from it."

By virtue of this disposition, all public officials of the administration of President Madero who had made the protest to guard the Constitution and the laws emanating from it—such as ministers, senators, deputies and governors of states—were obliged to observe the same and the precept of the same Constitution, contained in Article No. 128, as follows:

"This Constitution will not lose its force and vigor, even if, by any rebellion, its observance should be interrupted. If, through an overthrow, a government is established contrary to the principles which it sanctions, as soon as the people recover their liberty its observance will be reestablished, and in accord with it and with the laws issuing from it those who were in the Government emanating from the rebellion, as well as those who co-operated with them, will be judged."

All public officials, in compliance with this precept, should have protested against the usurpation of Huerta, should have appealed to the people to refuse to recognize the usurper, and "as soon as the people should have recovered their liberty, should judge those who figured in the rebellious Government and those who co-operated with them."

Was that what happened in the City of Mexico? Unfortunately, no. The secretaries of the cabinet who, in conformity with the Constitution, had the right to the succession to the presidency, terrorized by events and by the assassination, did not have the bravery to protest against usurpation in compliance with the duty imposed on them by the Constitution. The same considerations swayed the President of the Chamber of Deputies, the President of the Senate, and the members of the Supreme Court of Justice, in whom the desire to preserve their lives triumphed over their duty to save their country.

But was such the case in the States of the Republic? Fortunately for Mexico and for the conservation of the Constitutional Government, in one of the states that which transpired in the capital did not occur; and there was one

Constitutional Governor, elected by the people—the Governor of Coahuila—who complied faithfully with the duties imposed by the Constitution, without taking into account the perils to which his patriotic attitude might expose him. This Governor was Don Venustiano Carranza, Chief Executive of Coahuila. Let us recite faithfully the record:

On February 18, 1913, the treason of Huerta being consummated, and, the President and Vice-President and Ministers of the Cabinet being prisoners, the traitor general communicated with representatives of foreign governments and with the Governors of the Mexican States, demanding of these latter prompt recognition.

Herewith is the text of the telegram which Huerta sent to the Governors of the Mexican States:

“Authorized by the Senate, I have assumed executive power; the President and his Cabinet are prisoners.”

The Governor of Coahuila, Don Venustiano Carranza, on February 19, in the morning, convoked the legislature of the State and presented to it the following official communication, in order that a resolution might be taken by a legislative power which, like his own post, was constitutional:

“Government of the State of Coahuila de Zaragoza—Republic of Mexico—Third Section, No. 5565.

“Under date of yesterday, and coming from Mexico City, I received the following message from General Victoriano Huerta:

“‘Authorized by the Senate, I have assumed executive power; the President and his Cabinet are prisoners.’

“The above telegram is of itself insufficient to explain with clearness the delicate situation entered upon by the country; moreover, as the Senate, in conformity with the Constitution, has not the faculties to designate the First Magistrate of the Nation, it would not legally authorize General Huerta to assume the executive power, and, in consequence, that general has no legitimate investiture as President of the Republic.

“Desiring to comply faithfully with the sacred duties of my office, I believe it

expedient to address myself to this honorable Chamber, in order that it may resolve on the attitude which the Government of the State should assume with respect to the general who, by mistake or disloyalty, pretends to usurp the Chief Magistracy of the Republic.

“Hoping that the resolution of this honorable Congress will be in accord with legal principles and with the interests of the country, I am gratified to renew to you the assurances of my distinguished consideration and particular appreciation.

“Liberty and Constitution.—Saltillo, February 19, 1913.—V. Carranza—E. Garza Perez, Secretary.—To the Citizens Secretaries of the Honorable Congress of the State.”

Permit me, Mr. President, to call your attention to the highly patriotic attitude of Senor Carranza immediately after the usurpation and before the assassination of the President, which, through indignation caused throughout Mexico and the civilized world, was strengthened and caused him, in addressing himself to the members of the Congress of the State, to declare to them that he hoped their resolution would “be in accord with legal principles and the interest of the country.”

The result of the communication of Senor Carranza to the Legislature was that after a brief discussion, in which all the deputies were in complete accord, the Legislature of Coahuila issued the following decree, which was immediately promulgated by the Governor of the State:

“Venustiano Carranza, Constitutional Governor of the free and sovereign State of Coahuila de Zaragoza, to its inhabitants, know ye:

“That the Congress of the State has decreed the following:

“‘The Twenty-second Constitutional Congress of the free, independent and sovereign State of Coahuila de Zaragoza, decrees:

“‘Art. I.—The State refuses to recognize General Victoriano Huerta in the character of chief of the executive power of the Republic, which he claims through act of the Senate, and it likewise refuses to recognize all the acts and dispositions

which he may dictate in that character.

“Art. II.—The Legislature hereby confers extraordinary faculties on the executive of the State, in all branches of the public administration, in order that he may exercise those powers deemed necessary and proceed to arm forces to aid in sustaining constitutional order in the Republic.

“Economico—Excite (urge) the Governors of the States, the chiefs of Federal forces, rurales and militia of the federation, that they may second the attitude of the Governor of this State.

“Given in the Salon of Sessions of the Honorable Congress of the State, in the City of Saltillo, on the 19th day of February, 1913.—Deputy A. Barrera, President.—Deputy J. Sanchez Herrera, Secretary.—Deputy Gabriel Calzada, Secretary.

“Public, communicate and observe. Saltillo, February 19, 1913. V. Carranza.—E. Garza Perez, Secretary.”

From the moment in which he promulgated the foregoing decree, Mr. President, the audacious usurpation of Victoriano Huerta was refused recognition by a constitutional governor of the Mexican Republic in obedience to a decree issued by the Legislature of the same State and in compliance with the precepts of the Constitution. It was not a revolutionary movement which he installed; it was a movement of revindication of constitutional government, led by him who do not only had the right but the duty of leading it.

The foregoing events are neither subtleties nor technicalities of law on which to found an unworthy action; they are the palpable proofs that Venustiano Carranza, Governor of Coahuila, conforming to the spirit and the letter of the Mexican Constitution, assumed the constitutional power usurped by a rebel general, in order to reestablish in Mexico the constitutional government.

From the moment that none of the Ministers, and neither the President of the Chamber of Deputies, nor the President of the Senate or the President of the Supreme Court, complied with their

duties, Venustiano Carranza was the legitimate successor of President Madero.

To comply with the decree of the Legislature of Coahuila, the formation of an army to face the military dictatorship of Huerta was necessary, and the Governor of Coahuila, at the front of sixty-five loyal soldiers, launched the struggle.

On February 22, while being conducted from the National Palace to the penitentiary, the President and the Vice-President of the Republic were assassinated. This crime, perpetrated in cold blood by the usurper and his partisans, raised a cry of indignation in all the Republic and strengthened the dignified and patriotic attitude of Carranza.

A multitude of volunteers presented themselves to be enrolled in the ranks of the Constitutionalist army, which, in a short time, reached the figure of 2,000 men. It was necessary for this army to have a chief recognized by all, to establish discipline and to outline a plan of operations. This necessity was answered by the Plan of Guadalupe, signed at the Hacienda of Guadalupe, in the State of Coahuila, the 26th day of March, 1913, which I copy herewith:

“Considering that General Victoriano Huerta, to whom the Constitutional President, Don Francisco I. Madero, had confided the defense of the institutions and legalities of his Government, uniting with the armed rebel enemies against this Government to restore the former dictatorship, committed the crime of treason to attain power, arresting the citizens' President and Vice-President, as well as their Ministers, forcing them by violent measures to resign their posts, the which is proved by the messages which the said General Huerta directed to the Governors of the States, communicating to them that he had imprisoned the supreme magistrates of the Nation and their Cabinet; considering that the legislative and judicial powers, contrary to the laws and constitutional precepts, have recognized and protected General Victoriano Huerta and his illegal and anti-patriotic proceedings; and considering, finally, that some of the Governors

of the States of the Union have recognized the illegitimate government imposed by a part of the army, commanded by Huerta, which consummated the treason, notwithstanding they have violated the sovereignty of these States, the Governors of which should have been the first to refuse to recognize the illegitimate Government; the subscribers, chiefs and officials in command of Constitutionalist forces, have agreed upon and will sustain with arms the following:

#### PLAN

"1.—Recognition is refused to Victoriano Huerta as President of the Republic.

"2.—Recognition is refused also to the legislative and judicial powers of the Federation.

"3.—Recognition will be refused the Governors of the States who persist in recognizing the federal powers which form the present administration, 30 days after the publication of this plan.

"4.—For the organization of the army entrusted with enforcing compliance with our proposals, we name as first chief of the army, which will be denominated the Constitutionalist army, the Citizen Venustiano Carranza, Governor of the State of Coahuila.

"5.—Upon occupation of the City of Mexico by the Constitutionalist army, the executive power will be encharged ad interim to the Citizen Venustiano Carranza, first chief of the army, or whoever may substitute him.

"6.—The President ad interim of the Republic shall convoke general elections as soon as peace has been consolidated, delivering the power to the citizen who may be elected.

"7.—The Citizen who acts as first chief of the Constitutionalist army in each State whose Governor may have recognized Huerta, will assume the post of Provisional Governor and will convoke local elections after the citizens who may have been elected to discharge the highest post in the Federation, as provided above, have taken their positions.

"Signed at the Hacienda de Guadalupe, Coahuila, the 26th day of March, 1913."

(The signatures of all the chiefs and officials of the Constitutionalist army follow.)

This plan has been recognized by all the chiefs and officials who headed the Constitutionalist army, after the plan was issued, and all have protested on their word of honor to comply with it.

There has been much criticism of Senor Carranza for having refused to recognize the legislative and judicial powers of the Federation, but to be logical in his movement the Governor of Coahuila could not do anything else except declare outside the law all those who approved the usurpation, or who remained passively silent without protesting against it, such as Senor Vasquez Tagle, Secretary of Justice in the Cabinet of Senor Madero, who is now proposed, as you are aware, Mr. President, by Francisco Villa and Felipe Angeles, as the legal successor of Senor Madero, just when the revindicating movement of the Constitutionalist army has triumphed in all the Republic.

I believe, Mr. President, I have satisfactorily demonstrated the constitutional legality of Senor Carranza as chief of the Constitutionalist movement and as encharged now with the executive power of the Mexican Republic while awaiting the convocation of elections for President and Congressional Deputies.

If the abnormal condition which has transpired in Mexico and which the laws cannot foresee in all their details, had occurred in the United States, no one would venture to deny the legality of him who, under identical conditions, should have led a movement to reestablish constitutional government.

Suppose that the President and the Vice-President of the United States had been arrested and assassinated by a general of the American army: suppose that the legislative and judicial powers, terrorized, did not have the bravery to protest against the usurpation; suppose that the Ministers had been silenced and that only the Governor of New York, supported by a decree of the Legislature of the State, had refused to recognize the usurpation and had called on the people

and the loyal part of the army to overthrow the regime of the usurper. Would there be any one in the United States bold enough to deny that the Governor of New York, under those circumstances, was the legitimate representative of the constitutional power in the United States until new elections could be called?

Criticism also has been directed at Senor Carranza because he has not yet restored the constitutional regime in Mexico; but it is well known that when the Constitutionalist movement triumphed and he established his Government in the City of Mexico and proposed to convoke elections, for which purpose he called a reunion of his principal generals and chiefs, the reunion was skillfully taken advantage of by Francisco Villa, who from egotistical and personal motives, had refused to recognize the authority of Senor Carranza, and by Felipe Angeles, converting the convention of Aguas Calientes into a sedition to depose, without any reason, the legitimate person in charge of the executive power of the Republic.

The loyal generals, advised of the peril through articles written by the writer of this and published in "El Liberal" of Mexico City, separated themselves from the convention and grouped themselves anew about Senor Carranza, in charge of the executive power, to sustain his legitimate and indisputable authority.

Then ensued the new struggle which had not been provoked by Senor Carranza, but by generals disloyal to him, as Huerta had been to Madero. It is not the fault of the first chief of the Constitutionalist army that he has not restored the constitutional powers, when he has had to undertake a new campaign to overcome the rebels.

You yourself, Mr. President, misled by false information, said in a note published recently, that on the entry into Mexico City of the Triumphant Constitutionalist army there had occurred a disagreement between the leaders; but I am sure that after you have read this letter you will be convinced there is no other legal leader of the Constitutionalist movement except Senor Carranza, inas-

much as Villa is one of the generals named by Carranza who broke his word and his honor and rebelled against his chief.

To conclude this letter, already too long, but in which it has been necessary to touch on these questions, I am going to explain to you, Mr. President, that which apparently seems to be a paradox and is well-comprehensible only by those who know the ground-work of Mexican politics and who have taken part in this movement.

Why has the legal movement headed by Senor Carranza to reestablish constitutional government in Mexico been considered as a revolutionary movement, and why have the Constitutionlists, in speaking of this movement, termed it a revolution?

For a simple reason. Because the social and political revolution which triumphed when Senor Madero overthrew the dictatorship of General Diaz, and which afterwards became converted into a Government by means of a free and legitimate popular election, could not bring about the reforms which the people desired, for the reason that the reactionary element of the overthrown regime knew how to ensnare the Government until it could consummate the violent usurpation which carried Huerta to its head.

When the Governor of Coahuila, in compliance with the Constitution, as I have endeavored to demonstrate, and in his constitutional character, assumed the succession of Madero, the aspirations of the first revolution, personified in those citizens who took up arms, were delineated with even greater vigor than during the first revolution of Madero.

It was necessary, before anything else, to solve the economic problem of better wages for the peon and laborers; it was necessary to solve the agrarian problem, putting the possession and the cultivation of land into the reach of the poor laborers and destroying the feudal monopoly of the great land-owners; it was necessary, to sum up, to give life and form, within the new movement, to all the aspirations for greater economic and politi-

cal welfare, which obligated the Mexican people to launch the struggle which overthrew the dictatorship of General Diaz.

This is why Señor Carranza, at the same time that he legally opposed the usurpation of Huerta, fulfilling his constitutional duties, personified the social and political aspirations of the revolutionists of 1910, mocked in their hopes of reform by the reactionary party.

As a resume, Mr. President, I believe I have demonstrated the following:

1.—Señor Venustiano Carranza, first chief of the Constitutionalist army, is the legitimate successor of President Madero, as entrusted with the executive power of the Mexican Republic.

2.—Señor Carranza refused to recognize the usurpation of Victoriano Huerta, thus fulfilling the unescapable precepts of the political constitution of the Mexican Republic, which were not fulfilled by other functionaries who were under even greater obligations than he to comply.

3.—Señor Carranza has not been able to reestablish the constitutional regime, due to the treason of some of his generals who, through personal ambition, have refused to recognize his authority; and due to the fact that the Government of this friendly Nation, misled by false information, has been protecting the rebels, having named diplomatic representatives close to them, and permitting

them to introduce arms and munitions to attack the legal Government of Señor Carranza.

4.—Once the Constitutionalist army has obtained dominance over seven-eighths of the territory of the Republic, Señor Carranza has the right, in conformity with the precepts of international law, to hope that the United States will recognize his Government, not only as a Government de facto, but as a legal Government emanating from the Constitution of the Republic, as I believe I have demonstrated.

In my judgment, these are the fundamental reasons which will support General Carranza when, through the medium of his representatives at Washington, he asks of you the recognition of his Government.

And I believe, Mr. President, that a ruler such as you, who has given repeated proofs of love to constitutional institutions and respect for patriots who know how to comply with their duty, will justly heed these reasons and, in heeding them, will co-operate promptly in the reestablishment of peace in Mexico, which is ardently desired by the citizens of the two sister Republics.

I am, Mr. President, with all respect, your obedient, humble servant.

HERIBERTO BARRON.



Memorandum which the undersigned, Heriberto Barron, follower of Venustiano Carranza, First Chief of the Constitutionalist army in charge of the Executive Power of the Mexican Republic, respectfully submits to the Honorable The Secretary of State of the United States to their Excellencies the Ambassadors of the Argentine Republic, Brazil and Chili, and to the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of Bolivia, Uruguay and Guatemala in the  
 United States.

#### ORIGIN OF THE CONSTITUTIONALIST MOVEMENT.

The Constitutionalist Movement, led by First Chief Venustiano Carranza, Constitutional Governor of the State of Coahuila at the time Victoriano Huerta usurped the Government in Mexico, has not been that of a rebellious faction against a legal government, but that of the adherents of the Constitutional Government against usurpation.

First Chief Carranza, complying with the paramount provisions of the Mexican Constitution and of a decree of the Legislature of the State of Coahuila, refused to recognize the sanguinary dictatorship of Huerta, based on usurpation and the assassination of the Constitutional President of Mexico, Francisco I. Madero, and of the Vice-President, Jose M. Pino Suarez.

The Cabinet of President Madero, horrified by the outrages perpetrated in the City of Mexico after the 19th of February, 1913, did not have sufficient energy and patriotism to face the usurper and to assume the Presidency of the Republic in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, and, for this reason, First Chief Carranza, the sole official of the Administration of President Madero elected by the people and who refused to recognize such usurpation, should be regarded as the lawful succes-

sor of the President of Mexico and the defender of Constitutional Government.

Licentiate Manuel Calero and Jesús Flores Magon, in a memorandum which they have submitted to Your Excellencies, bitterly attack First Chief Carranza and his followers and have the audacity to sign, the first mentioned gentlemen being an ex-Secretary of Foreign Relations and ex-Ambassador of Mexico to the United States, and the second, ex-Secretary of Gobernación (Interior).

Later on I shall entirely refute the principal charges which these gentlemen make against First Chief Carranza and his adherents. For the time being I only desire to call the attention of Your Excellencies to the attitude of Messrs. Calero and Flores Magón when the Constitutionalist Movement broke out.

The acts which I am about to cite are historic, public acts, and, for that reason, I do not need to prove them but simply to call your attention to them.

Licentiate Manuel Calero, after having been liberally rewarded with favors and honors by President Madero, who appointed him Secretary of Foreign Relations and Ambassador to the United States, treacherously turned on his benefactor impelled entirely by personal ambition, resigned the post of Ambassador and entered the Mexican Senate to occupy a seat in that body for the purpose

of bitterly attacking Mr. Madero and to oppose the loan which his Government was about to negotiate in Europe, thereby contributing to the fall of the President of Mexico and to the triumph of the usurper.

The same is true of Jesús Flores Magón, the bosom friend of Mr. Calero, and it is an act of cynicism on their part to recite the appointments which they obtained and the offices they filled, the fact being that they did not know how to loyally honor such posts nor did they comply with the duties which every good citizen is morally bound to fulfil.

When First Chief Carranza gallantly rushed to the defense of the lawful institutions of the country, what were Messrs. Calero and Flores Magón doing? They flattered Huerta, about whom they now speak in such bad terms, helped him in the Senate, accompanied him in his banquets and festivities and sought his aid in electing Mr. Calero President of the Republic, and Mr. Flores Magón, Vice-President. Huerta scorned them, and rightly so, inasmuch as men who employed unworthy methods in the triumph of their personal ambition, while their countrymen heroically perished on the field of battle defending lawful institutions, well deserved the scorn of the dictator.

General Francisco Villa did not lend his aid to Constitutionalism until some months after this Movement had been initiated by First Chief Carranza, who received Villa as a military subordinate and supplied him with funds and ammunition to organize his forces.

General Felipe Angeles gave his services to Constitutionalism six months after the commencement of the revolutionary movement at the time when First Chief Carranza was in Hermosillo, State of Sonora, the revolutionary supporters already having an army and had won numerous battles against the soldiers of Huerta. General Angeles, after having accepted from Huerta a post in France, returned from Europe, having been brought over by the Messrs. Madero

whose interests he has served wonderfully well, although unsuccessfully, and he did not decide upon his return until several thousand dollars were placed at his disposal.

#### THE TRIUMPH OF CONSTITUTIONALISM.

After a year and five months of a hard campaign, and the conquering of Huerta, who had to flee from Mexico, the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army took possession of the Executive Power of the Republic, in accordance with the plan of Guadalupe, entered the City of Mexico, where he established the Provisional Government and was about to issue the necessary decrees to insure the reforms demanded by the Revolution and to take preliminary steps for the re-establishment of Constitutional Government, when General Francisco Villa issued a manifesto disavowing the authority of First Chief Carranza and declaring himself in open rebellion against the First Chief.

Villa himself had initiated a rebellious movement a few weeks before the entrance of First Chief Carranza into Mexico in June, 1914, when said First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army was in Saltillo, capital of the State of Coahuila, where the undersigned accompanied him.

Then First Chief Carranza appointed Generals Antonio I. Villareal and Luis Caballero peace commissioners, and Villa consented to submit to the authority of the First Chief, only to attack him a few weeks afterwards.

First Chief Carranza had called a meeting of his leading generals in Mexico in order to come to an understanding with them for the purpose of drafting such reforms as might be deemed advisable, and to fix the date for holding an election of a Constitutional President.

This meeting was cleverly made use of by Villa and Angeles, who, through numerous intrigues, succeeded in persuading the generals to proceed to Aguascalientes under the pretext of holding a Peace Conference and of settling the differences which had arisen.

It was at that time that the Convention of Aguascalientes was organized, and by means of the threat of the troops of Villa against the delegates and the shrewdness of Angeles, who converted into delegates twenty-five Zapatistas whom he brought from Cuernavaca and who had no credentials as such delegates, the famous Aguascalientes Convention declared itself sovereign and in the name of that usurped sovereignty, carrying out a seditious act, decided to dismiss First Chief Carranza and to appoint Provisional President General Eulalio Gutierrez, Military Governor of the State of San Luis Potosí, and one of the most faithful supporters of First Chief Carranza.

Two weeks later Villa had rebelled against his own work, namely, the new Provisional President (so-called by the Villistas), and the unfortunate Gutierrez had to abandon the City of Mexico at the head of a small number of faithful followers in order to seek refuge in the mountains of the State of Coahuila. Admitting his mistake, Eulalio Gutierrez has recently surrendered to General Obregon and shows himself to have sincerely repented of his blunders.

The treachery of Villa compelled First Chief Carranza to interrupt the reconstructive work of the Government and to undertake a new and energetic campaign against the rebellious forces of Villa and Zapata, to which end he established his Government in Veracruz, from whence he has directed a campaign which may already be regarded as victorious.

It should be borne in mind that First Chief Carranza on entering Mexico, sent General Antonio I. Villareal and Licentiate Luis Cabrera to Zapata as peace commissioners, but it was impossible for them to bring him to terms, notwithstanding the just offers which they made to him.

#### CAUSES OF THE TREACHERY OF VILLA.

The adherents of President Madero, who joined the Revolution, may be di-

vided into two classes, namely, one composed of practical, patriotic and intelligent men whose services were available, and the other consisting of the incompetent and ignorant, who, owing to this fact, brought about the failure of his administration. First Chief Carranza accorded to all of them a kind reception, but refused to give to the second class the important offices to which they thought they were entitled, and from that moment a nucleus was formed of greedy malcontents who took refuge with Villa, thus establishing the embryo of a rebellious faction.

But that was not the principal cause of the rebellion of Villa. Ernesto Madero, uncle of the President and Secretary of the Treasury in his cabinet, a great friend of ex-Secretary of the Treasury, Linantour, went to Europe with the express intention of obtaining the co-operation of the most influential members of the científicos in the scheme which he proposed to carry out, which consisted in eliminating First Chief Carranza from the Revolution, and to put Francisco Villa at the head of the same and induce the latter to proclaim Provisional President the said Ernesto Madero as one of the members of the cabinet of the assassinated President, or Rafael Hernandez, partner of Ernesto and ex-Secretary of Interior (Gobernación).

Ernesto Madero and Rafael Hernandez established an office in New York, and that has been the headquarters of the Villista conspiracy.

The brothers of President Madero cooperated with Ernesto in the intrigues of the latter, the fact being that in the Madero family there were two democrats and two martyrs who were willing to sacrifice themselves for their country, namely, Francisco I. Madero and his brother Gustavo, who was cowardly assassinated in the "ciudadela" (citadel) in the City of Mexico, but all the other members of the family constitute, as has been correctly said by one of the constitutionalist writers, an impenitent Is-

raelitisch clan, who only perceive patriotic duties in so far as they concern the coal of the mines they have in Coahuila and the guayule and cotton of their plantations.

On May 30, 1914, when the undersigned passed through Torreon, he spoke with Villa, of whom he was a sincere friend, concerning all these intrigues and suggested to him the publication of a manifesto disavowing them and of remaining faithful to First Chief Carranza. The President of the United States has in his possession the original of that manifesto signed by Villa. All my efforts were in vain, and three weeks after having signed the manifesto, Villa rebelled for the first time against First Chief Carranza.

I regret to state, because of the respect and cordial friendship which I profess toward the Government of the United States, that an error of this Government, to wit, that of appointing Mr. George C. Carothers special representative of the Secretary of State near Villa, contributed in a great measure to the encouragement of the rebelliousness of the latter. Mr. Carothers became a true agent of Villa, made the latter think that the United States regarded him chief of his followers and as a belligerent faction, and would give him all its support in struggling against First Chief Carranza.

The insinuations of Mr. Carothers contributed greatly to encourage Villa against the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army.

These are the real facts in the case and they should be revealed however painful it may be to do so.

#### NEW TRIUMPH OF CONSTITUTIONALISM.

Naturally First Chief Carranza on beginning a new campaign against the rebellious factions, had to interrupt the task of reconstructing the Constitutional Government. In spite of this fact he has not neglected the mere administrative duties, nor has he failed to issue the decrees which it has been possible to for-

mulate under such abnormal circumstances, assuring the reforms of the Revolution, among which may be mentioned, in the first place, those which establish the free municipalities throughout the Republic and the re-establishment of public and communal lands of which the people had been despoiled.

After repeated and unsuccessful efforts of First Chief Carranza to avoid the defection of Villa and to bring Zapata to terms, there was no alternative left but to undertake a vigorous campaign against them and subdue them by force of arms. This is the reason why it was impossible for First Chief Carranza and for the constitutionalists, who were familiar with all the previous events, to accept the well meant initiative that Your Excellencies made in your communication relating thereto, to the end that a Peace Conference might be held in Mexico.

The campaign against Villa and Zapata was rendered all the more necessary inasmuch as, being rough and ignorant men, they changed, unconsciously perhaps, from revolutionists into an easy toy of the reactionary enemies of the Revolution. Villa represented the interests of the Madero family and their relatives and close friends and of a group of aspirants to public offices, impelled entirely by personal and selfish interests.

Zapata became allied to the federal forces of Huerta and appointed Commander in Chief Higinio Aguilar, who was one of the generals of Huerta, and protected the plantation and rich land owners of the State of Morelos, whose rapacity has been the actual cause of the Zapata rebellion.

The campaign against the rebels has lasted about a year, and the latter being defeated and without resources, are only in possession of the States of Chihuahua, Sonora and Morelos, the constitutionalist forces controlling the remaining twenty-four States, the Federal District, in which is located the City of Mexico, and the Territories of Tepic, Quintana Roo and Lower California.

Each one of these States is under the direction of a military governor appointed by the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army, with the understanding that as soon as peace is entirely re-established, constitutional governors of each of these States shall be elected.

#### THE ORGANIZATION OF A VOLUNTEER ARMY.

The Revolution has solved one of the great problems of Mexico, namely, the organization of an army of volunteers in place of the army organized during the administrations of General Diaz by forced recruits from the jails or persons placed in the army because of improper conduct.

The formation of this army, already well organized and disciplined, is the best proof of the patriotism of the Mexican people. The thousands of volunteers who willingly answered the call of First Chief Carranza, began to fight without pay, almost without arms, half naked and subject to great privations. Under such trying conditions they nearly always defeated the soldiers of Huerta and took from them the arms and ammunition which they needed.

At present the Constitutionalist Army is composed of one hundred and fifty thousand perfectly disciplined and equipped men, commanded by generals as skilled and brave as Alvaro Obregón, Pablo Gonzales, Jacinto Treviño, Salvador Alvarado, Francisco Coss and many others who have gallantly struggled against the dictatorship and have acquired their knowledge of the art of war on the field of battle, inasmuch as all of them were peaceable citizens who took up arms induced by patriotism in order to attain permanent liberty for their country.

In spite of these facts, Licentiate Manuel Calero and his friend, Licentiate Jesús Flores Magón, who have never run the slightest risk in the service of their country, state in their memorandum already referred to that the revolutionary army is composed of fifteen or twenty thousand criminals to whom the Revolu-

tion opened the doors of the prisons, of savage and bloodthirsty Yaqui soldiers, and of improvised generals, some of whom are fugitives from justice.

The proletarian class—the one of which Messrs. Calero and Flores Magón speak, and the agriculturists are those who have furnished the greatest number of volunteers for our troops. And this alone is sufficient to entirely disprove the statement of the aforesaid gentlemen when they assure us that the constitutionalists do not represent the popular elements of Mexico.

Messrs. Calero and Flores Magón, constituting themselves the spokesmen of the Archbishop of Mexico, Monseñor José Mora y del Rio, make use in the United States of this sheer mis-statement or sophism concerning the army, which assertion will not withstand the most superficial analysis, for the purpose of injuring the reputation of the constitutionalists:

“Mexico has fifteen million inhabitants. The Constitutionalist Army is composed of one hundred and fifty thousand men, and it follows, therefore, that only 1 per cent. of the population has succeeded in controlling the remaining 99 per cent.”

It would seem that the fifteen million inhabitants of the Republic have all been able to bear arms, and, hence, the number of those who have actually taken up arms in the Revolution seems exceedingly small.

But let us think the matter over and make our calculations as they logically should be made. Of the fifteen million inhabitants of the Republic, we should, in the first place, subtract all those who never have been nor are now capable of entering the army, such as foreigners, women, children and old men. Bearing in mind that in Mexico the female population is greatly in excess of the male, it follows that of the fifteen million inhabitants we have to subtract two-thirds, or ten million.

Of the remaining five million we still have to deduct the soldiers and adherents

of the dictatorships of Porfirio Diaz and Victoriano Huerta, the rich land owners and their relatives and close friends, who naturally would not take up arms against their own interests. Let us suppose, then, that all these people number one million. There remains, then, four million men fit to take active part in the Revolution and to defend their ideals which are those of the great majority of the Mexican people.

From these four million we will further deduct three-fourths, or three million men who have continued at work, since otherwise all the people would perish for lack of the indispensable elements of subsistence.

There remains, therefore, available one million able bodied men who are willing to abandon their work and to uphold on the field of battle the revolutionary principles.

During the struggle more than one hundred and fifty thousand Mexicans have died and an equal number are engaged in the Constitutionalist Movement. If to the military we add the civil element of the Government, we have four hundred thousand Mexicans who have taken part in the Revolution, or not less than 40 per cent. of the citizens capable of fighting.

And if our army is not greater, if to those four hundred thousand citizens who have taken an active part in the Revolution an equal number is not added, it is, in the first place, because the necessities of the war have not required it, and, in the second place, because we have not had sufficient resources to arm more citizens.

But the fact that four hundred thousand citizens have voluntarily entered this struggle is not the only thing that shows that the constitutionalist revolution represents the feelings of the immense majority of the inhabitants. I have accompanied First Chief Carranza in his journeys across the Republic and have seen in each one of the towns how the people en masse have assembled to cordially welcome him and to express to

him their gratitude and affection. I have had the honor to address these multitudes more than one hundred times when they have come to welcome First Chief Carranza as their liberator.

If this is not an evident proof of the immense popularity of First Chief Carranza and of the ideals of the cause of which he is the leader, let Messrs. Calero and Flores Magón testify, who have never succeeded in inducing not even three inhabitants of any village to meet them with equal demonstrations of gratitude and respect.

#### GUARANTIES OFFERED TO NATIVES AND FOREIGNERS.

Immediately after the occupation of the City of Mexico, General Pablo Gonzales issued a decree imposing the death penalty on every one who commits an outrage against the person or property of natives or foreigners. There cannot be a more evident proof of the desire of General Gonzales himself and of the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army that all the inhabitants who live in the territory controlled by our forces should enjoy complete guaranties of life and property.

I cannot deny that during the war, as happens in all wars, some abuses and outrages may have been perpetrated, but neither have they constituted the general rule, nor has the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army ever failed to immediately punish the delinquents. The decrees for the purpose of maintaining order issued by First Chief Carranza concerning the matter, have given such good results that it may be affirmed that all the inhabitants who now reside in the territory controlled by the constitutionalists forces, natives as well as foreigners, absolutely enjoy the same guaranties as in normal times and can freely engage in their occupations in commerce, agriculture and industry without being molested.

Many times has First Chief Carranza declared that he will not permit the confiscation of property, and that, without

the necessity of restoring to that arbitrary measure, the land problem, the object of which is to put the cultivation and possession of the land within the reach of agriculturists of small means, will be solved.

The fact that First Chief Carranza has refused to participate in peace conferences with his enemies, for well known reasons, does not imply that the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army and his followers, pretend to exclude from the benefits which peace and order in Mexico will bring, the numerous citizens who, deceived by false and fallacious promises, may have belonged to the armies of Villa and of Zapata, and who, admitting their error, acknowledge the authority of First Chief Carranza. General Pablo Gonzales proclaimed an amnesty for the soldiers of Zapata who gave up their arms, granting them a certain amount of coin and free passage over the railways for returning to their homes and engaging in their peaceful occupations. General Obregón did likewise concerning the soldiers and officials of Villa. These measures have given good results, and thousands of soldiers belonging to these rebellious factions have accepted the amnesty decreed by General Gonzales and Obregón in conformity with the wishes of First Chief Carranza.

On the other hand, it is but just that the leading intellectual groups who, through selfish and personal reasons, have dragged thousands of citizens into this new struggle which has stained with blood the soil of our country, should suffer the consequences of their unpatriotic conduct.

#### INDEMNITIES FOR DAMAGES AND INJURIES.

First Chief Carranza has already offered by means of decrees and manifestos that the Constitutionalist Government is willing to take into consideration all just complaints both of natives and foreigners who have suffered damages on account of the Revolution. In connection with the foregoing, First Chief

Carranza has stated that there will be established in Mexico a board composed of Mexicans and foreigners of the same nationality as those who may have made complaints, in order to examine the same, and, by joint agreement, to fix such just indemnity as may be deemed proper in each instance.

This measure shows the spirit of justice by which the First Chief of the constitutionalists and his followers are guided.

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#### POPULARITY OF THE CONSTITUTIONALIST MOVEMENT.

When Villa rebelled against the authority of First Chief Carranza, taking with him some of the generals who attended the Aguascalientes Convention, the forces at his disposal amounted to at least fifty thousand men. Ever since, while the forces of First Chief Carranza have replaced their losses with new men and increased their standing army, thanks to the citizens who voluntarily offer their services, the forces of Villa have decreased to such a degree that the rebel general of Chihuahua at present only has some five or six thousand soldiers, and, as desertions are of daily occurrence in his ranks, it is to be presumed that within a short time the followers of Villa will be reduced to two or three gangs of highways robbers whose persecution and complete extinction will be the work of only a few months.

Zapata's forces have also been reduced to a few gangs who only engage in attacking trains and murdering defenceless persons, robbing them without mercy or consideration of any kind.

I beg to call the attention of Your Excellencies to the fact that while the press has been giving detailed news of the work of robbery and assassination done by the followers of Zapata and Villa, it has not been able to mention any similar acts perpetrated by constitutionalists. On the contrary, their efforts to re-establish order and offer guaranties of life and property to everyone are well known.

## THE MORAL AND MATERIAL FORCE OF THE CONSTITUTIONALIST GOVERNMENT.

Your Excellencies have expressed the desire to recognize a Government in Mexico, and by the moral support which that recognition will give to the Government thus recognized, contribute to the prompt re-establishment of public peace in that nation. Your Excellencies desire to know which party of those that have struggled in Mexico has sufficient material and moral power to guarantee that the Government established by that party will respect the rights, the property and the lives of the inhabitants of the Mexican Republic, both native and foreign.

In my opinion, what has been stated in this memorandum is enough to fully convince Your Excellencies that the only Government now existing in Mexico is that of Venustiano Carranza, First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army in charge of the Executive Power.

If Your Excellencies recommend such acknowledgment to your respective governments, the Mexican people will be sincerely grateful, inasmuch as peace, that much wished for blessing which all Mexicans desire, would then be completely established within a short time.

### DISTURBANCES ON THE FRONTIER.

The enemies of First Chief Carranza, realizing that the triumph of the Constitutionalist Party is certain and final and that the Government of First Chief Carranza will have to be recognized by the United States and the principal nations of America and Europe, have made use of the most treacherous and perfidious of intrigues to prevent or delay that acknowledgment, and, if possible, to provoke a war between Mexico and the United States.

Such intrigues consist in organizing bands of marauders along the frontier, composed of followers of Magón and of Huerta, to annoy the American soldiers and to attack the ranches situated along the border.

Some American citizens and many Mexicans have been killed in consequence

of the abominable work of those gangs of evildoers.

The agitators of the Magón and Huerta factions cross the frontier disguised, or with fictitious names, mix with the constitutionalist soldiers and relate to them atrocities which the Americans have perpetrated against Mexicans, in order to excite them and produce friction between Mexican and American troops. Our enemies have made use of the ruse of buying uniforms, which are sold in all clothing stores of the cities along the border, exactly like those of the constitutionalist troops, and dress the members of the organized gangs in same in order to make believe that those who cause the disturbances are constitutionalist soldiers.

The American Government is fully aware of this and also knows that First Chief Carranza has taken very energetic measures to the end that every constitutionalist soldier who should attempt to provoke an international conflict be subject to court martial and severe punishment.

If the Government of First Chief Carranza is recognized, this state of constant provocation which the frontier marauders are encouraging will soon cease, since the American and Mexican authorities by common agreement will then be able to organize an energetic campaign against the gangs of evil-doers and exterminate them.

### RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

The enemies of the Constitutionalist Party, together with a great number of American newspapers, have been attacking First Chief Carranza in the most unjust manner, accusing him of not having re-established the Constitutional Government in Mexico.

This absurd argument has been used also by Mr. Calero, who presumes that President Wilson will not recognize the Government of First Chief Carranza because it does not possess all the attributes of a constitutional government.



Those who so argue would like First Chief Carranza to be a magus, who would, at one and the same time, defeat Huerta, rout Villa and Zapata, order peaceable and legal elections in the midst of a destructive and violent war, establish a Congress, a Supreme Court of Justice, and hand over the Government to a Constitutional President already elected.

This is an absurd and impossible thing, and it seems strange that so able a man as Mr. Calero could not realize that a revolution so complete and destructive as that which has occurred in Mexico has two stages, namely, the destructive period for completely overthrowing the dictatorial regime, and the reconstructive period for re-establishing the Constitutional Government, which can only begin when the first period has ended.

Had it not been for the rebellion of Villa it is certain that some months ago we would have had in Mexico a Congress and a President elected by the people. But the destructive period of the revolution had to be prolonged in order to fight the rebellious forces of Villa and Zapata. These are already annihilated, and it can be confidently stated that the reconstructive period in Mexico is already beginning. But the re-establishment of constitutional government should not be hurried in such a way as to be brought about by illegal and abnormal means which would cause the fall of any Government that might be elected. The plan which First Chief Carranza has outlined for the re-establishment of Constitutional Government is a logical and legitimate one.

In order that a constitutional government may be re-established, it is necessary that elections be held, and in order to do so it is essential that there should exist popular bodies to organize the electoral machinery, which bodies are the municipal officers.

It is necessary, therefore, above all, that the people freely elect officers for the government of their municipalities. After these are elected, arrangements will be made for the organization of a Constitutional Congress, which at the same time that it shall revise the Constitution of Mexico,

adapting the same to the requirements and needs of the triumphant Revolution, shall ratify the acts of First Chief Carranza as representative of the Executive Power.

Congress being the only entity with power to convoke the people to the election of a President, the Constituent Congress will issue such call, the election of a Constitutional President will be held, and the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army will surrender the Government to the President elected by the people.

This method, the rational and only legal and logical one for the re-establishment of Constitutional Government, has already been the cause of a decree of First Chief Carranza, namely, the decree of December 12 1914, issued in Vera Cruz, which Your Excellencies are cognizant of and whose articles relating thereto I quote as follows:

“Article 4. Upon the success of the Revolution, after the installment of the First Office of the Constitutionalist Army in the City of Mexico and when the municipal elections in the majority of the States of the Republic have been held, the First Chief of the Revolution, as the person in charge of the Executive Power, shall issue a call for holding elections for members of Congress, stating in said call the date and conditions under which such elections should be held.

Art. 5. After the installation of the National Congress, the First Chief of the Revolution shall render to the same an account of such use as he may have made of the powers which this decree grants him, and shall especially submit to it the reforms decreed and put in practice during the struggle, in order that Congress may ratify, amend or supplement them and adopt as constitutional amendments such as it may deem proper, before the establishment of constitutional order.

Art. 6. The National Congress shall issue the call for the election of a President of the Republic, and as soon as same is held, the First Chief of the Revolution shall hand over to the President elected by the people the executive power of the nation.”

Such would be the procedure for the re-establishment of the Constitutional regime, and in order to facilitate and give greater moral force to the Government of First Chief Carranza in carrying out these ends, nothing can be more natural or logical than to recognize his Government, notwithstanding the opinion of the learned Señor Calero to the contrary.

#### THE ARGUMENTS OF OUR ENEMIES.

Mr. Enrique C. Llorente has submitted a protest to the Department of State alleging that First Chief Carranza has no authority whatever to treat of indemnities for damages and injuries, and adds that only a Congress can grant such authorization.

By what I have already stated the argument of Señor Llorente is disproved.

First Chief Carranza can, in conformity with the extraordinary powers with which he is invested, outline all preliminary measures concerning indemnities for damages and injuries and may even fix the amount of same, with the understanding, of course, that he submit, at the proper time, this, as well as all of his acts, to the approval of the National Congress.

If Villa had triumphed and were about to be recognized, he would find himself in exactly the same position as that of First Chief Carranza. It is obvious that then Señor Llorente, instead of resorting to the use of cunning subterfuges, would be unceasingly talking about the willingness of the rebel general to grant the claims of all.

Señor Roque Gonzalez Garza affirms that First Chief Carranza, with the exception of Huerta, is the most hated man in Mexico, and says that if the United States and the Latin-American Republics recognize his Government the most complete anarchy will follow in the Mexican Republic in consequence thereof.

It is not surprising to me that First Chief Carranza may be more despised than Huerta by those who have seen their personal, selfish and unworthy ambitions, annihilated such, for example, as Señor Gonzalez Garza. I would add that the fact that such men hate First Chief Car-

ranza is a cause of satisfaction to him and the best proof of his honesty and patriotism. On the other hand, the First Chief possesses the gratitude, the affection and the respect of the great majority of the Mexican people.

As to the anarchy they say would prevail in Mexico if his Government were recognized, this would be to reverse the logical results which have characterized all events heretofore.

In spite of the fact that the Villa and Zapata factions have been treated, up to the present time, by the United States as belligerent factions and have been able to acquire arms and resources, the Constitutionalist Army has inflicted on them tremendous defeats and has driven the rebels out of nearly all the territory which they formerly occupied.

It is entirely logical to suppose that if the Government of First Chief Carranza is recognized and Villa and Zapata are treated as rebels and are prevented from acquiring arms and ammunition in this country, the complete triumph over those rebellious factions will be more rapid and the re-establishment of public tranquility in Mexico will be a question of two or three months. Political passion causes men to say foolish things which do not withstand analysis in accordance with the principles of logic.

#### THE ATTACKS OF THE AMERICAN PRESS.

Unfortunately for the good and cordial relations which should exist between two neighboring and sister American Republics, some of the American newspapers have begun a tirade against all Mexicans, without distinction, making us appear as a people of savages, of thieves and murderers, devoid of patriotism and without ideals. It is well known that in all nations of the world patriotic and honest men will be found as well as bad ones.

I would call the attention of the newspaper men, who have undertaken such an unjust propaganda, to the following remarks of the immortal Washington in his famous farewell address:

“Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct: and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruit of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?”

“In the execution of such plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another habitual hatred or habitual fondness is in some degree slave. It is a slave to its

animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.”

I avail myself of this opportunity to express to Your Excellencies the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

Washington, D. C., October 1, 1915.

HERIBERTO BARRON.



# RECOGNITION OF CARRANZA IN MEXICO AGREED UPON BY PAN-AMERICAN ENVOYS.

## UNANIMOUS ACTION OF LATIN-AMERICAN STATES NOW ASSURED.

Washington, D. C., October 9, 1915.

Recognition of the Carranza government as the de facto government of Mexico was decided upon to-day at the end of the fourth Pan-American Conference.

This statement was issued by Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, announcing the decision:

"The conferrees, after careful consideration of the facts, have found that the Carranzista party is the only party possessing the essentials for recognition as the de facto government of Mexico and they have so reported to their governments."

While this statement indicates that the recognition of the Carranza government has not been carried beyond the point of a recommendation to the six governments participating in the conference, the action is tantamount to recognition by those governments since their representatives in the conference have been acting in accordance with instructions from home and the readiness of the governments to act upon the recommendation announced to-day was known here in advance.

Recognition of the Carranza government by the governments of the United States, Brazil, Chili, the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Guatemala and Uruguay is now assured.

### FIFTEEN REPUBLICS FAVORABLE.

Beyond this it was stated that inquiries have been made of the other Latin-American diplomatic representatives here as to the readiness of their governments to recognize Carranza. Their responses have

indicated that all of the other fifteen Latin-American republics are prepared to extend recognition to General Carranza.

Hence a unanimous Pan-American recognition of Carranza is now confidently expected.

No inquiries, however, have been made to determine the acceptability of the Carranza government to any European Power. The settlement of the Mexican problem, through the present effort, is of an exclusively American character.

Before deciding upon the recognition of General Carranza, assurances were asked of him regarding treatment to be accorded to religious workers and amnesty of foreign offenders.

From the assurances given upon these matters by Carranza it is evident that his recognition comes to him as an unconditional victory.

Regarding the treatment to be accorded religious workers, Carranza made only the following promise:

Religious workers who have not been and who will not be active in politics in Mexico are free to return and will receive protection of their lives and property. They will enjoy freedom to continue their religious work so long as their activities do not extend into the political field.

It is understood that further negotiations with General Carranza are to be held concerning amnesty to be granted to political offenders. Thus far his promise amounts only to this:

Amnesty, will be accorded to all political offenders save the leaders of the revolution against the Carranza government.

## FOREIGN CLAIMS NOT CONSIDERED.

The question of foreign claims and debts against Mexico was not considered, it was explained, for the reason that any government recognized in Mexico is considered to assume the obligation of meeting the debts of former governments of Mexico and of paying all foreign claims established against it under the rules of international law.

No formal announcement was made of an intention to place an embargo against the shipment of arms into Mexico to the enemies of the Carranza government but the act of recognition, it is explained, will bring such an embargo as a logical corollary.

Having recognized General Carranza, the Pan-American governments will do all within their power to establish his supreme control over Mexico in the briefest time possible. In fact, it was the idea that General Carranza's supremacy could be established quickly that led these governments to select his party for recognition as the de facto government.

The outstanding feature of General Carranza's recognition beyond all doubt

is that it is to be extended without any conditions accepted by the first chief save those which he has all along admitted his willingness to agree to.

The many guarantees formerly demanded of General Carranza by the United States in the course of the various negotiations held with a view to extending recognition have been thrown overboard. *General Carranza has won the recognition of the United States and of all of the Pan-American republics presumably without having receded one inch in his insistence that the internal affairs of Mexico shall be left absolutely to his control as the head of a sovereign State*

. . . . .  
*Consequently his victory shines further as an unconditional one for himself. The United States abandoned all pretense to interference in the internal affairs of Mexico and recognition of a government there will be based upon the same rules of international law that would govern the recognition of a government in Great Britain.—(New York Herald, Sunday, October 10.)*



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## RECOGNITION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MR. VENUSTIANO CARRANZA, AS THE DE FACTO GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO.

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The following letter was addressed by the Honorable the Secretary of State Mr. Robert Lansing to Mr. Eliseo Arredondo, Confidential agent of the Constitutional Government of First Chief Carranza in Washington:

Washington, D. C., Oct. 19, 1915.

ELISEO ARREDONDO, ESQ.

My dear Mr. Arredondo:—It is my pleasure to inform you that the President of the United States takes this opportunity of extending recognition to the de facto government of Mexico of which General Venustiano Carranza is the Chief Executive.

The Government of the United States will be pleased to receive formally in Washington a diplomatic representative of the de facto government as soon as it shall please General

Carranza to designate and appoint such representative, and, reciprocally, the Government of the United States will credit to the de facto government a diplomatic representative as soon as the President has had opportunity to designate such representative. I should appreciate it if you could find it possible to communicate this information to General Carranza at your earliest convenience. Very sincerely yours,

ROBERT LANSING,

Secretary of State.

Similar letters were received by Mr. Arredondo from the Ambassadors of Argentine, Brazil, Chili and the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of Bolivia, Uruguay and Guatemala to the United States, according recognition to the government of First Chief Carranza.















