CORRESPONDENCE.

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

No. 6.

Mr. Osborn to Mr. Evarts.

No. 259.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, December 18, 1879. (Received January 27, 1880.)

SIR: The reported success of the Chilian army in the late battles with the allied forces, and the occupation of the province of Atacama by the forces of Chili, produced a profound sensation in government circles as well as among the people generally, and caused the President to daily hold secret consultations for several days with his cabinet and the most prominent men of the nation of both political parties, who had been invited by him to the conference, with the object of determining what policy this government should adopt under the existing state of affairs on the Pacific coast. I understand that the question of mediation by this government was discussed, and also the further question of armed intervention in case Chili would not accept mediation and should undertake to force Peru to the wall.

It is understood, however, that nothing was definitely settled in the conference, except that Ex-President Mitre should be invited to go to Chili on a special mission, which the general declines to accept; at least, he is still here.

This government is making every effort to meet Chili, both on the water and land, in case it should be required.

* * * * * * *

As the matter now stands, it appears to me that a strong prospect of war with Chili may reconcile the conflicting political elements and keep the country free from internal troubles, and the exhausted condition of Chili when she comes out of the war with the allies, whether victorious or defeated, and the complete preparation of this country for war, may prevent any armed conflict between the two countries.

I have, &c.,

THOS. O. OSBORN.

No. 7.

Mr. Osborn to Mr. Evarts.

No. 264.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, January 17, 1880. (Received February 21.)

SIR: The political situation, to all outward appearance, remains unchanged, save and except that the President has concentrated most of

the regular army—eleven regiments—in this city, and the political clubs in favor of Governor Tejedor now on Sundays and feast-days parade the streets in uniform, armed with Remingtons.

The provincial legislature of this province, a majority of which is opposed to the governor as a presidential candidate, refused to vote the budget for the present year, and thereupon the governor issued a decree ordering that the old budget for 1879 be continued in effect until the chamber thought proper to sanction the new one.

In view of this decree of the executive, on the 16th instant the chamber of deputies voted a proclamation, or circular, to the people of the province, citing Art. 98, secs. 1 and 2, of the constitution, which declare that the power to decree the taxes necessary for the public administration, and to fix every year the budget or estimate of disbursements and revenues, belongs to the legislature; and declaring that under no circumstances can the executive exercise these functions, and that the decree referred to is a manifest usurpation of the rights of the legislature, granted for the protection of the people.

This breach, which has culminated on the question of the budget, between the governor and the legislature, it is claimed by political friends of the governor is a part of the programme of the Roca party to humiliate the governor and his administration, and to serve as a pretext for the intervention of the national government by placing the province under martial law until after the elections for congressmen, which take place the 1st of next month; and the leading political organ of Governor Tejedor, "La Nacion," the editor and proprietor of which is Ex-President Mitre, declares that the President was so pledged, and that the eleven regiments of the line were brought from the frontier and concentrated in this city for that purpose.

In view of the facts that the great majority of this province is in favor of Governor Tejedor, and that the clubs or volunteers of the city are armed and equipped for any emergency, I do not believe the President will take any steps towards intervention, but rather he will yield this province without a contest, even by voting, and rely entirely for success on the other provinces.

Should this city escape trouble, and a peaceable election be held on the 1st of February, then the whole matter will depend upon the next Congress, and the party which controls Congress will declare its candidate President.

Should the candidate declared President by Congress be either Roca or Tejedor, I still believe there may be serious trouble; but the only information which has relieved the gloomy outlook within the past day or so is that brought by dispatches from Ex-President Sarmiento, who is still in the upper provinces, to his friends here, that he had secured three provinces to his support, which, if true, will probably give him the balance of power and secure his election.

I have, &c.,

THOS. O. OSBORN.

No. 8.

Mr. Osborn to Mr. Evarts.

No. 265.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, February 11, 1880. (Received March 30.)

SIR: The election for members of the national Congress took place on the 1st instant. The election in this city passed off quietly. The

Roca party refused to vote, and all the candidates of the Tejedor party were elected.

The Roca party carried all the other provinces save Corrientes and two other provinces, which are still in doubt.

The reason given for the policy of not voting by the Roca party is that the "*Tiradores Nacionales*," a corps organized, armed, and equipped by Governor Tejedor, without authority of law, appeared at the voting places in uniform with arms, and that even had the Roca party attempted, they would not have been permitted to vote. In reply, the Tejedor party claims that their opponents would not have been molested, and the course was adopted by Roca's friends in order to have a pretext to disfranchise this province in the next Congress if they have the power.

The political situation has not changed for the better; in fact, I think the explosion must come sooner or later. The volunteer organization of this city known as the "*Tiradores Nacionales*," composed of from six to ten thousand men, with its commanding general and other officers, seem to have possession of the city, while the troops of the line are encamped outside but close to the city.

The volunteer corps—"*Tiradores Nacionales*"—I am told is composed principally of the best young men of the city, but they cannot have the discipline of the troops of the line; but, on the other hand, it is claimed that the national authorities cannot depend upon the national troops if called into action, as many of the officers and men belong to this province and would refuse to fire upon their friends in the city.

I am inclined to think that a mistake by the authorities on either side is liable to bring on a revolution any moment.

I have, &c.,

THOS. O. OSBORN.

No. 9.

Mr. Osborn to Mr. Evarts.

No. 266.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, February 13, 1880. (Received March 30.)

SIR: I have the honor to inclose herewith a copy of a note received at this date from the minister of foreign affairs in relation to the South American Continental Exhibition which takes place in this city in September next, accompanied by copies of the plans and regulations of the same.

I have, &c.,

THOS. O. OSBORN.

[Inclosure in No. 266.—Translation.]

FOREIGN OFFICE, ARGENTINE REPUBLIC,
Buenos Ayres, February 7, 1880.

MR. MINISTER: Charged by the President of the Republic to represent him in all matters concerning the Continental Exposition, which has been placed under the patronage of the national government, I have the honor to address myself to your excellency, requesting through you the aid of your government and of its citizens in order that this great exhibition may enjoy all the significance and luster which it merits.

By the information which your excellency will have obtained from the documents in regard to the exposition, which I have had the pleasure to send to you, you will be

advised of its extent and purposes and of the terms which it accords to the exhibitors who may be able to be present, together with all the assurances which, in such cases, it is necessary to have in order that the efforts which are made may not be without reward.

The national government adds, if it is possible, to their assurances its own moral guarantee, and your excellency, in recommending it, can mention this idea authoritatively to your citizens and to your government.

The Argentine Republic has already shown, in the national exposition which took place at Córdoba, that it has within its extensive and rich territory the noblest productions of universal commerce, which only need the hand of man and the presence of capital for their development and for increasing its public and private wealth.

That exposition is to be repeated upon a larger scale and with relation to the other countries of America which may send their products to this continental exposition, and with the advantage that it will take place in a city as populous as Buenos Ayres and which combines all the facilities and attractions necessary for those who may come to visit it.

It will be profitable for foreign industry and capital to know practically and while they are collected in one place all those natural resources which America contains and which are destined to meet such great necessities, and, perhaps, to remedy the social evils which all Europe is suffering from and which, as is natural, it is desirous to have disappear.

I doubt not your excellency will find worthy of consideration these observations and that you will receive them in the cordial spirit in which they are suggested, urging your fellow-citizens to come to this exposition, assured that they will find in it all the advantages which these contests of human progress afford.

I improve this occasion to salute your excellency with all consideration, and repeat myself your obedient servant,

L. GONZALES.

No. 10.

Mr. Evarts to Mr. Osborn.

No. 121.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 7, 1880.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 266 and inclosures, relative to the "South American Continental Exhibition," which is to be held at Buenos Ayres, in September next, and to observe in reply that, although it is not understood that the concurrence of this government in the enterprise is invited, the United States feel much interest in the same, as tending to increase the commercial and agricultural prosperity of the Argentine Republic; and publicity has been given to the notification of the enterprise through the public press and the Department of Agriculture.

I am, sir, &c.,

WM. M. EVARTS.

No. 11.

Mr. Osborn to Mr. Evarts.

No. 267.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, February 16, 1880. (Received March 20.)

SIR: The situation has become extremely critical. The city is under arms; the governors of some of the other provinces are sending all the provincial troops they can spare to this city, at the call of the President; business is almost entirely suspended, and civil war, unless the counsel of the peace men prevails, is at hand.

On the 13th instant the President issued a proclamation and decree, ordering the governors of the provinces to disarm the volunteers, "*Tiradores Nacionales*," corps, copies of which I have the honor to inclose herewith (marked A).

To this proclamation Governor Tejedor has made no formal reply, but it is understood that he will refuse to disarm the volunteers of this province. On the evening of the 14th instant Governor Tejedor addressed a letter to some of his political friends, declining to be considered any longer a presidential candidate, on the grounds of patriotism, and the desire to give all his time to the defense of the rights of his province, and at the same time orders the "*Tiradores Nacionales*" to parade the next day—Sunday—in the streets of the city.

The "*Tiradores Nacionales*" did parade the streets and took possession of important points in the city, one of which commands the capitol building. At the same time some six regiments arrived from the other provinces, in response to the call of the President.

Intense excitement prevails thoughout the city. The President and his ministers spent last night in the office of the minister of war, and before morning all the troops and guns from the encampment were brought into the city.

It was expected that the President would to-day issue a proclamation placing this province under martial law, and I understand that he would have done so had not the peace committee, composed of some of the leading men of the city, waited on him and begged him to use moderation and give them time to procure the withdrawal of Roca as a candidate and thereby procure the peaceable settlement of the questions which disturb the public mind.

General Roca, now in the province of Córdoba, has been telegraphed to for his resignation, but as yet no answer has been received. Many declare that the resignation of Roca will not be enough, but demand that the President himself must resign; while on the other hand the partisan press of Roca demands that the President shall at once place the province of Buenos Ayres under martial law and maintain the dignity of the nation, or that he should retire from his exalted post as President of the Republic.

Unless some understanding or compromise is arrived at within the next forty-eight hours, through the medium of the peace committee, I see no other course left to the President but to put the province under martial law, in which event Ex-President Sarmiento (now a brigadier-general in the army) will be placed in command of this city.

* * * * * * *

I have, &c.,

THOS O. OSBORN.

[Inclosure A in No. 267.]

MANIFESTO.

FELLOW CITIZENS: I much regret that I am compelled on this occasion to address you; but I feel bound to make an appeal to your sense of that duty which enjoins obedience to the laws, to that honor which forbids personal interests compromising the public weal, and to that patriotism which calls you to guard well the inheritance of the past and check any movement that, under insiduous titles, would take us back to the blackest periods of our history.

On all sides I hear the threats of civil war; but what, I ask, are those fatal or irrevocable questions which admit of no solution save the battle-field? No opposing prin-

ciples are at issue; no antagonistic geographical interests divide the country, and the miserable cry of those who seek to create disorder should never find echo or response in the hearts of true Argentines.

The only question at issue is the electoral one—a mere question of candidates, which is periodically supported and decided without bloodshed in every republican and constitutional country. Has it come to this, that we can have no change of government without a revolution, and that we proclaim to the world our incapacity for those very institutions which we ourselves have framed?

In all constitutional countries an election is a well-settled question; the law surrounds it with proper limits and establishes in Congress its proper arbitrator. Why, therefore, not await its decision? It is the same Congress that all Argentines obey, and whose laws are the supreme laws of the land and of the nation. Or is it to be supposed that Congress, which was legitimate yesterday, is to-day illegal?

Thoughtlessly, no doubt, many have exclaimed, "Let us await the decision of Congress, but with arms in our hand." But I answer "No"! and as long as there is a spark of liberty and honor left, no other arms should surround Congress save those which Congress can itself increase, diminish, or suppress by its vote.

The meeting of Congress is at present far off, nevertheless political clubs are arming, not privately, as on former occasions, but publicly, and in battalions that march through the streets with shouldered muskets and carrying the national flag. Who has placed this flag in their hands? It belongs at the moment to THREE MILLIONS *of men, and four generations of Argentines* have passed to their graves beneath its shadow! A national flag is, more than the very soil itself, the property of a nation, and nations only intrust that flag to the governments that represent them.

Let us reflect on what is passing.

Every nation maintains an army to guarantee order; but an army would be the greatest of dangers had not the foresight of all anticipated it. Whoever bears arms publicly, under an organization that makes him still more powerful, is indeed in possession of a terrible might; and societies were only enabled to live by preventing the abuse of this power. No other than the soldier may bear arms under a public organization, and the life of the soldier is the barracks, his will gives way to obedience, the rule of his conduct; his tribunal is a court-martial with summary verdicts, and his code is the terrible law that claims his death for an error, an omission.

Even the national guard is mobilized—it carries arms publicly, not otherwise than the soldier, and obeys the same law.

This is the universal system followed by nations, lest they should fall victims to this power. Who will explain the presence of armed battalions in our cities, that display themselves in military reviews, the formation of which no public authority superintends? There live with us thousands of men who come from all countries in the world, and we may ask them if there is one place on earth where an organized community exists allowing the massing of armed forces without law, without discipline, without obedience, and without commanders, with a public trust, responsible and recognized?

We must abandon this course. It is not true that we have adopted the institutions of the most civilized countries to counteract them subsequently with practices which are incompatible with modern principles and place us as an isolated example in the world.

The error has been general; we have all committed it; some have remained silent through mistaken prudence whilst others carried the same into effect; but if this error should continue to exist, a country could hardly introduce a better element of destruction.

Let the liberty of arming individuals collectively, of forming battalions and raising an army be decreed, and a government of violence will be proclaimed. Every electoral struggle will be in future a bloody strife, and civil war will be harbored amongst the common rights. Why should a meeting to-morrow, protesting against a government measure affecting many and great interests, be pacific when the right exists to arm and enforce the claims demanded? It is not an arbitrary or distant hypothesis; it is a direct application of the doctrines proclaimed.

Meantime the evil is spreading in all directions, and strife will far more easily arise from these violent and irregular proceedings than from the rivalry of the candidates disputing in the electoral arena. No foreign enemy threatens us, no internal commotion disturbs our peace, yet the clash of arms is heard all over the republic; every Argentine city is preparing and massing new legions, which are, in reality, national guards under surreptitious names defrauding the law. I hope that in future the law will be obeyed to to the letter, and then at least we will enter a situation which will excite no alarms.

Citizens, I ask for the sake of patriotism, and I command in the name of the law, that your arms be laid aside. Let them be thrown aside that the voice of reason may be heard and calm the excited feelings; let public opinion rise and inclose the electoral struggle within its lawful limits. Ten thousand Argentines in one of our cities, peacefully addressing their countrymen in the name of common interest, can deeply

move public opinion and create a new situation. Ten thousand shoulders, armed with ten thousand Remingtons, will produce a contrary effect. Valor is an Argentine virtue; if Santa Fé and Buenos Ayres boast of it, Jujuy also lays claims to it.

Citizens, I have made solemn declarations, and I uphold them before all systematic and false imputations. The jurisdiction of the government departments is purely administrative, and the constant attendance and care for all national interests eloquently prove it.

The elections throughout the republic have just been effected, and the intrusion in the electoral committees of a single agent, with irregular means of influence on the part of the national government, has not been alleged.

Two provinces are under intervention; in one no election took place, in the other both parties claim the victory loudly. These are facts, and behind these bulwarks I can quietly await more impartial verdicts.

The government will take no part in this election question. I will be the first to look for the name of my successor in the law that proclaims him, and deliver up the reins of power in peace.

This is my programme, and I affirm that I rely upon the will, the intelligence, and physical support of the great majority of the Argentine people to carry it out.

Our country is struggling between two contrary currents of opinion—one trying at every moment to escape the grasp of law and supplant it by violence and a capricious constitution, and the other seeking a remedy for these evils by patient and secure means.

I am not with the violent party. I belong to the peaceful. It is this magnanimous patience which supports disasters bravely, and with time and human reason has laid the basis of free institutions, great nations, and permanent governments.

Citizens, I ask you to obey the laws, maintain order, and respect the rights of all, that we may have free elections and suppress weapons at the electoral urns.

N. AVELLANEDA.

BUENOS AYRES, *February* 13, 1880.

DECREE.

BUENOS AYRES, *February* 13, 1880.

By the fundamental laws of the republic, all its inhabitants enjoy the right to meet in public and petition, but they can neither meet nor petition the authorities with arms in their hands, the right referred to having its source and validity in a peaceable and rational manifestation of opinion. Article 14 of the National Constitution lays down that every inhabitant of the republic enjoys the right of petitioning the authorities and of joining in a meeting for *useful purposes*. The constitution of the province of Buenos Ayres establishes "the right of the inhabitants to meet in a peaceable way that does not violate public order" (article 12), the constitutions of all the other provinces having each an identical article.

The fundamental laws of both the nation and the provinces thus assign a limit to the right of meeting and petitioning, and that limit is that they be of a peaceful nature. Article 25, chap. 5, of the Law of National Justice, says: "A meeting of citizens, no matter what their number, shall not be considered seditions, *if they are unarmed and preserve order.*" The constitutions of those nations from which ours is copied lay down that the *peaceable* exercise of both rights (petition and public meeting) is a "*sine qua non*" for their enjoyment. The first article of the addenda to the Constitution of the United States says: "Congress can pass no act restricting the right of the people to meet *peaceably* and demand justice from the government."

Therefore, no public assemblage of armed men can claim the right of meeting and petition which our laws accord.

The Argentine Constitution has not, in any of its articles, granted the right to bear arms or even keep them in the house, and although the latter is tolerated here as in other free countries, such a right is purely individual in its very nature. To bear arms in public, to drill, organize, and form an army of those so armed is exclusively an attribute of the government in all countries where an organized society exists.

Thus the national constitution only allows one army, the strength of which is annually determined by Congress, and which the President of the republic commands as commander-in-chief, on sea and land, of all the forces of the nation.

Article 108 of the constitution says that the provinces cannot establish custom-houses, coin money, arm ships of war, or raise armies; and private individuals might as well be allowed to open custom-houses or coin money as to raise armies.

In only one case does the Argentine Constitution refer to "the armed citizen" and give him the right to bear arms:—"Every citizen is bound to arm for the defense of the country, in conformity with whatever laws Congress may pass and the decrees of the national Executive."

In order to preserve liberty of suffrage, prevent coercion either by the governments or the political parties, suppress violence and have the election decided solely by reason and the ballot, the last act of the Argentine Congress at the close of the session was to pass the bill which prohibits the meeting of all armed forces, except the national army, until the new President assumes office; this law was promulgated last October. In its first article it prohibits not only the meeting but the calling out of the national guards, even for drill, and this law has been violated by those who meet publicly as armed volunteers, as, being Argentine citizens, they are national guards, and as such prohibited from arming themselves and meeting.

For the foregoing reasons, in fulfillment of the constitution and the laws referred to, to preserve the peace of the country, to prevent coercion and violence at the presidential election, and that this may be decided solely in a peaceable, patriotic, and common sense way—

The president of the republic, in full cabinet council, decrees:

ART. 1. Throughout the entire extent of the republic, meetings of armed citizens, no matter what name they assume, are hereby prohibited, as laid down in the act of Congress of 13th October, 1879.

ART. 2. The governors of provinces are hereby charged with the execution of this decree as the natural agents of the national government in enforcing the constitution and the laws of the nation. (Article 110, National Constitution.)

ART. 3. Let this be published, &c.

AVELLANEDA.

BENJAMIN ZORRILLA.
LUCAS GONZALES.
V. DE LA PLAZA.
MIGUEL GOYENA.
CÁRLOS PELLEGRINI.

No. 12.

Mr. Osborn to Mr. Evarts.

No. 269.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, February 18, 1880. (Received March 30.)

SIR: The political crisis is past, the situation has improved, civil war for the time at least has been averted, the troops are returning to their encampments, and the people to their former occupations.

Through the efforts of the "peace committee," an interview was brought about yesterday at 4 p. m. between the President and the governor of this province at the national government house.

The interview lasted one hour, and as no one was present, the result was not made public, except that the President and governor were to have another conference at 8 p. m.

At 9 p. m. the President issued the following decree as the result of the conference:

BUENOS AYRES, *February* 17, 1880.

To His Excellency the Minister of the Interior:

I have just received from his excellency, the governor of Buenos Ayres, the most perfect assurance that the law of the 13th October, 1879, will be strictly fulfilled. I have accepted this patriotic assurance from the governor of Buenos Ayres, and the national government will act in accordance with the new situation. Necessary orders will be issued for the second, third, and sixth battalions of infantry, and the second, third, and sixth regiments of cavalry of the line to suspend their march.

I learn that the interview was opened by Governor Tejedor on the interpretation of the law of October 13 ultimo, which prohibits the governors from calling out the provincial troops previous to the general election for President.

It is understood as a result of the conference, and from the movements of the troops to-day (I think it is true), that the President has

agreed to withdraw all of the national troops from the city, excepting those necessary for garrison duty; and the governor on his part is to disband the volunteer corps, but the volunteers are to retain their arms, and to organize themselves into target companies under the law. No condition was made by the President that General Roca should resign his candidature. The peace committee has commissioned General Campos adjutant-general, who left late last night for Córdoba to request him to resign. From the best information that I can obtain, Roca will not resign. If he does not, the opposition to him has not obtained the object desired by the late demonstration against the general government, except, perhaps, the governor, as intimated.

If General Roca refuses to resign, but insists upon his candidature, the peace may not be lasting. The President undoubtedly believes that all is over, as he will leave the city this 2 p. m. for his country residence, some ten miles from the city.

I have, &c.,

THOS. O. OSBORN.

No. 13.

Mr. Osborn to Mr. Evarts.

No. 270.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, February 23, 1880. (Received April 17.)

SIR: I have the honor to inclose herewith the reply of General Roca to the request of the "peace committee," to withdraw as a presidential candidate (marked A), and also a printed despatch addressed by General Roca, in reply to a letter, making the same request, of his personal friend Hector Varela, editor of a morning paper in this city, "El Porteño."

In his reply to the peace committee he claims that he is in the hands of his party and that the peace committee should address the political centers of the different provinces to free him from his candidature, but in his reply to his friend Varela he appears to believe that the governor and the province of Buenos Ayres are attempting to dominate the other provinces, and that while he feels quite sure of almost the unanimous support of the other provinces, he will not consent that tranquillity shall be purchased at the expense of honor and liberty.

Governor Tejedor's friends now refuse to accept his (Tejedor's) renunciation, and unless the peace committee shall be able to bring forward a candidate acceptable to other provinces, as well as Buenos Ayres, the late arrangement between the President and Governor Tejedor must result simply in a truce.

I have, &c.,

THOS. O. OSBORN.

[Inclosure A in No. 270.—Extract from the Buenos Ayres Herald.]

The following is General Roca's reply to a letter addressed to him through Don Felix Frias, in representation of the peace committee, begging him, "in order to prevent a scandal and a scene of blood in the streets of Buenos Ayres," to resign his candidature.

" * * * Under existing circumstances I do not belong to myself, but of a political party that is in the legitimate use of its rights, and that believes itself to be fol-

lowing the movings of the purest patriotism, and that has, besides, from Buenos Ayres to Jujuy, in every part of the republic, an executive center to which all such petitions should be addressed asking them to withdraw my candidature and replace it by another that shall have beforehand the approbation of the governor of Buenos Ayres, who is the only one to threaten the country with the horrors of civil war, and with the rending of our constitution, before accepting the dictum of the lawful arbiter in such a contest—the ballot.

"Only those centers could free me from those obligations which honor and civic virtue impose upon me, and which make me one with the party that has proclaimed my name as a candidate for the presidency of the republic. I salute the president of the peace committee.

"JULIO A. ROCA."

[Inclosure B in No. 270.—General Roca to Señor Varela.—Translation.]

MY DEAR HECTOR:—The "*tout ensemble*" of things is the better viewed from a distance. Not only is that which passes in Buenos Ayres seen, but also what is transpiring in the whole republic. What is being treated upon is not an electioneering question, but it is an effort to prove whether or not we are one of the many South American factions that are the scorn of the world.

Those who hope to quiet the raging of the monster by throwing the corpse of my candidature to it, exacting a voluntary immolation, will find themselves very much deceived, unless there be a Theseus to free the Athens of the Plata from the Minotaur that will continue purchasing for her a shameful tranquillity with the tribute of her honor, dignity, and liberties, for I am neither a virgin nor a boy.

With lasting gratitude for your noble sentiments, I thus answer your telegram of yesterday.

JULIO A. ROCA.

No. 14.

Mr. Osborn to Mr. Evarts.

No. 271.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, February 28, 1880. (Received April 17.)

SIR: I have just received a note from the minister of foreign affairs, informing me that the time for receiving articles at the Continental Exposition, as fixed in the regulations, has been extended until the 31st of July of the present year.

The commission has determined to receive no articles outside of the South American countries except machinery and objects of art.

I have had several interviews with Mr. John Samson, agent for Messrs. Root & Tinker, publishers of the American Exporter, New York, who is acting as agent for the American interests in the proposed exposition.

We have proposed, in case the samples of American products now on exhibition at Rio de Janeiro can be brought here, and this government will pass them free of duty, of which I have but little doubt, to obtain a suitable building outside of the exposition grounds in which to exhibit them. This proposition will be opposed by the directive commission, as the exposition is under the control of, and in the financial interest of, private parties.

I have, &c.,

THOS. O. OSBORN.

No. 15.

Mr. Osborn to Mr. Evarts.

No. 277.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, May 8, 1880. (Received July 3.)

SIR: The past week has been one of intense political excitement in this city, and in fact throughout the whole country.

On the 1st instant Dr. Tejedor, governor of this province, delivered his annual message to the provincial chambers, a printed copy of which I herewith inclose that you may the better understand the present political situation and the position assumed by this province and Corrientes in relation to the presidential election. As soon as the message was delivered the chamber of deputies took up and passed a bill appropriating $5,000,000, equivalent to $1,070,000 gold, to arm the whole province, and it will doubtless pass the senate.

The national Congress, in accordance with the requirements of the constitution, attempted to organize on the 1st instant, but the house of deputies failed, and has, to this date, failed to organize, for the want of a quorum.

Under the constitution, one-half of the deputies are elected every two years, and the other half hold over, and as protests are filed, by either one party or the other, against the admission of the newly elected members, from all the provinces, charging frauds and force in the election, and the "commission of powers" having the credentials in charge has not been able to agree to report in favor of the admission of the newly-elected members of a single province, hence no quorum can be obtained, and, so far as the organization of the chamber is concerned, there is a dead lock.

General Roca has left Córdoba and established his headquarters at Rosario, province of Santa Fé, with five regiments of the line. It is expected that he has sent troops further south and near the line dividing the provinces of Santa Fé and Buenos Ayres.

If this report should prove to be true, doubtless Governor Tejedor will send a force to meet them in case an invasion of this province should be attempted.

Petitions are now being circulated in the board of trade and among the business circles of this city, asking the President and governor for peace, under all circumstances, and a grand public manifestation will be made in its favor on next Monday. It is to be hoped that such influence may be brought to bear that all the disputed questions may be peacefully solved.

I have, &c.,

THOS. O. OSBORN.

[Inclosure with No. 277.—From the Standard, May 2, 1880.]

Messrs. Senators and Deputies:

For the second time I have the honor to address you on the course of the administration. It is not easy to explain what has been accomplished and what remains to be done. More than once the situation has worn a serious aspect; and the history of our country, so full of tears and sacrifices, appeared about to repeat itself. Both parties were playing with fire, and the leaders did not always exhibit that prudence and energy which, combined with patriotism, might maintain peace.

Persuaded as I am that revolution can be avoided by conciliatory means, opportunely employed, I have tried to bring the political parties together; but in spite of

my efforts there is still danger. Perhaps the simplest remedy is to abandon the factious party names of times long past. If it be within my province to give an opinion, I should advise the Liberal party, as a first step, to allow all honorable men to enter its ranks.

I was named candidate for the Presidency in opposition to the candidate of other provinces. I resigned in the interest of peace, provided my opponent did the same; but I was not listened to. Again requiring all my liberty of action, the better to defend the province, I resigned the second time, unconditionally, thereby breaking promises I ought to have considered sacred through gratitude. Such a step should have produced a similar one on the other side; but as yet there is nothing definite from it, and grave perils threaten the country.

A government confident in its own good intentions should have faithful administration; it should not be intemperate lest disorganization ensue. I have always acted on this conviction. The Union is in each one of the provinces, and each one of them is the Union; but the federal power is one restrained to certain defined functions. The provincial governments are before the constitution as independent and supreme as the national, which has occasionally forgotten this fundamental principle of our federal rights, and has even threatened us.

The province of Buenos Ayres is definitely free; camp and town are bound together, and another Rosas would be at once crushed by the people.

In other provinces it is not the same; every election is a fight or an intervention.

The national government has only a right to interfere when the republican form is changed in a province; when a foreign foe or other province invades; when sedition overthrows the authorities, and the latter ask for intervention.

The last is the case most abused, as it is difficult to decide which are "the constituted authorities." The federal government must investigate the case before meddling, or it might be led to protect fraud and violence. The federal government of the Argentine Republic would be the most baneful of governments if it blindly answered the call of governments sprung from oppression.

Only when the form of government is altered can the federal government interfere. The people are sovereign in the provinces as in the nation. When the national government distributes its troops, it has a right to do so, but the provincial governments have also a right to see that no attempt be made on their liberties.

We lately saw Buenos Ayres filled with troops, and other armies forming in the provinces, and the arms in the arsenal distributed everywhere except in Buenos Ayres. In face of this, the people, fearing something, armed themselves, quietly at first, then in battalions; and the government, having the same fears, felt bound to protect these battalions. Then the national government prohibited armed assemblages in any part of the republic. Even if it had called out the national guards, and these refused to obey, it lies with the provincial, not the national, authorities to chastise the abuse. The constitution itself orders the citizens to use arms in defense of the country, be the foe domestic or foreign.

Congress may abolish the army at a stroke, if it likes, but it has only a concurrent jurisdiction over the militia.

For the above reasons, the provincial government refused to disband the volunteers, just as the volunteers of Columbia in the United States refused to disband in 1867.

The government hopes your honorable house will approve its action and declare that the armed citizens deserve well of their country. Story says that the militia is the natural defense in insurrections, usurpation of power, foreign invasion, &c.

Another thing, the national government now exacts payment of duties on arms for the province, contrary to custom. States do not pay duties, and this province has not paid, nor will it pay them. The national government has even gone further and refused to pass some percussion caps for the national guards, and keeps silence as to its reason. This is hardly polite, but, with or without permission, the government of this province is determined to introduce whatever arms it requires.

On another occasion when this government respectfully asked that some troops at Azul might be sent to the frontier, owing to two of its officers having killed a man, "Archívese" (*let it be filed*) was the minister of war's answer.

Messrs. Senators and Deputies, I cannot conclude without calling your attention to the general state of the country in relation to this province.

Although the President declared he would not interfere in the elections, we have an official candidate supported by the troops of the nation. In the last session of Congress one of the ministers admitted the league of governors. Subsequent telegrams from the governor of Córdoba and minister of war confirmed this.

The people had, then, a right to look for something decisive from the national government to re-establish confidence, but the resignation of the minister who made these tremendous revelations was the only result. This revelation, the distribution of arms, the interferences of the army in the provinces, and the warlike preparations of all kinds, have raised alarm on every side.

Senators and Deputies, you and I know well the truth of things, but our enemies

must learn it also. The people of Buenos Ayres will not allow the presidential question to be settled by force. Some of those who have become like children in the existing difficulties speak of the capital as a solution.

You cannot improvise a metropolis, and for many years to come the President, whoever he may be, will have to govern from Buenos Ayres.

A new confederation without Buenos Ayres or Corrientes is more impossible now than at any time since Buenos Ayres was founded.

The proud are against us, but the weak and oppressed are with us. In such a strait patriotism suggests an arrangement, necessity forces it on, and the men or parties who oppose it are very culpable. But it is not in our power to order it, but all must prepare for it. We must save both our rights and the nation's unity, and, in face of the great conspiracy, Buenos Ayres alone is able to do this.

I have told you all my thoughts. I now await your decision.

C. TEJEDOR.

No. 16.

Mr. Osborn to Mr. Evarts.

No. 278.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, May 11, 1880. (Received July 3.)

SIR: To this date, the "commission of powers" is unable to agree, and the chamber of national deputies is still at a dead-lock and unable to organize.

Late in the evening of the 9th instant a dispatch was received from Rosario, General Roca's headquarters, that the general had left Rosario on the gunboat Pilcomayo, to have an interview with Governor Tejedor, his opposing presidential candidate, the next morning at the mouth of the Lujan River, about twenty miles north of this city. At 9 a. m. of the 10th, Dr. Tejedor left for the Lujan on a special train to fulfill the engagement brought about, as it appears, by other parties.

I herewith inclose perhaps the best and most correct printed report to be obtained of the interview between General Roca and Governor Tejedor, which will disclose to you the fact that absolutely nothing was accomplished by the interview except to show the disposition of the two prominent candidates.

At two o'clock the same day a procession was formed in front of the board of trade rooms, composed of 20,000 of the business men of the city, who, headed by Ex-Presidents Sarmiento and Mitré, and other prominent men, marched to the President's house and presented a petition asking for a peaceful solution of all the disputed political questions.

In reply to this petition for peace the President appeared on the balcony and addressed the assembled multitude, assuring them that under all circumstances he would use all of his constitutional power to maintain the peace of the country.

From 12 m., during the day, all the banks and business houses were closed and business suspended.

After the address of the President the hope for peace was high until later in the day, when Governor Tejedor had returned from the interview with Roca and announced that nothing had been accomplished, whereupon hope went down and gold went up.

The public manifestation of the business men will, doubtless, have a good influence on the situation, and it is quite probable that within a short time a solution will be arrived at, without any reference to the candidature of Roca or Tejedor.

I have, &c.,

THOS. O. OSBORN.

[Inclosure in No. 278.—Buenos Ayres Herald, May 11, 1880.]

Letter of General Roca to Dr. Tejedor.

Mr. GOVERNOR: I have the satisfaction of informing your excellency that I have just arrived, and, according to what has been agreed upon, I await your orders on board of the gunboat Pilcomayo. Till I see you, I am, very cordially and attentively, your humble servant,

JULIO A. ROCA.

The interview as reported in the Buenos Ayres Herald, May 11, 1880.

A few moments later Dr. Tejedor arrived alongside of the Pilcomayo, being received at the gangway by General Roca. The meeting was cordial; they descended to the cabin, and the interview began by Dr. Tejedor's expressing himself in these terms: "I must recall events, general, declaring to you that this interview has not been solicited by me."

"In my turn, doctor," answered General Roca, "I must ask you to bear in mind that when Dr. Pellegrini advised me of this meeting, and asked me if I would have any objection to speak to you, I told him that, on the condition it were understood that you were the originator of the idea, I had no objection."

Dr. TEJEDOR. "I must speak frankly, general, and tell you this is a *fraud*. I have not asked for any such conference; I have *nothing* to say to you."

"I am in the same circumstances," answered the general, "and I have not anything to say to you."

Here the official conference ended.

A moment's pause followed, and after looking at each other for a moment, Dr. Tejedor said: "As we are both here now, I think we might do something to prevent civil war."

General ROCA. "With great pleasure, doctor; and what suggests itself to you as a means to that desirable end? That we should both resign our candidatures and leave the people and the parties to elect whom they will? But that will not answer, doctor, for my part; I have neither my friends nor my party tied up. I am rather dependent myself, seeing they have intrusted me with their political interests, their tendencies, and their aspirations, and I cannot cast these things aside like the unworthy manager of a commercial house might do."

Dr. TEJEDOR. "But remember, general, that the population of Buenos Ayres and that of Corrientes, the two provinces that oppose your candidature, represent half of the population of the republic. This is what you ought to bear in mind on adopting a revolution."

General ROCA. "But you forget, Dr. Tejedor, that the statistical data you point out is not a sufficiently strong argument against the express provisions of the constitution. Buenos Ayres and Corrientes represent only 70 electors, and our constitution requires 115 in order to be elected President of the republic."

Dr. TEJEDOR. "But your government is impossible in Buenos Ayres, whereas my popularity is well known. I have a large party under my orders."

General ROCA. "I do not deny your popularity, and I know how to account for it, but that weighs nothing against what I have pointed out."

Dr. TEJEDOR. "And how will you enter Buenos Ayres to take possession of the presidency?"

"I suppose you sufficiently amiable," answered the general, "not to oppose me in the performance of so high a duty."

Dr. TEJEDOR. "No; I will not oppose you, but the conciliated party are determined to oppose you. If they need arms they will get them under the very nose of the national Executive. I respect the President of the republic because he represents the national sovereignty, but this will not prevent me from doing what I consider my duty. The person of President Avellaneda does not inspire me with the same feelings. I answer for the life of the President, but it would not be strange if he were maltreated. Be convinced, General Roca, you have great opposition in Buenos Ayres. How are you going to govern?"

General ROCA. "We shall see, Dr. Tejedor. Having right and justice on my side, it is not difficult to foresee that a great people like that of Buenos Ayres will respect the decision of the nation."

At this point of the conference Dr. Tejedor said, petulantly, "They speak of Sarmiento."

"Do you propose him to me?" asked the general.

Dr. TEJEDOR. "No; they are official voices that proceed from the government house."

The general shrugged his shoulders, and Dr. Tejedor continued: "You spoke last time about Sarmiento."

General ROCA. "I do not go back upon what I said to Dr. Del Valle, in the belief that if we relinquished our candidatures another one might appear."

Dr. TEJEDOR. "And do you see no other solution to all this?"

General ROCA. "No, sir. After this, I see no other way but abiding by the constitution and respecting the result of the elections."

Dr. TEJEDOR. "Could not some man of no significance—*some fool*—be nominated?"

"No, sir," answered General Roca; "the fate of the republic cannot be intrusted to *a fool*. Have you nobody else to propose?"

"Nobody," answered Dr. Tejedor hurriedly; "I would not meddle with that."

After saying this, Dr. Tejedor stood up, saying: "I think we have nothing useful to say to each other. We shall not meet again."

No. 17.

Mr. Osborn to Mr. Evarts.

No. 283.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, June 4, 1880. (Received July 8.)

SIR: The political situation is extremely critical * *. The President, on the night of the 2d instant, about ten o'clock, left the "Red House" and the city, and went with the national troops stationed here to a station called the "Chacarita," about six miles outside of the city, where he now has his headquarters with the troops. His ministers of government were not advised of the withdrawal of the President from the capital until the next morning, when they followed him.

Last night, the 3d instant, a majority, perhaps, of the senators and deputies of Congress withdrew, and embarked on board of an Argentine gunboat now anchored in this port, to await the orders of the President.

This movement by the national authorities was caused by the landing, without passing the custom-house, of some 8,000 Remington rifles and several batteries of Krupp steel guns to arm this province. The national government had decreed that this provincial government should not import arms without paying duties. To this the provincial authorities demurred and declared they would import arms and would pay no duties. On the night of June 1, the national authorities learned that a vessel with a cargo of arms for the provincial government was on the way up from Montevideo, and the attempt would be made to land them at the "Boca," the mouth of a small stream at the southern portion of the city; soon a regiment of national troops passed through the city on the double quick for the "Boca," to capture the arms, and soon after a regiment of provincial troops followed to protect them.

Both regiments took up positions near each other, and waited till daylight, when both regiments started back for their quarters, with the regiment of the line in the advance. The provincial troops had not advanced more than a half mile from the "Boca" when the vessel with the cargo of arms was espied coming into the "Boca," chased by a national gunboat. The provincial regiment returned; the vessel gained the landing, the guns were landed, and taken to the provincial government house.

As soon as the legislature met, the govenor sent a message to that body giving a history of the transaction, which the legislature approved. The President at the same time sent a message to Congress asking permission to put this province under martial law, and mobilize the national guards of all the provinces; but the members finding at the doors of Congress provincial troops stationed by Governor Tejedor, the mem-

bers from the other provinces refused to enter, and no quorum could be obtained.

The President then withdrew his message and thereupon adopted the policy of withdrawing from the city.

* * * * * * *

A letter addressed to the people by the President has this moment appeared, with a decree declaring Belgrano to be the headquarters of the national authorities. In his address to the people he declares Governor Tejedor a rebel, and that he, the President, will not return to the city until the armed insurrection against the authority of the nation disappears. Belgrano is about five miles from the city. The national troops from the different frontiers have been ordered to Belgrano.

Dr. Gonzalez, minister of foreign affairs, has tendered his resignation, the President's house has been abandoned, and it is probable that the provincial authorities will take possession of it to-morrow.

I have, &c.,

THOS. O. OSBORN.

No. 18.

Mr. Osborn to Mr. Evarts.

No. 284.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, June 14, 1880. (Received July 15.)

SIR: Public affairs here are in a state of the utmost confusion. The President and a part of his cabinet are at Belgrano with about 7,000 troops. The capitol house, post-office, and custom-house, have been abandoned by the national authorities, and possession of them has been taken by the provincial authorities.

The port has been closed by proclamation of the President; vessels are permitted to come into port and anchor, but are not permitted to discharge or load.

The President has a majority of the senate with him at Belgrano, but the Vice-President refuses to go there to preside over it. The supreme court of the nation refuses to leave this city, and in reply to the proclamation of the President removing the seat of government to Belgrano, decides that the President has no authority to remove the seat of government by a simple decree, and that his proceedings are unconstitutional. This decision has not been made public, and I understand that the court is divided in opinion.

On account of the refusal of the speaker of the chamber of deputies and a few of the Roca members to leave the city, the President has not been able to obtain a quorum of the chambers at Belgrano.

The Tejedor wing of the chamber of deputies meets every day at the chambers in this city, but as it cannot obtain a quorum it transacts no business.

The governor prevented the removal of the records of Congress and furniture to Belgrano.

The governor has declared this city in a state of siege. All communication by telegraph and rail with the outside has been cut off. The national troops have destroyed the railroad tracks running out of the city, and the telegraph lines. The provincial troops are making intrenchments about the city and barricading the streets.

On the 9th instant, after a conference of Ex-President Sarmiento and others with the President, a commission composed of one of the justices of the supreme court, one cabinet minister, and a member of the commercial board, was appointed, and left for Rosario, to have a conference with General Roca and to make a final effort to bring about some arrangement to preserve the peace and to prevent civil war and bloodshed. As no communication by telegraph with Rosario is possible, a steamer, on the 11th instant, brought us the first and most hopeful news; but since then, although the commissioners have not returned, a steamer arrived here on the 12th, bringing the report that in all probability no arrangement will be accomplished.

On the 12th, the electors in all the provinces save this voted for President and Vice-President. The report is that the vote was cast for Roca as President, and Madero, a citizen of this province, as Vice-President.

* * * * * * *

The reports from the upper provinces are that revolution and anarchy exist in almost all of them.

As yet there has been no fighting between the national forces and the forces of this province, although the governor has about 6,000 under arms, and the picket lines are not more than one mile apart.

On the 10th instant, I telegraphed Admiral Bryson, commanding our squadron, at Montevideo, that a state of revolution existed, and that the presence of his vessels in this port may become necessary any hour. The admiral arrived in this port on the 12th instant, and is with me now. We have had an interview with the President and his ministers to-day at Belgrano; arrangements were made by the admiral to salute the Argentine flag on the 16th instant at 12 m., and the salute to be returned, gun for gun.

I have, &c.,

THOS. O. OSBORN.

No. 19.

Mr. Osborn to Mr. Evarts.

No. 286.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, June 19, 1880. (Received July 31.)

SIR: Actual war began on the 17th instant with an engagement of the provincial forces of Buenos Ayres, under the command of General Arias, and a body of about 4,000 of the national troops under General Racedo, near Merlon, about 20 miles west of the city.

The governor had sent Arias to Mercédes, a town on the Western Railroad, about 60 miles from this city, and of much importance, to gather, at this point, all the forces possible and, to march for Buenos Ayres. Arias had gathered about 10,000, partly armed, and was on the march for Buenos Ayres, when he was attacked by a column of about 4,000 troops from the province of Santa Fé. Arias lost about 100 killed and wounded, and probably 1,000 prisoners.

It is impossible to get at the exact facts at this time, but it is undoubtedly true that Arias has opened communication with the city.

On the day of the battle I was with the secretary of war, who has his headquarters with the troops at the Chacarita, west of the city, and

I learned from him that it was the intention of the national authorities not to bombard the city if Arias should be defeated, but to inclose and reduce it to submission. I have given notice to our citizens and they are making all provisions possible to stand a siege.

The governor has declared this a free port for all necessary articles of consumption.

As the post-office is closed and we have no regular mail service, I have made arrangements to send my mail, as long as possible, to the French mail steamers.

I have, &c.,

THOS. O. OSBORN.

No. 20.

Mr. Osborn to Mr. Evarts.

No. 287.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, June 22, 1880. (Received July 31.)

SIR: A bloody battle took place yesterday a few miles southwest of the city, in which it appears the national forces were victorious, as the provincial forces fell back upon the city and caused a great panic among the inhabitants.

General Arias, after his battle with General Racedo, on the 17th instant, fell back within three miles of the city, when he was re-enforced by the provincial troops of the city.

On Sunday, the 20th instant, a body of national troops attacked the south part of the city and a very sharp engagement took place, in which some 20 on the part of the provincial troops were killed and wounded. This engagement was the result of mistaken orders.

General Levalle, with the force from the southern frontier, arrived. Supposing the city surrounded by the national forces, he advanced in this direction on the city. Having surprised the city forces, as well as finding himself surprised, he fell back and joined the national forces sent to meet him at Lanús. On Monday, with the additional force, he attacked General Arias, and, after fighting the whole day, drove him back into and surrounded the city.

The losses, as reported, on both sides amounted, in killed and wounded, to about 1,000. The general feeling is, even in the city, that the provincial forces have been worsted, and that the national forces have the advantage and are probably the masters of the situation and, in all probability, will soon force a peace, as the city cannot stand a siege for any great length of time.

I have, &c.,

THOS. O. OSBORN.

No. 21.

Mr. Osborn to Mr. Evarts.

No. 288.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, July 6, 1880. (Received August 5.)

SIR: I have just sent you a telegram saying, "Peace. General government supreme."

* * * * * * *

And, more in detail, I have now the honor to inform you that hostili-

ties between the national government and the provincial authorities of Buenos Ayres have absolutely ceased. Governor Tejedor has resigned as governor, and the legislature has accepted his resignation. The lieutenant-governor is acting governor, and accepts the situation. This port was opened this morning. The provincial troops are being disarmed, the barricade removed, and the streets repaired.

On the 22d of June, after it was found that the battle of the 21st, referred to in my No. 287, was much more decisive than at first supposed, that the provincial forces had been badly defeated and driven into the city, and that the city had been absolutely inclosed by the national forces, a committee called on me and presented a petition, signed by a large portion of the commercial community, asking me to mediate between the contending parties in behalf of the lives and property of the citizens of all nationalities.

After giving the petition due consideration, and knowing that while it would not be offensive to the national government it might afford the provincial authorities a way out of their desperate situation, I addressed a note, a copy of which I have the honor to inclose herewith, marked A, to the minister of foreign affairs, and at the same time I addressed the same note unofficially to the government of the province, tendering my good offices, copies of the reply of the minister and governor to which I have the honor to inclose herewith, marked B and C.

After the battle of the 21st, General Mitré was appointed by Governor Tejedor commander-in-chief for the defense of Buenos Ayres. On the 24th, Mitré proceeded to Belgrano with a letter from Tejedor to the president, offering to surrender, and asking for terms. The president refused to see General Mitré, but his minister of interior received him and replied that the national authorities demanded that Governor Tejedor should resign as governor; that the provincial forces should be disarmed and the arms deposited in the national arsenal, and absolute submission on the part of the provincial authorities to the general government under the constitution, and all questions relating to the presidential election to be submitted to Congress.

These terms were finally accepted and are now being carried out.

I have, &c.,

THOS. O. OSBORN.

[Inclosure A with No. 288.]

Mr. Osborn to Don B. Zorrilla.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, June 22, 1880.

SIR: The undersigned, minister of the United States, has the honor of addressing your excellency, with no spirit to interfere with the domestic affairs of the country, but with the object simply of tendering his good offices in the present conflict between the provincial authorities of Buenos Ayres and the national government. In so doing he is prompted not only by the sentiments of humanity inherent in all, quickened not only by the blood already spilt, by the traditions of his country's policy, and by a conviction that a further sacrifice of life and property may be avoided by an arrangement honorable to both parties, but also by a direct appeal in writing to him by a large and an influential part of the commercial community of all nationalities.

Your excellency is earnestly desired to give such attention to these communications as its object, in your estimation, warrants. Its prompt consideration may probably avert further bloodshed—bloodshed of Argentine citizens by Argentine citizens—and re-establish the harmony of the powers of the nation on a constitutional basis.

At such a moment as your excellency may consider proper and designate, and with the consent of both conflicting parties, to whom the present note is simultaneously

proffered, he shall have the greatest satisfaction in making effective this offer of friendly mediation.

The undersigned has the honor to remain, &c., &c., &c.,

THOS. O. OSBORN.

His Excellency Dr. DON B. ZORRILLA,
Minister of the Interior and Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[Inclosure B.]

Señor Zorrilla to Mr. Osborn.

[Translation.]

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,
Belgrano, June 26, 1880.

MR. MINISTER: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your excellency's note under date of 22d instant, by which you are kind enough to tender your good offices in the present conflict between the government of the nation and the authorities of this province.

It is very agreeable to me to communicate to your excellency that the national government, giving due weight to the kindly sentiments of your excellency, will always bear in mind your agreeable offers, and will accept, whenever opportunity offers, your friendly mediation.

At the same time that I thank your excellency in the name of the President of the republic for your spontaneous offer and the interest you manifest in behalf of the peace of these countries, I have the satisfaction of reiterating to you the expressions of my extreme and distinguished consideration.

B. ZORRILLA.

His Excellency General THOS. O. OSBORN,
Minister of the United States.

[Inclosure C.]

Governor Tejedor to Mr. Osborn.

[Translation.]

GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCE,
June 23, 1880—8 a. m.

MR. MINISTER: I believe with you that further bloodshed can be avoided by an honorable arrangement. Therefore, I accept, on my part, the friendly mediation to which you refer in your note of yesterday—22d.

Late yesterday Mr. Mattera, senior member of the diplomatic corps, accompanied by the minister of the German Empire, approached me with the same intent, and I replied to them in identical terms. They even went further. They proposed a suspension of hostilities and the nomination of commissioners, one on each part, with the character of arbiters, which I also accepted.

Whatever the result may be, I shall always thank you for the sentiments which have impelled you to address me the note under reference, and I subscribe myself, with every consideration,

Your excellency's, &c.,

CÁRLOS TEJEDOR.

No. 22.

Mr. Hay to Mr. Osborn.

No. 131.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 14, 1880.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 288, in which you communicate details of the cessation of hostilities between the government of the Argentine Republic and the province of Buenos Ayres.

In reply, I have to request that you will express to the Argentine minister of foreign affairs the extreme gratification of the Government of the United States at the receipt of this intelligence. It had not been doubted by this government that the administration and the people of the republic and the authorities of the province would shortly reach the termination of those misunderstandings which had brought about a situation of affairs in the territories of the republic so much to be deprecated, not only by its own citizens, but by the people of all other countries interested in the prosperity of the Argentine Government.

From this result of the internal dissensions which have threatened the stability of our sister republic, the President is glad to conclude that the principle of national life, as opposed to the spirit of disintegration, will continue to animate its people; and he desires that you will convey his sincere congratulations upon the fortunate issue of the late contentions to the President of the Argentine Republic, through the proper channel.

I am, &c.,

JOHN HAY,
Acting Secretary.

No. 23.

Mr. Baker to Mr. Hunter.

No. 381.] CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, July 15, 1880. (Received August 28.)

SIR: Since my dispatch No. 378, of the date of the 6th instant, announcing the end of the rebellion, there has been a steady progress towards the establishment of a better public feeling. The national government, however, seems determined to accept no half-way surrender, but to fix the settlement upon a basis which will prevent future complications on the part of the province of Buenos Ayres. To this end martial law (*estado de sitio*) throughout the province has been declared until the 30th of October, a period subsequent to that on which the President-elect is to be inaugurated.

The new governor of the province appears to be laboring in good faith in the interests of conciliation, and his movements are in accord with the views of the national government. But much surprise has been expressed by the public press of this city on discovering that, after all, no conditions were conceded to the revolutionists upon laying down their arms, except that they would not be prosecuted in the criminal courts or by court-martial for their treason. The names of all officers, however, in the civil or military service, who took part in the rebellion, have by the President's decree been dropped from the rolls. The present political situation can be better judged from the message of the President to the national senate in response to its interpellation, a copy of which I inclose as it appears translated in the Buenos Ayres Standard.

The great stumbling-block in the way of a return to a normal condition of affairs is the anomalous attitude of the national Congress. Upon the commencement of hostilities, in response to the decree of the President, the senate and a *minority* of the chambers (the majority acting in the interests of the rebellion) retired to Belgrano to hold their

sessions. The majority continued to meet in this city. Thereupon the minority voted that all such members were aiding and abetting the resistance to the general government, and, declaring that by their action they had abandoned their seats, they have now proceeded to call new elections to fill the vacancies. Against this the majority have issued a public protest, and propose, as I understand, to test the matter in the courts. But as each house is judge of the elections of its own members, I presume they can make no case there. Until, however, there shall be a quorum in the chambers, the Congress is powerless to accomplish any legislation which the political situation requires. Among other pending schemes, is one to permanently remove the national capital from Buenos Ayres or to federalize that city, *i. e.*, place it under the exclusive control of the general government as Washington City is. This move has created considerable public feeling among the people of Buenos Ayres.

As a consequence of the disturbed condition of the country, there is yet no revival of business, and probably there will be none until there is greater confidence in the peace settlement. There is no doubt, however, that the national government is master of the situation.

I have, &c.,

E. L. BAKER, *Consul.*

[Inclosure 1 in No. 381.]

From the Buenos Ayres Standard.

THE INTERPELLATION.

The following questions were last week put to the national Executive, and the answers to these questions we now give—a most important state paper:

1. What are the bases of the arrangement for the surrender of Buenos Ayres, and whether the Executive considers them satisfactory to the dignity and laws of the nation?

2. If the ignoring of the act of the chamber of deputies, declaring the absent members unseated, is part of the arrangement; and if this resolve has been communicated to the governors of provinces, in order to fill up the national representation in Congress?

3. If it is part of the arrangement that the rebellious authorities of the province of Buenos Ayres remain in power, and in what light the Executive regards that legislature and its present composition?

4. What steps have been taken for the judicial suppression of the crime of rebellion?

5. Why have the prisoners captured been released, and is it intended to let them go unpunished?

6. What is the position of the superior officers who have fired on the national flag, and ave they been arraigned before a court-martial?

7. If the rebels will hand over their arms to the national government, and whether the disarming of the army is a part of the arrangement?

8. What guarantee has the Executive for the preservation of peace in the future, so that war may not break out again, and necessitate fresh sacrifices?

9. How long does the Executive intend to remain in Belgrano with the national authorities?

10. Should the national authorities return to Buenos Ayres, what security will they have, what jurisdiction will they exercise there, and what will be the bases of the relations between the national and provincial authorities, until a definite law, establishing the capital of the republic, be passed?

ANSWER OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

BELGRANO, *July* 10, 1880.

To the honorable Senate of the Nation:

The Executive hastens to answer the questions put, awaiting further opportunities to dwell further on them.

Answer to the first question. There is nothing reserved. No other notes have been

exchanged except that of the new governor, and the short one of the minister of the interior. The submission to the government is absolute and complete within the limits of the constitution.

The attributes of the President of the republic have been entirely recognized, subject to no private or public arrangement.

The President of the republic has announced, through the minister of the interior, that he will not arouse any political or military trials, in order to stop animosities and secure peace. When making these declarations, the President used a faculty conferred on him by the constitution, exclusive of the privileges he enjoys as commander-in-chief of the war operations, and of the circumstances tending to their termination.

It is inopportune here to answer the seventh question.

The commanders and officers who did not obey the summons of the government, and those who served in the rebellion, have been struck off the army roll.

The same happens to the employés of the government who have lost their positions through a deliberate and spontaneous decision of their own. Strictly speaking, no dismissals have been made. When the government officers were removed to Belgrano, all the employés were summoned to occupy their respective posts. Each chief of department personally notified them of this resolution. A subsequent decree accorded to them a further term to present themselves, after the expiration of which they were considered to have abandoned their posts.

As regards the second question, the answer is simple. Whatever concerns the internal arrangement of Congress is not within the jurisdiction of the Executive; therefore nothing could be decided upon in this matter.

The third question finds its answer in the recent events. The Executive has recognized as governer of the province of Buenos Ayres the president of the senate, which signifies the recognition of this body and of the legislature.

The fourth question is already answered; the fifth and sixth ditto. The President of the republic has liberated the prisoners, according to his faculties as commander-in-chief of the armies of the republic. This has been done without conditions, and not conditioned on the disarming of the rebel forces, taking on himself all the responsibility of the act.

The eighth and ninth questions are quickly answered.

The arms of the rebel forces shall be deposited in the arsenal of the nation, comprising, naturally, those which were violently landed on the 2d of June ultimo.

The joint disarmament of the national army could not be stipulated, as its formation and numbers depend on the laws of Congress.

As regards the national guard mobilized, it will remain in arms as long as deemed necessary by the Executive, or until a law of Congress dissolves it.

In reference to the tenth question, the executive power declares emphatically that there is no truce, but peace. The republic has not been convulsed to its very confines, nor has the noble blood of its sons flowed in vain; it has been spilt to guarantee its prosperity and existence from future commotions. It would be a crime to render these great efforts barren of the essential condition of our existence—peace for the province of Buenos Ayres and for all.

The Executive trusts to the honor and patriotism of the governor of Buenos Ayres, and thinks that he will soon give a definite policy to his government, basing it on pacific and sound elements, and especially in the sentiment of peace, which is the aspiration of all and a supreme necessity.

Up to the present the internal situation of the province has changed but slightly, and the public peace remains in the same hands which opposed the government of the nation.

The Executive wishes the province of Buenos Ayres to return to its former normal condition, and will make every effort towards this result, hoping that prudent and peaceful measures will open the road to facilitate action.

The eleventh question refers to a determination which entirely depends upon the turn of events. It is difficult to fix the day of the return of the government to Buenos Ayres, since up to this moment no communication has been received as to the disarming of the forces. The trenches are not even yet leveled.

The twelfth occasion depends on the deliberation of Congress.

The Executive might have refused to answer several of the questions put to it, but it prefers that on this occasion its conduct may be known by all.

God preserve your honors.

N. AVELLANEDA.
B. ZORRILLA.

No. 24.

Mr. Osborn to Mr. Evarts.

No. 296.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, September 6, 1880. (Received October 30.)

SIR: The national interventor, General Bustillos, having taken possession of the provincial chambers, while the legislature was taking a recess, with an armed force, by orders of the President, and prohibited the legislature from assembling again, on the 1st instant, Governor Moreno and his ministers, with the municipal authorities of the city and the chief of police, resigned their offices. Governor Moreno issued an address to the people of the province—a printed copy of which I inclose herewith—giving his reasons why he and his ministers can no longer retain their offices.

It is said the President will also issue an address denying many of the statements in the address of the governor, and at the same time will set forth that since the close of the rebellion the provincial legislature has been guilty of acts both treasonable and revolutionary. The national interventor has summoned the people of the province to elect a new legislature on the 26th instant. The complexion of the new legislature will undoubtedly be in conformity with the desire of the national government, as the opposition will very probably refuse to vote.

At any other time the sweeping changes of the provincial authorities would probably have led to serious consequences, but as a result of the suppression of the late rebellion, the people accept the situation with becoming silence and resignation. Gold in the market has fallen, Argentine stocks have advanced, and business men look forward to the administration of President Roca with confidence.

I have, &c.,

THOS. O. OSBORN.

[Inclosure with No. 296.—From the Standard, February 2, 1880.]

ADDRESS OF THE EXECUTIVE TO THE PEOPLE OF BUENOS AYRES.

When the vice-governor assumed power on July 1, circumstances clearly traced his line of action. After the bloody events of June, negotiations for peace, the details of which the people already know, were opened with the President of the republic, who, as constitutional commander-in-chief, commanded the army operating against Buenos Ayres.

The reciprocal obligations contracted in those negotiations included the submission and obedience of the province to the national government, the city forces to be disbanded, and their arms to be deposited in the arsenal, the President, on his part, recognizing the existing public powers of the province, and refraining from any civil or military prosecutions, without prejudice, however, to his administrative and military faculties.

The details of the due execution of the foregoing bases were arranged privately, as the people already know.

The government at once adopted every means to loyally carry out the obligations entered into, and to insure complete pacification. The vice-governor officially announced the submission of the province to the national authorities, and this was fully accepted by the President of the republic in documents already published. All measures necessary for disbanding and disarming the city forces were subsequently taken, and the details set forth in a note to the national government, stating that each and every one of the obligations entered into by the province had been duly fulfilled, according to the bases agreed on with the President of the republic.

(Here follows the governor's note to Minister Zorrilla, the contents of which are already known.)

To this hour no answer has been received to this note. On the contrary, a national commissioner has ruled in the camp districts, since the 18th June, whose chief duty was to protect life and property while the governor of Buenos Ayres was in armed resistance and the war lasted, and whose authority should have ceased when the circumstances to which it was due had disappeared.

The Government of Buenos Ayres has made every effort, privately and officially, to induce the national government to fulfill its obligations, but every day there was some delay, while the public authorities of the province were curtailed in their attributes, and at last the legislature was dissolved by an act of congress, declaring it in rebellion, although since peace was made it had done no legislative act to warrant such a declaration, and without congress having any legal or constitutional right to make it.

Buenos Ayres has laid down its arms, disbanded its forces, submitted to the national government, and resumed the regime of peace, relying on arrangements which, although wanting the formality of a treaty between political entities, were not the less solemn and binding on Argentine honor and the good faith of the nation.

The president has twice corroborated this, first in congress, when he said that in recognizing the vice-governor he recognized the legislature; and, again, when he declared that, as commander-in-chief, he had accepted the submission of the Buenos Ayres revolutionists, while leaving the public authorities of the province intact. This included the legislature and condoned its previous acts.

These declarations, which are in exact conformity with the agreement made, show that the act of congress maintaining the intervention and dissolving the chambers is in direct opposition to them, disclosing quite a different system of pacification, tending to a dissolution and reconstruction of the public bodies of the province.

To this end a special commissioner has summoned the people to elect a new legislature, ignoring the provincial executive and riding rough-shod over article 105 of the constitution, which allows the provinces to elect their own governors, legislators, &c., without any interference by the federal government. In this way the basis on which the government that succeeded Governor Tejedor's was to restore order and its regular institutions to the province has disappeared; and the dignity of the province, with which is linked the dignity of its government, imperiously demands that the latter should abandon a post which they can only consent to retain on the conditions stipulated with the national government.

The legislature has been dissolved by national troops, without any intimation to either chamber; and, as no public body now exists in whose hands the members of the executive can place their resignation, and it being impossible for them to fulfill their constitutional duties, we hereby declare before the people of Buenos Ayres that we leave our posts with the consciousness of having done our duty in the present critical times, with regret at not being able to accomplish the task set us by public opinion and necessity, and with the hope that more elevated ideas of justice and political honesty may soon produce happier days for the province and for the country.

JOSÉ M. MORENO.
F. ALCOBENDAS.
F. L. BALBIN.

BUENOS AYRES, *September* 1, 1880.

No. 25.

Mr. Osborn to Mr. Evarts.

No. 300.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, September 22, 1880. (Received October 30.)

SIR: On the 17th instant, Col. W. P. Tisdel, the agent of Mr. Roach's line of American steamers from New York to Rio de Janeiro, arrived in this city, for the purpose of examining into and reporting upon the feasibility of extending the line of steamers to this city. After the colonel had had conferences with our merchants, I had the pleasure of presenting him to the minister of the interior, and Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs B. Zorrilla, on the afternoon of the 20th instant, and in the evening to the President and the other ministers, at the President's private residence and at the President's request.

In the interview at the executive mansion, the President said that under the administration of President Sarmiento the Argentine Congress had voted a standing subsidy of $20,000 a year to any company that would place a line of steam vessels from Buenos Ayres to any port of the United States, and that during his administration, on the 19th of June, 1878, after an interview with me on the subject (see my dispatch No. 193), he sent a message to congress asking for $25,000 as a subsidy for such a line, and that congress did not hesitate a moment to vote it. The President further stated that not only he and the authorities, but the people of the Argentine Republic, felt the liveliest interest in the project to draw closer the commercial and social ties between the two countries through the medium of steam communications, and that if Colonel Tisdel—although his administration would go out of power in a few days—would present a petition, he would send it to congress at once, with a message asking that the subsidy be increased, and that if congress could reach it before the close of its session, it would undoubtedly be passed.

The present administration closes the 12th of next month, when General Roca will be peacefully inaugurated the next President. He probably understands the wants of this country and is as progressive in his views as, if not more so than, any President this Republic ever had.

In view of these facts, Colonel Tisdel will postpone the presentation of his petition until the next administration is under way.

In this view of the matter, I am in full accord with him. From our merchants and shippers in the River Plate, Colonel Tisdel has received good and strong encouragements in favor of extending the line to this port. The extension of Mr. Roach's line to this city will doubtless meet with strong opposition. Lamport & Holt now dispatch, and have for the past year, two steam vessels per month with cargo direct for New York, but the steamers so dispatched return by way of England; hence our products which would and should find a direct route to the River Plate are shipped to England and reshipped to this market as English products.

It is a notorious fact here that American hams, cheeses, and many other articles of American products find their way to this market as English products, simply for the want of steam communication between this port and New York, or some other port in the United States.

It is believed here that if Mr. Roach will extend his line to this point, and it can live for one year, it will be a success.

I have, &c.,

THOS. O. OSBORN.

No. 26.

Mr. Osborn to Mr. Evarts.

No. 301.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, September 24, 1880. (Received October 30.)

SIR: On the 21st instant the national chamber of deputies, after a discussion of several weeks, passed a bill declaring Buenos Ayres the permanent capital of the Argentine Republic, subject to its previous cession for that purpose by the provincial legislature, to be elected the 26th instant.

A bill known as the convention bill, which provides that in case the new provincial legislature should refuse to cede the city, a national convention shall meet in February next at the city of Santa Fé to change article 3 of the constitution, so as to make the settling of the capital at Buenos Ayres without the consent of the provisional legislature legal was also adopted. Both bills had previously passed the senate.

The election of deputies to Congress for the province of Buenos Ayres, to replace those who were unseated during the late rebellion, took place on Sunday, the 19th instant, without any disturbance whatever. The deputies elected are some of the most distinguished and prominent men of the province, and in full accord with the incoming administration.

Congress returned from Belgrano to this city on the 22d instant. The President, his ministers, and Congress all have returned to their old quarters occupied before the rebellion.

I have, &c.,

THOS. O. OSBORN.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

No. 27.

Mr. Evarts to Mr. Kasson.

No. 138.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 28, 1879.

SIR: Your dispatch No. 256 of the 31st ultimo, inclosing the reply of His Highness the Prince of Roumania to the letter which the President addressed to him on the 15th of August, 1878, has been received. In connection with the subject of Roumanian recognition, I inclose for your consideration a copy of a letter under date of the 30th ultimo, from Mr. Myer S. Isaacs, president, and other officers of the board of delegates on civil and religious rights of the Hebrews, asking that the government of the United States may exert its influence towards securing for the Hebrew subjects and residents in Roumania the equality of civil and religious rights stipulated in Article XLIV of the treaty of Berlin.

As you aware, this government has ever felt a deep interest in the welfare of the Hebrew race in foreign countries, and has viewed with abhorrence the wrongs to which they have, at various periods, been subjected by the followers of other creeds in the East. This Department is therefore disposed to give favorable consideration to the appeal made by the representatives of a prominent Hebrew organization in this country in behalf of their brethren in Roumania, and while I should not be warranted in making a compliance with their wishes a *sine qua non* in the establishment of official relations with that country, yet any terms favorable to the interest of this much-injured people which you may be able to secure in the negotiations now pending with the Government of Roumania would be agreeable and gratifying to this Department.

I am, &c.,

WM. M. EVARTS.