

nitive expeditionary forces have destroyed or dispersed many of the lawless elements and bandits . . . or have driven them far into the interior of the republic of Mexico,' and further, that the United States forces were then 'carrying on a vigorous pursuit of such small numbers of bandits or lawless elements as may have escaped.'

"The context of your note gives the impression that, the object of the expedition being admittedly accomplished, the United States had agreed in the memorandum to begin the withdrawal of its troops. The memorandum shows, however, that it was not alone on account of partial dispersion of the bandits that it was decided to begin the withdrawal of American forces, but equally on account of the assurances of the Mexican government that their forces were at the present time being augmented and strengthened to such an extent that they will be able to prevent any disorders occurring in Mexico that would in any way endanger American territory, and that they would 'continue to diligently pursue, capture or destroy any lawless bands of bandits that may still exist or hereafter exist in the northern part of Mexico' and that it would 'make a proper distribution of such of its forces as may be necessary to prevent the possibility of invasion of American territory from Mexico.'

#### DID NOT KEEP PROMISES

"It was because of these assurances and because of General Scott's confidence that they would be carried out, that he stated in the memorandum that the American forces would be 'gradually withdrawn.' It is to be noted that while the American government was willing to ratify this agreement, General Carranza refused to do so, as General Obregon stated, because, among other things, it imposed improper conditions upon the Mexican government.

"Notwithstanding the assurances in the memorandum, it is well known that the forces of the de facto government have not carried on a vigorous pursuit of the remaining bandits and that no proper distribution of forces to prevent the invasion of American territory has been made, as will be shown by the further facts hereinafter set forth. I am reluctant to be forced to the conclusion which might be drawn from these circumstances that the de facto government, in spite of the crimes committed and the sinister designs of Villa and his followers, did not and does not now intend or desire that these outlaws should be captured, destroyed or dispersed by American troops or at the request of his government, by Mexican troops.

"While the conferences at El Paso were in progress and after the American conferees had been assured on May 2 that the Mexican forces in the northern part of the republic were then being augmented so as to be able to prevent any disorders that would endanger American territory, a band of Mexicans, on the night of May 5, made an attack at Glenn Springs, Tex., twenty miles north of the border, killing American soldiers and civilians, burning and sacking property and carrying off two Americans as prisoners. Subsequent to this event, the Mexican government, as you state, 'gave instructions to General Obregon to notify the United States that it would not permit the further passage of American troops into Mexico on this account, and that orders had been given to all military commanders along the frontier not to consent to same.'

"This government is, of course, not in a position to dispute the statement that these instructions had been given to Obregon, but it can decisively assert that General Obregon never gave any such information to General Scott or General Funston, or so far as known to any other American official. General Obregon did, however, inquire as to whether American troops had entered Mexico in pursuit of the Glenn Springs raiders, and General Funston stated that no orders had been issued to American troops to cross the frontier on account of the raid, but this statement was made before any such orders had been issued and not afterward, as the erroneous account of the interview given in your note would appear to indicate. Moreover, no statement was made by the American generals that 'no more American troops would cross into our territory.' On the contrary it was pointed out to General Obregon and to Mr. Juan Amador, who was present at the conference, and pointed out with emphasis that the bandits of De la Rosa and Pedro Vino, who had been instrumental in causing the invasion of Texas above Brownsville, were even then reported to be arranging in the neighborhood of Victoria for another raid across the border, and it was made clear to

General Obregon that if the Mexican government did not take immediate steps to prevent another invasion of the United States by these marauders, who were frequently seen in the company of General Nafarette, the constitutionalist commander, Mexico would find in Taumaulipas another punitive expedition similar to that then in Chihuahua.

"American troops crossed into Mexico on May 10 upon notification to the local military authorities under the repudiated agreement of March 10-13, or in any event in accordance with the practice adopted over forty years ago, when there was no agreement regarding pursuit of marauders across the international boundary. These troops penetrated 168 miles into Mexican territory in pursuit of the Glenn Springs marauders without encountering a detachment of Mexican troops or a single Mexican soldier. Further discussion of this raid, however, is not necessary, because the American forces sent in pursuit of the bandits recrossed into Texas on the morning of May 22, the date of your note under consideration—a further proof of the singleness of purpose of this government in endeavoring to quell disorder and stamp out lawlessness along the border.

"During the continuance of the El Paso conference General Scott, you assert, did not take into consideration the plan proposed by the Mexican government for the protection of the frontier by the reciprocal distribution of troops along the boundary. This proposition was made by General Obregon a number of times, but each time conditioned upon the immediate withdrawal of American troops, and the Mexican conferees were invariably informed that immediate withdrawal could not take place and that therefore it was impossible to discuss the project on that basis.

#### ANSWERS CARRANZA CHARGE

"I have noted the fact that your communication is not limited to a discussion of the deplorable conditions existing along the border and their important bearing upon the peaceful relations of our governments, but that an effort is made to connect it with other circumstances in order to support, if possible, a mistaken interpretation of the attitude of the government of the United States toward Mexico. You state in effect that the American government has placed every obstacle in the way of attaining the pacification of Mexico, and that this is shown by the volume of diplomatic representations in behalf of American interests which constantly impede efforts to reorganize the political, economical and social conditions of the country by the decided aid lent at one time to Villa by American officers and by the department of state; by the aid extended by the American Catholic clergy to that of Mexico; by the constant activity of the American press in favor of intervention and the interests of American business men; by the shelter and supply of rebels and conspirators on American territory; by the detention of shipments of arms and munitions purchased by the Mexican government, and by the detention of machinery intended for their manufacture.

"In reply to this sweeping charge, I can truthfully affirm that the American government has given every possible encouragement to the de facto government in the pacification and rehabilitation of Mexico. From the moment of its recognition it has had the undivided support of this government. An embargo was placed upon arms and ammunition going into Chihuahua, Sonora and lower California, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the armed opponents of the de facto government. Permission has been granted from time to time, as requested, for Mexican troops and equipment to traverse American territory from one point to another in Mexico in order that the operations of the Mexican troops against Villa and his forces might be facilitated. In view of these friendly acts, I am surprised that the de facto government has construed diplomatic representations in regard to the unjust treatment accorded American interests, private assistance to opponents to the de facto government by sympathizers in a foreign country and the activity of a foreign press as interference by the United States government in the domestic politics of Mexico. If a denial is needed that this government has had ulterior and improper motives in its diplomatic relations or has countenanced the activities of American sympathizers and the American press opposed to the de facto government, I am glad most emphatically to deny it. It is, however, a matter of common knowledge that the Mexican press has been more active than the press in the United States in endeavoring to inflame the two peoples against

each other, and to force the two countries into hostilities. With the power of censorship of the Mexican press, so rigorously exercised by the de facto government, the responsibility for this activity can not, it would seem, be avoided by that government, and the issue of the appeal of General Carranza himself in the press of March 12 calling upon the Mexican people to be prepared for any emergency which might arise, and intimating that war with the United States was imminent, evidences the attitude of the de facto government towards these publications. It should not be a matter of surprise that after such manifestations of hostile feeling the United States was doubtful of the purpose for which the large amount of ammunition was to be used which the de facto government appeared eager to import from this country. Moreover the policy of the de facto government in refusing to co-operate and in failing to act independently in destroying the Villa bandits and in otherwise suppressing outlawry in the vicinity of the border, so as to remove the danger of war materials while passing southward through this zone falling into the hands of the enemies of law and order, is, in the opinion of this government, a sufficient ground, even if there were no other, for the refusal to allow such materials to cross the boundary into the bandit infested region. To have permitted these shipments without careful scrutiny would, in the circumstances, have been so manifest a sense of security as not to be justified.

"Candor compels me to add that the unconcealed hostility of the subordinate military commanders of the de facto government toward the American troops engaged in pursuing the Villa bands, and the efforts of the de facto government to compel their withdrawal from Mexican territory by threats and show of military force, instead of by aiding in the capture of the outlaws, constitute a menace to the safety of the American troops and to the peace of the border. As long as this menace continues and there is an evidence of an intention on the part of the de facto government or its military commanders to use force against the American troops instead of co-operating with them, the United States will not permit munitions of war or machinery for their manufacture to be exported from this country to Mexico.

"As to the shelter and supply of rebels and conspirators on American territory, I can state that vigorous efforts have been made and are being made by the agents of the United States to apprehend and bring to justice all persons found to be conspiring to violate the laws of the United States by organizing to oppose with arms the de facto government of Mexico. Political refugees have undoubtedly sought asylum in the United States, but this government has vigilantly kept them under surveillance and has not hesitated to apprehend them upon proof of their criminal intentions as the arrest of General Huerta and others fully attests.

#### THE REAL SITUATION

"Having corrected the erroneous statements of fact to which I have adverted, the real situation stands forth in its true light. It is admitted that American troops have crossed the international boundary in hot pursuit of the Columbus raiders and without notice to or the consent of your government, but the several protestations, on the part of this government by the President, by this department and by other American authorities that the object of the expedition was to capture, destroy or completely disperse the Villa band of outlaws or to turn this duty over to the Mexican authorities, when assured that it would be effectively fulfilled, have been carried out in perfect good faith by the United States. Its efforts, however, have been obstructed at every point: First, by the insistence on a palpably useless agreement, which you admit was either not to apply to the present expedition or was to contain impracticable restrictions on its organization and operation; then by actual opposition, encouraged and fostered by the de facto government, to the further advance of the expedition into Villa territory, which was followed by the sudden suspension of all negotiations for arrangement for the pursuit of Villa and his followers, and the protection of the frontier; and finally by a demand for the immediate withdrawal of the American troops. Meantime conditions of anarchy in the border states of Mexico were continually growing worse; incursions into American territory plotted and perpetrated; the Glenn Springs raid was successfully executed, while no effective efforts were being made by General Carranza to improve the conditions and to protect American territory from constant threat of invasion. In view of this increasing