

THE HISTORY OF THE IMPERIAL ORDER OF GUADELOUPE IN THE ARCHIVES OF C.F. ROTHE



Image property of Morton & Eden

By Daniel Molina López

Prologue

Lector Cave. Although several books about the history of the Imperial Order of Guadalupe during its three iterations exist,¹ we believe this work's contribution lies in the analysis of documents from C.F. Rothe & Neffe's archives, the Viennese company that manufactured the medals and decorations for the Second Mexican Empire.

Because modern historians have transcended the limitations of sources imposed on us by epistemological theories such as positivism, we recognize today that historical analysis can be done by examining sources and records that traditionally would not have been considered for historical analysis. Without entering into the history of the “extravagances and curiosities” of the Second Mexican Empire (1863-1867),² the records of the Viennese manufacturer related to the medals commissioned by the Emperor's Medal Chancery Office provide a novel research source on the subject. Le Roy Ladurie posits that, sometimes, when we read a historical text, we lack that direct vision, what he calls the testimony without an intermediary that the person offers about himself.³ In our research, the information obtained comes primarily from communications between imperial officers who played an active role in the history of the Second Mexican Empire. Although we know these historical facts through the eyes of these officers, and therefore, the facts are presented to us already colored by opinions and prejudices, their proximity to the historical developments provides us with a version not yet distilled by the hands of historians. Let us remember that Otto Bishop of Freising warned that “the art of the historian has some things to clean up and avoid, while it has others that it must select and arrange appropriately since it avoids lies and selects the truth.”⁴

¹ The three iterations we are referring to are the period of the foundation of the Order by Agustín de Iturbide, the reestablishment of the Order by Antonio López de Santa-Anna, and the final stage with the reinstatement by the Second Empire of Maximilian of Habsburg. We discuss these stages later.

² Erika Pani. “Más allá del fusilado de Querétaro y de la local de Miramar: historiografía reciente sobre el segundo imperio.” *Históricas*. Vol. 50. *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*. September-December 1997. UNAM.18.

³ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie. *Montaillou, aldea occitana, de 1294 a 1324*. Trans. Mauro Armíño. (Barcelona: Penguin Random House Group Ed. 2019) Loc. 236 de 15327. Kindle.

⁴ Otto Bishop of Freising. *The Two Cities: A Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D.* Trans. Charles Christopher Mierow. Ed. Austin P. Evans. (New York: Octagon Books. Inc. 1966) 90.

In this book, I certainly do not discuss or analyze all the letters and communications in the archive of C.F. Roth & Neffe, which are currently kept at the Austrian State Archives in Vienna in the Haus, Hof und Staatsarchiv Section. I only discuss those that specifically relate to the Mexican Orders, particularly the Imperial Order of Guadalupe, which was the main object of our research. Although I reviewed communications sent from Mexico to Rothe related to purchase orders for jewelry requested by Empress Charlotte or other court officials, these were only considered if they provided some information pertinent to the subject under study.

As for the period of our research, it was delimited by two main stages, beginning with the dates of the first and second establishments of the Order of Guadalupe in 1822 and 1852, which we had to refer to briefly to explain the origin of the Order and distinguish the typological differences between each iteration; and culminating with the Second Mexican Empire between the years 1864 to 1867, period in which Maximilian was the last Emperor of Mexico.

I recognize that, paraphrasing Bishop of Freising's statement, in carrying out my research, I have "cleaned up and tidied up" the material for this work by selecting some documents and rejecting others according to the criteria outlined above. While this book concludes my research on the subject, I hope it will generate new interest and further study. After all, the same historical document can always be examined from new angles and with new perspectives or epistemological foundations.

I want to express my gratitude, first, to God, for allowing me to complete this research. I also thank my dear Mother, without whose support, interest, and motivation this research would not have been possible, and my beloved daughter, who patiently listened to me each time I shared a new discovery with her.

Introduction

After taking an iconography class as part of my Doctoral Degree studies, I realized the importance of carefully observing works of art to answer questions that may arise when analyzing the hidden meaning of symbols and images appearing in the painting.⁵ My first work of this type was an iconographic and iconological analysis of a painting that Franz Seraph von Lenbach made in 1890 of the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck and in which I made a Phaleristic study, that is, I analyzed the medals represented in the painting and their meaning.⁶

Phaleristics is an auxiliary branch of history whose objective is the study of distinctions or awards that must be worn and visibly displayed, issued, administered, and conferred according to specific rules by sovereigns, representatives of states, or state and public organizations.⁷ In many cases, carefully studying small things that may seem trivial, such as the medals that appear in a painting or portrait, allows us to find hidden meanings, ideological, social, hierarchical, religious content, etc. Phaleristics, as an auxiliary branch of history, will enable us to scrutinize these meanings and open doors to new approaches and possible research topics, providing rich information about the societies that produce these awards and the changes they undergo. Medals denote the aesthetic tastes and iconographic models that capture, with great effectiveness, religious ideas, social virtues, or military merit. As the well-known writer of historical novels, Jack D. Hunter points out, medals are a tangible expression of abstract ideas.⁸ We should not underestimate the importance of medals in historical analysis because they are an eloquent witness to times full of symbolism. This symbolism is what leads Deguin to comment:

⁵ Erwin Panofsky. *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*. (Colorado: Westview Press 1972) 7.

⁶ Daniel Molina López. *Análisis y reflexión sobre la obra Retrato de Otto Eduard Leopold von Bismarck de Franz Seraph von Lenbach*. Unpublished. 2022.

⁷ Václav Měříčka. *Das Buch der Orden und Auszeichnungen*. (Hanau: Verlag Werner Dausien, 1976) 11-12.

⁸ Jack D. Hunter in Stephen T. Previtara, *Prussian Blue: A History of the Order Pour le Mérite*. (Richmond, VA: Windore Press 2005) xii.

*Certainly, medals do not add anything to the merit of men, but merit is not a tangible, ostensible thing; it is precisely to make it such, to create an indicia, that honorary distinctions have been conceived.*⁹

In my quest to combine the study of Phaleristics with the analysis of nineteenth-century paintings, I eventually found an interesting painting of Maximilian of Habsburg, Emperor of Mexico from 1864 to 1867, made by Albert Gräfe (1807-1889), titled Portrait of Maximilian I of Mexico (1865), currently exhibited at the National Museum of History of Mexico. I scrutinized the painting to make an iconographic and phaleristic description, finding two honorary Order collars around Maximilian's neck. The first, as expected from a member of the House of Habsburg of that time, is the Order of the Golden Fleece in its Austrian version (Orden vom Goldenen Vlies).¹⁰ To my surprise, the other insignia was an ornate collar displaying an eagle similar to the Mexican national emblem, an eagle perched on a cactus devouring a snake (Figure 1).

⁹ Arthur Daguin. *Ordres de chevalerie autorisés en France: notice sur ces ordres, législation les concernant* (Paris: Charles Mendel 1894) 4. (Translation ours).

¹⁰ We clarify that this is the Austrian version of the Order because the Order of the Golden Fleece also exists in Spain. This break-up of what originally was a single Order, founded by Philip le Bon (Duke of Burgundy and the Netherlands in 1430), was the result of the dispute over the Spanish Crown between the Royal Houses of Bourbon and Habsburg, which culminated in the Treaty of Vienna in 1725 between the King of Spain, Philip V, and the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles VI. It is also worth noting that, for a brief period, there existed a third order called the Order of the Three Golden Fleeces, instituted in France by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1809, precisely to commemorate his conquest of the Spanish and Austrian Fleeces, all of which were “unified” under the French Fleece. See M. Bignon, *Histoire de France depuis 1799 jusqu'en 1812*, Vol. VIII, (Paris, Chez Firmin Didot Frères 1838) 382. See also generally Bernard Burke. *The Book of Orders of Knighthood and Declarations of Honor of All Nations*. (London: Hurst & Blackette 1858) 6.



Figure 1. Emperor Maximilian's portrait and a detail showing the Order of the Mexican Eagle.ⁱ

The emblem of the Mexican eagle devouring a snake comes from the ancestral myths of the Nahuatl people, according to which the Aztec tribes had to stop their pilgrimage when they found an eagle devouring a snake on a cactus. Arriving in the Valley of Mexico and seeing the vision, they decided to settle in that place, thus giving birth to the great Tenochtitlán.¹¹ One of the insurgents who fought for Mexico's independence, the priest José María Morelos, is credited with having incorporated for the first time into a banner the symbol of the eagle standing on the cactus devouring the snake. However, this is not the first Mexican flag since this was the banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe raised by another of the insurgents, the priest Miguel Hidalgo.¹² (Figure 2)

¹¹ See <https://www.escudodemexico.com/escudo-de-la-bandera-de-mexico>, accessed on January 24, 2023.

¹² See generally <https://www.gob.mx/bancodelbienestar/articulos/historia-de-la-bandera-de-mexico?idiom=es>, accessed on January 24, 2023.



Figure 2. Standards used by Miguel Hidalgo in 1810 and José María Morelos in 1812

Having no prior knowledge of the medals in the painting, I began researching the subject. Although it was an unknown and novel topic for me, fortunately, there is literature on the subject, mainly Mexican literature.¹³ Searching for information on the Imperial Order of the Mexican Eagle eventually led me to information related to other Imperial Orders, including Maximilian's reinstatement of the Imperial Order of Guadalupe (Figure 3).



Figure 3. The portrait clearly shows the Order of Guadalupe's Grand Star,¹⁴ as well as the Collars of the Golden Fleece and Mexican Eagle Grand Cross. ⁱⁱ

¹³ See, Ignacio Borja. *Ilustre y distinguida Orden de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*. (México: Conacutla 2011); Ricardo Trillanes Sánchez, *Órdenes Imperiales en México, Medallas y Condecoraciones (1861-1824)(1863-1867)*. (México: s.d. 2011).

¹⁴ During our research, we found two versions of this same painting. In one, the Star of the Order of Guadalupe is almost entirely covered by the collar of the Golden Fleece. The Star of the Order of Guadalupe is clearly shown in this image.

Gourdon de Genouillac tells us, in his well-known historical dictionary on the Orders of Chivalry, that, to properly understand an Order, it is necessary not only to look at the shape of the medal or the ribbon's colors, but also to investigate the date of the Order's foundation, the details of the founder and his reason for founding it, the different phases that can be distinguished in its historical path, whether it continues to be awarded or has become extinct, and if it has become extinct, the reasons for this.¹⁵

Thus, the phaleristic research eventually led me to the files of the company that manufactured these medals in Austria for the Mexican Imperial government, the firm C.F. Rothe und Neffe.

¹⁵ Henri Gourdon de Genouillac. *Dictionnaire Historique des Ordres de Chevalerie, créés chez les différents peuples depuis le premier siècle jusqu'à nous jours*. (Paris: E. Dentu, 1854). 5.

Brief historical background

Although the subject of the Second Empire and the French intervention is part of Mexican students' educational curriculum, for the benefit of non-Mexican readers, we make a brief historical account that serves as a conceptual framework to understand the findings of our research and explain how a Mexican honorary Order based on the Virgin of Guadalupe's story is related to an emperor of Austrian origin, imposed on the Mexican throne by a French emperor.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the French government, led by Napoleon III, like other European monarchies, viewed with great concern what they perceived as the United States expansionism and sought a way to limit its expansion¹⁶ while maintaining the American continent as a source of raw materials and trade for the European powers.¹⁷ At that time, France had overseas colonies in America, such as Guadeloupe, Martinique, Saint Martin, and Guyana, and had strong economic interests in Central America.¹⁸ The opportunity to weaken the United States presented itself in 1861 with the American Civil War.¹⁹ Napoleon III's government quickly recognized the Confederation of Southern States government as a belligerent entity, although it did not dare to recognize it as an independent nation. Most of the European monarchies sympathized with the Southern cause by sending observers, but none recognized the independence of the South. However, because the United and Confederate States were busy with their fratricidal struggle and were not able to enforce the Monroe Doctrine,²⁰ France saw an opportunity to intervene in America.

¹⁶ Kathryn Abbey Hanna. "The Roles of the South in the French Intervention in Mexico." *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 20, No. 1, 1954. 4.

¹⁷ Patricia Galeana. "República y monarquía en busca de reconocimiento (1864-1867)." *La Disputa Por La Soberanía (1821-1876)*, 1st ed., vol. 3, El Colegio de Mexico, 2010, pp. 155.

¹⁸ Thomas Schoonover. "France in Central America 1820s-1989 an Overview". *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer*, Vol. 79, No. 295, (1992). pp. 161-197.

¹⁹ Agustín Sánchez and Andrés Lira. "La diplomacia Hispano-Mexicana: de la Intervención Tripartita a la caída del Imperio." *España y El Imperio de Maximiliano: Finanzas, Diplomacia, Cultura e Inmigración*, ed. Clara E. Lida, 1st ed., El Colegio de México, 1999, pg. 110.

²⁰ The principles of the Monroe Doctrine were: (i) the rejection of any European intervention in America's internal affairs, (ii) any European intervention on the continent would be perceived as a threat to American security, and (iii) the United States would not allow European powers to acquire new colonies in America.

France's opportunity crystallized with the possibility of intervening in Mexico. The excuse for this intervention occurred when England, France, and Spain decided to ally and mobilize troops to Mexico to force the payment of the debts that the Mexican Government had accumulated during years of struggle after independence and whose payment President Benito Juárez had suspended on July 17, 1861.²¹ On October 31, 1861, France, England, and Spain agreed in London to intervene jointly in Mexico. By December 17, 1861, the alliance's threat became a reality when troops landed in Veracruz, first from Spain and, later, French and English troops on January 10, 1862. The government of President Benito Juárez reached an agreement under the Treaty of Soledad in February 1862, agreeing to repeal the law that prohibited repayment of the debt and thus reaching a compromise with the governments of Spain and England. By April 9, 1862, the Spanish and English troops were withdrawn from Mexico and re-embarked between April 24 and 25, 1862. On the other hand, France took advantage of already being “in country” and sent more troops. The French were not alone in their desire to establish a monarchy in Mexico since there was a group of Mexican conservatives who, eager to regain their power and restore the privileges that the Catholic Church had lost in Mexico, were willing to establish a new monarchy.

Napoleon III sought a possible king for the Mexican throne and began considering candidates among the European royal families. Concerned about the new status of political importance that Prussia acquired after it participated in the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), Napoleon III sought to ally himself with the Austrian crown, which had recently defeated Prussia and forced it to accept the Peace of Olmütz (November 1850), thus recognizing Austria's supremacy over the affairs of the Germanic Confederation.²²

The best candidate for Napoleon III was Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Habsburg-Lorraine, of the Austrian imperial house of Habsburg. This archduke, married to Marie Charlotte of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha of the ruling house in Belgium, provided Napoleon III with a young monarch he believed he could easily control. At the same time, he arranged a

²¹ Mexican independence began in 1810 and continued until 1821 with the Treaty of Córdoba signed by Agustín de Iturbide, as head of the Trigarante Army, and Juan O'Donojú as Lieutenant General of New Spain. In 1824, the First Federal Constitution was approved. It was not until 1836 that Spain formally recognized Mexico's independence through the Treaty of Santa María Calatrava on December 28, 1836. After Mexico achieved its independence, it was plunged into struggles between liberals and conservatives, alternating republican governments with monarchical attempts, creating political, economic, and social uncertainty that led to the Reform Wars.

²² See Roy A. Austensen. “Austria and the ‘Struggle for Supremacy in Germany,’ 1848-1864.” *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 52, No. 2, 1980, pp. 196–225.

relationship with the monarchies of Austria and Belgium. Maximilian, for his part, was willing to accept the Mexican crown offered by Napoleon III since his older brother, Francis Joseph I, who was Emperor of Austria, was barely 33 years old and already had offspring who could inherit the throne. Thus, Maximilian could not reasonably aspire to have significant roles within the monarchy that were not merely ceremonial and of little importance in the shadow of his brother, who also considered him a possible rival.²³ For Maximilian, the opportunity of a Mexican crown seemed his best option, even if it was on the other side of the world.

After multiple battles between the French army under General Elías Frédéric Forey and the Mexican army forces, including the famous battle of May 5 under the command of General Ignacio Zaragoza, Napoleon III's army entered Mexico City victoriously on June 10, 1863, and proclaimed the Mexican Empire. General Forey was replaced in 1863 by General François Achille Bazaine, who implemented a policy characterized by cruelty against the Mexican people. That same year, on October 3, 1863, a delegation of Mexican conservatives, with the approval of Napoleon III, formally offered the Mexican crown to Maximilian (Figure 4).



Figure 4. Painting by Cesare Dell'Acqua captioned in Italian *Massimiliano riceve la deputazione messicana* (1867), oil on canvas currently displayed at the Miramar Castle in Trieste

Maximilian expressed his willingness to accept the Mexican throne if a popular referendum showed widespread support for his nomination. Mexican conservatives assured Maximilian that the Mexican people overwhelmingly acclaimed him. They lied, but Maximilian believed, or chose to believe, that their representations were accurate and that the Mexicans would

²³ John Emerich Lord Acton. *Surgimiento y caída del Imperio Mexicano*. 1st ed., El Colegio de México, 2006.

receive him with joy. Maximilian arrived in Mexico on May 28, 1864, entered Mexico City on June 12, 1864, and eventually settled into Chapultepec Castle.

By 1865, the American Civil War had ended, allowing American foreign policy to refocus on implementing the Monroe Doctrine once again.²⁴ The French army would fail to pacify Mexico, suffering multiple defeats and setbacks against regular and irregular forces. These defeats, coupled with the expenditure of French money, resources, and lives on Mexican soil, the United States pressure against the Mexican and French Imperial Government, as well as the anti-French rhetoric that was already resonating strongly from Berlin, would cause Napoleon III to decide, by the end of November 1866, to begin repatriating the troops that were in Mexico, thus ending military and economic support for the Second Empire.²⁵ At the end of 1866, the French army began a three-phase plan to withdraw its troops, and there were loud rumors of Maximilian's possible abdication.

The early withdrawal of French troops weakened Maximilian's cause, which remained militarily supported only by some conservative Mexicans and a small contingent of about six thousand Austrian and Belgian soldiers, the Freikorps, who had allowed, as a personal privilege to the Mexican monarchs, their relatives from the crowns of Belgium and Austria.²⁶ In December 1866, Maximilian disbanded both Freikorps by incorporating them into the French army as part of the Division Auxiliaire Etrangère, thus allowing those troops to be repatriated to their respective countries of origin at the expense of the French Government. Bazain repatriated the Belgian and Austrian troops between December 18, 1866, and

²⁴ The French press and magazines commented at the time that the Mexican enterprise was serious “because of the difficulties inherent in the foundation of a monarchical government by means of a large and prolonged military intervention... and it is serious because of the antagonism of interests and principles that it can provoke between our government and the people of the United States.” *Revue des deux mondes*. Year XXVI, Vol. 61. (Paris: Bureau de la Revue des Deux Mondes 1866). 242. (Translation ours).

²⁵ The position of the United States towards the Mexican Imperial government was summed up in Austrian opinion as follows: “After the triumph of the North American states over those of the South, the situation of the Empire worsened and became almost desperate because the republican government in Washington considered that it could not tolerate a monarchical throne in its neighborhood and made an increasingly threatening gesture towards France.” I. Hirtenfeld. *Oesterreichischer Militär-Kalender für das Jahr 1868*. (Vienna: Verlag von Carl Gerold's Sohn 1868). 49. (Translation ours).

²⁶ Herbert Nickel. *Kaiser Maximilians Kartographien in Mexiko*. (Frankfurt: Vervuet Verlag 2003). 9.

February 28, 1867.²⁷ Maximilian also lost the economic and political support of the Mexican conservatives for having refused to repeal the policies imposed by President Benito Juárez that had undermined the finances and ecclesiastical privileges. The repeal of these laws had been one of the pillars of the original support of the Mexican conservatives to Maximilian. Thus, Maximilian abandoned the capital but decided not to leave the country and to fight to the end. The debts of the Mexican Crown were not being paid, which closed the possibility of obtaining loans and credit for the Imperial government to subsidize the continuation of the war against the insurgents.

The predictable and inevitable end of the Second Empire came on May 15, 1867, when Maximilian surrendered to the Mexican Republican forces led by General Mariano Escobedo. The original intention of the Mexican government was that Maximilian and the conservative generals Miguel Miramón and Tomás Mejía would be tried and convicted within only twenty-four hours and that they would also be judged by a court-martial, in accordance with a Law promulgated on January 25, 1862.²⁸ Maximilian's defense, headed by Mr. Rafael Martínez de la Torre, assisted by Mr. Eulalio María Ortega and Mr. Jesús María Vázquez, first challenged the jurisdiction of the court martial²⁹ and requested that the period of preparation for the trial

²⁷ Gustave Leon Niox. *Expédition Du Mexique, 1861-1867: Récit Politique & Militaire*. (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1874) 761.

²⁸ The statute's title was ““Ley para castigar los delitos contra la nación, el orden, la paz pública y las garantías individuales” (Law to punish crimes against the nation, order, public peace and individual guarantees). Curiously, this statute remained in force until the 20th century and served as a legal basis for prosecuting people who were involved in the assassination and coup d'état against President Gustavo I. Madero, after the revolt of 1913. See Edmundo Derbez García, “La Ley contra Conspiradores del 25 de enero de 1862”. <http://rac.db.uanl.mx/id/eprint/98/1/ley%20contra%20conspiradores%20del%2025%20de%20enero%20de%201862.pdf>. Accessed on February 20, 2023.

²⁹ Articles 6 and 7 of the aforementioned Law established that the military authority, through an ordinary Court Martial, was the only authority competent to prosecute crimes under that statute and that the procedure would be summary. The statute is compiled in *Derechos del pueblo mexicano: México a través de sus constituciones*. 9th ed. (Mexico: Porrúa 2016), 452. Maximilian's defense based its challenge to the jurisdiction of the Court Martial on the fact that said institution was not the correct legal vehicle to prosecute mere acts of governmental administration and, furthermore, a death penalty should not be the punishment for crimes of a political nature. Mariano Riva Palacios and Rafael Martínez de la Torre. *Memorando sobre el proceso del Archiduque Fernando Maximiliano de Austria*. (Mexico: Printing Press F. Díaz de León 1867) 30-33.

be extended by at least one more month, due to the voluminous documentary evidence they intended to present in favor of the Emperor. President Juárez only agreed to a three-day extension and rejected the defense's request that Maximilian be tried by a civilian court, maintaining that the trial should be held before a court martial.³⁰ Thus, on June 13, 1867, the prosecution against Maximilian began before a court martial composed of six officers of the Mexican Republican army. At all times, the Mexican government had indicated that the trial should be carried out in accordance with the statute of 1862 so that a conviction and death sentence were practically a certainty. The result had already been foreseen by Maximilian's own defense team, who had stated that Maximilian was not being taken to the firing squad by "the feverish exaltation of the passion of triumph" but rather by the cold, ironclad, and inflexible application of a law with a summary procedure and immediate execution.³¹ On June 14, 1867, the Court Martial found Maximilian guilty and sentenced him, along with Generals Miramón and Mejía, to the death penalty.

Although many monarchs and international figures directly asked President Juárez to pardon Maximilian,³² Juárez and his cabinet refused to grant clemency, considering that the Emperor was very young and could in the future "reconsider his abdication,"³³ so they ordered that the sentence be carried out. Maximilian was shot at Cerro de las Campanas on June 19, 1867, thus ending the brief Second Mexican Empire. This event shocked the European monarchies and was even the subject of a famous painting by Manet (Figure 5).

³⁰ Id. 21, 23.

³¹ Id. 24, 25.

³² Among those requesting clemency for Maximilian were his brother-in-law, King Leopold II of Belgium, Queen Victoria of England, Queen Elizabeth II of Spain, and public figures such as Victor Hugo and General Giuseppe Garibaldi.

³³ Rodrigo Amerlinck. *La Reforma y el Segundo Imperio*. (S.D. 2020) Loc. 3155 de 4225. Kindle.

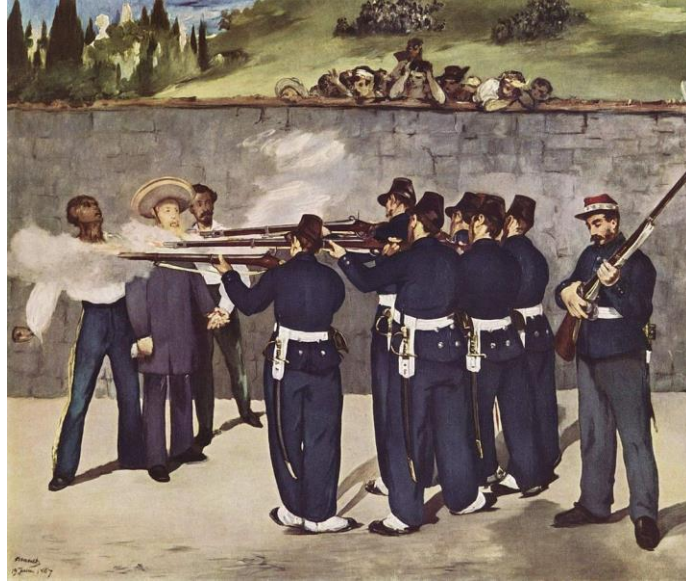


Figure 5. *L'exécution de l'empereur Maximilien du Mexique*. Oil on canvas by Édouard Manet painted in 1868.ⁱⁱⁱ The painting is currently at the Kunsthalle Mannheim Museum.

Manet's painting in Figure 5 is full of symbols and accusations. Maximilian's tragic-heroic gesture as a platoon of Mexican soldiers shoots him contrasts with the indifference of the French soldier, recognizable by the color scheme of his cap and because he is the only one who, although part of the firing squad, stays behind and does not shoot, thus "avoiding" being singled out as one of those responsible for the Emperor's death.

History of the Order of Guadalupe before the Second Empire

The Virgin of Guadalupe symbolizes identity and veneration for the Mexican people since her appearance in 1531. The Virgin Mary's devotion as the Virgen de Guadalupe had spread throughout the Mexican territory by 1556, notwithstanding the slow process of formal recognition by the Catholic Church.³⁴ It was not until April 24, 1754, that the Sacred Congregation of Rites of the Vatican finally issued the decree approving the Office and Mass for the Virgin Mary, in her Guadalupe invocation³⁵, as the principal Patron of the New Spain Viceroyalty (Mexico), designating December 12 for this day. In May of that same year, Pope Benedict XIV issued a Papal Bull formally decreeing the patronage of the Virgin Mary, in her Guadalupe invocation, for the New Spain Viceroyalty.³⁶ Ever since, the image and devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe served as a symbol of anointing and patronage, not only for the Mexican people but also for the colonial authorities and, later, those of independent Mexico. The image that would eventually be used in all medals referred to in this work is based on the image that appears on the canvas known as the Mantle of Juan Diego Cuauhtlatoatzin, with which the devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe began (Figure 6).



³⁴ Gisela von Wobeser. “Antecedentes iconográficos de la imagen de la Virgen de Guadalupe”. *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, Vol. 37, No. 107, pp. 173-227, 2015.

³⁵ We use the term “invocation” to refer to the different iconographical attributes associated to a particular Marian representation, also known as an iconographic type.

³⁶ *Historia de la aparición de la Sma. Virgen María de Guadalupe en México: desde el año de MDXXXI al de MDCCCXCV*. Vol. II (México: La Europea 1897) 85-86.

Figure 6. The Virgin Mary in her Guadalupe invocation.

This image of the Virgin of Guadalupe will be the frame of reference and provides the iconographic scheme of the medals of the Order that bears her name and to whose protection the Order was entrusted since its foundation.

Before continuing with the discussion of the topic, it is necessary to explain the difference between an Order and a medal. The word Order comes from the Latin “Ordo,” and the meaning used in phaleristics refers to an “organization” in ranks or lines, a meaning widely used during the Middle Ages with the creation of the Military Orders during the Crusades. From the XVI century onwards, the Military Orders were substantially transformed into secular Orders and became a tool for royalty and nobility to dispense favors and privileges.³⁷ During the XVIII and XIX centuries, admission to a secular Order became a prize awarded in recognition of a very personal merit for “virtues and honorable behavior or relevant services rendered to the nation.”³⁸ A medal is a visible physical manifestation or sign that shows some particular merit. Now, it is necessary to consider that not every medal or award implies the existence of an Order. For example, medals received for bravery (such as the Prussian Rettungsmedaille), for being wounded in combat (such as the U.S. Purple Heart), or for years of service (such as the Austrian Militärdienstzeichen) are medals issued by a sovereign in recognition of some merit. Still, they do not imply or entail membership in any Order.

On the contrary, an Order usually allows a recipient to be a member and participate in a quasi-corporate, guild-like entity, which is governed by statutes that provide and regulate multiple aspects of the recipient's life, from the form and manner in which the decorations are worn, to the conduct that must govern among its members and their duties to society.³⁹ As we will discuss below, the medals of the Imperial Order of Guadalupe evidenced that the recipient was a member of a select group that had to abide by statutes promulgated by the Emperor, adhering to strict ceremonial and protocol. Therefore, the insignias authorized by

³⁷ Shishkov Sergey Stanislavovich. *Awards of Russia 1698-1917*. (Vladivostok: Rollfilm Photostudio 2003). 13.

³⁸ David Ramírez Jiménez y Antonio Prieto Barrio. *Falerística Española: Estudio de las condecoraciones*. (Madrid: Malpe, S.A. 2022) 17.

³⁹ We use the present tense because many centuries-old Orders continue to be awarded and renewed today, incorporating new members. Examples of this are the Most Noble Order of the Garter in the United Kingdom, the Ordre national de la Légion d'honneur in France, and the Real Orden de Isabel la Católica in Spain.

some Order, such as medals and chapter mantles, in addition to allowing the bearer to be recognized as the possessor of some specific merit, whether civic, religious, or military, also serve as symbols whose purpose is to link their bearer with the Order's owner.⁴⁰

The Imperial Order of Guadalupe was created in Mexico during the First Empire under the auspices of Agustín de Iturbide. The Provisional Board of the Empire promulgated the Constitution of the Order of Guadalupe on February 18, 1822. The express purpose of the Order of Guadalupe was “to reward the courage and virtues of those who sacrificed everything to serve the Fatherland” as well as those “who would henceforth dedicate themselves to contributing to its glories and splendor.” [sic.] The Imperial Order of Guadalupe turned to the Virgin Mary, in her Guadalupe invocation, to procure the heavenly Protection of those to whom it was granted.

The composition and form of the cross is quite interesting and original. It consists of a cross with twelve arms,⁴¹ arranged alternating between large and small arms, lanceolate in shape, that radiate from the center of the cross and widen at their ends. Each blade ends in three points topped by a sphere. The design of the cross's blades included the Trigarante colors, green, red, and white, alternating.⁴² The cross has in its center a medallion whose exergue is in green enamel with the motto RELIGION/INDEPENDENCIA/UNION written in relief in gold, finished with a relief image of the Virgin Mary in her Guadalupe invocation, also in gold, over a white enameled field. The cross has between its arms a crown made of palm branches on one side and olive branches on the other, branching out in opposite directions from the lower arm to the upper one (Figure 7).

⁴⁰ Alberto Montaner Frutos. “Sentido y contenido de los emblemas”. *Emblemata. Revista aragonesa de emblemática*. No. 16 (2010). 48. <https://ifc.dpz.es/recursos/publicaciones/30/55/04montaner.pdf>

⁴¹ In phaleristics, a distinction is made between a Cross, having horizontal and vertical arms, and a Star with multiple rays radiating from its center. Laslo, A. J. *A Glossary of Terms Used in Phaleristics -The Science, Study, and Collecting of the Insignia of Orders, Decorations, and Medals*. (Nuevo Mexico, Dorado Publishing, 1995). However, this Order's insignia is considered a Cross, notwithstanding the various arms emanating from the center.

⁴² The Trigarante colors established by Iturbide in 1821 originally represented independence (green), the Catholic religion (white), and unity (red). President Benito Juárez promoted a change in the meaning of the colors in keeping with the Reform ideology and the separation between church and state. In modern times, green represents hope, white symbolizes purity and principles of national unity, and red represents the blood shed by the nation's heroes.



Figure 7. Orden de Guadalupe cross, first epoch^{iv}

In the manner of many European military orders, according to Article IV of the Constitution of the Order of Guadalupe, this Order would have three classes, these being, in descending order: class of Knights Grand Cross, Knights of Number and Knights Supernumerary. The Order was *numerus clausus*, that is, the majority of the classes could not exceed a specific number of recipients to whom it had been granted. In the case of this Order, the First Class could not exceed fifty recipients, while the Second Class could not exceed one hundred recipients. The number of recipients of the Third Class was at the discretion of the Grand Master of the Order. These limitations did not apply to non-Mexican recipients.

According to the Statutes of the Order, to be designated as a recipient, it was necessary to be over 25 years of age, a citizen of the Empire, in the full exercise of his rights (legal capacity), to be a Roman Catholic Apostolic Christian, to enjoy good public standing (reputation) and to have provided distinguished services to the State.⁴³

It is worth noting that many European honorary or military Orders granted the right to use various types of insignia, depending on the rank or class conferred. The same Order could have a sash, a collar, a star, or a cross. On some occasions, according to the statutes of the Order, the recipient could use or would be required to use, some or all of these insignia, depending on the class conferred. The phaleristic picture is complicated when we also consider that, in Europe, some medals previously obtained by the same person could receive additional honors, such as crowns, laurel or oak leaves, diamonds, swords, and other marks.

⁴³ *Constituciones de la Imperial Orden de Guadalupe*. (México: Imprenta Alejandro Valdés 1822). Estatuto de la Orden Imperial de Guadalupe, Article V.

In the case at hand, the Imperial Order of Guadalupe also had various insignia, which included a collar, a sash, a grand cross, a cross and a star, all with the Trigarante colors. In the center of these insignia would be an image of “Our Lady of Guadalupe.” On the upper arm of the cross was an eagle with an Imperial Crown. The arms of the cross rest on a wreath of palms on one side and an olive branch on the other. On the obverse of the cross, in the medallion's outer circle, the motto “RELIGION / INDEPENDENCIA / UNION”⁴⁴ would be written and on the reverse, the phrase “AL / PATRIOTISMO / HEROICO.”⁴⁵

The image below shows the original designs for the Order's Collar, the Star, the Cross pendant, and the Cross lapel pin (Figure 8).⁴⁶



Figure 8. The insignia approved by Iturbide^v

⁴⁴ The motto is “Religion, Independence, Union”.

⁴⁵ The motto is “To Heroic Patriotism”.

⁴⁶ The attribution and provenance of illustrations and images used appear at the end of the book.



Figure 9. Iturbide wearing the Order's Grand Collar.^{vi} An embroidered breast star to be sewn on the Order's Mantle.^{vii}

The second image in Figure 9 above is interesting because it is one of the few surviving embroidered stars of the First Empire. Like other European Orders, such as the British Order of the Garter or the Prussian Order of the Black Eagle, this insignia was embroidered on chapter mantles as a badge of honor. The Statutes stipulated that Numerary Knights should wear this insignia embroidered on the left side of the mantle.⁴⁷

With Iturbide's abdication on March 19, 1823, the Imperial Order of Guadalupe first period ended.⁴⁸ It will not be until November 11, 1853, now under the republican government of Antonio López de Santa Anna, that the Order of Guadalupe will be restored. The history of Santa Anna is very complex, evidenced by the alternation of affection and hatred that the Mexican people and the international community had toward this picturesque character.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ *Constituciones de la Imperial Orden de Guadalupe*. (México: Imprenta Alejandro Valdés 1822). Estatuto de la Orden Imperial de Guadalupe, Article IX.

⁴⁸ Ignacio Borja Martínez. *Ilustre y Distinguida Orden de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*. (México: Conacutla 2011) 35.

⁴⁹ Illustrative of the European opinion of Saint Anna is the following quotation: "The position he occupied, his fortunes and misfortunes changed as often as the public esteem he enjoyed in his country. At one time, he took up the sword to support his creation; at another, he subjugated it. At one time, he was president of the republic; at another, it was dictator, a

Under the new statutes, the Order of Guadalupe will also have three classes in its second period: Grand Crosses, Commanders, and Knights. The Order would again be numerous clasus for most of its classes, with Grand Crosses not being able to exceed more than twenty-four recipients and Commanders more than one hundred recipients. The number of Knights was again at the discretion of the Grand Master of the Order.

The shape of the cross undergoes a substantial transformation in its second stage, changing the disposition of a Lanceolate cross to a Leopoldo cross.⁵⁰ The color composition of the cross maintains the Trigarante colors but, contrary to the Cross approved by Iturbide, in the case of the second iteration of the Order of Guadalupe under the auspices of Santa Anna, the medal acquires colored enamels that allow the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe to stand out and be identified more clearly (Figure 10).



Figura 10. The design of the cross as approved by Santa Anna ^{viii}

The representation of the Virgin Mary in decorations, using colored enamels, was well known when Santa Anna reestablished the Order of Guadalupe. In 1844, Santa Anna received the medal of the Real y Muy Distinguida Orden de Carlos III (established in 1771). Comparing the image of the Virgin Mary in her Guadalupe invocation, as it appears on the Cross of the Mexican Order of 1853, with her Immaculate Conception invocation, as it appears on the Cross of the Order of Charles III, we realize that, indeed, the Spanish decoration served as

prisoner, an outcast, an exiled.” *Illustrierte Chronik: Aufzeichnungen aus der Geschichte der Ereignisse, der Länder, der Völker, der Menschen und Stimmungen der Gegenwart. Chronik des Jahres 1849*. Vol. 2. (Leipzig, Verlag von J.J Beber 1849) 22. (Translation ours).

⁵⁰ The Leopold cross is a modification of the Templar cross or Patée. In this cross, the arms widen outwards from the center of the medal, and each crosshead ends in a concave shape rather than flat.

inspiration for the Mexican one in terms of the positioning of the image, the placement and form of the exergue, etc. (Figure 11).



Figure 11. A comparison of different representations of the Virgin Mary in her Guadalupe and Immaculate Conception invocation as they appear on the insignias of the Mexican Orden de Guadalupe and the Spanish Real y Distinguida Orden Española de Carlos III.

As seen from the images in Figure 11 above, both medals incorporate the iconographic model of the resplendent Virgin, called “*Virgo in Sole*” or “*Virgo in Aureole*.” However, it is in the Mexican medal where this motif or type appears complete.⁵¹ The representation of the Virgin of Guadalupe as “*Virgo in Sole*” is reflected in the medals of the Order of Guadalupe in the three eras, that is, those of Iturbide, Saint Anna, and Maximilian. Now, despite being similar iconographic representations, in the decorations of the Order of Guadalupe of the First Empire, the glow that comes out of the image always “*refulgens ex pallio*,” while in the decorations of the era of Saint Anna and Maximilian, we also find decorations where the glow “*refulgens ex capite*.”

⁵¹ This iconographic motif, which appeared at the beginning of the XVI century, is characterized by a crescent moon beneath the Virgin’s feet, sun rays surrounding or emanating from the figure, and the Virgin’s head wearing a crown. Note precisely that the image of the Virgin in her Guadalupe invocation is adorned with the crown, while that of the Immaculate Conception is not. See Louis Réau, *Iconografía del arte cristiano: Iconografía de la Biblia – Nuevo Testamento*, Vol. 1, Vol. 2 (Barcelona: Serbal 2008) 87. See also Bonnie J. Blackburn. “The Virgin in the Sun: Music and Image for a Prayer Attributed to Sixtus IV.” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*. Vol. 124., pp. 157-195, 1999. 185. See also Gisela von Wobeser. op cit.

The similarity between the Order of Guadalupe and that of Charles III is not limited to the icon representing the Virgin Mary but can also be observed in the statutes of the Order restored by Santa Anna, to the point that in Spanish phaleristic scholars have stated that the Order of Guadalupe is a “true imitation of the Spanish Order.”⁵²

Now, it is necessary to make a parenthesis here and point out that, in the Catholic Church’s religious and canonical iconography, the details in an image are of utmost importance since they change the icon’s invocation. We must remember, for example, that the Virgin Mary can be represented in her invocation of Virgin, wife, mother in mourning, etc. Each representative model has iconographic elements that distinguish them from each other. The iconographic models and types include variations in the chromatic palette, such as the difference between the color of the cloak from one iconographic invocation to another. For example, in the Mexican Guadalupe iconographic type, the one that appears on Juan Diego’s cloak, the Virgin’s cloak is turquoise blue. In contrast, in that of the Immaculate Conception, the cloak is dark blue,⁵³ and in the representations of the Virgin after the crucifixion of Christ, the cloak is black.⁵⁴

Because medals of the Order of Guadalupe were commissioned to different jewelers and manufacturers, the icons representing the same image could vary significantly from manufacturer to manufacturer, changing details of shape and polychromies that would not be permissible in strict religious iconography. In the Guadalupan iconographic model, the Virgin is shown with her face partially to the right side of the figure and looking down, reflecting serenity and humility. In contrast, in an icon of the Virgin in her Immaculate Conception invocation, the face usually looks towards the sky or forward. When we compare the icon detail on the Order of Guadalupe, we can observe that, in some cases, the face of the Virgin is placed in a manner consistent with Guadalupan iconography, while some

⁵² Alfonso de Ceballos-Escalera y Gila. *La Real y Distinguida Orden española de Carlos III*. (Madrid: Boletín Oficial del Estado, Real Casa de la Moneda 2016) 259.

⁵³ Elsa Arroyo, Manuel E. Espinosa, Tatiana Falcón y Eumelia Hernández, “Variaciones celestes para el manto de la Virgen.” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*. Vol. XXXIV, Núm. 100 (2012) 89-91.

⁵⁴ According to Réau, the iconographic types of the Virgin can be grouped into four main ones, namely: the Virgin before the birth of the Child, the Virgin with the Child, the Sorrowful Virgin and the Tutelary Virgin. Louis Réau, op. cit., 80. Thus, the representations of the Immaculate Conception on the Spanish Order would belong to the iconographic type of the Virgin before the birth of Jesus. In contrast, the representations on the Order of of Guadalupe would correspond to the tutelary iconographic type.

jewelers position the Virgin's face in accordance with the iconographic model of the Immaculate Conception (Figure 12).



Figure 12. Details in two crosses of similar class made by different jewelers.

In the images in Figure 12 above, we can observe the image of the Virgin Mary in medals of the Order of Guadalupe with a different iconographic representation. The first one shows an iconographic model closer to that of the Guadalupan type (face to one side and significantly inclined in a merciful attitude), and the second medal shows a model closer to that of the Immaculate Conception (face facing forward, half-moon clearly at the feet, following the description in the Apocalypse). In the second medal, the dark blue color of the cloak is definitely evocative of the Immaculate Conception. Finally, in the previous examples, we can see in the first image that the rays “*refulgens ex pallio,*” and in the second image “*refulgens ex capite.*”

The second iteration of the Order of Guadalupe, as reinstated by Santa-Anna, lasted just under two years. It ended with a brief decree issued in the National Palace of Cuernavaca by President Ignacio Comonfort on October 12, 1855, after Santa Anna left the country to go into exile.

The Order of Guadalupe and its restoration in the Second Empire

Before Maximilian arrived in Mexico, the Provisional Executive Government, as part of the Regency of the Empire, published Decree Number 40 on June 30, 1863, in which it restored the Order of Guadalupe, indicating that the purpose of said Order was to "reward the distinguished patriotism and merit of the people who wear it." Thus, by said edict, the October 12, 1855, decree that had extinguished the Order was rendered null and void and reinstated to its 1853 status.⁵⁵ Decrees Number 138 and 139 of September 29, 1863, would establish the Statutes and ceremonial of the Order of Guadalupe.⁵⁶ This time, the Order would have four classes, these being, in descending order of precedence, the Grand Crosses, Grand Officers, Commanders and Knights. Before Maximilian set foot in Mexico, the Regency had already granted four Grand Crosses of the Order of Guadalupe. In one of his many attempts to demonstrate that he was familiar with the Mexican idiosyncrasy and to try to win the favor of the Mexican people, Maximilian decided to approve the reinstatement of the Imperial Order of Guadalupe, which had been promulgated months earlier by the Government of the Regency, trying to attract the devotion to Guadalupe to his government.

To be nominated and receive the Order of Guadalupe, the candidate had to have distinguished himself by merit or civic virtues.⁵⁷ The nomination would be made on December 12 of each year, on the feast of the Virgin of Guadalupe, and on July 6, on the Emperor's birthday. The Chancellor of the Orders oversaw informing each recipient that it had been selected for the Order and sending him the corresponding insignia. In the list of recipients of the Imperial Order of Guadalupe of 1865, the first Grand Cross that appears listed is the one awarded in 1853 to His Serene Highness, Antonio López de Santa-Anna, on the occasion of the first reinstatement of the Order.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ José Sebastián Segura. *Boletín de las Leyes del Imperio Mexicano, Código de la Restauración*. Volume corresponding to 1863 (México: Imprenta Literaria 1863) 90.

⁵⁶ Id. 356 y 368 respectively.

⁵⁷ *Estatutos de la Orden de Guadalupe*, Article 1.

⁵⁸ Although Saint Anna's use of the title "Alteza Serensima" (Serene Highness) has been ridiculed as an extravagance, the title "Serene Highness" was used by many European royal houses of the time and is associated with highly regarded orders, such as the Order of the

Even though Maximilian decided to confirm the reinstatement of the Order of Guadalupe, upon his arrival in Mexico on May 24, 1864, Maximilian would publish in the *Diario del Imperio*, the official newspaper of the Imperial government, changes related to the Order, to make it more of a reflection of his aspirations. On April 10, 1865, Maximilian changed the Statutes again to clarify that the Order would now consist of five classes in descending order of Precedence: Grand Crosses, Grand Officers, Commanders, Officers and Knights. As for the number of recipients who could receive the decoration in the Knights class, this was unlimited, remaining at the discretion of the Grand Master of the Order, while all other classes of the Order would again be *numerus clausus*, remaining limited in the following way: Officers were limited to five hundred recipients, Commanders to two hundred recipients, Grand Officers to one hundred recipients and Grand Crosses to only thirty recipients. However, the regulations indicated that this limit did not apply to those non-Mexican recipients.⁵⁹

Maximilian commanded all Order members to wear a gold Cross with enameled Trigarante colors. Knights would wear it hanging from a violet and blue ribbon, Officers would wear the same ribbon but with a rosette, Commanders would wear the medal hanging from their neck on a wider ribbon, Grand Officers would wear a gold star, while Grand Crosses would wear the gold star and a sash crossing the chest. Despite this provision, the production of gold medals of the Order of Guadalupe was reduced due to their high cost. The manufacture of such jewels depended on Maximilian expressly and personally approving their production. The vast majority of Imperial insignia, including Grand Crosses and Stars, were made on a silver substrate that was later gold-plated.

Maximilian also ordered that any nomination of a recipient of the Order of Guadalupe should be published in the *Diario del Imperio*. We have the most complete records on the members of the Order from 1865 since, at the end of that year, the yearbook of the Imperial Orders was

Red Eagle of Prussia. See Louis Schneider. *Die Preußischen Orden, Ehrenzeichen u. Auszeichnungen: Der Rothe Adler-Orden* (Berlin: Verlag A. W. Hayns' Greben 1868).

⁵⁹The restrictions on the number of awards to nationals are not a peculiar whim of this Order, as similar limitations also existed in other Orders. For example, since 1847, the Order of the Black Eagle of Prussia limited the number of Prussian recipients but not the number of recipients from other nations. L. Schneider. *Die Preußischen Orden, Ehrenzeichen u. Auszeichnungen. Das Buch vom Schwarzen Adler-Orden*. (Berlin: Verlag Alexander Duncker 1870) 30. Another example is the Order of the Golden Fleece of Austria, which, being a dynastic order, restricted its awards to the House of Habsburg and to a reduced and select group of recipients. See Johann Stolzer and Christian Steeb, *Österreichs Orden vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*. (Graz: Akademische Druck u. Verlagsanstalt, 1996). 82-84.

published detailing the class of award, the recipients, and the date on which they received each honor.

The Order of Guadalupe, as reinstated by Maximilian, also preserved the possibility of receiving a Grand Collar, a Cross, and a Star and adopted the form of the insignia as approved by Santa-Anna (Figures 13 and 14).

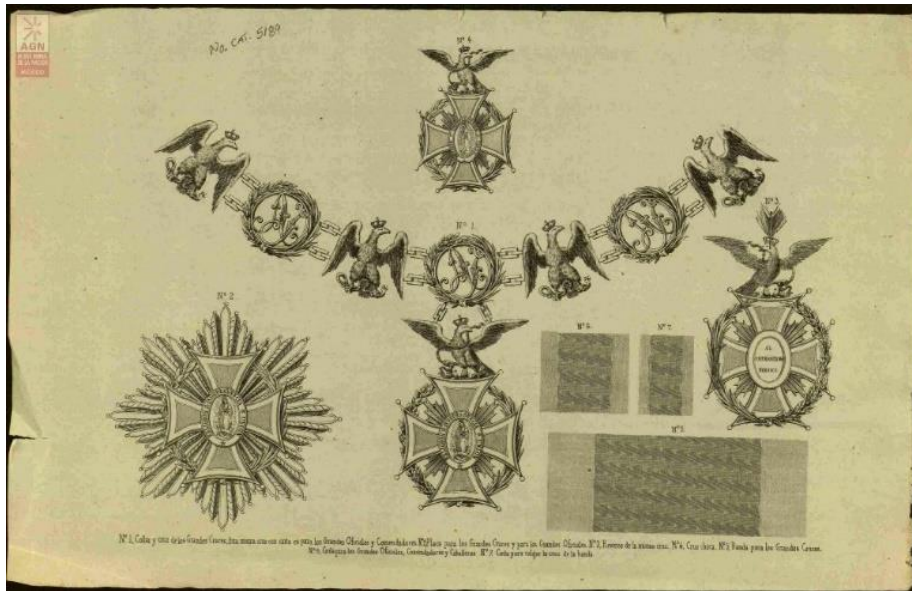


Figure 13. All insignias approved for the Orden de Guadalupe, including the Grand Collar, the Grand Cross star, the Cross and the Order's ribbons.^{ix}



Figure 14. Grand Collar,^x Cross^{xi} and Star.^{xii}

If we compare the original design of the Order, as made during the time of Iturbide, with the design that was finally produced during the Second Empire, we can see that the Second Empire's insignia adhered to the design that Antonio López de Santa Anna had promulgated in 1853 (Figure 15).



Figure 15. Typological differences between crosses approved by Iturbide,^{xiii} Santa Anna,^{xiv} and Maximilian. The difference between the Lanceolate and Leopold crosses is evident.

It is also striking to observe that the design of the star adopted by López de Santa Anna, which Maximilian reinstated, is similar to many designs of “*Bruststern*” or Stars of European Orders. A fact surely to Maximilian's liking when he decided to reinstate the Order. An example of this is the Österreichisch-kaiserliche Leopold-Orden from the Austrian crown. If we compare both Stars from the phaleristic point of view, we can observe that, both in the Order of Guadalupe and in the Order of Leopold, an enameled cross with four equal arms that widen outwards with the external side of each arm slightly concave predominates (modified style of the *Pattée* cross or *Templarkreuz*). Above the cross and equidistant from its edges is a medallion in whose exergue there is a motto that circles and delimits the inner motif of the motto. The composition of the cross is centered and superimposed on an eight-rayed star with main and minor bursts (Figure 16).



Figure 16. Stars of the Orden de Guadalupe ^{xv} and the Leopold Order^{xvi}

The crosses from the time of Saint Anna and the Second Empire are substantially similar. Both are surmounted by an eagle in *Displayed and Expanded* attitude.⁶⁰ The main stylistic difference between the crosses from both periods is the inclusion of a small crown on the eagle's head in the Second Empire crosses. (Figure 17).



Figure 17. Cross approved by Santa Anna^{xvii} and by Maximilian. Note the small crown over the eagle's head in the second image.^{xviii}

As reinstated by the Second Empire, the ribbons of the Knight's and Commander's Crosses were alike in color pattern, with a blue central stripe delimited by narrow violet stripes placed on both sides of the ribbon. The color scheme had no specific distinctive significance as it

⁶⁰ Terms used in heraldry to describe a bird with its wings spread out in an attitude of taking flight, with the tips of the wings pointing upward, and with the bird's head looking upwards.

was the same for civil servants and military recipients.⁶¹ The main observable distinction between ribbons of different kinds consisted of a rosette, made of the same material and pattern as the ribbon, which was placed on the Commander's ribbon.⁶²

The insignia of the Order of Guadalupe issued by the Second Empire also had two divisions: civil and military. The medal's shape was substantially similar, while the main distinction between the two versions was the motto on the back of the badge. In the case of the civil version, the motto was “AL MERITO Y VIRTUDES” (for virtues and merit), while in the military version, the motto was “AL PATRIOTISMO HEROICO” (for heroic patriotism) (Figure 18).



⁶¹ In some cases, the colors and patterns on the ribbons were used to distinguish between different classes of awards. For example, the Prussian decoration commemorating the war against France (Kriegsdenkmünze für den Feldzug 1870-1871), the ribbon colors distinguished between soldiers who took direct part in the fighting and those who did not. See Louis Schneider, *Die Preußischen Orden, Ehrenzeichen u. Auszeichnungen: Die Kriegsdenkmünze für den Feldzug 1870-1871*, (Berlin: Alexander Ducker, 1872), 7.

⁶² The rosette is a circular device, usually made of thin cardboard, covered with the distinctive ribbon of an Order. The inside of the rosette is made of the same material as the ribbon and is pleated from the center. The rosette is attached to the outer face of the ribbon from which the medal hangs. The rosette is used primarily as a ribbon device to distinguish a particular class within a multi-class Order, and commonly distinguishes the classes of Commander, *Encomienda* or *Komtur*. Some orders include a larger rosette or bow in the Order sashes, usually associated with some Grand Crosses, such as the Hungarian Order of St. Stephen, or the Order of Takovo from Serbia.

Figure 18. Images showing the military and civil versions.

As we have indicated above, in addition to the collars, stars, and crosses, smaller decorations, known as reductions or miniatures, could be acquired.⁶³ These miniatures could be worn on the lapel or attached to a small collar pinned to the chest area of a vest or frack with two pins. Between three and ten miniatures could be worn simultaneously, regardless of the number of medals awarded to the recipient. There was certainly no limit to either the number of decorations or the number of miniature decorations that a person could receive. Although somewhat tangential to the subject at hand, it is worth mentioning that one of the most extensive examples of miniature decorations known is the collar of Gustav Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach (Figure 19).⁶⁴



Figure 19. Gustav Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach’s massive “miniature” collar.^{xix}

One of the last Stars of the Order of Guadalupe awarded by Maximilian, of which graphic evidence was obtained during our research, was the one given to Major General Henri-Pierre Castelnau, accorded the degree of Grand Officer of the Order of Guadalupe in July 1866.

⁶³ The origin of these miniatures, also called “*Prinzen*” or “*Prinzengröße*,” is found in the sovereigns' desire to decorate infants and minors of royal or noble birth, who could not wear the large insignia in the regular sizes. See Václav Měříčka, op. cit. 145. See also Gerd Scharfenberg, *Lexikon der Ordenskunde: Von Adlerschild bis Zitronenorden* (Batttemberg: Batttemberg Verlag 2010) 440.

⁶⁴ An excellent article about the history of all of Krupp’s miniatures and how he earned them, written by Hartmut Gräber, appeared in the phaleristic magazine *Orden und Ehrenzeichen*, 12, Nr. 66, published by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ordenskunde (April 2010) titled “Die Frankkette des Dr. Gustav Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach”.62-76.

Castelnau would formally arrive in Mexico in October 1866 to replace Bazain and complete the process of repatriation of French troops (Figure 20).

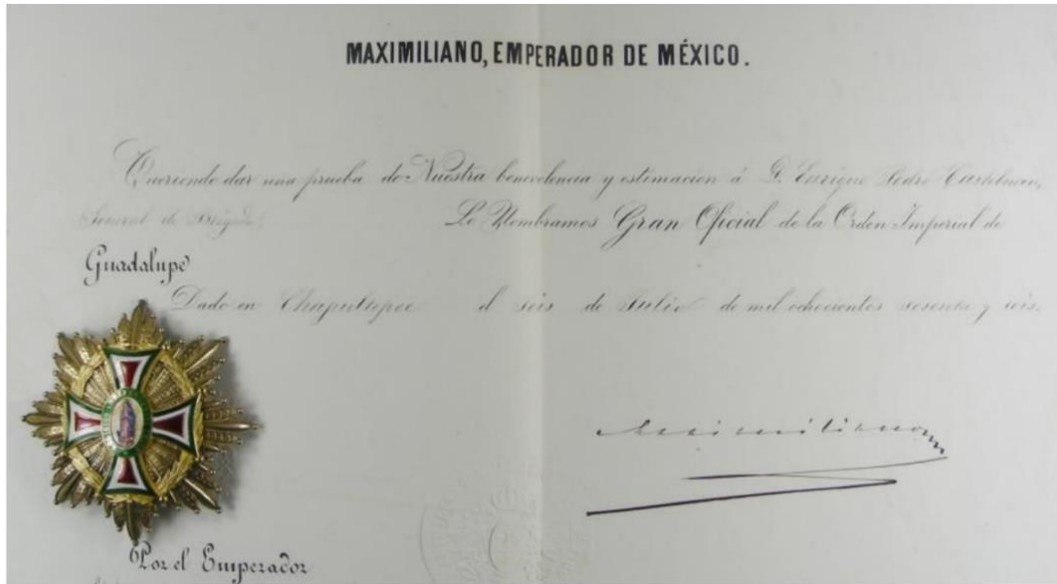


Figure 20. Certificate and Star awarded by Maximilian to General Castelnau^{xx}

Unlike other Orders, where the diploma was highly illustrated and calligraphed, the Orden de Guadalupe diplomas granted since the Regency in 1864 were written on plain paper, without special stamps, seals, or calligraphic decorations.⁶⁵ However, not all diplomas were the same. For example, the one below, granted on April 10, 1864, was given to Prosper de Chasseloup-Laubat, French Minister of the Navy. The image shows better care and treatment than that accorded to other recipients of the Order (Figure 21). Interestingly, the diplomas granted from Miramar have the name “Mexico” written with the letter “J” which will change once the certificates are issued from Mexico.

⁶⁵ Ignacio Borja Martínez. Op. Cit. 90.



Figure 21. Diploma and Grand Cross awarded to Prosper de Chasseloup-Laubat^{xxi}

At General Bazain's request, on the occasion of the withdrawal of French troops, in January 1867 alone, Maximilian signed 250 diplomas of the Imperial Orders for French soldiers who had come to Mexico "as allies of our country to cooperate in its pacification, and today return to their homeland."⁶⁶

It is interesting to consider that on July 13, 1865, Maximilian issued Decree Number 10,⁶⁷ in which he determined that the Imperial Orders of the Mexican Eagle, Guadalupe, and San Carlos were personal honorary orders and insignia granted "for life,"⁶⁸ so that, once the member of the Order died, the family, heirs or relatives of the deceased had to return the insignia to the Grand Chancellery of the particular Order.⁶⁹ The return of medals and Orders

⁶⁶ *Diario del Imperio*. No. 623, Vol. V, January 26, 1867.

⁶⁷ José Sebastián Segura. *Boletín de las Leyes del Imperio Mexicano, Código de la Restauración*. Vol. V. (México: Imprenta Literaria 1865) 21.

⁶⁸ Gerd Scharfenberg, Günter Thiede. *Lexikon der Ordenskunde: Von Adlerschild bis Zitronenorden*. (s.d, Battenberg Verlag 2010) 473.

⁶⁹ Apparently, many recipient's families failed to comply with this Decree. The Grand Chancellery of the Imperial Orders had to publish a notice stating that no one had complied with the order, requesting that they be "kind" enough to return their awards so that the

was required in many cases because they were considered a personal award and recognition and were, therefore, non-transferable.⁷⁰ In European monarchies, the return of insignia could also occur, for example, when the same person was awarded an Order's higher rank or when an Order was renewed or reinstated.⁷¹

Yearbook of the Imperial Orders for 1866 could be updated. *El Diario del Imperio*, August 16, 1866, Volume IV, No. 488. 146.

⁷⁰ In some cases, the return of decorations upon the death of the recipient did not have to be made directly to the sovereign or to a chancellery but could be done, as in the case of the Prussian Düppel-Sturmkreuz and Alsenkreuz decorations, by delivery and deposit to the recipient's parish or church. H. Schulze, *Chronik sämtlicher bekanten Ritter-Orden und Ehrenzeichen, welche von Souverainen und Regierungen verliehen werden* (Berlin: W. Moeser und Kühn, 1870). 362. In other cases, mainly when sufficient medals could not be manufactured because of the large number of recipients, as was the case in Prussia with the award of the Iron Cross in 1813, it was established that, upon a recipient's death, his medal should be delivered to another recipient who had not yet received his. See Stephen Thomas Previtera, *The Iron Time: A History of the Iron Cross* (Richmond, VA: Winidore Press, 2007).

⁷¹ See Louis Schneider. *Die Preußischen Orden, Ehrenzeichen u. Auszeichnungen: Der Rothe Adler-Orden*, op. cit. Chapter V. See also Dietmar Raksch. *Preußen Verleihungsurkunden und Besitzzeugnisse*. (Hamburg: Nieman 2002) 46.

The Imperial Mexican Crown and C.F. Rothe & Neffe



Figure 22. Christian Rothe

Christian Friederich Rothe (Figure 22) was born in 1817 in Altenbug, Saxony. He moved to Vienna in 1834 and worked as a goldsmith, silversmith, and jeweler for the firm Waldschnepfenhaus. He gained great renown and eventually managed the firm.⁷² In 1844, he acquired control of the company and changed the name to C.F. Rothe. Later, he included his nephew Anton Rothe in his firm, changing the firm's name to C.F. Rothe und Neffe. In 1850, another of his nephews, Anton Gerbitz, joined the firm. Thereafter, the firm received the Austrian Crown's appointment as a Hoflieferant to be a court goldsmith (k.k. Hofgoldarbeiter),⁷³ which allowed it to also work as an Ordenjuwelier or jeweler supplying the Court with medals and orders.

⁷² James W. Schaaf, "The Serbian White Eagle Order", *The Medal Collector, Official Publication of the Orders and Medals Society of America* 30, No. 6 (June, 1979) 13.

⁷³ Pavel Car y Tomislav Muhić, *Serbian and Yugoslavian Orders and Decorations from 1859 to 1941*, (Vienna: Verlag Militaria GmbH, 2009), 555.

The quality of the medals produced by Rothe throughout its history is recognized by modern phaleristic experts, some of which have summarized the quality of Rothe's work as follows:

However, what made this workshop so famous was order badges decorated with enamel and with extraordinary finishing. In comparison with other workshops, Rothe & Neffe had special finishing and precise workmanship, signs of a goldsmith-genius that distinguished their products from all others. It seemed that there was nothing these master craftsmen could not produce.⁷⁴

Among other decorations for the Imperial Crown of Austria, Rothe produced, in addition to the collar of the Golden Fleece, the insignia for the most important Austrian Orders, including the Order of Maria Theresa, the Order of Leopold, the Order of the Iron Crown, the Order of Francis Joseph, and the Austro-Hungarian Order of St. Stephen (Figure 23).

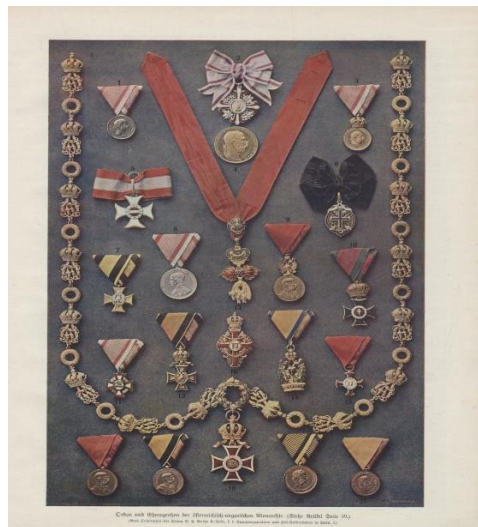


Figure 23. Some of the orders and medals made by Rothe^{xxii}

Rothe also manufactured decorations for kingdoms as diverse as the Shah of Persia, the Crown of Siam, the Emperor of Japan, and other European kingdoms such as Serbia, Prussia and Spain.

Rothe eventually became one of Vienna's most important jewelry houses during the second half of the XIX century,⁷⁵ providing decorations under Royal Privilege until his death in 1892. When Rothe died, the company was passed on to his nephews, who preserved the firm's

⁷⁴ Id. See also Stephen Previtera, *The Iron Time: A History of the Iron Cross*, op. cit. 184.

⁷⁵ Christian Ortner y Georg Ludwigstorff, *Österreichs Orden und Ehrenzeichen*. Vol. I, (Vienna: Verlag Militaria GmbH, 2017), 56.

legal name, thus maintaining its capital gains and privileges until the fall of the Habsburgs in 1918.⁷⁶

The firm would remain a family business, producing high-quality work for five generations, producing medals and decorations even during World War II. The firm finally closed operations in 2005, when, fortunately for us, Rothe's successors handed over most of the company's files to the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv in Vienna, which still preserves them.

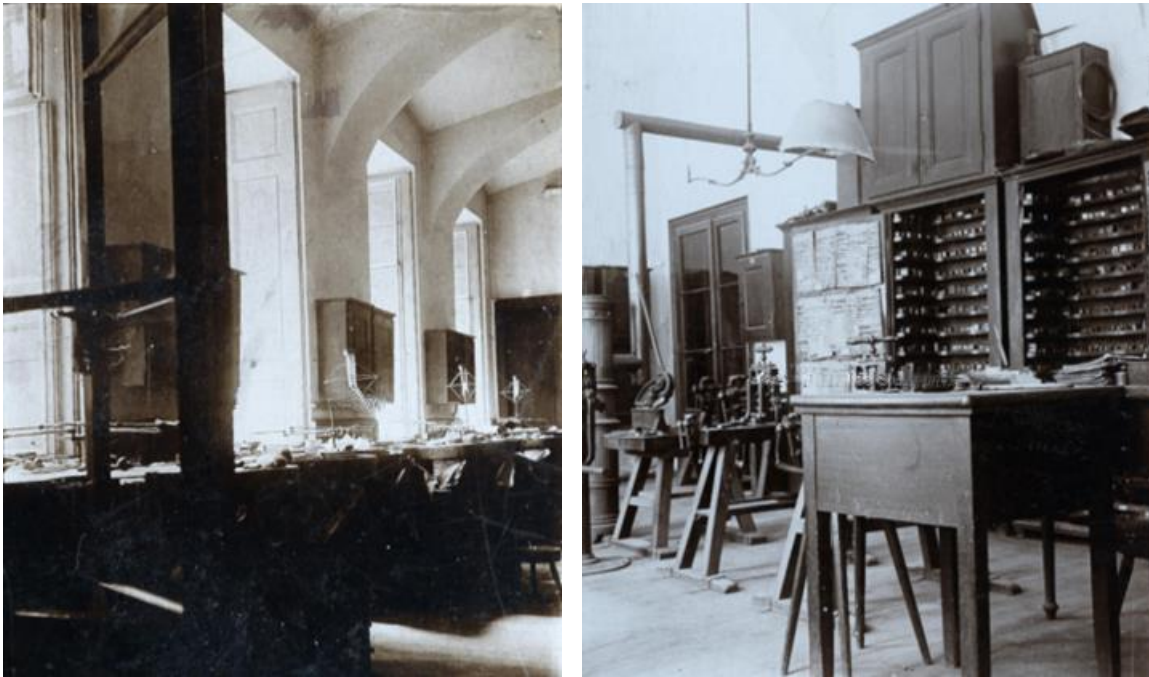


Figure 24. Pictures of C.F. Rothe's *Atelier* in Viena ^{xxiii}

As part of our research, we were able to examine dozens of letters held in various collections at the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv in the Haus, Hof und Staatsarchiv Section, sent by officials of Maximilian's Imperial Government, both Mexican and Austrian, regarding the fabrication of decorations for the Mexican Orders.⁷⁷ We can conclude from the documents examined in our research that Rothe's relationship with Maximilian's Imperial Government officials began in mid-1864.

⁷⁶ The abdication of King Karl I from the Austrian throne on November 12, 1918, brought about the end of the royal House of Habsburg and, with it, the courtly privileges granted to the Hoflieferant and Kammerlieferant ateliers such as the Rothe. See generally Ingrid Haslinger. *Kunde: Kaiser, Die Geschichte der Ehemaligen k.u.k. Hoflieferanten*. (Vienna: Verlag Anton Schroll, 1996). 13.

⁷⁷ The list of consulted collections appears at the end of the document. Each collection is organized chronologically and varies in the number of documents it contains.

It is most likely that Maximilian's relationship with Rothe was originally established through the Austrian Crown and encouraged by other Austrian fellow citizens who were part of his entourage in Mexico.⁷⁸ Maximilian would engage Rothe's firm to manufacture the decorations of the Mexican Empire and the personal jewels of the Mexican Imperial family. In fact, before leaving for Mexico, the Emperor had already commissioned Rothe to prepare certain jewels that he would bring to his new Empire.⁷⁹ Likewise, we found that Rothe had elaborated decorations of the Order of Guadalupe before the Emperor arrived in Mexico. Such is the case of the Grand Cross and Star fabricated by Rothe to be awarded to the French general Charles August Frossard, whose diploma Maximilian signed on April 10, 1864, at the Miramar castle. On this date, Maximilian also executed the certificate for Prosper de Chasseloup-Laubat, referred to before.

During our research, we were able to study multiple letters from Sebastián Scherzenlechner, State Councilor and Head of the Civil Cabinet of the Mexican Crown,⁸⁰ and from Jacob von Kuhacsevich, Archivist and Treasurer of the Royal House of Maximilian,⁸¹ in which they requested the fabrication and delivery of insignia for the Mexican Orders. These letters were not mere purchase orders because these officers also commented on the state of affairs in Mexico and engaged in social conversation.

Upon his arrival in Mexico, in a letter dated July 10, 1864, Sebastian Scherzenlechner,⁸² whom Maximilian had appointed at that time as State Councilor and Head of the Civil

⁷⁸ Maximilian brought with him to Mexico over eighty Austrian citizens. M.M. McAllen. *Maximilian and Carlota: Europe's Last Empire in Mexico*. (Texas: Trinity University Press 2017) Loc. 220 of 12914. Kindle.

⁷⁹ In a letter dated March 11, 1865, Jacob Kuhacsevich refers to certain jewelry Rothe had made at the Emperor's request while still in Milan. AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-4.

⁸⁰ R. Silvestre Villegas. "Sebastián Scherzenlechner y Mexico." in *Históricas* 50, *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*. UNAM (September-December 1997). pp. 36-37. It is interesting to note that in the letter from Angel Núñez Ortega dated April 2, 1881, transcribed in said publication, reference is made to the fact that Scherzenlechner had been a soldier and upon his retirement from the army, he was a fencing teacher to Maximilian and Emperor Franz Joseph, being *persona non grata* for the latter. Núñez points out that this animosity between the Emperor and Scherzenlechner was precisely the reason Maximilian had for selecting and distinguishing Scherzenlechner.

⁸¹ M.M. McAllen. *Op. Cit.* Loc. 5187 de 12914. Kindle

⁸² Grand Officer of the Imperial Order of Guadalupe, Grand Cross of the Order of Saint Gregory the Great, Knight of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour of France, Knight of

Cabinet of the Mexican Crown, writes to Rothe informing him of his arrival in Mexico with the Emperor's entourage. In his letter, Scherzenlechner tells Rothe that the Mexican landscape was beautiful and that "the future was hopeful." Scherzenlechner also comments that the trip to Mexico had tired him out too much, and he hoped to be able to retire modestly the following summer.⁸³ In that same letter, he includes a postscript in which he asks Rothe to send a price list for the fabrication of decorations of the Order of Guadalupe and that he hopes that the prices will be competitive enough to compete with "the Parisians." Scherzenlechner's good news from Mexico continues in later letters to Rothe. In a letter dated September 14, 1864, in addition to attending to certain financial matters related to previous purchase orders, Scherzenlechner tells Rothe that he is traveling in the interior of Mexico with the Emperor and that the popular reception has been "more than enthusiastic."⁸⁴ Scherzenlechner writes this letter from San Juan de Allende, where he was as part of the Emperor's first tour (August 4 to October 30, 1864) that would eventually take them to Dolores Hidalgo, where the Emperor would give a speech on Mexican independence.⁸⁵

However, not everything was "peaches and creme" for all Austrians accompanying the Emperor, as we found in Herr Fleischmann's letter to Rothe dated November 24, 1864. . It appears Fleischmann was also a jeweler or silversmith and had worked with Rothe in his atelier. We deduce this because the tone of his letter, although formal, denotes a relationship of real affection towards Rothe, and he finishes his letter asking Rothe to give his regards to "his colleagues and friends" of the firm. In his letter, Fleischmann complains

the Royal Order of Saint Olaf. Sometimes, granting a noble title, dignity, or decoration allowed the person to be referred to by the title or name of the honor received. For example, in England, the person in charge of the Royal Seal is designated by the name of the object he guards, giving him the title of "Lord Privy Seal," while the "Black Rod" is the title given to the royal officer in charge of knocking with a mallet on the door of the House of Commons to announce the arrival of the Sovereign and open the English parliament.

⁸³ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-4-3. In fact, the last communication sent by Scherzenlechner in the Rothe archives is dated 22 February 1865. AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-3. By the end of 1865, Scherzenlechner was no longer in the Mexican Empire's active service but only as an Honorary Counsellor and had taken residence in Trieste. See *Almanaque del Imperio de 1866*. (Mexico: J.M. Lara 1866) 28.

⁸⁴ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-4-6.

⁸⁵ Konrad Ratz and Amparo Gómez Tepexicuapan. *Ein Kaiser unterwegs: Die Reisen Maximilians von Mexiko 1864-1867 nach Presseberichten und Privatbriefen*. (Viena: Böhlav Verlag 2007) 65-66.

bitterly about the poor conditions of his accommodations upon his arrival in Mexico and tells Rothe that, on the occasion of the Emperor's first trip to the interior of Mexico (also alluded to in Scherzenlechner's letter discussed above), the Emperor took with him almost all the servants of the Imperial House. In contrast, Fleischmann had to stay in the capital, practically alone, to serve as Chamber Officer to the Empress, a service which was not to his liking. Fleischmann also indicates that the silverware acquired in France by the Mexican Imperial Government was not of good quality and that, given this situation, "no silversmith of Rothe would want to become a Royal servant" in Mexico. Fleischmann expresses his desire to return to Europe in December and gives Rothe more details about the business of the Imperial Government, but concludes his letter by telling Rothe that the handling and misuse of gold and jewels by court officials was reaching an extreme point.⁸⁶

Unfortunately, our research only gives us one side of the conversation between Rothe and the officials of the Mexican Empire, since no copies of the handwritten communications sent by Rothe in response to those received exist in Rothe's archive in Vienna. Although carbon paper was invented in the early 1800s, its use was cumbersome and messy when handwriting a letter. Therefore, in most cases, only the original handwritten letter received by Rothe exists. In some cases, letters received by Rothe were copied by hand to make a duplicate. The purpose of such copies was to transcribe or translate the letter's content and not to make a perfect copy. From a diplomatic point of view,⁸⁷ the paper used by the Imperial Office to communicate official business to Rothe, even those sent by the Chancellery of Imperial Orders are written on plain paper. We rarely found communications on pre-printed letterhead. One of the first communications with pre-printed letterhead has a French letterhead corresponding to the Office of the Emperor in the Palace of Mexico, and the letter was sent by the Secretary General of the Palace Intendancy, Nicolaus von Poliakovits (Figure 25).⁸⁸

⁸⁶ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-4-9.

⁸⁷ Diplomatics is one of History's auxiliary sciences, and it focuses on the formal analysis of documents, their requirements and formalities, the seals and stamps affixed to them, among other extrinsic and intrinsic elements related to the creation and validity of historical documents.

⁸⁸ After completing his service for the Mexican Crown, Poliakovits worked as a member of the Staff Office of the Austrian Crown (k.k. Obersthofmeister-stab) as an interpreter of the Spanish language. Poliakovits was a Knight of the Order of Guadalupe, a Knight of the Order of the Mexican Eagle, a Knight of the Imperial Order of Franz Joseph, a member of the Order of Prince Danilo of Montenegro, and a Knight of the Italian Order of St. Maurice and St.

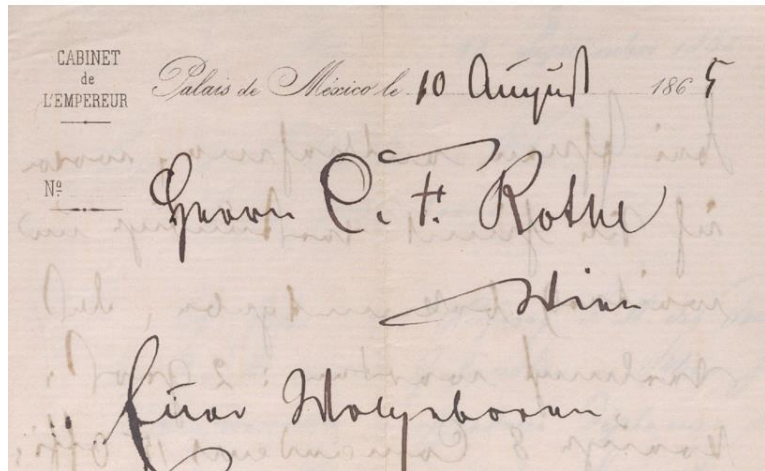


Figure 25. Pre-printed letterhead in Poliakovits letter to Rothe.⁸⁹

Another letter with a pre-printed letterhead is one dated October 26, 1865, sent by Rudolf Günner,⁹⁰ who writes to Rothe using a paper with the seal of the Emperor's House, Grand Chamberlain Directorate (Figure 26).



Figure 26. Pre-printed letterhead in Günner's letter⁹¹

From a diplomatic point of view, other interesting documents are certain letters sent on plain paper but bearing an embossed seal. The first such letter, dated April 11, 1866, was sent by

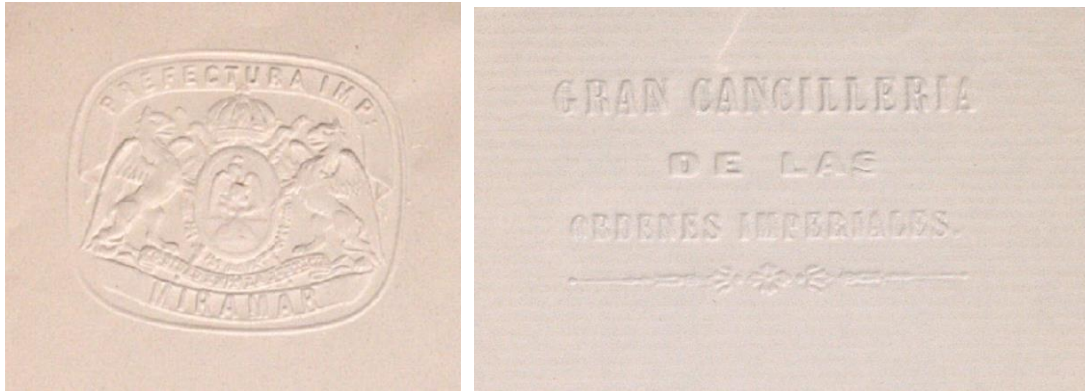
Lazarus. See *Hof- und Staats- Handbuch der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie für 1883* (Vienna: Verlag der k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei 1883) 18.

⁸⁹ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-9.

⁹⁰ Officer of the Order of Guadalupe, Knight of the Order of Saint Gregory the Great.

⁹¹ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-14

the Superintendent of Miramar, Eduard Radonetz, whose seal indicates that the letter comes from the Imperial Prefecture of Miramar and has the Mexican Imperial coat of arms (Figure 27).⁹² As for the second type of embossed seal, this appears on a letter dated July 28, 1866, sent by Juan de Dios Peza, Grand Chancellor of the Imperial Orders, and shows the seal of the Grand Chancellery of the Imperial Orders (Figure 28).⁹³ It is worth noting that pre-printed ink letterhead was much more expensive than using plain paper and manually affixing to it an embossed seal.



Figures 27 and 28. Embossed seal used as letterhead in Radonetz and Peza's letters.

Before going into more detail on the communications sent by the Mexican Imperial Government to Rothe requesting different Order of Guadalupe insignia, it is convenient to briefly comment on the form and manner in which medals and other decorations of honor were made in the XIX century. The process begins with the elaboration of technical and artistic designs for each decoration, such as those we could observe in Rothe's workbook, designated as *Werkbuch mit Anleitung für die Herstellung verschiedener Orden mit Ordenszeichnungen*, and which we will discuss in detail later. These technical and artistic drawings were then transferred to other media to make molds or dies, as required by each decoration. Given that many medals were made on gold, silver, and bronze substrates, Rothe employed in his Atelier several artisans, such as silversmiths, goldsmiths, and jewelers, who specialized in the various stages of the process of crafting such delicate works of art. The most common techniques used to fabricate medals and other honorary decorations in the XIX century were chiseling, engraving, die-cutting, stamping, crimping, enameling, and casting. In the case of medals made up of multiple elements, several artisans participated in different stages of manufacture for a single insignia. The process usually began with an artisan engraver who carved the individual dies for each element that would make up the

⁹² AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-17

⁹³ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-36

decoration, which was later incorporated to form a single plate that allowed repeatable and uniform stamps. After the different parts were die-cut and welded, the decoration was cleaned with sulfuric acid or nitric acid, which was later neutralized with bicarbonate. Goldsmiths or silversmiths polished the insignia and handed it over to the artisan jewelers, who carried out the placement, polishing, and brightening of precious stones or enamels, as the case may be, culminating the entire process with the final polishing of the set, the placement of the ribbon and the suspension or fastening system.⁹⁴

Enamels, an integral part of most decorations of the period, and certainly of the Order of Guadalupe, are made from crystals such as silica and potassium, which, through fusion and melting, are made to adhere to other materials such as gold, silver, copper, or copper alloys. The enamels used in nineteenth-century decorations were mostly melted enamels.⁹⁵ During the melting process, the enamels acquire a transparent or opaque-glass consistency depending on the style used by the jeweler in their production.⁹⁶ Interestingly, two materials that initially appear very different, such as gold and silica powder, can melt into a single material that combines hardness and robustness.⁹⁷ As Everett Lesley points out, the mixture of silica, borates, alkaline salts, and metallic oxides, when heated on a base of gold, copper, or silver, produces an enamel that will remain uncorrupted by moisture or most chemicals.⁹⁸ To avoid damaging the enamels, when making decorations consisting of several pieces, silver, copper, or zinc solders were used on the engraved or die-cut sheet metal, and then the enamels were carefully incorporated. A dry or wet process can be used to make enamels. The wet process can be further processed by depositing, sprinkling, or dipping the crystals,

⁹⁴ On the fabrication of medals and decorations, see David Ramírez Jiménez y Antonio Prieto Barrio, *op.cit.* 13-137.

⁹⁵ It was not until the beginning of the 20th century that enameled decorations began to be manufactured using industrial production line techniques. An ingenious process to decorate enamels was used, which consisted of painting on a thin layer of cellulose that was transferred by heat to the medal's enameled surfaces. Such process was used on a large scale by Huguenin Frères to manufacture the Serbian Order of Saint Saba. See Pavel Car and Tomislav Muhić, *op. cit.* 224, 568.

⁹⁶ Estela Ocampo. *Diccionario de términos artísticos y arqueológicos.* (Barcelona: Tesys, S.A. 1992) 88.

⁹⁷ Andreu Vilasís. *Esmaltar: La complicidad del fuego con el arte.* (Barcelona: AUSA, 2008). 13.

⁹⁸ Everett P. Lesley. *Enamel: An Historic Survey to the Present Day.* (New York: The Cooper Union Museum for the Arts of Decoration, 1954) 4.

which are melted in a furnace once placed on the piece in its final position.⁹⁹ The main enameling techniques in the 19th century were cloisonné, filigree, basse taille, cameo, champlevé and painting.¹⁰⁰

Although Rothe kept very detailed files on the designs of each Order he manufactured, the drawings for the Order of Guadalupe could not be found among the archived documents. Apparently, the drawings related to Orders and medals commissioned by the Mexican Empire were kept in separate files that have not survived to this day or were retained by family members. Therefore, we do not have the image and description of the Order of Guadalupe as originally commissioned to Rothe. Other drawings related to works commissioned by the Mexican Empire were not included in the documents delivered to the Austrian archives. In a letter sent by Scherzenlechner to Rothe, in which Rothe was instructed to make a cipher ring, he was told that the corresponding drawing was enclosed in the letter.¹⁰¹ The drawing mentioned was not attached to the letter, nor could it be located in the archives. However, we found a letter with a drawing and instructions interspersed in the text. To understand the letter better, we must recall that on April 10, 1865, Maximilian amended the statutes of the Order to include the Officer Class. Prior to the formal amendment, in a letter dated January 27, 1865, Scherzenlechner sent Rothe the amount of 30,000 francs to fabricate several jewels as well as decorations of the Order of Guadalupe, and included a hand-drawn schematic, showing the rosette that should distinguish the Officer Class crosses from the Knight's crosses. Scherzenlechner instructed Rothe that the Officer Class medals should not have a bow, but rather, should hang freely from the suspension ribbon. (Figure 29).¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Id. See also Centro de Tecnología Andaluza. *Guía para diseñadores y prescriptores de joyería*. (España: Tipografía Católica S.C.A. 2009) 38.

¹⁰⁰ Leticia Arbeteta Mira. *Notas sobre la Joyería esmaltada en la España del siglo XVII*. Estudios de Platería (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia 2006) 60.

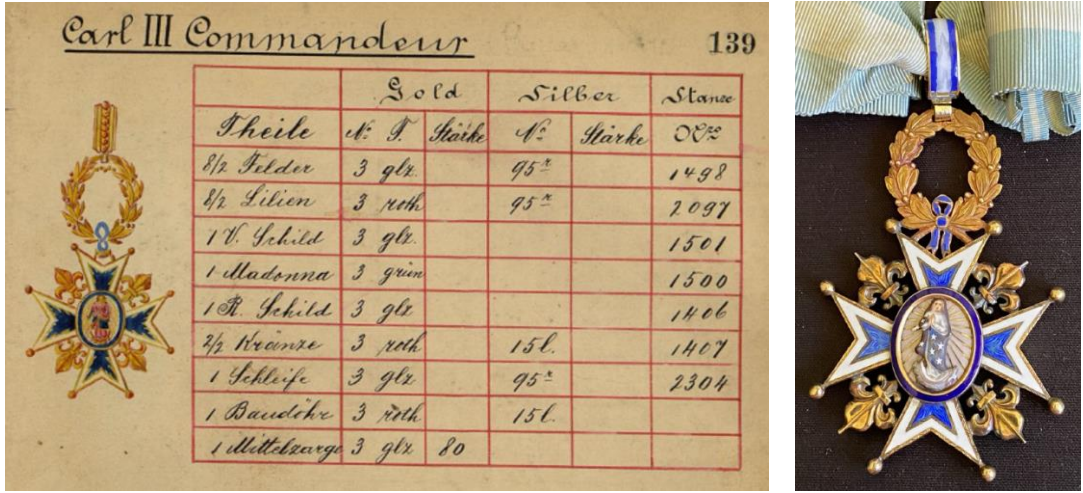
¹⁰¹ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-4-3.

¹⁰² AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-1.



Figure 29. Scherzenlechner’s letter includes the rosette schematic and an Officer Cross manufactured by Rothe pursuant to the instructions received.

Although we do not have the specific image that was sent to Rothe describing what the decoration of the Order of Guadalupe was like, we can refer to images of other Orders that appear in Rothe's workbook, to which we have referred previously and where we can appreciate the level of detail used by Rothe to catalog the Orders and medals manufactured in his atelier. The workbook includes many details, for example, whether the particular Order had classes and what they were, the design, the material to be used, the stamps or dies necessary for its elaboration, etc. (Figure 30). In Figure 30, below, we can see the Real y Distinguida Orden de Carlos III Commander's Cross. The Virgin’s icon, as we have said before, probably inspired the Mexican medal. The Orden de Carlos III had several classes, including Collar, Grand Cross, Numerary Commander, Commander, and Knight.



Figur 30. A technical-artistic design in Rothe’s workbook and a Commander’s Cross from an unknown manufacturer

From the image above, we can appreciate that, to fabricate an Orden de Carlos III cross, depending on the material of the decoration, Rothe needed to use up to seven different punches and dies, not including those required to mark the origin of the decoration or to indicate the purity of the material. We should also remember that Rothe's jewelers used other tools while preparing and placing the enamels, polishing the insignia, etc. The fabrication of Order's stars could require Rothe to use more than fifteen punches and dies, as was the case when fabricating the Star of the Order of Saint Hubertus of Bavaria (Figure 31).

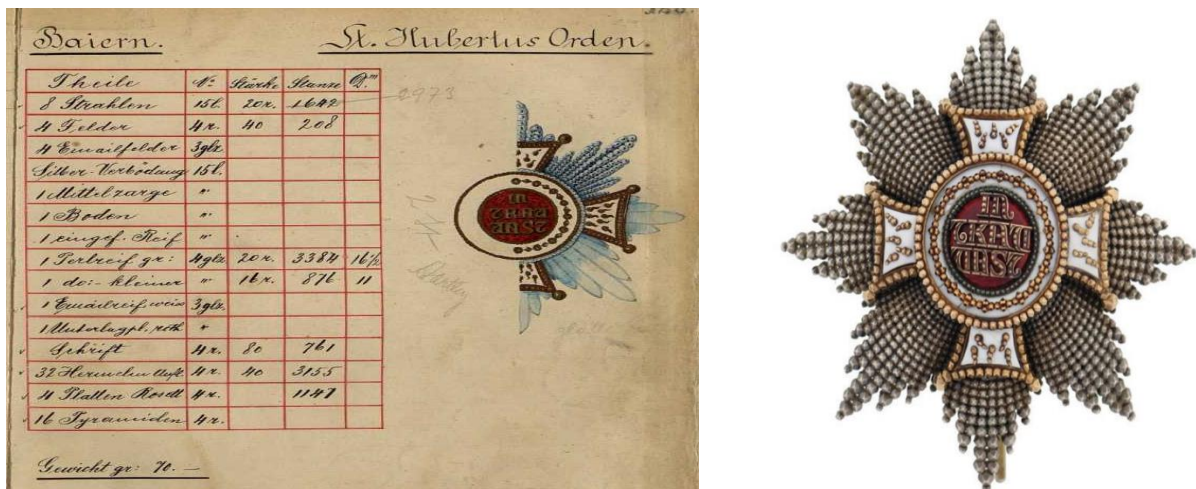


Figure 31. A technical-artistic design in Rothe's workbook and a star from an unknown manufacturer.

It must be noted that Rothe was not the only manufacturing house selected by officials of the Mexican Empire. During our research, we were able to find decorations of the Order of Guadalupe made in France by Parisian jewelers such as Louis George Halley, Auguste Krètly, Edmond Lemaître, and Paul Stopin, or in Rome, such as Domenico Cravanzola.¹⁰³ These famous jewelers also manufactured insignia commissioned to them by Napoleon III. It is precisely these French merchants that Scherzenlechner referred to in his letter to Rothe as “the Parisians” and with whom Rothe would have to compete for new orders. It was not until Maximilian arrived in Mexico that the officers of the Chancellery commenced entrusting the manufacture of decorations to Rothe. Previously, the Mexican Chancellery sent all purchase orders to France or Italy.

¹⁰³ Some of these jewelers also manufactured Órden del Águila Mexicana and Orden de San Marcos insignia for the Mexican Empire.

It is worth noting that when a manufacturer did not receive exclusivity to fabricate decorations, they had to share the design with other competitors selected by the sovereign to manufacture such insignias. For example, in the case of the Order of Carlos III, referred to above, the jewelers of the Court of Madrid had to share their designs with the competition. Thus, Spanish manufacturers such as Mariano Cejalvo, Gaspar Yraburo, and Bernardo Castells could simultaneously have authorization with Rothe, Krètly, and Lemaître to produce these insignia as required and commissioned by the Spanish monarch.

The same thing happened, for example, with the insignia of the Order of Guadalupe and the Mexican Eagle. By letter dated April 11, 1865, Jacob Kuhacsevich informed Rothe that he would receive from the Mexican embassy in Paris, as a sample, a Grand Cross, an Officer's Grand Cross, a Commander's Cross, an Officer's Cross, and a Knight's Cross of the Order of the Mexican Eagle, which until then had been made only by French jewelers. Kuhacsevich informed Rothe that Rothe would have to manufacture and deliver to the Mexican Consul General in Vienna, following the pattern of the decorations he would receive from Paris, some 116 insignia of the Mexican Eagle, including among these six Grand Crosses and ten Grand Officer's Stars.¹⁰⁴

The Emperor was so pleased with Rothe's work that he later commissioned the fabrication of his personal insignias, including a Grand Cross of the Order of the Mexican Eagle. This insignia was fabricated from gold, with the sword, crown, and snake set with diamonds and the “nopales” made of spotless prime jade (Figure 32).



Figure 32. The Grand Cross and case of the insignia fabricated by Rothe for Maximilian.^{xxiv}

¹⁰⁴ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-5.

Rothe was also invited to “seek inspiration” from other designs and present practical solutions to the Emperor. An extremely interesting letter dated October 9, 1865, demonstrates this.¹⁰⁵ In the letter, Wennish¹⁰⁶ informs Rothe of a direct order from Emperor Maximilian. The letter states that the Emperor would like Rothe to present designs and drawings of a clasp or hook that could prevent the Grand Collar of the Golden Fleece, the Grand Collar of the Order of the Mexican Eagle, and the Grand Collar of the Order of Guadalupe from slipping out of position when riding a horse. Wennish informs that the Emperor has requested Rothe to design some practical devices, possibly to be placed under the tunic's epaulets, perhaps using small rings of precious stones, so that the three chains will be held together and will not move, separate, or come out of place when riding. Wennish further informs Rothe that the Emperor recommends that he “look around the Vienna museum to see if there is anything worth considering that may assist him to fulfil this task.”¹⁰⁷

Rothe's records were detailed enough to include information on the date on which letters from the Mexican Imperial Government were received in Vienna, allowing us to know that correspondence between Mexico and Vienna took approximately forty-five days. In contrast, purchase orders from Miramar Castle to Vienna only took six days to be fulfilled. The delay in delivering mail and parcels would have significant effects in the future, since the request for medals made by officials of the Court would arrive before the instructions regarding payment for them from the Chancellery of the Imperial Orders. As we will see later, this delay and lack of communication between officials of the Imperial Government would cause Rothe to prepare more decorations than the Chancellery could timely pay.

Among the first Grand Crosses of the Order of Guadalupe to be awarded to French officials were those of Napoleon III, who had received the Grand Cross in June 1854 (awarded by

¹⁰⁵ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-13.

¹⁰⁶ We have not found any reliable information about this official of the Imperial Court that could provide certainty about his position and functions. In the book by Konrad Ratz and Amparo Gómez Tepexicuapan, op. cit., a person with the surname Wennisch is mentioned as the Haußhoffmeister or Principal Chamberlain of the Imperial House. However, we did find a small and interesting book titled *Reise nach Mexico: Erzählt von den Brüdern Franz und Josef Wennisch*. (Vienna: Verlag der Direktion 1868). In the book, two of Wennisch's sons recounted the trip with their family from Miramar to Mexico as part of the Emperor's entourage. Unfortunately, the Wennisch brothers failed to mention the position occupied by their father on the Imperial entourage or what tasks he performed. During our investigation we found three other letters sent by Wennisch to Rothe, one from September 1865, one in February 1866, and the last in July of the same year.

¹⁰⁷ Translation ours.

Sainte-Anna), and that of General Bazain, in January 1864 (awarded by the Regency).¹⁰⁸ Historically, it is known that Maximilian and General Bazain did not have a good relationship.¹⁰⁹ Maximilian considered Bazain to be a coarse, violent, and boorish person. The Austrian officials and courtiers of the Mexican Court also shared this opinion. For his part, Bazain considered Maximilian a spendthrift and a sybarite.

Nevertheless, having been appointed directly by Napoleon III, Bazain was actually in charge of military operations in Mexico. In fact, not only soldiers but also the civil officials of Maximilian's Imperial government continually consulted Bazain, as demonstrated by the more than two thousand documents in his personal archives.¹¹⁰ Bazain's barbaric and repressive tactics, with Maximilian's tacit or express acquiescence, caused the Mexican people's hatred towards the foreigners and, therefore, towards the figure of Emperor Maximilian.¹¹¹

Another French citizen who received one of the first insignia of the Order of Guadalupe was Louis Antoine Debrauz de Saldapenna, who, in addition to being an official of the French government, was a personal friend of Maximilian and a spy for Napoleon III.

Rothe's archive does not record any communications issued directly from Mexico, commissioning the fabrication of insignia of the Order of Guadalupe for army officers or soldiers or any official of the French government. We should remember that, as mentioned above, the Order fabricated by Rothe for General Frossard was awarded in Miramar, before

¹⁰⁸ *Anuario de las Ordenes Imperiales 1865* (México: Imprenta J.M. Lara 1865) 18. These Grand Crosses were not manufactured by Rothe.

¹⁰⁹ In the memoirs of her trip to Mexico, Countess Paula Kollonitz, Lady-in-Waiting to the Empress, writes: "The Emperor had many difficulties and many complaints in his relations with the French because they did not play fair." Paula Kollonitz. *Un viaje a México en 1864*. (Mexico: Libros de México, 2019) 88. (Translation ours)

¹¹⁰ Genaro García. *La intervención francesa en México según el archivo del mariscal Bazaine: (textos español y francés)*. (México: Vda. de C. Bouret 1907) 6.

¹¹¹ On October 3, 1865, a decree popularly known as the "Black Decree" was published in the *Diario del Imperio*. This legislation indicated that the Imperial Government would, from that moment on, be inflexible in its punishment, imposing capital punishment by court-martial on all those who belonged to or were identified with the criminal "gangs" or "gavillas," nickname by which the forces of President Benito Juárez were designated. See *Diario del Imperio*, 3, Volume II, No. 228. Unfortunately for Maximilian, at the end of the war, President Juárez would insist that Maximilian be tried under a similar statute promulgated by the Mexican government to punish those who had infringed on national integrity.

Maximilian left for Mexico. Apparently, once Maximilian arrived in Mexico, the Orders destined for the French were commissioned to French and Italian jewelers, reserving Rothe's for Austrian dignitaries and other international influential personalities.¹¹² For example, in a letter dated May 6, 1866, Mathias Leißer, military attaché in Vienna of the Mexican Imperial Crown, requested a Grand Cross of the Order of Guadalupe and its sash to be delivered in Rome as a special decoration. What is interesting about this brief letter is that Leißer expresses, in a text included between the lines, that the order was commissioned by Father Fischer, who, as is known, was the confessor and close associate of Maximilian.¹¹³ We must point out that Fischer had no position in the Chancellery of the Imperial Orders, but rather, his role was that of Honorary Chaplain of the Court.¹¹⁴ However, and more importantly, he had been sent to Europe by Maximilian to try to negotiate a Concordat with the Holy See that could result in greater support for the Imperial Government, both in Mexico and abroad.

Unfortunately, the limitations of our archival research did not allow us to physically compare original medals manufactured by the different firms so that we could assess the typological differences in quality in materials, enamels, weight, etc., which could explain the reason for this apparent preference (Figure 33). All the insignia that we were able to physically examine were fabricated by Rothe.

In many cases, decoration manufacturers included a distinctive stamp or mark on their decorations to distinguish and identify their works. In his excellent treatise on Germanic brands and manufacturers, Mark Woods tells us that, among the marks that can commonly be found on decorations, we can find manufacturer's marks, engraver's marks, marks of the content and type of metal, and other official marks such as weight, purity, etc. In Rothe's case he used very fine and tiny punches to include his marks. When he made stars for Orders, because they were larger, Rothe included more information (Figure 34).

¹¹² Insignias of the Order of Guadalupe, including Grand Crosses, Commanders' Crosses, and Knights' Crosses made by Rothe, were sent to many recipients in Vienna, Egypt, Belgium, Rome, and other international destinations. See AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-6, AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-20, among others.

¹¹³ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-22.

¹¹⁴ *Almanaque del Imperio de 1866*. 16.



Figure 33. Typological and stylistic differences between Grand Cross Stars fabricated by (i) Lemaître,^{xxv} (ii) Cravanzola^{xxvi} y (iii) Rothe^{xxvii}

It was customary for European medal manufacturers to include a distinctive stamp or mark on their decorations to distinguish and identify their works. In his excellent treatise on Germanic manufacturers and their marks, Mark Woods tells us that, among the marks that can commonly be found on decorations, we can find manufacturer's marks, engraver's marks, marks specifying the content and type of metal, and other official marks such as weight, purity, etc.¹¹⁵ Rothe also used very fine and small punches and dies to include his marks in most of his work. When he made stars for Orders, because they were larger, Rothe included more information (Figure 34).

¹¹⁵ Mark Woods. *German Medal Makers and their Marks 1813-1957*. (Great Britain: MW Militaria, 2020). 5.



Figure 34. Manufacture marks by Rothe stamped in the hinged pin of an Orden de Guadalupe Grand Cross star.



Figure 34A. Reverse of an Orden de Guadalupe star showing Rothe's maker mark and other information.

It is necessary to clarify that when considering the typological variations in the decorations of the Second Mexican Empire, we are not faced with typological differences motivated by formal or construction changes, which the sovereign donor promoted, but rather, with stylistic variations resulting from the artistic freedom of each manufacturer.¹¹⁶ It is also worth noting that, contrary to heraldry, a discipline that at one time regulated and established guidelines from which the creators of coats of arms could not deviate, phaleristics never imposed limits or attempted to regulate the imagination of the creators who designed these decorations. The freedom to use and combine shapes, colors and designs was only limited to what the sovereign requested and the artist could produce. Of course, once the final form of the decoration was approved by the sovereign, as long as there was a statute, ordinance,

¹¹⁶ Variations in the form of a decoration are those in which the attributes, mottos or colors are changed, while variations in fabrication include, among others, the incorporation of small ornaments or the abbreviation of mottos. See José M. Pérez Guerra. *Órdenes y Condecoraciones de España 1800-1975*. (Zaragoza: Hemanos Guerra, 2000). 9.

or enabling decree, any subsequent change had to be incorporated with the same formality with which it was created.

In the present case, even though Rothe did not design the decorations of the Order of Guadalupe, the predilection of Maximilian and his Austrian officials for decorations made by Rothe was certainly evident. As we have said, the fact that Rothe manufactured the Emperor's personal decoration of the Order of the Mexican Eagle when French jewelers had been making decorations for that order since its foundation under the Second Empire denotes the Emperor's predilection for Rothe's work. Even the Grand Chancellor of the Imperial Orders, José H. González, in one of his letters in which he objected to the high cost of Rothe's decorations, acknowledged: "It is true that your medals are better made than those from Paris."¹¹⁷

Because many of the insignia of the Order of Guadalupe that survive to our days were gilded and not on a gold substrate, the gilding has easily eroded, leaving some crosses totally or partially devoid of their golden color, replaced by the dark patina of silver (Figure 35).



Figure 35. Loss of Gilding in Stars by Cravanzola^{xxviii} and Rothe

Gilding silver decorations was typical in both the Order of Guadalupe and Mexican Eagle Orders. However, it is necessary to point out that using silver instead of gold was not a jeweler's willful deviation from the Order's statutes, but rather, such substitutions followed specific instructions provided by the Mexican Imperial Crown. For example, in a letter dated April 11, 1865, Kuhacsevich instructs Rothe to make decorations of the Order of the Mexican Eagle and the Order of Guadalupe, including Grand Crosses and Plaques or Stars of Grand Officers, all of them in silver, and then to "gild them well."¹¹⁸ On the other hand, in a later

¹¹⁷ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-8.

¹¹⁸ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-5. It should be noted here that Kuhacsevich was referring to gilding using gold plating, a chemical process that, during the XIX century, could be carried

letter sent to Rothe on July 27, 1865, Kuhacsevich instructs Rothe to make, among other decorations, a Commander's Cross of the Order of Guadalupe for Count Sabino Giorgi, Maximilian's Chamberlain in Austria, and specifies that the decoration should be made in gold.¹¹⁹

The documents examined in Rothe's archives show that the Imperial officers also commissioned Stars to be included in Grand Crosses and Grand Officers awards of the Order of Guadalupe. The following images show Grand Crosses and Stars manufactured by Rothe over the official Sash of the Order of Guadalupe (Figures 36A and 36B). Although the cross's shape and general attributes had to be preserved in all classes, the obvious difference between crosses of different classes lies in their size and way of fastening (Figure 36C).



Figure 36A. Complete set of sash, cross and star fabricated in gold by Rothe.^{xxix} The stylistic difference between crosses made by Lemaître and Cravanzola (Figures 33 and 35, above) is evident, mainly on the rays' shape and form.

out by mixing gold chloride salts with mercury or cyanide. The solution was then heated to create a solution that could easily adhere to the insignia when it was dipped in the solution. There were other gilding processes, such as vermeil, plating, embossing, or painting.

¹¹⁹ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-8.



Figure 36B. Complete set of sash, cross, and star fabricated in gilded silver by Rothe.



Figure 36C. Size comparison between an Officer Cross and a Grand Cross, both fabricated by Rothe in gilded silver.

It should be noted that the Crosses shown in Figure 36C above show the consistency in designs made by Rothe throughout the Second Mexican Empire. The Officer's Cross dates from 1866, while the Grand Cross is one of the first made by Rothe, and dates from 1864.

The quality of the Crosses made by Rothe is also reflected in the cases in which they were delivered¹²⁰ and the marks and insignia printed on them (Figures 37, 38 and 39).



Figure 37. Officer's Cross fabricated by Rothe and its original case.

¹²⁰ Today, we recognize that ribbons, sashes, cases, and certificates associated with medals are an integral and important part of phaleristic study and analysis of any Honor and Awards system. See Pavel Car and Tomislav Muhić, *op. cit.* 10.



Figure 38. Officer Cross and case by Rothe. The Imperial Heraldic coat of arms is a mélange of symbols, including European griffons and the Mexican eagle eating a snake.



Figure 39. Rothe's distinctive mark inside the case. Note how Rothe proudly displays that he is also the Court Jeweler for the Austrian Emperor and the Shah of Persia.

Interestingly, the distinctive mark inside cases of the Orders of the Mexican Empire is written in Spanish, which assumes that most of its recipients will be Mexican. The seal inside of the cases contains elements of the coat of arms of Austria, as well as two emblems of medals issued by the Shah of Persia. The Persian emblem of the Lion and the Sun also appears in Rothe's Workbook (Figure 40). Although the name used in Rothe's Workbook refers to the decoration of Sciences and Arts, the design corresponds to the scheme of the Persian Order of the Lion and the Sun in its military division, initially established by the Qajar dynasty. Eventually, both decorations under the Pahlavi dynasty underwent significant changes in their composition, although they respected the original iconography.¹²¹

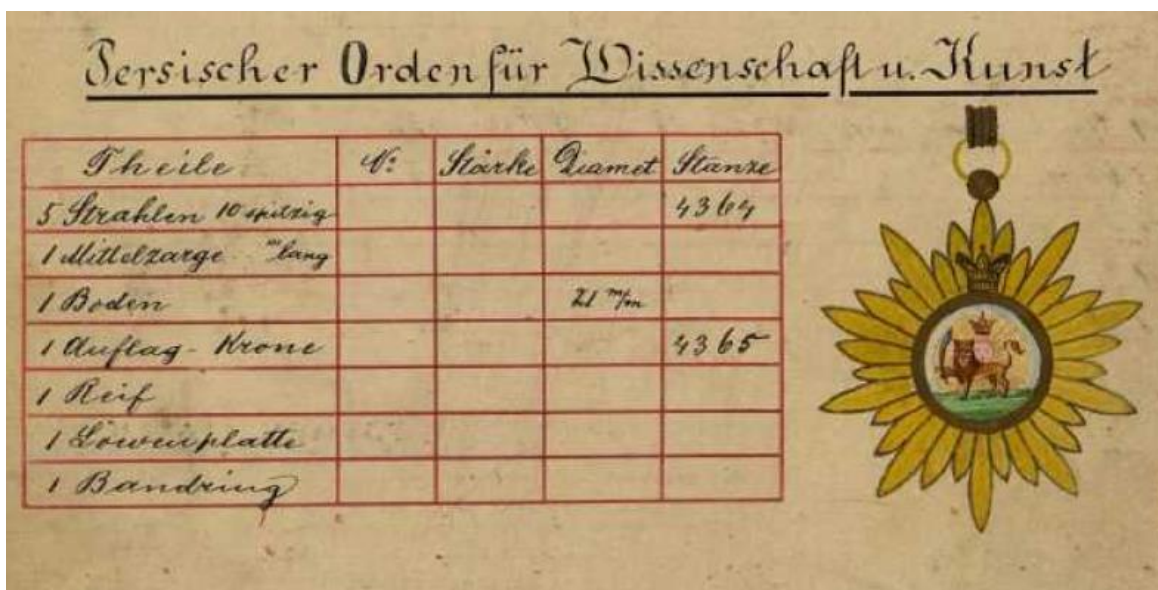


Figure 40. Rothe's Workbook depicting the Persian Order of the Lions and the Sun.

The boxes for the decorations were different colors than the jewelry made by Rothe. At the request of the Mexican Empire, the boxes or cases of jewelry that would be given by the Emperor as gifts should be blue and have the Mexican Royal coat of arms.¹²² As for the boxes or cases, although we believe that most decorations were delivered in a case, we find instances in which the Imperial Government bought empty boxes.¹²³

¹²¹ O. James Younessi. *Orders, Decorations and Medals of the Empire of Iran: The Pahlavi Era*. (Texas: Virtualbookworm.com Publishing Inc., 2016) 189.

¹²² AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-5.

¹²³ In a letter from the Chancellor of the Imperial Orders dated 10 May 1866, a receipt of ten empty boxes requested for stars and crosses of Commanders is acknowledged. AT-

Rothe's Crosses, despite being relatively small, were very detailed and had meticulous work done under the enamel (Figures 41 and 42).



Figure 41. The image shows the cross and case's dimensions.



Figure 42. Minute decorative details incorporated by Rothe under the enamel.

In addition to the Crosses and Stars of the Orden de Guadalupe, the Mexican Imperial Government also commissioned Rothe to fabricate miniatures of both the Orden de Guadalupe and the Mexican Eagle (Figure 43).

OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-23. The manufacturing process of the cases was also highly artisanal, requiring knowledge of leatherworking and sewing.



Figure 43. In the first image, a decoration of the Order of Guadalupe is flanked by a miniature of the Legion of Honor of the Second French Empire and a miniature of the Italian Order of Saint Maurice and Saint Lazarus.^{xxx} Next image shows the obverse and reverse side of a miniature.^{xxxi}

In a letter dated August 6, 1866, Juan de Dios Peza,¹²⁴ acting as Grand Chancellor of the Orders of Mexico after the resignation of Nepomuceno Almonte writes to Rothe specifically to request the fabrication of miniatures related to the Order of the Mexican Eagle.¹²⁵ In addition to those miniature decorations that the Imperial Chancellery commissioned, we find instances in which those individuals that had received a decoration directly from the Chancellery also asked Rothe to elaborate miniatures or reduced medals.

Such is the case of Jacob Kuhacsevich's wife, who, on July 11, 1865, writes to Rothe and asks him to fabricate for her husband some miniature decorations of the Order of Guadalupe and the Order of Saint Gregory, which he had also received.¹²⁶ In her letter, she also asks Rothe to send ribbons for the medals of the Prussian Red Eagle, the Brazilian Order of the Rose, and the Belgian Order of Leopold, of which her husband was also a recipient. This request lets us know that Rothe not only knew the type of ribbon that corresponded to each of the decorations mentioned but that he could obtain them without difficulty and supplied them at his clients' request, even though he had not manufactured the decoration. Furthermore,

¹²⁴ Grand Chancellor of the Imperial Orders, Grand Officer of the Imperial Order of Guadalupe, Medal of 1846 and 1847, Army Colonel and Minister of War.

¹²⁵ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-38.

¹²⁶ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-6.

the letter is interesting because it reminds us that the decorations were an integral part of Court's regular attire, and the ribbons of the medals were subject to deterioration from frequent use, just like any other article of clothing.

The cost of manufacturing the decorations of the Order of Guadalupe was relatively high, and the process was very regulated to ensure that the alloys used maintained the correct percentage of gold and silver as the case may be. The use of alloys was necessary since the raw materials used in fabricating decorations, particularly gold, silver, and bronze, are highly malleable and need the support of other alloyed materials to give them rigidity and stability.¹²⁷ Among other materials used in the alloy, brass and nickel can be found. We must remember that the manufacturing process was completely artisanal, requiring great skill in using and handling metals and precious stones, casting, stamping and punching techniques, preparation of enamels, etc.

In a letter dated November 8, 1864, Sebastian Scherzenlechner sends Rothe 30,000 Francs for the fabrication of the Orden of Guadalupe's insignia.¹²⁸ On January 27, 1865, Scherzenlechner informed Rothe that he would be sending another remittance of 30,000 Francs, which remittance was confirmed by Jacob Kuhacsevich¹²⁹ in a letter dated January 29, 1865, indicating that an additional 30,000 Francs would be sent to the Mexican Imperial House's jewelry account.¹³⁰ Kuhacsevich asked Rothe to keep a separate account for jewelry and another for decorations. Thus, in three months, the Mexican Imperial Government sent Rothe 90,000 Francs to pay for the fabrication of jewelry and decorations of the Guadalupe and Mexican Eagle Orders.

This was an exorbitant amount. To have a frame of reference, let us consider that, by 1860, the nominal daily wage of a worker in France was 1.75 Francs,¹³¹ and that, by 1861, the rent

¹²⁷ Christian Ortner and Georg Ludwigstorff. *op. cit.* 40

¹²⁸ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-4-8

¹²⁹ Officer of the Imperial Order of Guadalupe, Commander of the Order of Saint Gregory the Great, Knight of the Orders of the Red Eagle of Prussia, of the Rose of Brazil, and of Leopold of Belgium.

¹³⁰ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-2.

¹³¹ Leonardo Ridofli. "L'histoire immobile? Six centuries of real wages in France from Luis IX to Napoleon III: 1250-1860". *LEM Working Paper Series*, No. 2017/14, Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna, Laboratory of Economics and Management. Pisa: LEM 2017. Appendix A1.

to be paid for a good house located in the Champs-Élysées in Paris could cost 8,000.00 Francs per year.¹³²

Because the Mexican Imperial Government did not yet collect sufficient funds to maintain its operations, the invoices of the various European suppliers, including the decorations manufacturers, were paid in currency received from the French government's stipend.¹³³ Through the previously mentioned letter, dated January 29, 1865, Jacob Kuhacsevich requested Rothe to bill future invoices in Francs since the Mexican Imperial Crown could issue payments in Francs and Napoleons d'or,¹³⁴ but not in Silver Florins, which was the legal tender in Austria and which Rothe had evidently been using in his invoices (Figure 44). Kuhacsevich even gave Rothe the opportunity to fix the exchange rate that would have been appropriate between Florins and Francs for orders that, at the date of the letter, had not yet been paid.¹³⁵

¹³² Cost of Living in Daumier's Time. Accessed on November 7, 2022, <https://www.daumier.org/biography/cost-of-living-in-daumiers-time/>

¹³³ Just the Chancellery of the Imperial Orders budget for May to December 1866, which included the salaries of officials and operational expenses, amounted to 27,200 pesos. See *Diario del Imperio*, No. 448, Volume III, June 28, 1866. It is worth mentioning that the foreign debt incurred in 1864-1865 already amounted to more than eight million pesos. To this amount had to be added the foreign debt with Spain and England, the non-payment of which had led to the invasion of the three powers, and which, at that time, amounted to more than two million pesos.

¹³⁴ The Napoleon d'Or is a French gold coin, originally containing 5.0805 grams of pure gold. The coin was first minted in 1803 by order of the then Consul, Napoleon Bonaparte, in a denomination of 20 Francs. Its minting continued throughout the First French Empire (1805-1815). These coins were minted again from 1853 onwards, during the Second French Empire, now by order of Napoleon III, in denominations of 5, 10, 20, 40, 50 and 100 Francs. The Napoleon d'Or was demonetized by the French Republican government in 1928, becoming, from that date on, collector's items.

¹³⁵ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-2



Figure 44. A 20 Franc Napoleon d'or and a 1 Silver Florin.

Precisely because the payments for the Decorations were made from funds from France, by letter dated September 10, 1865, received in Vienna on October 18, Kuhacsevich asked Rothe to send the invoices for the Mexican Decorations written in French from now on, while he could continue to send those for the Imperial Jewelry Account in German.¹³⁶ This request is interesting since Kuhacsevich told Rothe that the invoices for the Decorations needed to be written in French since he “had to present them.”¹³⁷ Whether this “presentation” to the French authorities was only for their knowledge or whether it was for their approval is not clear from the letter. The truth is that, according to the statutes of the Chancellery of the Imperial Orders, it was the Chancellery and not the officials of the French government, the entity with legal authority to approve the accounts of the different Mexican Orders.

Sometimes, payments to Rothe for decorations and jewelry had to be made by a third party, against whom the Chancellery of the Imperial Orders issued a payment order. Such is the case of the letter dated July 28, 1866, from the Chancellor of the Imperial Orders, Juan de Dios Peza, who sent a letter to Rothe with a payment order issued against A. Semeleder for some five thousand two hundred francs to pay Rothe part of the debts for decorations.¹³⁸

The prices for the manufacture of each decoration varied depending on the materials and the complexity of the work. For example, in the letter sent by the Chancellor of the Imperial Orders, José H. González, dated March 10, 1866, and received by Rothe on April 12, 1866, a receipt is acknowledged of two invoices sent by Rothe on December 7 and 23, 1865. The letter details the receipt and collection of decorations of the Order of the Mexican Eagle for

¹³⁶ In later letters, Kuhacsevich reiterated to Rothe that invoices for decorations should be sent in French to the Chancellery of the Imperial Orders, with a copy addressed to him. See, for example, AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-7 and AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-12.

¹³⁷ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-11.

¹³⁸ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-36.

11,105 Francs, some of the Order of Guadalupe in gilded silver for 16,602 Francs, and others (surely of a lesser kind) for 9,854 Francs. The total invoiced by Rothe to the Imperial Crown for December 1865 alone was 41,901.50 Francs.¹³⁹

It is also necessary to consider that, in addition to the cost of preparing the decorations, the Chancellery of the Imperial Orders of Mexico had to pay the shipping costs from Vienna, which could fluctuate between 220 and 500 Francs per shipment.¹⁴⁰ For example, we found an invoice for an “express” shipment to the Grand Chancellery of the Imperial Orders, sent via South Hampton to Veracruz. The insurance value was 5,000 Francs, and the “express” shipping cost was 243.94 Francs, costs that had to be covered by the Mexican Imperial Government.¹⁴¹ This invoice relates to an order placed by Kuhacsevich on September 20, 1865, for over 400 Crosses of the Order of Guadalupe in various grades to be received by January 1866.¹⁴² In the letter, Kuhacsevich asked Rothe to verify the possibility of sending the package insured and express via mail steamer leaving from Saint Nazaire (a port in France) or Southampton (a port in England) and specified that the box containing the decorations should be addressed in Spanish to “*la Gran Cancilleria de las Ordenes Imperiales en Mejico, al cuidado del Senor Prefecto Politico de Veracruz.*” Considering that this letter was received in Vienna on November 6, 1865, one can imagine the pressure this put on Rothe to fabricate so many decorations in such a short time. However, this was not unusual for his Atelier.¹⁴³

The difference in cost between solid gold and gilded silver decorations was substantial. For example, the production of a Grand Cross with its Star, both in solid gold, could cost about 500 Francs, while the same decorations in silver substrate, later covered in gold, cost “only” about 350 Francs.¹⁴⁴ A Grand Officer's Cross in gold could cost 450 Francs, while one in gilded silver substrate could cost 170 Francs. In the letter of March 10, 1866, which we

¹³⁹ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-8.

¹⁴⁰ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-9.

¹⁴¹ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-8

¹⁴² AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-12

¹⁴³ For example, in June of that year alone, Rothe had to fabricate and deliver over 400 commemorative crosses of the Order of Takovo in Belgrade, Serbia, an order that Rothe had been negotiating in March and April of that year. Pavel Car and Tomislav Muhić, op. cit. 22-25.

¹⁴⁴ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-8.

referred to above, Chancellor González also stated that the price of Rothe's decorations exceeded the cost of decorations manufactured in Paris. Chancellor González also indicates that a gold decoration of lower classes, such as those of Officer or Knight of the Order of Guadalupe, made in France, could cost 100 Francs. In comparison, the same decoration made by Rothe could cost 122 Francs.

This difference in cost between the decorations manufactured in France and those of Rothe would cause the Mexican Foreign Ministry to periodically suspend orders made directly to Rothe by Austrian officials of the Mexican Imperial Court while the Foreign Ministry found the necessary funds to cover the debts accumulated up to that point for commissioned decorations. Foreign Minister Peza stated in a letter: "For now, I beg you to suspend, until new orders are communicated to you, the manufacture of all crosses previously requested and that you have not yet delivered."¹⁴⁵ Later, in the letter of May 10, 1866, after acknowledging receipt of new shipments of more than 200 decorations, the Foreign Minister reiterated his instructions to cease shipments.¹⁴⁶ Austrian officials repeatedly ignored these instructions, as Rothe continued to receive orders and fabricate decorations until February 1867.¹⁴⁷ If we also consider that the diplomas for decorations were personally signed by the Emperor, we must conclude that the Emperor was aware of and approved the orders made, independently of the wishes or instructions given by the Mexican Chancellors of the Imperial Orders.

There is an apparent miscommunication between the Austrian officials of the Mexican Imperial Court, who requested the decorations, and the Mexican officers of the Chancellery of the Imperial Orders, which had to find the funds to pay for them.

When we consider together the evident predilection of the Austrian officials of Maximilian's cabinet to commission Rothe with decorations to be distributed mainly among Austrian officials, as well as the apparent lack of communication between these officials and the Mexican officials who belonged to the Grand Chancellery of the Imperial Orders, we can perceive the tense relationship that existed between the Mexican, French and Austrian officials who intended to govern the destiny of Mexico. In fact, this tension can be perceived in the tone used in letters sent to Rothe. Since Rothe and his firm had received numerous titles from European courts for their services as Royal Jeweler,¹⁴⁸ the letters sent by Austrian

¹⁴⁵ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-8.

¹⁴⁶ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-23.

¹⁴⁷ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-9.

¹⁴⁸ Gerd Scharfenberg, Günter Thiede, *op.cit.* 472.

officials of the Mexican Imperial Court mostly begin with a formality equivalent to the Spanish use of the phrase “Hidalgo” when addressing Rothe.¹⁴⁹ In contrast, the letters from Gonzalez and Peza, written on behalf of the Chancellery of the Imperial Orders, do not even contain a polite introductory salutation but rather go straight to the point. While it is true that many of the Austrian officials and courtiers in the Mexican Imperial Government thought that Mexicans were lazy,¹⁵⁰ unlike French soldiers and officials, the Austrians were more appreciative of Mexicans. In fact, Austrian officials and courtiers generally had a low opinion of the way the French treated Mexicans.¹⁵¹ However, suspicion, distrust, and prejudice among all those involved in the Imperial Government is evident.

As for the decorations to be delivered outside of Mexico, the procedure required officials of the Imperial Government to send certificates signed by the Emperor to a member of the consular service of the Mexican Empire or a delegate of the Austrian Crown at the place of delivery. In tandem, the manufacturer sent the decorations to the same official, who was charged with delivering the diploma and the decoration to the recipient. For example, through the letter dated August 10, 1865, by Poliakovitz, to which we referred above, Rothe was informed that several diplomas had been sent to the Extraordinary Envoy of the Mexican

¹⁴⁹ The term most commonly used by Austrian officials of the Second Empire to address Rothe was “Euer Wohlgebohren,” a usage originating from XVI century High German that literally translates as “Well Born” or “of Noble Birth.” The phrase is a term of respect used in Austria and Prussia to address people who held the rank of lesser nobility or high social position. *Grammatisch-Kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart* (Leipzig: 1793–1801). In order not to miss the intention of the original meaning, this phrase can be translated into English as “Nobleman” and in Spanish as “Hidalgo.” The word Hidalgo has a closer meaning to the German word, whose etymology, “hijosdalgo,” implied nobility, social position, and economic capacity. Bruno Rigalt and Nicolás. *Diccionario histórico de las órdenes de caballería, religiosas, civiles y militares de todas las naciones del mundo..* (Barcelona: Narciso Ramirez, 1858). 13. It is necessary to consider that the European “Nobility” was not a unitary or uniform class, since it was subject to estates and gradations that varied between nations and kingdoms. See in general Manuel Fuertes de Gilbert Rojo. “Bases sociales de la emblemática: Aristocracia y Nobleza, pasado y presente” en *Emblemata, Revista aragonesa de emblemática*, (2010). 183.

¹⁵⁰ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-4-2

¹⁵¹ Countess Kollonitz, in her memoirs, states: “The French were lavish in their contempt and insults, which the Mexicans tolerated with apparent calm and resignation, but which they rejected from the depths of their souls with hatred and bitterness.” Paula Kollonitz, op. cit. 47.

Imperial Government in Vienna, the Plenipotentiary Minister Gregorio Barandiarán,¹⁵² and that he requested Rothe to fabricate all the decorations corresponding to said diplomas so that, once prepared, Rothe would make them available to Barandiarán who would collect them and deliver the entire set to each recipient.¹⁵³

A similar procedure was followed for the awarding of the decoration to Sherif Pasha in Egypt, who was designated as Commander of the Order of Guadalupe and whose decoration, in accordance with the instructions given by Jakob Kuhacsevich,¹⁵⁴ Rothe was to forward to Herr. Adolf Schreiner, Consul General of Austria in Egypt, for final delivery to the recipient together with the corresponding diploma. Regarding the decoration for Sherif Pasha, a Mohammedan, it is interesting that he was awarded a decoration of the Order of Guadalupe and not some other distinction which would have been “neutral” as to the religious context of the icon on the insignia. It should be noted that by this time other European Imperial houses had created decorations for “non-Christians”, with the purpose that the form of the cross, so prevalent in European decorations of the time, would not be present and thus not offend the religious sensibilities of a non-Christian recipient. For example, since 1851, the Order of the Red Eagle of Prussia had a version of the decoration designed especially for non-Christians, omitting a cruciform insignia (Figure 45).¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² Commander of the Order of Guadalupe, Grand Cross of Saint Maurice and Saint Lazarus, Knight of the Grand Cross of Saint Michael.

¹⁵³ Rothe was instructed to fabricate two Grand Crosses, eight Commander's Crosses, fifteen Officer's Crosses and six Knight's Crosses. AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-9.

¹⁵⁴ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-6

¹⁵⁵ Louis Schneider, in *Die Preußischen Orden, Ehrenzeichen u. Auszeichnungen: Der Rothe Adler-Orden*, op. cit., comments on p. 100: “King Wilhelm considered the possibility that a devout Jew or Mohammedan might reject the form of the cross, since no order of a non-Christian state, e.g. Turkey and Persia, display the form of the cross, so that the religious significance of it is also recognized by the state, especially for non-Christians...” (Our translation). Indeed, in order not to offend the sensibilities of non-Christians, some Orders went so far as to change the designation “Grand Cross” to “Grand Cordon.” See Alec A. Purves, *Orders and Decorations*. (London: Hamlyn 1972) 9.



Figure 45. The Prussian Red Eagle Order and medals for Christians and no-Christians^{xxxii}

Continuing with our analysis of the correspondence examined, it also allows us to know the time it took to process the commission for decorations and jewelry for the Mexican Imperial Court in Vienna. More than five months could pass between the date on which Rothe received the commission, its artisanal production, the shipping process to Mexico, and the final delivery to the recipient. For example, on March 11, 1865, Jacob Kuhacsevich sent Rothe a letter commissioning some deep mourning buttons for the Emperor. This letter was received in Vienna on April 18, 1865, and on August 24, 1865, Kuhacsevich sent a letter acknowledging receipt of the same in Mexico.¹⁵⁶ The time for production and delivery in Europe was much shorter. By letter dated March 10, 1866, Kuhacsevich commissioned Rothe to make a Knight's Cross of the Order of Guadalupe for Josef Gasser, a renowned Austrian sculptor who had sculpted the marble busts of Maximilian and Charlotte at the request of the Emperor. A little over a month after Kuhacsevich's letter, on April 17, 1866, Gasser went to collect his decoration from Rothe's Atelier in Vienna and signed a receipt evidencing the delivery of the same.¹⁵⁷

Given that several months could pass between the commissioning of a decoration and its delivery, it is possible that the number of those awarded an insignia of the Order of Guadalupe was higher than those who actually received the decoration. We found in the

¹⁵⁶ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-4 y AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-10

¹⁵⁷ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-5 y AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-18

Diario del Imperio a notice in which, because the current whereabouts of some of the recipients were unknown, they were informed that their decorations were available to be collected at the Chancellery of the Imperial Orders in Mexico City.¹⁵⁸ Although from the examination of the documents at our disposal, we cannot conclude that all the decorations commissioned to Rothe were delivered to their recipient, we were able to reconstruct a list of decorations that were specifically commissioned and presumably prepared by Rothe. Of course, we start from the premise that Rothe's records related to commissions have survived substantially complete to this day.

Interestingly, even though there were awards to specifically recognize military merit, such as the Military Merit Medal¹⁵⁹, the *Diario del Imperio* of December 27, 1865, indicates that the Emperor granted several decorations of the Order of Guadalupe in recognition of acts of valor in a battle that took place on the banks of the “Mescala” on November 21 of that year. The recipients, all military personnel, were the following:

Cross of Officer Manuel Carranza, Colonel of the Fixed Battalion of the South.

Cross of Knight Jesus Ayala, Lieutenant Colonel of the Fixed Battalion of the South

Cross of Knight Cirilo Cuevas, Commander of the Iguala Regiment Squadron

The dual quality of the Order of Guadalupe as a civil decoration and of military merit is evident. As hostilities intensified and became more widespread, awarding decorations of the Order of Guadalupe to the Imperial military forces became increasingly common.

An important element that should be noticed is that the decorations of the Order of Guadalupe were awarded almost exclusively to men. Only three crosses of the Order of Guadalupe of the Second Empire are known to have been awarded to women, the recipients being nuns of the Orden de las Hermanas de la Caridad. The recipients were Sister Agustina Inza (Visitor and co-founder of the Order), Sister Melchora Iriarte (Superior and head of the Hospice of Puebla), and Sister Remigia Salinas (associated with the Hospice and School of Cuernavaca).¹⁶⁰ It is important to note that the Sisters of Charity were a very recently founded

¹⁵⁸ *Diario del Imperio*. No. 337, Vol. III February, 13, 1866. 180.

¹⁵⁹ This decoration was awarded in Gold, Silver and Bronze degrees.

¹⁶⁰ See *Almanaque del Imperio de 1866*, pp. 221, 227 and 228. See also Ignacio Borja Martínez. *Ilustre y Distinguida Orden de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*. (Mexico: Conacutla 2011) 96; and the article “Hijas de la Caridad: Fundación en Mexico”, consulted on December 29, 2022 at the link <http://vincentians.com/es/hijas-la-caridad-fundacion-mexico-4/>

order in Mexico, dating back to 1843. They obtained formal recognition from the government by edict of October 3, 1844, and then during the government of Santa Anna, who helped them financially and participated in the inauguration of the Central House in 1853, the same year in which Santa Anna reinstated the Order of Guadalupe.¹⁶¹

It should be noted that Maximilian was aware of the need to provide some honorary distinction to the ladies of the Empire, which is why he created, under the auspices of his wife, Empress Charlotte, the decoration of San Carlos, which was intended to distinguish and reward female merit, as well as acts of selflessness and detachment.¹⁶² It was a Latin cross with fleur-de-lis blades made of white enamel, with a smaller Latin cross centered inside it, and this one was made of green enamel. On the obverse of the Cross of San Carlos, on the green enamel field, is the motto “San Carlos,” while on the reverse is the motto “humilitas,” both mottos in relief in gold. The ribbon or band of the Order was crimson. It is striking that the composition of the colors of the Cross of San Carlos and its ribbon evoke the Trigarante colors of the Mexican flag, as did the colors of the Cross of the Order of Guadalupe.

The shape of the silhouette of the Cross of St. Charles, particularly the fleur-de-lis endings of the cross, bears some similarity to that of the Military Order of St. Benedict of Aviz of Portugal, which was founded in 1162.¹⁶³ However, the similarity is less than that between the Decorations of the Order of Guadalupe and those of Charles III discussed above. The thickness and color of the Cross of St. Charles cross-beams are different, and each cross-beam has rounded rather than angled tips. The most distinctive feature is the inner Latin cross, which appears on the Cross of St. Charles (Figure 46).

¹⁶¹ Although the Order of Guadalupe, as reinstated by Santa Anna, was intended only for men, one of the First Grand Crosses was sent by Santa Anna to Isabel II, Queen of Spain. See Alfonso de Ceballos-Escalera y Gila, *op. cit.*, 260.

¹⁶² *Diario del Imperio*. No. 83, Vol. I, April 10, 1865. 339.

¹⁶³ Antonio M. Trigueros y Gustav A. Tammann. *The Three Portuguese Military Orders of Knighthood 1789-1910*. OMSA Medal Notes Series No. 1 (New Jersey: Orders and Medals Society of America 1997). 7.



Figure 46. Comparison between the Orden Mexicana de San Carlos and the Portuguese Order of Avis^{xxxiii}

Very few crosses were fabricated for the Order of Saint Charles, and Rothe received some of these requests.¹⁶⁴ By letter of November 18, 1865, the Imperial House of Mexico sent him the first formal request,¹⁶⁵ while on November 22, 1865, Jacob Kuhacsevich sent Rothe additional information related to the design that the Cross of the Order should have.¹⁶⁶ From the text of Kuhacsevich's letter, we can deduce that Rothe had expressed some doubts about the design of the decoration before receiving the first formal request. Kuhacsevich answers that he will send Rothe a sample decoration and refers to a drawing sent to him earlier detailing the Cross. As indicated above, none of the drawings accompanying the letters sent to Rothe were in the reviewed archives. However, in the aforementioned letter, Kuhacsevich tells Rothe that the letter “h” in the word “humilitas” as “it appears in the drawing,” which “is misspelled,” is the way it should appear on the decoration. According to the instructions received, this is how it will appear on the decorations made by Rothe (Figure 47).

¹⁶⁴ Due to the limitations established in the Constitutive Statutes of the Order, only 19 of the 24 Grand Crosses of the Order of Saint Charles were awarded. Less than 300 Ordinary Crosses were granted. We were able to determine that the last concession of Crosses of Saint Charles was on February 8, 1867, a total of four Crosses being granted that day. See *Diario del Imperio*. No. 633, Volume V. of February 8, 1867.

¹⁶⁵ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-1.

¹⁶⁶ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-16.



Figure 47. Cruz de San Carlos detail and the “mispelled” word “humilitas”

By the end of 1865, 12 of the 24 Grand Crosses permitted by the Order’s Statutes had been awarded, including those given to the Empress Charlotte herself, as well as to the Empresses of France, Austria, Brazil, and the Queens of Spain, Prussia, Portugal, Belgium, Sweden, and Norway (Figure 48). By April 11, 1866, most of the Saint Charles decorations requested from Rothe had been received by the Imperial Household, including three crosses sent directly to the Emperor’s Mexican Legation in Brussels, according to a letter from Eduardo Radonetz, the Prefect and Manager of Miramar Palace.¹⁶⁷



Figure 48. Empress Charlottes’s Grand Cross^{xxxiv} and a painting from the Empress showing her wearing the Order’s Sahs, Grand Cross and Cross¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-17.

¹⁶⁸ Oil on Canvas, attributed to Franz Xaver Winterhalter.

Due to the Empress's already ailing health, the Prefect of Miramar, Eduard Radonetz, was charged with counter-signing all documents and authorizing all payments from Miramar's finances (Figure 49).¹⁶⁹

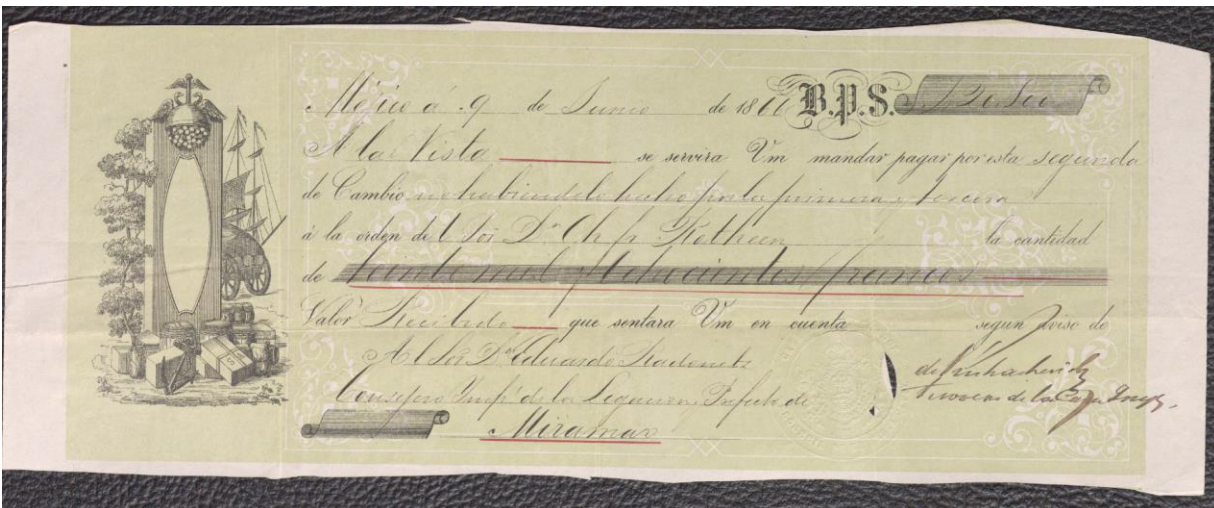


Figure 49. One of the payments made to Rothe during the year 1866.

The payment shown in Figure 49 is peculiar in that, even though it is a payment for decorations, it is not made by the Chancellery of Imperial Orders of Mexico but by the Treasury of the House of Emperor Maximilian, as evidenced by the bas-relief seal that certifies and approves the payment.

One of the last Grand Crosses commissioned to Rothe by the Government of Maximilian, to be issued to Admiral Wilhelm von Tegetthoff, was not requested by the Chancellery of Imperial Orders, but directly through the Consulate General of Mexico in Vienna and its Military Attaché, Colonel Mathias Leißer,¹⁷⁰ by letter dated October 6, 1866.¹⁷¹ Tegetthoff, a personal friend of the Emperor, had participated in multiple missions commissioned by Maximilian while in charge of the Austrian Navy. Years before accepting the Mexican Crown, in September 1854, Maximilian had been appointed by his brother, Emperor Franz Joseph I, as Rear Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian Navy. Despite being a courtly appointment, Maximilian proved to be a very able reformer of the Austrian Navy, promoting

¹⁶⁹ M.M. McAllen, Op. Cit. Loc. 5995 de 12914. Kindle.

¹⁷⁰ Officer of the Imperial Orden de Guadalupe, and of the Austrian Iron Crown, third class.

¹⁷¹ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-44.

the change from a wind-driven to a steam-powered navy¹⁷² and the creation of the great naval shipyard in Pola, managing to maintain excellent relations with the officers under his command until his resignation in 1864 to assume the Mexican throne.¹⁷³ Tegetthoff even advocated and obtained permission for his flagship, a battleship whose construction was completed in 1865, to be named the Erzherzog Ferdinand Max in honor of Maximilian. With this ship, Tegetthoff would command the Austrian Navy in the Battle of Lissa on July 20, 1866, a great Austrian victory over the Italian Navy.¹⁷⁴ The Battle of Lissa was the first time Austrian battleships (Panzerfregatten) were put into action, many built precisely after Maximilian's reforms when he was in charge of the Navy. The use of such ships and non-traditional naval combat tactics forever changed the style of naval combat since the time of Nelson and Trafalgar.

In recognition of the victory at Lissa, Maximilian designated Tegetthoff and other naval officers as recipients of decorations from the Order of Guadalupe, which were to be made by Rothe, on behalf of the Mexican Empire.

It is worth mentioning that several of the advisors and people closest to Maximilian and the Mexican Imperial Government, some of whom wrote letters to or are mentioned in the correspondence with, Rothe, were members of the Austrian Navy. According to the Royal Ordinance of April 8, 1864, Frigate Captains Carl Graf Bombelles, Eduard Radonetz and Stephan Herzfeld, Line Lieutenant Carl Schaffer, Line Ensign Rudolph Günner, Major Mathias Leißer, all of the Navy, and administrative officials Class I, Jacob Kuhachevich and Ferdinand Stepanek, received authorization and dispensation from Emperor Franz Joseph I to transfer and render services to the Imperial Mexican Government, thus ending their functions with the Austrian Navy.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Rudolf Otto von Ottenfeld. *Die Österreichische Armee von 1700 bis 1867: Die Kriegsmarine*. (Vienna: Verlag von Emil Berté 1895) 766.

¹⁷³ Eduard Deutsch. *Erinnerungen an Ferdinand Maximilian: Erzherzog von Osterreich, Kaiser von Mexiko* (Brünn: Druck von Rudolf Rohrer, 1868) 7-9. Véase además Lawrence Sondhaus. *The Habsburg Empire and the Sea: Austrian Naval Policy, 1797-1866*. (West Lafayette Ind.: Purdue University Press 1989) 181.

¹⁷⁴ Lawrence Sondhaus. *The Naval Policy of Austria-Hungary, 1867-1918: Navalism, Industrial Development, and the Politics of Dualism*. (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press 1994) 1-3.

¹⁷⁵ *Kaiserlich-Königliches Marine-Verordnungsblatt, 1864*. Verordnungsblatt für S.M. Kriegsmarine, XIV Stück, C.K. Nr. 499, Vienna, April 30, 1864.

These individuals set aside their positions in the Austrian Navy to follow Maximilian on his adventure to Mexico. For example, Count Bombelles, who would occupy the post of Captain of the Palatine Guard in Mexico, was in Austria Chamberlain assigned to Emperor Franz Joseph I as Commander of the Imperial Navy. Among those officers who wrote repeatedly to Rothe, we can highlight Leißer, Günner, and Radonetz. Major Mathias Leißer, who would occupy the post of Military Attaché of Mexico in Vienna before accepting that position, was an officer of the 1st Marine Infantry Battalion quartered in Pola and also held a management position in the Chancellery of the Austrian Ministry of War. Rudolf Günner, who in Mexico would be Lieutenant of the Palatine Guard in Austria, had been an Ensign of the Line (Linienschiffsfähnrich). As for Eduard Radonetz, who would be the Counselor of the Mexican Legation and Prefect of Miramar, before taking up his post, he was a Lieutenant Colonel of the Austrian Navy and a Member of the Royal Geographical Society assigned to Emperor Franz Joseph I in his capacity as Commander of the Imperial Navy.¹⁷⁶ Once the Second Mexican Empire ended, these officers would not resume their careers in the Austrian Navy.¹⁷⁷

One of the last Crosses of the Order of Guadalupe made by Rothe, of which an image was obtained during our research, was the one awarded by Maximilian to Captain Carl Ritter von Kern on November 8, 1866. The Diploma, signed by Maximilian, was written in Spanish, so the recipient's name appears as “Señor Don Carlos Kern” (Figure 50).

¹⁷⁶ Information on the positions held by these officers before working for the Mexican Imperial Crown was obtained from the *Militär- Schematismus of the Österreichischen Kaiserthumes für 1863*. (Vienna: K.K Hof- und Staatsdruckerei 1863).

¹⁷⁷ Leißer, Herzefeld, and Radonetz resigned from all their positions in Mexico and formally retired from active service in the Austrian Navy at the end of 1867. *Militär- Schematismus de Österreichischen Kaiserthumes für 1868*. (Vienna: K.K Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1867) 920 - 922. Herzefeld was later appointed Consul General of Austria in Tunisia. Johannes Ziegler. *Jahrbuch der Kais. Kön. Kriegsmarine 1871*. (Vienna: Commissionsverlag von Carl Gerold's Sohn 1870) 123.

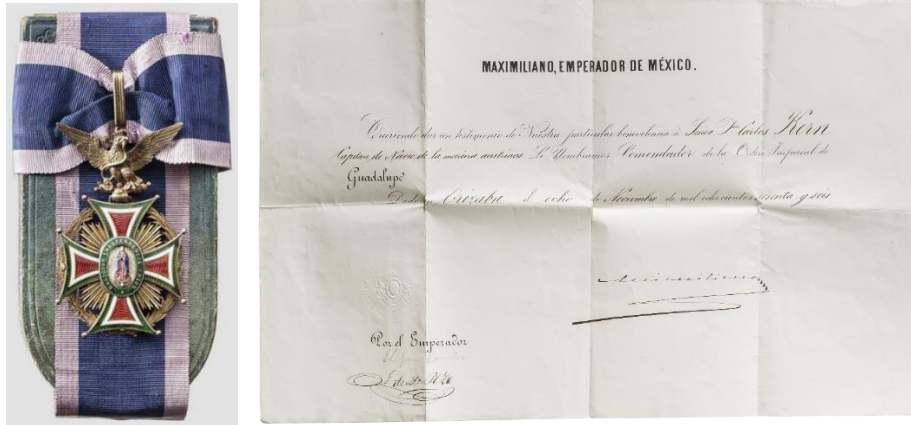


Figure 50. Medal and certificate issued to von Kern on November 1866^{xxxv}

Kern participated in the Battle of Lissa in command of the battleship Salamander, closing the left flank of the First Battle Division.¹⁷⁸ Interestingly, although Maximilian signed Kern's certificate in the city of Orizaba, Mexico, in November 1866, some four months after the Battle of Lissa, the preparation of the decoration was not formally commissioned to Rothe until January 16, 1867 (Figure 51).¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ Years later, Kern would complete his career in the Austrian Navy with the rank of Rear Admiral.

¹⁷⁹ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-7-1.

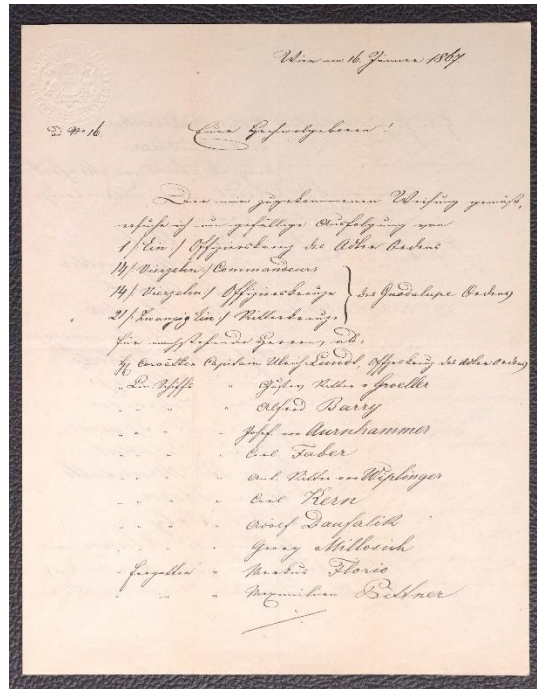


Figure 51. First page of Colonel Leiber’ letter to Rothe requesting several medals of the Order of Guadalupe that would be issued to Austrian Naval officers, including von Kern.

It is curious that the decoration given to Kern, and probably to the other officers listed in the letter, has the inscription corresponding to the civil version of the Order of Guadalupe, that is, the legend reads “AL MERITO Y VIRTUDES,” confirming that the decoration belongs to the civil division and not the military one, even though these medals were awarded precisely for the military feats they had performed. (Figure 52).



Figure 52. Von Kern’s Cross, fabricated by Rothe.^{xxxvi}

We must point out that, by letter dated September 20, 1865, Kuhacsevich asked Rothe to make several Commander, Officer, and Knight Crosses of the Order of Guadalupe and instructed Rothe that for these decorations, he had to replace the motto he had used until then, with the motto “AL MERITO Y VIRTUDES.” Our research found images of Crosses made by Rothe in both the civil and military versions. Given the letter we mentioned above, we can say with certainty that all the crosses made by Rothe until September 1865 were in the military version of the Order and used the motto “AL PATRIOTISMO HEROICO” and from that date on, he began to make decorations of the Order of Guadalupe in both versions. A possible reason for the fact that these decorations manufactured in 1867 were issued in the civilian version and not the military could be that the military actions of these recipients were not related to military activities ordered by or that directly benefited the Mexican Empire.

In the letter from Leißer to which we have previously referred, one decoration of the Order of the Mexican Eagle and forty-nine of the Order of Guadalupe were commissioned, all for members of the Austrian Navy, whose ranks range from Frigate Captains, Corvette Captains, and Navy Lieutenants and who participated in the battle of Lissa, either in the operational or tactical phase of the combat. It is worth noting at this point that Leißer's letter to Rothe lists the officers who would receive the decorations of the Orders of the Mexican Eagle and the Order of Guadalupe in practically the same order of battle in which they participated in the battle of Lissa. The names of the awarded Captains are grouped and listed by each of the attack divisions designed by Tagetthoff for the naval battle of July 20, 1866. Evidently, the Mexican Imperial Government received a detailed account of the battle in which these awarded men participated, who were subordinates and fellow workers of Maximilian in the Austrian Navy years before. Although the majority of the decorations were issued to ship Captains, some were issued to First Officers who also distinguished themselves during the battle. Most of the officers and non-commissioned officers who received these Mexican decorations made by Rothe also received various Austrian decorations, such as the Order of Leopold and the Iron Crown.

Austrian award law in the XIX century had liberalized restrictions that prevented a recipient from receiving foreign decorations. In Kern's case, he requested and obtained formal approval to receive and wear the decoration of the Order of Guadalupe (Figure 53).



Figure 53. Certificate issued to von Kern, authorized by the Marine Section Chief, Vice-Admiral Ludwig von Fautz, allowing Kern to use the Orden de Guadalupe medal.^{xxxvii}

When Maximilian signed von Kern's certificate, the French troops were on the way out of Mexico, and Maximilian knew their future was not encouraging. Thus, the fact that Maximilian signed the certificate granting the decoration a month before the medal's fabrication was commissioned seems to be an attempt to conclude protocol matters for those who, in Maximilian's eyes, deserved what could possibly be his last gesture of Majesté.

Only a month after Leiber's letter, Maximilian left Mexico City for the last time to meet his eventual destiny in Querétaro, beginning a complex and tortuous pilgrimage that would culminate in the crypt of the Emperors of Austria (Figure 54).



Figure 54. Maximilian surrenders to Mexican General Mariano Escobedo on May 15, 1867.

The end of the Second Mexican Empire and the Order of Guadalupe

With the Empress's departure from Mexico in 1866, concern began to arise regarding the future of the Mexican Empire. Imperial courtiers also began to leave Mexico under the pretext of seeking help for the Emperor. Such was the case of important officials such as Nepomuceno Almonte and Jacob Kuhacsevich, who were closely related to the Chancellery of the Imperial Orders.

Jacob Kuhacsevich left Mexico on July 13, 1866, from the port of Veracruz aboard the ship *Impératrice Eugénie*. While on board the ship, on August 4, 1866, Kuhacsevich wrote a letter to Rothe informing him that he was finally returning to Europe and would be accompanying the Empress Charlotte, who was going to Europe to “settle some Mexican international affairs.”¹⁸⁰ In this letter, Kuhacsevich asks Rothe not to ship certain jewelry requested to the ladies of the Imperial entourage in Mexico, as his wife would be personally picking them up in Vienna. In the same letter, he asks Rothe to make a cross of Grand Officer of the Order of Guadalupe and send it to Radonetz in Miramar. The recipient of this medal is not identified.

¹⁸⁰ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6-37.

Later, while in Miramar, by letter dated February 13, 1867, Kuhacsevich notified Rothe that he should be careful with requests from the Mexican Chancellery of the Imperial Orders and even warned Rothe that any request must be authorized explicitly by Kuhacsevich, by Kuhacsevich's wife, who was still a Lady of the Chamber to the Empress, or by the Prefect of Miramar, Radonetz. Kuhacsevich warned Rothe that no request from Mexico, even one "claiming" to have been made by the Emperor himself, should be made without the prior authorization of one of these three persons.¹⁸¹ Rothe took Kuhacsevich's letter with the seriousness it deserved since he did not make any other decorations related to the Mexican Imperial Orders after February 20, 1867.

The letter from Kuhacsevich referred to above is also relevant since Kuhacsevich tells Rothe that when he arrived in Europe, he accompanied the Empress on her trip to Rome, where "the great tragedy that you know of" occurred. Although Kuhacsevich does not make a specific mention of what tragedy he is referring to, from the reference to time and place, as well as from the context of the letter, we can reasonably conclude that the event is the rapid deterioration of the Empress's mental health that occurred after she arrived in Europe and particularly during her visit to Rome, which culminated in the unfortunate incident with Pope Pius IX.¹⁸²

Since the Empress's health condition had become a topic of public discussion, to appease the controversy, on February 18, 1867, the Mexican press published the "joyful news" that the Empress had wholly recovered her "very interesting health."¹⁸³ The Empress's mental instability is partly attributed to the severe depression and anxiety caused by the Empress's

¹⁸¹ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-7-2.

¹⁸² Fearing that she might be poisoned, the Empress begged the Pope to allow her to stay one night in the Vatican. With great reluctance, Pope Pius IX agreed to her unusual request. However, the next day, the Empress refused to leave the Vatican. Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli, Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the Vatican Council of State, devised a plan, together with the Mother Superior of the Convent of St. Vincent, to get the Empress out of the Vatican. It was agreed that the Empress would be invited to briefly visit the orphanage that the convent maintained, and then would not be allowed to return. The Empress accepted the invitation, and willingly left the Vatican. After the visit to the convent, the carriage drove the Empress to her hotel instead of to the Vatican. Recognizing the route, the Empress cried out for help and refused to leave the carriage, whereupon she was forced out of the carriage and locked in her hotel room. See Egon César Comte Corti. *Maximilien et Charlotte du Mexique*. Vol. II (Paris: Sons of Plon and Nurrit 1927) 220-223.

¹⁸³ *Diario del Imperio*. Núm. 641. Tomo V., del 18 de febrero de 1867.

unsuccessful efforts with Napoleon III, Francis Joseph I, and Pope Pius IX to obtain military or financial support for Maximilian. As a result of the Empress's mental deterioration and delusion of persecution, Kuhacsevich's wife, together with other Ladies in waiting, were accused by the Empress of trying to poison her.¹⁸⁴ These public episodes demonstrating the Empress's mental instability motivated her brother, now King of Belgium under the regal name Leopold II, to make the final decision and have her confined.

By February 1867, already in Miramar, Kuhacsevich had already settled amounts owed to Rothe under the Emperor's private account, maintaining certain debts related to the fabrication of Imperial Orders of the Mexican Eagle and the Order of Guadalupe, as well as for jewels, which were recorded under the account identified as "Prätiosen". By letter dated February 21, 1867,¹⁸⁵ Kuhacsevich requested Rothe to immediately forward any outstanding invoices directly to the Chancellery of the Imperial Orders in Mexico and to also forward a copy of the invoice to Colonel Carl Schaffer,¹⁸⁶ Chamberlain of the Emperor in Mexico.

The last communication from an official related to the Mexican Second Empire is a letter dated March 16, 1867, from Colonel Leißer in Vienna requesting Rothe to fabricate a cipher ring for Dr. Schlesinger and charge it to the Imperial Jewelry Account. This ring was the last product manufactured by Rothe under the accounts of the Mexican Imperial House.

The Imperial Order of Guadalupe ended with the life of the man who reinstated it. The last insignias of the Order of Guadalupe were authorized on June 14, 1867, and their concession was published on the same day Maximilian was shot, that is, June 19, 1867. These insignias were authorized by the Minister of the Imperial Household, Sánchez Navarro, "due to the absence of the Grand Chancellor" when there was still no news in Mexico City of the Emperor's execution.¹⁸⁷ The last decorations of the Order of Guadalupe were four Officers' Crosses and eleven Knights' Crosses, all for members of the 18th, 14th, and 2nd Battalions of the Mexican Imperial Army. It is unknown whether these Crosses were made and delivered to their recipients, but it is unlikely. We can say with certainty that Rothe did not make them

¹⁸⁴ M.M. McAllen, op. cit. 396-399, y 402.

¹⁸⁵ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-7-3.

¹⁸⁶ Lieutenant Colonel of the Palatine Guard in Mexico. Officer of the Imperial Order of Guadalupe, Knight of the Order of Saint Gregory the Great.

¹⁸⁷ Diario del Imperio. No. 740, Volume V, June 19, 1867. This was the last issue of the Diario del Imperio to be published.

because, as we have said, the firm's records do not show that any decorations were made for the Mexican Empire after February 20, 1867.

The execution of Maximilian, a theme that captured Europe's imagination,¹⁸⁸ was represented not only by Manet, as we saw above, but also in the painting by Jean Paul Lorens, which represents the moments before the execution and shows Maximilian wearing only an Order of the Golden Fleece decoration around his neck. (Figure 55).



Figure 55. Painting by Jean Paul Lorens representing Maximilian's last moments before his execution. We can clearly see the Order of the Golden Fleece.¹⁸⁹

As noted before, in Wennisch's letter of September 9, 1865, it was discussed that the Emperor wanted to be able to wear his three Great Collars at the same time.¹⁹⁰ However, there is no historical evidence that Maximilian was wearing the Collar of the Golden Fleece

¹⁸⁸ Once news of Maximilian's execution became known, Emperor Franz Joseph received so many letters of condolence from the French people that he had to arrange, through the Austrian ambassador in France, for an edict to be published in the official journal of the Empire thanking the people for their support and condolences. *Le Moniteur Universel*. July 31, 1867.

¹⁸⁹ Jean Paul Laurens, *L'empereur Maximilien du Mexique avant l'exécution*. Oil on canvas (1882). Currently exhibited at the Hermitage Museum in Moscow. <https://hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings/37725>.

¹⁹⁰ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-13.

at the time of his execution, nor any other of the many Orders and decorations he had been awarded before his death.¹⁹¹ Maximilian had been appointed Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1852. In addition to being the Grand Master of all the Mexican Orders, Maximilian was Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stephen, Knight of the Black Eagle and Grand Cross of the Red Eagle of Prussia, Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor of France, Grand Cross of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Knight of the Order of St. Andrew and the White Eagle of Russia, among others. As for his military ranks, after having resigned from being Rear Admiral of the Navy to assume the Mexican throne, Maximilian remained owner and Commander of the 8th Uhlán Regiment of Austria (which bore the name Erzherzog Ferdinand Max in his honor), and Chief (honorary) of the 3rd Dragoon Regiment of Prussia.¹⁹²

In Jean Paul Lorens' painting (Figure 55, above), we can see a reduced medal of the Golden Fleece, which was worn around the neck, known as a *Halsdekoration*. There is photographic evidence of Maximilian wearing this *Halsdekoration* hanging from a cord, just as Lorens depicts it in his painting.¹⁹³ However, in Antoine Chervier's account of the execution, written for Emperor Franz Joseph I, and dated December 4, 1894,¹⁹⁴ Chervier does not mention that Maximilian had with him any of the three collars corresponding to the high orders of which he was a recipient or Grand Master, nor does he mention that he had with him the *Halsdekoration* of the Golden Fleece. Chervier does mention that the Emperor gave the Captain in charge of the firing squad a "bronze medal which he wore on his dress."¹⁹⁵ From the material mentioned in the document, it is clear that the "medal" is not the Golden Fleece

¹⁹¹ See I. Hirtenfeld, op. cit. 19. See also Andreas Graf von Thürheim. *Geschichte Des k.k. Achten Uhlánen-regimentes Erzherzog Ferdinand Maximilian Von Seiner Errichtung 1718 Bis August 1860*. (Viena: k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei 1860); and also Christian Ortner y Georg Ludwigstorff. Op. cit. 151.

¹⁹² I. Hirtenfeld. *Oesterreichischer Militär-Kalender fur das Jahr 1864*. (Viena: Verlag von Carl Gerold's Sohn 1864) 19.

¹⁹³ Christian Ortner and Georg Ludwigstorff. Op. cit. 151.

¹⁹⁴ AT-OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienkorrespondenz A 30-10-3. Although this letter is not part of Rothe's archive, because it was relevant to the topic we were studying, we had access to it and other related documents thanks to the kind collaboration of Mrs. Maria Zdislava Röhnsner, MAS, archivist and reference officer of the Österreichischen Staatsarchiv, Abteilung Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv.

¹⁹⁵ Translation ours. The actual text reads as follows: "*Puis il lui remet la medaille de bronze que porte sur son habit.*"

nor any of the great collars of the Mexican Orders. It is worth noting here that Chervier, who had accompanied Empress Charlotte on her departure from Mexico in 1866, returned as an officer of the Imperial Guard in 1867, arriving in Querétaro on the same day that the death sentence was entered against Maximilian. Chervier met and talked with the Emperor and put himself at his disposal for “the escape plans that were already being considered.”

The plans Chervier alludes to implied bribing the Mexican officers guarding Maximilian to allow him to escape. Chervier alludes to the attempted bribe of 200,000 pesos by Princess Salm-Salm. Several sources independently support Chervier's statement regarding efforts to free Maximilian by providing funds. One of these is Maximilian's written statement, drafted in Querétaro on June 13, 1867, in which he orders that the 100,000 pesos promised to each of Colonels Palacios and Villanueva should not be paid until Maximilian had obtained "his complete salvation." This letter, which was part of the personal secret archive of the Habsburgs, is now in the Österreichischen Staatsarchiv (Figure 56).¹⁹⁶ Further corroboration is found in Princess Salm-Salm's autobiographical book.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ AT-OeStA/HHStA UR FUK 2540.

¹⁹⁷ Salm-Salm. *Ten Years of my Life* (New York, R. Worthington 1877). Chapters XIII to XV. Particularly, at pg. 215, Salm-Salm makes reference to Maximilian's letter.

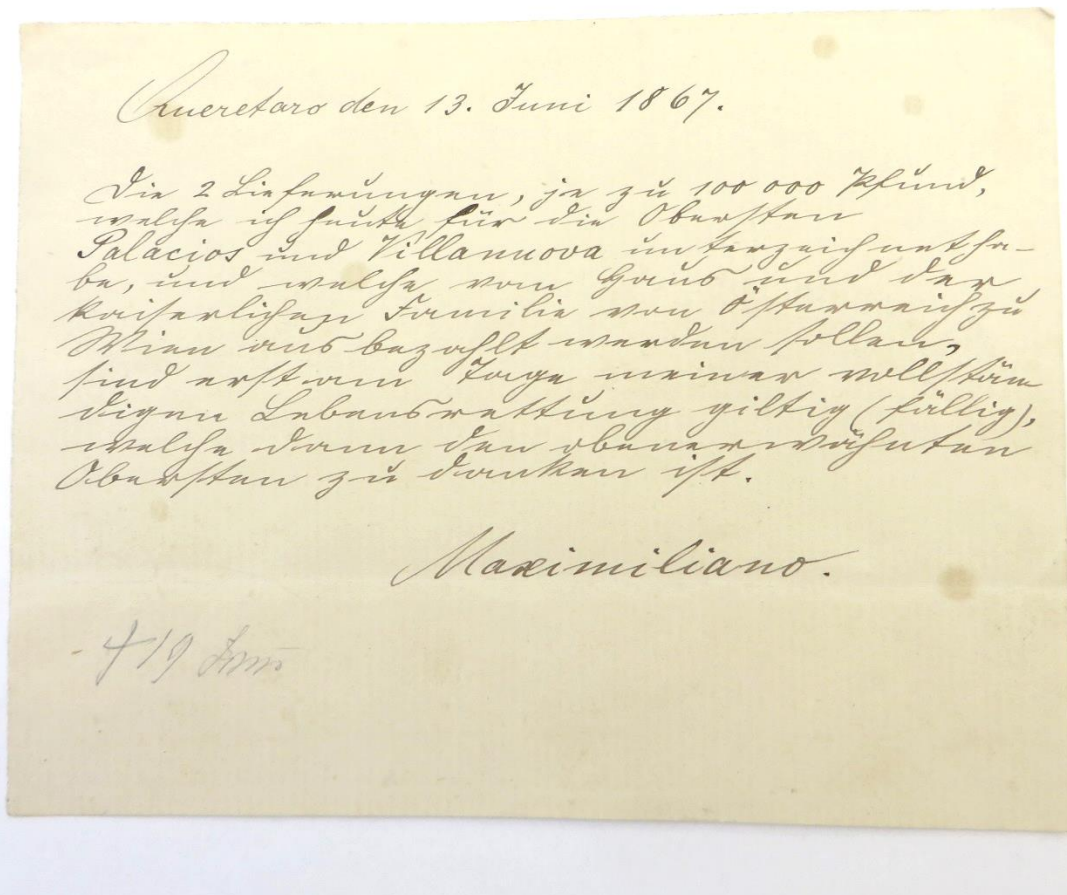


Figure 56. Maximilian's letter regarding the amounts to be paid to Palacios and Villanueva, only if they were able to save Maximilian.

Chervier comments in his letter that Maximilian finally accepted that escape was impossible and decided to use his time to make his final arrangements. Chervier's letter to Emperor Franz Joseph ends with a brief account of his brother's last days up to his execution.

Once the news of Maximilian's execution reached Austria, Admiral Tegetthoff, the last recipient of a Grand Cross of the Order of Guadalupe manufactured by Rothe, would be commissioned by Emperor Franz Joseph I to collect his brother's body in Mexico and transport it back to Austria. To close the circle of history, the ship used to retrieve Maximilian's body was the Novara, the same ship on which Maximilian arrived in Mexico in 1864.

As for the debts of the Empire, before Maximilian was captured, the Emperor had arranged for the sale of many of his assets and properties in Mexico, including his very expensive carriages, so that the debts to the Mexican creditors of the Imperial Household could be satisfied.¹⁹⁸ Interestingly, no such provision was made for the payment of European creditors.

Upon the Emperor's death, the French government's annual stipend to the Mexican Imperial Crown would be immediately cancelled. Of the two hundred and twenty million Francs that Napoleon III had promised to the Mexican Empire, only forty-six million had been paid at the time of Maximilian's death.¹⁹⁹ Due to Empress Charlotte's health condition, her brother, the King of Belgium, would remain her legal guardian and tutor and disclaim all patrimonial responsibility for Charlotte's expenses and debts to her creditors. Thus, the payment of debts to creditors of the Mexican Empire, including amounts owed to Rothe, would have to be covered by the decedent's estate or by the Austrian Crown since Maximilian was a member of the House of Habsburg.

It is worth noting that, before Maximilian accepted the Mexican Crown, on April 9, 1864, his brother, Emperor Franz Joseph I, forced him to sign an Act in which Maximilian renounced all his agnatic hereditary rights to the Austrian Crown, as well as any claim to assets and inheritances from Austrian funds.²⁰⁰ When Emperor Franz Joseph I learned of the imprisonment of his younger brother, he considered annulling the Act and proceeded to draft a letter informing Maximilian that, once he was released, he would reinstate Maximilian as a member of the House of Habsburg, with all his rights and privileges. Maximilian never received that communication, as he would be shot before the letter reached Mexico.²⁰¹

When we consider that Maximilian had been informed that his wife, Empress Charlotte, had gone mad, and when we consider the agreement that his brother, Emperor Franz Joseph I,

¹⁹⁸ Francisco de Paula de Arrangoiz. *Apuntes para la historia del Segundo Imperio Mejicano*. (Madrid: M. Rivadeneira 1869) 365.

¹⁹⁹ Patricia Galeana. "República y monarquía en busca de reconocimiento (1864-1867)." *La Disputa Por La Soberanía (1821-1876)*, 1st ed., 3:155–90. El Colegio de México, 2010. 165.

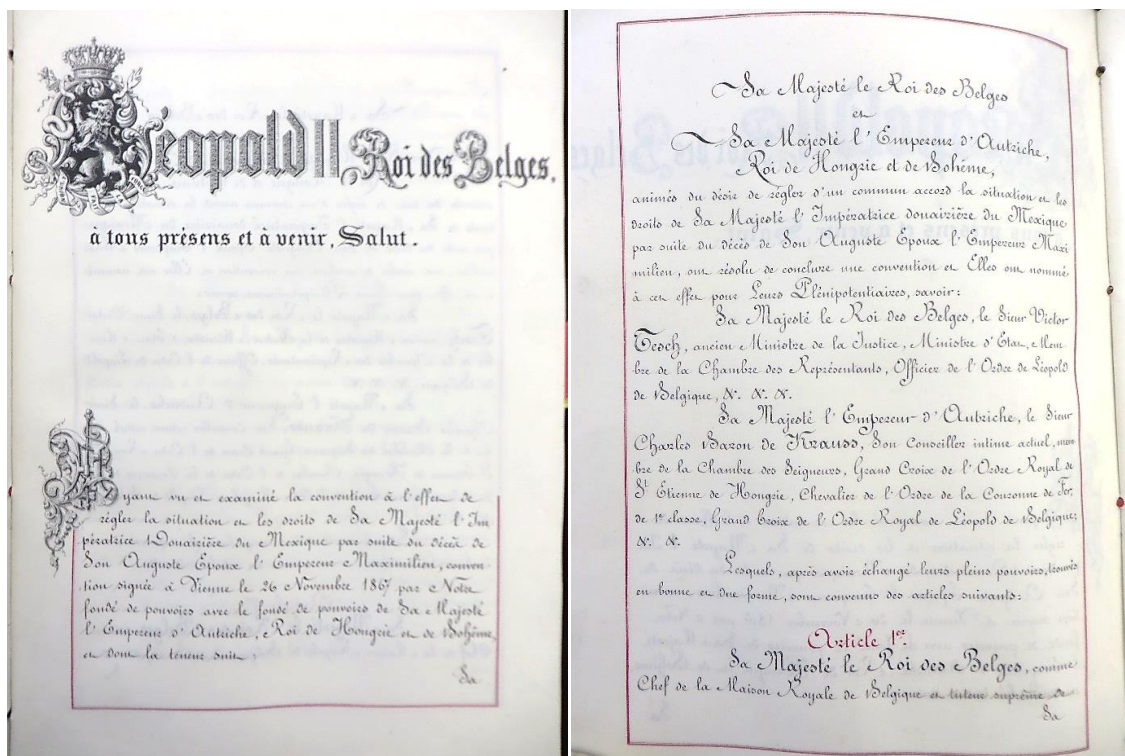
²⁰⁰ I. Hirtenfeld. *Op. cit.* 39.

²⁰¹ Paul Gaulot. *L'expédition du Mexique (1861-1867) D'après les Documents et Souvenirs de Ernest Louet, payeur en Chef du Corps Expéditionnaire*. Vol II, (París: Société D'Éditions Littéraires et Artistiques 1906). 547.

had forced him to sign, depriving him of all titles and financial aid from the House of Habsburg, we can understand Maximilian's determination not to abdicate when he had the opportunity to do so, and instead to remain fighting in Mexico until the end of his life. Indeed, it is rumored that shortly before his surrender, Maximilian climbed onto the parapets behind which he was sheltering with his troops, hoping to be noticed by some Mexican sniper who would grant him a more honorable outcome than surrender.²⁰²

Whatever the case, Maximilian was not released, and the revocation of the Act renouncing his rights as a member of the Austrian Royal Family was never enacted. The debts assumed by Maximilian as part of the granting of imperial decorations and orders were rejected outright by the Austrian Crown and Royal Family.

In fact, claims related to the Mexican Empire that affected Maximilian's estate and Empress Charlotte's patrimony were the subject of a treaty between the Crowns of Austria and Belgium (Figure 57).



²⁰² Andrés Garrido del Toral recounts another version of the incident, placing it on the Cerro de las Campanas, and indicates that, while Maximilian was speaking with Prince Felix de Salm-Salm, he told him “Now Salm, a happy bullet” as if he wanted to lose his life at that moment and place. See *A 150 años del sitio de Querétaro y el triunfo de la República* (México: Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de las Revoluciones de México, 2017) 233.

Figure 57. Initial pages of the treaty between the Belgian and Austrian Crowns regarding claims on Maximilian's estate were ratified by the King of Belgium on November 26, 1867.²⁰³

By the Treaty, the King of Belgium would make payments to the Emperor of Austria, over forty thousand Florins annually, to defend affairs and settle debts relating to Maximilian's estate and claims that might affect Charlotte's estate. In addition to cash, the Treaty ceded ownership rights to Miramar Castle and its furnishings (except for those that were the Empress's personal property). The Treaty also provided for the retroactive cessation of the Mexican Imperial couple's stipend from the Austrian Crown, which amounted to a pension of 3,600 Francs.²⁰⁴

One of the documents attached to the Treaty is a list of some debts related to Maximilian's estate, as well as debts that had been incurred by or for the benefit of Empress Charlotte. Among other debts is listed as one to Rothe for jewels explicitly commissioned for Empress Charlotte, which were still outstanding at the date of the Treaty. In fact, even though they are not specifically listed in the Treaty, Rothe would have several pending claims for Orders and jewels that had been invoiced before Maximilian's death and that Rothe tried to claim judicially against the Austrian Crown.

Thus, the last document in Rothe's archives related to the Mexican Empire, dated March 10, 1868, is part of the judicial process of liquidating debts directed by the Court of Vienna against the estate of the deceased Emperor and the Austrian Crown as conditional heir of said estate. (Figure 58).

²⁰³ AT-OeStA/HHStA UR FUK 2548.

²⁰⁴ The last payment made to Empress Charlotte on account of the Austrian pension was issued on May 1867. AT-OeStA/HHStA UR FUK 2548.

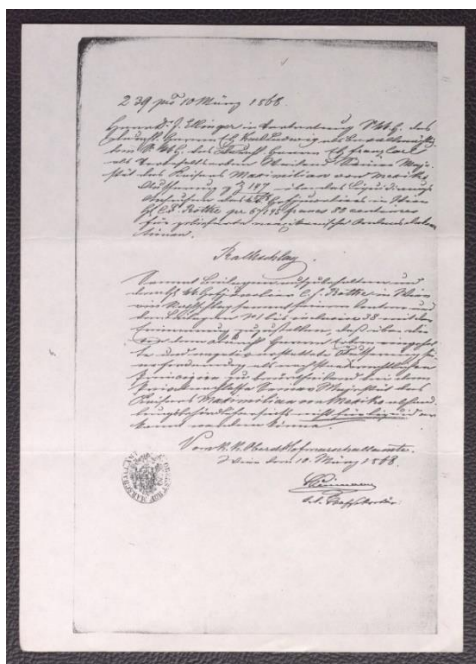


Figure 58. Excerpt from the Judgment entered by the Austrian Court, part of the extensive judicial file in the case initiated by Rothe against Emperor Maximilian's presumptive heirs.²⁰⁵

It is important to note that before Rothe filed his legal claim against the estate of Maximilian and the Austrian Royal House, the French jeweler Lemaître had filed a claim for over 50,000 Francs corresponding to decorations of the Order of Guadalupe and other Mexican Orders fabricated by Lemaître between 1865 and 1866. Seeking to litigate against a sovereign from a more convenient forum, Lemaître filed his claim in the French courts. The Austrian government's supervision of the case in Paris was entrusted to Prince Richard Metternich,²⁰⁶ who periodically reported the judicial progress to the Austrian Plenipotentiary, Archduke Karl Ludwig,²⁰⁷ brother of Maximilian and Emperor Franz Joseph. Interestingly, the Austrian Royal Family managed to prevail against Lemaître. The Austrian Royal Family argued first that the French Court lacked jurisdiction based on the principle of sovereign immunity. The trial judge

²⁰⁵ T-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-2

²⁰⁶ Son of the famous Prince Klemens von Metternich, Austria's Minister of the Exterior during the Napoleonic wars, and Chancellor of the Austrian Empire from 1821 to 1848.

²⁰⁷ Grand Cross of the Order of the Mexican Eagle, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the Order of Saint Stephen, Knight of the Orders of the Red Eagle and the Black Eagle of Prussia, among others.

rejected this argument. However, on appeal, the Paris Court determined that Maximilian did not commission Orders and decorations in his personal capacity but in his capacity as Emperor of Mexico. Therefore, payments for such decorations were a state function, and the balance of such debts corresponded to the Mexican Empire as sovereign and not to Maximilian's estate and heirs, much less to the Crown of Austria.²⁰⁸ French law had come a long way since the phrase *L'état cest moi* was coined.²⁰⁹

In the court case brought by Rothe to claim the money owed to him by the Mexican Imperial Crown related to the Mexican Orders and jewels of the Imperial couple, the Austrian Court reviewed dozens of documents. The Court made specific reference to a letter sent by Kuhacsevich to Rothe in July 1865, in which he asked Rothe to keep the accounts for decorations and those for jewels separate since the latter were paid from different accounts.²¹⁰ The Court indicates that Rothe must have been aware that the Emperor himself considered the obligations arising from these accounts as separate obligations, some charged to the Imperial Government and others charged to his personal assets, regardless of whether the orders were made by the same imperial officials, under the same authority or for the benefit of the Emperor.²¹¹

The Austrian Court also makes reference to the French judicial determination in Lemaître's case, having requested and examined the extensive documentation in the French Court's file.²¹² The Austrian Court based its decision against Rothe's request by stating that the

²⁰⁸ As to Lemaître's claim, see Héritiers de l'Empereur du Mexique Maximilien v. Lemaître, Dalloz (1872), Court of Cassation of Paris, Opinion dated March 15, 1872, as it appears on *Bulletin de la Cour D'Appel de Paris* (Paris: V. Goupy 1872) 635. See also Erheiterungen. No. 70. *Aschaffenburg Zeitung*, March 28, 1872. 280; and also *Journal du droit international privé* (Cluent Paris) No. 1 (January-February 1874) 32; and AT-OeStA-HHStA Gesandtschaftsarchiv Paris 219-18.

²⁰⁹ Phrase attributed to the Sun King, Luis XIV.

²¹⁰ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5-7.

²¹¹ Interestingly, the Austrian Court determines that it is not necessary to enter into the question of whether all the requests for orders and jewels made to Rothe were made by persons with legal capacity to bind the Imperial Government or Maximilian's personal assets, since it can resolve the controversy on other grounds. T-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-2.

²¹² During our research, we obtained more than three hundred documents relating to the legal proceedings in France and Austria, as well as documents relating to the liquidation of Maximilian's estate. AT-OeStA/HHStA Gesandtschaftsarchiv Paris 219-18.

principles of international law set forth by the French Court are equally applicable in the case of Rothe's claim. Like the French Court, the Austrian Court determined that the demand for payment on account of Orders and decorations could only affect the income of the Mexican State but in no case encumbered the Emperor's private property since Maximilian did not requested them in his personal capacity. The Austrian Court concludes in its decision:

According to the principles of international law, which are determinative in this case, the petitioner would have to direct his claim against the presently restored Mexican government and, in case such efforts should prove unsuccessful, bear the damage as an accidental [loss].²¹³

Rothe's claim was probably made with great tact and care, as Rothe had a current commission with the Austrian Crown as supplier of Orders and decorations, which he would not have wanted to jeopardize by forcing the payment of what was owed to him by the Crown of Mexico. Even more so, if we consider the high price that Rothe charged for his work, he could eventually recover what was owed by the Mexican Empire by gradually raising his prices for new orders from the Austrian Empire.

Although Rothe was ultimately unable to collect the money owed to him for Orders and decorations from the Second Mexican Empire, the relationship between Rothe and the Austrian Imperial Crown apparently did not deteriorate due to the claim. In 1868, Rothe was named Goldsmith of the Royal and Imperial Court of Austria. A few years later, he was named Chamber Jeweler for the Imperial Court,²¹⁴ thus recognizing Rothe's excellence and mastery in his field.²¹⁵

²¹³ T-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-2. Translation ours.

²¹⁴ Pavel Car y Tomislav Muhić, *Op.cit.* 555.

²¹⁵ Within the hierarchy of suppliers to the Austrian Crown, being appointed Chamber Supplier was a coveted and privileged title due to its great recognition. To appreciate the importance associated with such title, we must consider that in 1883, there were in the whole of Vienna some 399 Court Suppliers (Hoflieferanten) but only 15 Chamber Suppliers (Kammerlieferantes). See Ingrid Haslinger, *op. cit.* 25.

Epilogue

At the end of the Second Mexican Empire, the number of decorations manufactured by Rothe from 1865 to 1867 was more than 1,400. The months of greatest production for Rothe were December 1865 and February, April, and May 1866, which exceeded two hundred decorations produced each month. As the writer and phalerist Stephen Previtera rightly points out, “medals always grow more numerous when they become the only compensation for a lost cause.”²¹⁶ The largest number of decorations manufactured by Rothe was in the Officer and Knights Classes, producing more than 500 for Officers and more than 700 for Knights.²¹⁷

The decorations of the Second Mexican Empire turned out to be objects that illustrate and allow us to study a privileged artisanal trade. Studying the interrelation of the Order of Guadalupe, the officials of the Second Mexican Empire and the Viennese manufacturer, C.F. Rothe, allowed us to confirm that the decorations are hierarchical symbols representative of the desires and aspirations of the power structures within the society that grants them.

The object of our study reflects a particular way of thinking of the nineteenth-century European states, in which the European kingdoms tried to transplant institutions deeply rooted in their respective countries, such as the Orders of Chivalry, to countries dominated as colonies²¹⁸ or managed as overseas possessions without taking into consideration the economic problems and the cultural and social differences in these territories or countries. The profuse granting of decorations from the three Mexican Orders, whose manufacturing and shipping costs were truly high, denotes a certain alienation from the reality that Mexico lived in at that time, even more so if we consider the enormous external debt that remained to be paid with England and Spain, and the fact that the country still did not generate enough income to satisfy the basic needs of its inhabitants.

Rothe's archives proved to be a rich repository of information that helps us understand the history of the Second Empire and the Order of Guadalupe from a different perspective.

²¹⁶ Stephen Thomas Previtera. *The Iron Time: A History of the Iron Cross*. Op cit. 172.

²¹⁷ AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-9

²¹⁸ Even though we use the term “colony,” we recognize that its use is problematic when trying to convey a uniform concept defining the relations between subjugating and subjugated countries since “colonial” experiences worldwide vary from case to case and are not homogeneous. See Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*. Edinburgh University Press, 1998.

Documents and records of a business, which at first glance would seem to contribute nothing to the historical study of the subject, contained enough information to give us an idea of a small part of the machinery that kept the Second Mexican Empire moving for four years. As E. H. Carr said, facts are like a sack, and they only stand upright when something is put inside them.²¹⁹ That is why the distinguished historian Gervasio García comments that “[t]here are facts that make sense to the extent that they are questioned.²²⁰ That is when they begin to acquire relevance.” Using the data obtained from Rothe's records, we were able to analyze and interpret facts that allowed us to learn more about how the manufacture and awarding of decorations of the Mexican Orders operated, allowing us to take a more detailed look at the daily life of some characters who were part of the Second Mexican Empire, without being the protagonists that traditional history has been interested in rescuing or preserving for posterity.

We do not know if the records of other manufacturers, such as Krètly, Lemaître, or Cravanzola, have survived to this day and are available for study. If these archives still exist, we can only imagine the treasure trove of information they hide and how much they could contribute to the subject of the Second Mexican Empire. For those historians and researchers who found this work interesting, I can only say, keeping due distance and with all due respect, *intellectum tibi dabo, et instruam te in via hac*.

Final Comments

Curiosity is an essential part of a historian's work. Approaching a topic of historical research simply because we like it or are curious about it is a perfect start. "Investigating" and "following the clues" to satisfy our curiosity is part of the historian's vocation. After all, the Greek word ἱστορία meant only "investigation." Eventually, we will ask ourselves some questions that worry us, and we want to answer them. From there, we begin to look for sources to learn about that new topic, and the real work of a historian begins.

Paraphrasing José Joaquín Blanco, "historical work is capable of vitally rewarding itself through the pleasurable sensations of broadly exercising the mind; of creativity and curiosity,

²¹⁹ Carr, E.H. *¿Qué es la historia?* (Kindle, Editorial Planeta, 2017) Loc. 1266 de 4255.

²²⁰ Cristian Arroyo. "Entrevista a G. García del 28 de marzo de 2015". UPR Dialogo. Consultado el 1 de octubre de 2022 en <https://dialogo.upr.edu/gervasio-garcia-no-hay-verdades-eternas-ni-unicas/>

of the challenges and surprises it offers."²²¹ In order to better understand the manufacturing process and the object under study, I took a short course on fired enamel techniques applied to jewelry and goldsmithing, which was very helpful and certainly stimulated my curiosity about the subject of phaleristics.

During the research, we encountered many challenges, starting with the remoteness of the archive consulted, the quantity and type of documents, the language, and the calligraphy. We refer to calligraphy because, although we know paleography of the XV, XVI and XVII centuries after studying it with Professor Laureano Rodríguez Llañez of the University of Seville, XIX century Germanic calligraphy was not one of the subjects studied. Most of the documents reviewed during this research were written in German, using the *Kurrentschrift* alphabet, which can be described as cursive Gothic. Thus, in order to review the content of each document, it was first necessary to decipher the letters, transliterate what was written into the Latin alphabet, and then finally proceed to translate the text from German to Spanish, which is the original language in which this book was written.

The research was also full of achievements. For example, when we managed to decipher the content of a letter in which we had spent more than an hour trying to interpret the meaning of a paragraph, or when we managed to finish organizing and cataloging dozens of documents obtained initially with no other description than a consecutive number. It was also gratifying when we validated through the text of a letter information we had previously intuited. In this research, each letter reviewed provided a new piece of information that formed a small part of the puzzle of the history of the Second Mexican Empire.

It was interesting to verify, through the examination of the documents and the consulted bibliography, the power struggle "behind the throne" between Austrian and Mexican officials of the Imperial Government, evidenced by the continuous conflicts between the requests of some and the instructions of others. Or to appreciate the rivalry and preference between Austrian and French officials for decorations manufactured in their respective countries of origin. We also found Maximilian's efforts to establish a social and hierarchical system that was so far removed from the reality of the Mexican people. When we concluded our investigation, it was evident that, of the dozens of Crosses of the Order of Guadalupe that were awarded, three lonely crosses were left on the Cerro de Las Campanas.

²²¹ José Joaquín Blanco. "El placer de la historia" en Carlos Pereyra, et al., *Historia ¿Para Qué?* (México: Siglo XXI 1980) 86.

For the general public today, decorations have lost the luster and importance they had in earlier times, being practically relegated to the military sphere.²²² However, it is worth remembering what Santa-Anna said when commemorating the establishment of the Order of Guadalupe:

*In every civilized nation there are those eminent corporations that become the most powerful stimulus for great actions. I believe that those who distinguish themselves from their fellow citizens by courage, science or in some other way, are worthy of some honorary decoration as a testimony of national gratitude for their outstanding services.*²²³

Santa-Anna was not alone in the notion that the recognition of merit through some distinctive mark incentivizes exemplary conduct. In the renowned treatise on Spanish phaleristics, *Historia de las Ordenes de Caballería y de las Condecoraciones Españolas*,²²⁴ in the first book he states:

*Rewarding merit is, in addition to being fair, useful and necessary: the exemplary and learned prelate, the upright magistrate, the heroic soldier, the eminent in science, in letters, in arts, every man who notably distinguishes himself for the good of humanity, in favor of the country, in the service of the State, deserves that the State call him one day and say: Veni, coronaberis.*²²⁵

As the esteemed professor Gervasio García says, “History is the effort to rescue from oblivion and understand the aspirations, frustrations and human achievements in the

²²² For example, most Americans are familiar with or have heard about the Purple Heart, a military award when a soldier is wounded in combat, but many are unaware of the National Humanities Medal, an important decoration presented by the Federal Government. Perhaps the most widely recognized civilian award today, although not a medal in its truest sense, is the Nobel Prize.

²²³ Antonio López de Santa-Anna. *Manifiesto del general de división a sus compatriotas*. St. Thomas, 12 de abril de 1858. Translation ours.

²²⁴ José Gil Dorregaray, editor. *Historia de las Ordenes de Caballería y de las Condecoraciones Españolas*. (Madrid: Imprenta de Tomás Rey 1864). VII. Translation ours.

²²⁵ Loosely translated to “approach and be crowned.”

distant and near past.”²²⁶ These high principles could not evade the hardships and events of history. The decorations of the Order of Guadalupe are today reminders of a past whose memory is destined to be safeguarded by museums and collectors.

Thus, as a historian, in this work, I have tried to shed new light on facts that are now receding back into the shadow of oblivion. I hope to have done my part and lit the torch of curiosity in our kind readers and future researchers.

²²⁶ Gervasio L. García. *Armar la Historia: la Tesis en la región menos transparente y otros ensayos*. (Río Piedras: Ediciones Huracán 1989) 21.

Archival records consulted from the *Haus, Hof und Staatsarchiv del Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Viena, Austria.*

AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-2 Liquidierungsbegehren des Wiener Hofjuweliers Rothe an die Verlassenschaft nach Kaiser Maximilian von Mexiko (1868).

AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-4 Korrespondenz Dr. Sebastian Scherzenlechner, Frau von Kuhacsevich und Herrn Fleischmann mit der Firma Rothe (1864).

AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-5 Korrespondenz diverser mexikanischer Amtsträger und der Firma Rothe (1865).

AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-6 Korrespondenz diverser mexikanischer Amtsträger und der Firma Rothe (1866).

AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-7 Korrespondenz diverser mexikanischer Amtsträger und der Firma Rothe (1867).

AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-8 Rechnung über die Sendung von Bijouterie als Eilgut von Wien über Southampton nach Vera Cruz (1866).

AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 13-9 Verzeichnis und Aufstellung der von der Firma Rothe nach Mexiko gesandten Dekorationen und Pretiosen (1865-1866).

AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 14-26-1 Fotografien von den Produktionsräumlichkeiten – Atelier, wie dieses in der Zeit von 1850 bis 1924 ausgesehen hat, 1850-1924.

Bibliography

Arroyo, Elsa, Manuel E. Espinosa, Tatiana Falcón y Eumelia Hernández, “Variaciones celestes para el manto de la Virgen”. *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*. Vol. XXXIV, Núm. 100. (2012) págs. 85-117.

Almanaque del Imperio de 1866. México: J.M. Lara 1866.

Amerlinck, Rodrigo. *La Reforma y el Segundo Imperio*. (s.d. 2020). Kindle.

Arbeteta Mira, Leticia. *Notas sobre la Joyería esmaltada en la España del siglo XVII*. Estudios de Platería. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia 2006. pp.45-68.

- Austensen, Roy A. "Austria and the 'Struggle for Supremacy in Germany,' 1848-1864." *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 52, no. 2, 1980, pp. 196–225.
- Bignon, M. *Histoire de France depuis 1799 jusqu'en 1812*. Vol. VIII. París, Chez Firmin Didot Frères, 1838.
- Blackburn, Bonnie J. "The Virgin in the Sun: Music and Image for a Prayer Attributed to Sixtus IV". *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*. Vol. 124., pp. 157-195, 1999.
- Borja, Ignacio. *Ilustre y distinguida Orden de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*. México: Conacutla 2011.
- Burke, Bernard. *The Book of Orders of Knighthood and Declarations of Honour of All Nations*. London: Hurst & Blackette 1858.
- Car, Pavel y Tomislav Muhić. *Serbische und jugoslawische Orden und Ehrenzeichen von 1859 bis 1941*. Viena: Verlag Militaria, 2009.
- Ceballos-Escalera y Gila, Alfonso de. *La Real y Distinguida Orden Española de Carlos III*. Madrid: Boletín Oficial del Estado, Real Casa de la Moneda 2016.
- Centro de Tecnología Andaluza. *Guía para diseñadores y prescriptores de joyería*. España: Tipografía Católica S.C.A. 2009.
- Comte Corti, Egon César. *Maximilien et Charlotte du Mexique*. París: Fils de Plon et Nurrit 1927.
- Deutsch, Eduad. *Erinnerungen an Ferdinand Maximilian: Erzherzog von Osterreich, Kaiser von Mexiko*. Brünn: Druck von Rudolf W. Rohrer 1868.
- Fuertes de Gilbert Rojo, Manuel. "Bases sociales de la emblemática: Aristocracia y Nobleza, pasado y presente." *Emblemata, Revista aragonesa de emblemática* (2010). pp. 185-202. <https://ifc.dpz.es/recursos/publicaciones/30/55/09fuertes.pdf>
- Galeana, Patricia. "República y monarquía en busca de reconocimiento (1864-1867)." *La Disputa Por La Soberanía (1821-1876)*, 1st ed., 3:155–90. El Colegio de México, 2010.
- Gandhi, Leela. *Postcolonial Theory A Critical Introduction*. Edinburgh University Press, 1998.
- García, Genaro. *La intervención francesa en México según el archivo del mariscal Bazaine: (textos español y francés)*. México: Vda. de C. Bouret 1907.

- García, Gervasio L. *Armar la Historia: la Tesis en la región menos transparente y otros ensayos*. Río Piedras: Ediciones Huracán 1989.
- Garrido del Toral, Andrés. *A 150 años del sitio de Querétaro y el triunfo de la República*. México: Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de las Revoluciones de México, 2017.
- Gaulot, Paul. *L'expédition du Mexique (1861-1867) D'après les Documents et Souvenirs de Ernest Louet, payeur en Chef du Corps Expéditionnaire*. Vol II. París: Société D'Éditions Littéraires et Artistiques 1906.
- Gil Dorregaray, José. editor. *Historia de las Ordenes de Caballería y de las Condecoraciones Españolas*. Madrid: Imprenta de Tomás Rey 1864.
- Gourdon de Genouillac, Henri. *Dictionnaire Historique des Ordres de Chevalerie, créés chez les différents peuples depuis le premier siècle jusqu'à nous jours*. Paris: E. Dentu 1854.
- Hanna, Kathryn Abbey. "The Roles of the South in the French Intervention in Mexico." *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1954, pp. 3–21.
- Haslinger, Ingrid. *Kunde: Kaiser, Die Geschichte der Ehemaligen k.u.k. Holiferanten*. Viena: Verlag Anton Schroll, 1996.
- Hellwald, Friedrich Heller von. *Maximilian I: Kaiser von Mexiko, Sein Leben, Wirken und Sein Tod*. Viena: Wilhem Braumüller 1869.
- Hernández Sandoica, Elena. *Tendencias historiográficas actuales: Escribir historia hoy*. Madrid: Ediciones Akal, S.A. 2004.
- Hirtenfeld, I. *Oesterreichischer Militär-Kalender für das 1863*. Viena: Berlag von Carl Gerold's Sohn 1863.
- *Oesterreichischer Militär-Kalender für das 1868*. Viena: Berlag von Carl Gerold's Sohn 1867.
- Hof- und Staats-Handbuch der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie für 1883*. Viena: Verlag der k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei 1883.
- Illustrierte Chronik: Aufzeichnungen aus der Geschichte der Ereignisse, der Länder, der Völker, der Menschen und Stimmungen der Gegenwart. Chronik des Jahres 1849*. Vol. 2. Leipzig, Verlag von J.J Beber 1849.

- Kollonitz, Paula. *Un viaje a México en 1864*. México: Libros de México, 2019.
- Lesley, Everett P. *Enamel: An Historic Survey to the Present Day*. New York: The Cooper Union Museum for the Arts of Decoration, 1954.
- Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel. *Montaillou, aldea occitana, de 1294 a 1324*. Trad. Mauro Armiño. Barcelona: Penguin Random House Group Ed. 2019. Kindle.
- Lord Acton, John Emerich. *Surgimiento y caída del Imperio Mexicano*. 1st ed., El Colegio de México, 2006.
- McAllen, M.M.. *Maximilian and Carlota: Europe's Last Empire in Mexico*. Texas: Trinity University Press 2017.
- Měříčka, Václav. *Das Buch Der Orden Und Auszeichnungen*. Hanau: Verlag Werner Dausien 1976.
- Mevius, Johan Paul y Johan Christian Dietrich. *Almanach de Gotha, annuaire généalogique, diplomatique et statistique*. Gotha: Justus Perthes 1876.
- Le Moniteur Universel, Journal Officiel de L'empire Française. (París Charles-Joseph Panckoucke, enero 1864 - julio 1867)
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb34452336z/date1867>
- Montaner Frutos, Alberto. "Sentido y contenido de los emblemas". *Emblemata. Revista aragonesa de emblemática*, Núm. 16 (2010).
<https://ifc.dpz.es/recursos/publicaciones/30/55/04montaner.pdf>
- Nezbeda, Eduard. *Der 20. juli 1866; memorien aus der siegreichen seeschlacht bei Lissa*. Viena: Verlag des Vereines 1891.
- Nickel, Herbert. *Kaiser Maximilians Kartographen in Mexiko*. Frankfurt: Vervuet Verlag 2003.
- Niox, Gustave Leon. *Expédition Du Mexique, 1861-1867: Récit Politique & Militaire*. Paris: J. Dumaine, 1874.
- Ocampo, Estela. *Diccionario de términos artísticos y arqueológicos*. Barcelona: Tesys, S.A., 1992.
- Ortner, Christian y Georg Ludwigstorff. *Österreichs Orden und Ehrenzeichen*. Vol. I. Viena: Verlag Militaria GmbH, 2017.

- Ottenfeld, Rudolf Otto von. *Die Österreichische Armee von 1700 bis 1867: Die Kriegs-Marine*. Vienna: Verlag von Emil Berté, 1895.
- Otto Bishop of Freising. *The Two Cities: A Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D.* Trad. Charles Christopher Mierow. Ed. Austin P. Evans. New York: Octagon Books. Inc. 1966.
- Pani, Erika. “Más allá del fusilado de Querétaro y de la local de Miramar: historiografía reciente sobre el segundo imperio.” *Históricas* 50. *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*. UNAM Septiembre-Diciembre 1997. pp. 16-27.
- Panofsky, Erwin. *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*. Colorado: Westview Press 1972.
- Paula de Arrangoiz, Francisco de. *Apuntes para la historia del Segundo Imperio Mejicano*. Madrid: M. Rivadeneira 1869.
- Pérez Guerra, José M. *Órdenes y Condecoraciones de España 1800-1975*. Zaragoza: Hermanos Guerra, 2000.
- Previtera, Stephen Thomas. *The Iron Time: A History of the Iron Cross*. Richmond, VA: Windore Press, 2007.
- . *Prussian Blue: A History of the Order Pour le Mérite*. Richmond, VA: Windore Press, 2005.
- Purves, Alec A. *Orders and Decorations*. Londres: Hamlyn, 1972.
- Raksch, Dietmar. *Preußen Verleihungsurkunden und Besitzzeugnisse*. Hamburg: Nieman 2002.
- Ramírez Jiménez, David y Antonio Prieto Barrio. *Falerística Española: Estudio de las condecoraciones*. Madrid: Malpe, S.A. 2022.
- Ratz, Konrad y Amparo Gómez Tepexicuapan. *Ein Kaiser unterwegs: Die Reisen Maximilians von Mexiko 1864-1867 nach Presseberichten und Privatbriefen*. Viena: Böhlaw Verlag 2007.
- Réau, Louis. *Iconografía del arte cristiano: Iconografía de la Biblia – Nuevo Testamento*. Barcelona: Serbal, 2008.
- Revue des deux mondes*. Año XXVI, Vo. 61. París: Bureau de la Revue des Deux Mondes 1866.

- Rey y Cabises, Amadeo-Martín. *Órdenes y condecoraciones: Su historia y su uso por la realeza europea*. Madrid: Real Academia Matritense de Heráldica y Genealogía 2017.
- Ridolfi, Leonardo. "L'histoire immobile? Six centuries of real wages in France from Louis IX to Napoleon III: 1250-1860". *LEM Working Paper Series*, No. 2017/14, Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna, Laboratory of Economics and Management. Pisa: LEM 2017.
- Rigalt y Nicolás, Bruno. *Diccionario histórico de las órdenes de caballería, religiosas, civiles y militares de todas las naciones del mundo*. Barcelona: Ed. Narciso Ramirez, 1858.
- Riva Palacios, Mariano y Rafael Martínez de la Torre. *Memorando sobre el proceso del Archiduque Fernando Maximiliano de Austria*. México: Imprenta F. Díaz de León 1867.
- Sánchez, Agustín y Andrés Lira. "La diplomacia Hispano-Mexicana: de la Intervención Tripartita a la caída del Imperio." *España y El Imperio de Maximiliano: Finanzas, Diplomacia, Cultura e Inmigración*, ed. Clara E. Lida, 1st ed., El Colegio de México, 1999, pp. 105-78.
- Salm-Salm, Agnes Elisabeth zu. *Ten Years of my Life*. New York, R. Worthington 1877.
- Scharfenberg, Gerd y Günter Thiede. *Lexikon der Ordenskunde: Von Adlerschild bis Zitronenorden*. S.d, Battenberg Verlag 2010.
- Schneider, Louis. *Die Preußischen Orden, Ehrenzeichen u. Auszeichnungen: Die Kriegsdenkmünze für den Feldzug 1870-1871*. Berlin: Alexander Ducker, 1872.
- *Die Preußischen Orden, Ehrenzeichen u. Auszeichnungen: Der Rothe Adler-Orden*. Berlin: Verlag A. W. Hayns' Greben 1868.
- *Die Preußischen Orden, Ehrenzeichen u. Auszeichnungen: Das Buch vom Schwarzen Adler-Orden*. Berlin: Verlag Alexander Duncker 1870.
- Schoonover, Thomas. "France in Central America 1820s-1989 an Overview". *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer*, Vol. 79, Núm. 295, (1992). pp. 161-197.
- Schulze, H. *Chronik sämmtlicher bekanten Ritter-Orden und Ehrenzeichen, welche von Souverainen und Regierungen verliehen werden*. Berlin: W. Moeser und Kühn, 1870.
- Segura, José Sebastián. *Boletín de las Leyes del Imperio Mexicano, Código de la Restauración*. Vol. V. México: Imprenta Literaria 1865.

- Silvestre Villegas, R. "Sebastián Scherzenlechner y México." *Históricas 50. Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*. UNAM Septiembre-Diciembre 1997. pp 27-35.
- Sondhaus, Lawrence. *The Habsburg Empire and the Sea: Austrian Naval Policy, 1797-1866*. West Lafayette Ind.: Purdue University Press 1989.
- *The Naval Policy of Austria-Hungary, 1867-1918: Navalism, Industrial Development, and the Politics of Dualism*. West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press 1994.
- Stanislavovich, Shishkov Sergey. *Awards of Russia 1698-1917*. Vladivostok: Rollfilm Photostudio 2003.
- Thürheim, Andreas, Graf. *Geschichte Des k.k. Achten Uhlanen-regimentes Erzherzog Ferdinand Maximilian Von Seiner Errichtung 1718 Bis August 1860*. Viena: k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1860.
- Trigueros, Antonio M. and Gustav A. Tammann. *The Three Portuguese Military Orders of Knighthood 1789-1910*. OMSA Medal Notes Series No. 1. New Jersey: Orders and Medals Society of America 1997.
- Trillanes Sánchez, Ricardo. *La Orden de Guadalupe en tres épocas*. México: s.d. 2011.
- *Órdenes Imperiales en México, Medallas y Condecoraciones (1861-1824)(1863-1867)*. México: s.d. 2011.
- Vilasís, Andreu. *Esmaltar: La complicidad del fuego con el arte*. Barcelona: AUSA, 2008.
- Wobeser, Gisela von. "Antecedentes iconográficos de la imagen de la Virgen de Guadalupe". *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, Vol. 37, Núm. 107, pp. 173-227, 2015.
- Woods, Mark. *German Medal Makers and their marks 1813-1957*. Gran Bretaña: MW Militaria, 2020.
- Younessi, O. James. *Orders, Decorations and Medals of the Empire of Iran: The Pahlavi Era*. Texas: Virtualbookworm.com Publishing Inc., 2016.
- Zárate Toscano, Verónica, A. Juan Fidel Zorrilla y Ernesto Lamonte. "Tradición y modernidad: la Orden Imperial de Guadalupe. Su organización y sus rituales. Vol. 45, No. 2 *Historia Mexicana*. Oct.-Dic. 1995, El Colegio de México. pp.191-220.
- Ziegler, Johannes. *Jahrbuch der Kais. Kön. Kriegsmarine 1871*. Viena: Commissionsverlag von Carl Gerold's Sohn 1870.

Image provenance and attributions

ⁱ https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maximiliano_de_M%C3%A9xico#/media/Archivo:Emperador_Maximiliano_I_de_Mexico.jpg

ⁱⁱ Tiburcio Sánchez. *Maximiliano de Habsburgo*. Museo Nacional de Historia, México.

ⁱⁱⁱ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%27Ex%C3%A9cution_de_Maximilien

^{iv} Edited image courtesy of Ricardo Trillanes-Sánchez.

^v https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Orden_Imperial_de_Nuestra_Se%C3%B1ora_de_Guadalupe.JPG

^{vi} <https://www.facebook.com/AsociacionMonarquistaMexicana/photos/pb.100064319156657.-2207520000.1829099787174704/?type=3>

^{vii} Image used with permission from Morton & Eden. Catalog No. 120, December, 2022.

^{viii} <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/5a/OrderofourLadyofGuadalupe.jpg>

^{ix} <https://www.gob.mx/agn/articulos/agnrecuerda-el-plan-de-ayutla>

^x https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orden_de_Guadalupe#/media/Archivo:Collane_des_Ordens_Unserer_Lieben_Frau_von_Gudalupe.jpg

^{xi} Image used with permission from Morton & Eden. Catalog No. 74, June 2015.

^{xii} <https://i.pinimg.com/originals/bc/c2/24/bcc22467bdcfcde78b9766c1fd5deb44.jpg>

^{xiii} Edited image courtesy of Ricardo Trillanes-Sánchez

^{xiv} <https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/gran-cruz-de-la-orden-imperial-de-guadalupe-al-m%C3%A9rito-civil/IAFnfAhoXU1yxA?hl=es>

^{xv} Image used with permission from Morton & Eden. Catalog No. 65, July 2013.

^{xvi} Image used with permission from eMedals. <https://www.emedals.com/austria-imperial-an-order-of-leopold-i-class-star-with-lower-grade-war-decoration-rothe-copy-111073>

^{xvii} Image used with permission from eMedals, <https://www.emedals.com/mexico-early-republic-an-order-of-guadalupe-3rd-class-knight-s-cross-for-military-merit-c-1853>

^{xviii} Image used with permission from Morton & Eden. Catalog No. 120, December 2022.

^{xix} https://www.wikiwand.com/de/Ordensspange#Media/Datei:Frackkette_Krupp.png.

^{xx} Image used with permission from Beaussant Lefèvre & Associés <https://www.beaussantlefevre.com/lot/18313/3573113-mexiqueordre-de-notredame-de-g>"

^{xxi} Image used with permission from Osenat.

^{xxii} <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/34832597109713090/>

xxiii Edited images obtained from the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv. AT-OeStA/HHStA SB Rothe 14-26-1.

xxiv Image used with permission. © Dorotheum Vienna. <https://www.dorotheum.com/de/1/6888226/>

xxv Image used with permission from eMedals, <https://www.emedals.com/mexico-order-of-our-lady-of-guadalupe-w0212>

xxvi Image used with permission from eMedals, <https://www.emedals.com/mexico-republic-an-order-of-guadalupe-1st-class-grand-cross-star-by-d-cravanzola-c-1900>

xxvii Image used with permission from Morton & Eden. Catalog No. 120, December 12, 2022.

xxviii Image used with permission from eMedals, accedida el 04/25/2023 en los enlaces <https://www.emedals.com/mexico-order-of-our-lady-of-guadalupe-w0212> y <https://www.emedals.com/mexico-republic-an-order-of-guadalupe-1st-class-grand-cross-star-by-d-cravanzola-c-1900>

xxix Image used with permission from Morton & Eden. Catalog No. 120, December 2022.

xxx Image used with permission from Beaussant Lefèvre & Associés. Catalog April 18, 2012. <https://cdn.drouot.com/d/catalogue?path=beaussant/18042012/Beaussant-18042012-BD.pdf>.

xxxi Image used with permission from Morton & Eden. Catalog No 120, December 2022.

xxxii Image courtesy of Andreas M. Schulze Ising.

xxxiii Edited image from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ordem_avis.jpg

xxxiv Image used with permission from © Dorotheum Vienna. <https://www.dorotheum.com/en/1/6888238/>

xxxv Image used with permission from Hermann Histórica.

xxxvi Image used with permission from Hermann Histórica.

xxxvii Image used with permission from Hermann Histórica.