

and the gradual influence of experience upon the Mexican character must determine, I repeat, however, that during the last three years the way has been prepared for the introduction of a better order of things. Communications have been opened between the most distant parts of the post-office has been reorganized (as they might seem) for improvement in that department still remains, and a system of general laws established by which foreigners are secured against the petty persecutions to which they are formerly exposed; for the part of the national authorities the public opinion is somewhat elevated, and it is not unlikely that with these prejudices notwithstanding of the jealousy felt with regard to their property, fraudulent intentions in trade will diminish. It is still the most striking result seen in Mexico indeed will be when the Congress declares that the interests of the Government are not understood, and not only not incompatible with those of the established merchants but are to be identified with them, that commerce and the revenue must stand or fall together. Not that the only will Mexico obtain that position which she is destined to hold hereafter amongst the great communities of the world; for that and the not less wonderful abundance of her natural resources, but turned to full account, I think

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

The appendix contains a list of the names of the persons who have been mentioned in the text of this volume, and also a list of the names of the persons who have been mentioned in the text of this volume. The names are arranged in alphabetical order, and the list is intended to be a guide to the reader in finding the names of the persons mentioned in the text. The list is divided into two parts, the first part containing the names of the persons who have been mentioned in the text of this volume, and the second part containing the names of the persons who have been mentioned in the text of the other volumes of this series. The names are arranged in alphabetical order, and the list is intended to be a guide to the reader in finding the names of the persons mentioned in the text.

APPENDIX.

A.

EXTRACTS FROM A REPRESENTATION, ADDRESSED TO THE VICEROY OF BUENOS AYRES, BY THE APODERADO (AGENT) OF THE LANDHOLDERS OF THE PROVINCE.

The resources of the Royal Treasury being exhausted by the enormous expenditure which has lately been required, your Excellency, on assuming the reins of Government, was deprived of the means of providing for the safety of the provinces committed to your charge. The only mode of relieving the necessities of the country, appears to be to grant permission to the English merchants to introduce their manufactures into the town, and to re-export the produce of the Interior, by which the revenue will be at once increased, and an impulse given to industry and trade.

Your Excellency possesses powers sufficient for the adoption of any measures that the safety of the country may require, but a natural desire to ensure the result of these measures, by adapting them to the peculiar situation of the vice-royalty, induced your Excellency to consult the Cabildo of this city, and the Tribunal of the Real Consulado, before any definitive resolution was taken.

The intentions of your Excellency had barely transpired, when several of the merchants manifested their discontent and dissatisfaction. Groups of European shopkeepers were formed in all the public places, who, disguising their jealousy and personal apprehensions under the most specious pretences, affected to deplore, as a public calamity, the diminution of the

profits, which they have hitherto derived from the contraband trade. At one time, with hypocritical warmth, they lamented the fatal blow which the interests of the Mother-country were about to receive, and at another, they predicted the ruin of the colony, and the total destruction of its commerce: others again announced the universal distress that the free exportation of the precious metals would bring upon us, and pretended to feel a lively interest in the fate of our native artisans (whom they have always hitherto despised), endeavouring to enlist in their cause the sacred name of religion, and the interests of morality.

Never, certainly, has America known a more critical state of affairs, and never was any European governor so well entitled as your Excellency to dispense at once with the maxims of past ages; for if, in less dangerous times, the laws have often been allowed to sleep, when their observance might have checked the free action of the Government, surely your Excellency cannot now be condemned for the adoption of a measure, by which alone the preservation of this part of the monarchy can be effected.

Those should be doomed to eternal infamy, who maintain that, under present circumstances, it would be injurious either to Spain, or to this country, to open a free intercourse with Great Britain. But even supposing the measure to be injurious, still it is a necessary evil, and one which, since it cannot be avoided, ought at least to be made use of for the general good, by endeavouring to derive every possible advantage from it, and thus to convert it into a means of ensuring the safety of the state.

Since the English first appeared on our coasts, in 1806, the merchants of that nation have not lost sight of the Rio de la Plata in their speculations. A series of commercial adventures has followed, which has provided almost entirely for the consumption of the country; and this great importation, carried on in defiance of laws and reiterated prohibitions, has met with no other obstacles than those necessary to deprive the Custom-house of its dues, and the country of those advantages which it might have derived from a free exportation of its own produce in return.

The result of this system has been to put the English in the exclusive possession of the right of providing the country with all the foreign merchandize that it requires; while the Government has lost the immense revenues which the introduction of so large a proportion of foreign manufactures ought to have produced, from too scrupulous an observance of laws, which have never been more scandalously violated than at the moment when their observance was insisted upon by the merchants of the capital. For what, Sir, can be more glaringly absurd than to hear a merchant clamouring for the enforcement of the prohibitive laws, and the exclusion of foreign trade, at the very door of a shop filled with English goods, clandestinely imported?

To the advantages which the Government will derive from the open introduction of foreign goods, may be added those which must accrue to the country from the free exportation of its own produce.

Our vast plains produce annually a million of hides, without reckoning other skins, corn, or tallow, all of which are valuable, as articles of foreign trade. But the magazines of our resident merchants are full; there is no exportation; the capital usually invested in these speculations is already employed, and the immense residue of the produce, thrown back upon the hands of the landed-proprietors, or purchased at a price infinitely below its real value, has reduced them to the most deplorable state of wretchedness, and compelled them to abandon a labour which no longer repays them for the toil and expence with which it is attended.

The freedom of trade in America was not proscribed as a real evil, but because it was a sacrifice required of the colonies by the Mother-country. The events which led to the gradual increase of this exclusive commerce, till it became a monopoly of the Cadiz merchants, are well known.

Well informed men exclaimed in vain against a system so weak, so ruinous, and so ill judged; but inveterate evils are not to be cured at once. Minor reforms had paved the way for a system founded upon sounder principles, when the late extraordinary events, changing entirely the political state of Spain, destroyed by one unforeseen blow all the pretexts

by which the prohibitory laws had been previously supported.—The new order of things which the Mother-country has proclaimed as the happy commencement of national prosperity, has completely changed the motives for the prohibitory system, and demonstrated, in their fullest extent, the advantages that must result to the country from a free trade. Good policy, therefore, and the natural wish to apply a remedy to pressing evils, are converted into a positive duty, which the first magistrate of the state cannot, in reason, or justice, neglect.

Is it just that the fruits of our agricultural labours should be lost, because the unfortunate provinces of Spain can no longer consume them? Is it just that the abundant productions of the country should rot in our magazines, because the navy of Spain is too weak to export them? Is it just that we should increase the distress of the Mother-country, by the tidings of our own critical and vacillating state, when the means are offered to us of consolidating our safety upon the firmest basis? Is it just, that, when the subjects of a friendly and generous nation present themselves in our ports, and offer us, at a cheap rate, the merchandize of which we are in want, and with which Spain cannot supply us, we should reject the proposal, and convert, by so doing, their good intentions to the exclusive advantage of a few European merchants, who, by means of a contraband trade, render themselves masters of the whole imports of the country? Is it just, that when we are intreated to sell our accumulated agricultural produce, we should, by refusing to do so, decree at the same time the ruin of our landed-proprietors, of the country, and of society together?

If your Excellency wishes to diminish the extraction of specie, which has taken place latterly to so great an extent, there is no other mode of effecting it than to open the ports to the English, and thus to enable them to extend their speculations to other objects. It is one of the fatal consequences of the contraband trade, that the importer is absolutely compelled to receive the value of his imports in the precious metals alone. His true interest, indeed, consists in exchanging them at once for articles that may become the objects of a new speculation; but the risks with which the extraction of bulky commodities must be attended, under a system of strict

prohibition, induce him to sacrifice this advantage to the greater security which exports in specie afford, and to deprive himself of the hope of new profits, and the country of the sale of its most valuable produce.

Yet the Apoderado of the Cadiz monopolists maintains, "that a free trade will be the ruin of our agriculture." This luminous discovery is worthy of his penetration. The free exportation of the produce, is declared to be detrimental to the interests of the producer! What, then, is to be the mode of encouraging him in his labours? According to the principles laid down by our merchants, the agricultural produce should be allowed to accumulate,—purchasers are to be deterred from entering the market, by the difficulties of exporting the articles bought up, to countries where they might be consumed; and this system is to be persevered in until, after ruining the landholders by preventing them from disposing of the fruits of their labours, the superfluous produce itself is to be disposed of, in order to fill up the ditches and marshes in the vicinity of the town.

Yes, Sir, this is the deplorable state to which our agriculture has been reduced during the last few years. The marshes around the town have been actually filled up with wheat; and this miserable condition, which forms a subject of lamentation with all true friends to their country, and scandalizes the inhabitants of the whole district, is the natural fate of a province, in which, as soon as an inclination is shown to apply a remedy to these evils, men are found daring enough to assert, "that by giving value, or, in other words, a ready market, to the agricultural produce, agriculture will be ruined."

Buenos Ayres, 30th September, 1809.

B. (1.)

REPRESENTATION OF THE AMERICAN DEPUTIES TO THE
CORTES OF SPAIN, 1st AUGUST, 1811.

SIR,

THE Cortes being about to discuss the question of the pacification of the Americas, We, the undersigned Deputies,

believe it to be our duty to lay before your Majesty whatever information we possess with regard to the best mode of effecting this most important point:—information which may tend, at the same time, to convey an exact idea of events which are much misrepresented before they reach the Peninsula. The knowledge of the evil ought to precede the inquiry as to the remedy. In order to extinguish the fire that is consuming the Americas, it is necessary to examine its origin. It appears, that all agree that the desire of Independence first excited amongst the Americans the flame of discord, when they saw that it was impossible that the Peninsula should employ force against them. The loss of power, on the part of the Mother-country, is, therefore, the first circumstance to be noted; but something more than this was required to occasion the explosion, since otherwise it would have taken place as soon as the obstacle was removed, and this has not been the case; the revolt of the colonies being effected in some places before others, and in none immediately on the arrival from Spain of the first fatal news of the occupation of Madrid.

In Caracas, the intelligence of the invasion of Andalusia by the French, and the dissolution of the Central Junta, caused the revolution, by which, on the 19th of April, 1810, the Authorities were deposed without bloodshed, and a Junta created, with the title of Supreme, for the government of the Province, “to preserve its existence, and provide for its safety,” as it is expressed in the proclamation which was published upon the occasion.

The same news was communicated to Buenos Ayres by the Viceroy, Don Baltasar Cisneros, who permitted the people to assemble a Congress, in order to take the necessary precautions, and not to be involved in similar calamities. This produced, in May 1810, a Provisional Junta, which took the command, until a Congress could be formed of Deputies from all the Provinces.

The imprudent conduct of the Corregidor of El Socorro, in the new kingdom of Granada, in attacking with troops the unarmed people, who, by means of official representations, endeavoured to calm him, and to avoid a rupture, irritated the natives, and caused a revolution, on the 3d of July, 1810, the

first effect of which was the imprisonment of the Corregidor himself, and his satellites.

In Santa Fè de Bogota, a still slighter cause led to the explosion. An individual was passing a small shop, when the European proprietor offended him by some words reflecting on the Americans in general. The Creoles, piqued with this, assembled in a body and attacked him, and those who hastened to his assistance. This trifle lighted the torch of dissension, and the irritation increased to such a degree, that a Junta was installed, July 20, 1810, which took the management of affairs in the Viceroyalty, excluding many of those who governed before.

In Carthagena another Junta was formed, the 18th of August of the same year, in consequence of the proceedings of the Governor, and the odious differences which he excited between the European Spaniards and the Americans.

In Chile, the violent attempts of the Captain-General, Don Francisco Carrasco, who was brought to trial by the Council for his conduct, caused such a sensation, and irritated the people so much, that he was obliged to resign. The Conde de la Conquista succeeded him. After this, a Provisional Junta was created, the 18th of September, 1810, following the example of the Junta of Cadiz, which approved the measure, in a proclamation addressed to the Americans. This Junta was recognized by, and received laws from, the Cortes.

In Mexico, the imprisonment of the Viceroy, Don José Yturigaray, by a faction of Europeans, on the night of the 15th of September, 1808, created disputes between them and the Americans. This feeling, spreading gradually through the kingdom, and increasing from day to day, by the death of some and the imprisonment of others, (particularly of the Corregidor of Queretaro,) and the distinctions conferred by the new Viceroy, Don Francisco Venegas, upon the author and accomplices of the faction, caused an insurrection in the Interior, which began in the village of Dolores, the 16th of September, and extended itself in a most alarming manner.

Such are the circumstances which have occasioned the breaking out of the Revolution in the different parts of America;

the pretext unanimously alleged, is the necessity of providing for their own safety, and their wish not to be given up to the French, or any other power, but preserved to Ferdinand VII., whom all have acknowledged, and proclaimed as their king. This being the case, to what, but to bad government, can the present differences be attributed? The daily increasing system of oppression banished from the hearts of the natives the hope of reform, and begot the desire of Independence, which was looked upon as the only remedy. An inflammable material has gone on accumulating, till at last it has ignited, with a very small spark, and the mine has burst. Oppression is, without doubt, the first link in the chain of causes which have produced this effect. Throughout the Colonies, the fear of being betrayed to the French was very great, and not entirely without foundation. To this circumstance, which was common to all the Provinces, and occasioned the Revolution in Caracas, may be added the conduct of the Viceroy in Buenos Ayres, who communicated the intelligence of the invasion of Andalusia as a decisive blow, allowed the people to form a Congress, and to choose a Junta which should govern them.

The bad conduct of the chiefs in Quito, Socorro, and Chile,—of individuals in Santa-Fè,—of both, as well as of the Government in Mexico, may be subjoined to the fatal news from Spain.

It is worthy of remark that the differences have everywhere commenced with an attack upon the Creoles, on the part of the Europeans. Nowhere has any American been known to insult a European, but the reverse. In every province, Americans were tried and thrown into prison, on pretence of being disaffected to Spain, and yet not one of the many Europeans who insulted the Americans, even in public places, was chastised. In them it was a crime only to show themselves well disposed towards the Creoles, or to commiserate their oppression. For this the most respectable men amongst them were arrested, and even a Viceroy himself deposed. Americans were continually sent to the Peninsula, where they were absolved, which proves the injustice with which they had been treated. In a word, the blood of the Creoles was profusely spilt, without one drop of the Europeans being shed, except in

their defence, or by way of reprisals for the rivers which they caused to flow.

The streets of Callao, in the kingdom of New Granada, the fields of Cordova, in that of Buenos Ayres, the mountain of Las Cruces, the plains of Aculco, the bridge of Calderon, the city of Guanajuato, with a thousand other places in Mexico, were the scenes of these horrors; without relating what took place in Quito, over which, for the sake of humanity, we must draw a veil.

We shall therefore only add, that in Mexico the Government rewarded the authors of the faction who insulted the natives of the kingdom, and were the origin of the insurrections.

As to the pretexts assigned, in order to know whether they are really such, or whether there is some foundation for them, it is necessary to consider—1st, That they were the same in every place: 2dly, That they were original, i. e. that one province has not been the echo of another, but that each has assigned its own causes, without having any communication, or previous consultation, with the rest: 3dly, That these pretexts, if not true, are at least so plausible that it would be difficult to demonstrate their fallacy: And, 4thly, That they are conformable to the principles by which their conduct ought to be regulated, and for the neglect of which they might justly be condemned.

The supposition of French influence is unfounded, not because they have not endeavoured to obtain it, but because they have not been successful. Bonaparte has made use of several Spaniards as agents to conciliate the Americas, but these were unanimously deaf to his voice, and notwithstanding the flattering promises contained in his proclamations, they have burnt them by the hands of the common hangman, put to death the bearers, and uniformly expressed their detestation of the Government by which they were sent.

With regard to the English, it is evident that in the parts of America with which they hold no communication, as Mexico and Santa-Fe, they cannot have exercised an influence prejudicial to Spain; and we believe that they have not done so even in the countries which they are in the habit of frequenting; for there have been no disturbances in the Havana; unless indeed, it be assumed that no predisposition in favour of Inde-

pendence existed there as in other places, in which case they may have encouraged, without absolutely exciting, the inhabitants to revolt. The English ambassador, in his note to our Government, in which he offers the mediation of Great Britain to effect a reconciliation with the Insurgents of America, endeavours to clear his Government from the imputation, and states that the only object of the communications into which England has entered with Caracas and Buenos Ayres, is the wish to be able to mediate between the two parties more effectually.

All may be resolved into the desire of Independence, which is the *primum mobile*. This, again, may be divided into two classes; Independence of the European Spaniards, and Independence of the Government of the Peninsula. We will suppose that the Creoles desire the last, as is affirmed in many of the papers of the day, and, I believe, by most people. Still, the great and principal cause of their criminal intentions will be found in the state of oppression in which they have lived for so many years. This impelled them to take advantage of the first opportunity to shake off the yoke. Without it, they would have acknowledged the Government, although regarding it as illegitimate, in order to conform with the rest of the nation. Bad Government alone has been the cause of the dissatisfaction of the Americans.

In order to form a just idea of the effects produced, and the system pursued, let us consider the Creoles as men, as individuals, and as members of a political community. As men, they believe themselves degraded by the Government, which regards them with contempt as colonists; i. e. as an inferior class, or species of men, who have never enjoyed the rights due to all. The consequence of this is, that the Creoles have been loaded with abusive terms, sarcasms, and opprobrious epithets, by those who fancy themselves superior, only because they are natives of a different soil. As individuals who, for food and raiment, are in want of the fruits of the earth, they complain of restrictions which prevent them from turning the advantages of their soil to account, and manufacturing what they require. As members of society, they lament to see

themselves bowed beneath the cruel yoke of despotic governors, who are often sent out to oppress them.

The disturbances and commotions which have now commenced will not cease until the motives for discontent are removed. It would be acting contrary to nature to endeavour to put a stop to effects, while the causes which necessarily produce them are still in existence.

The flame might be extinguished in some of the Provinces, but it would appear in another; and while the remedy is applied to one, it would return to the other. It would not be sufficient even to destroy all the inhabitants of America, and convey a new population there, because the sons of those who must necessarily be born there, (it being impossible to send all the women to be confined in Europe,) would love their native soil, and be equally indignant at the oppression to which they would find themselves subjected.

Why is not this to be remedied, when your Majesty can do it with such trifling sacrifices, as we have shown? Is it possible that the wish to continue to regard the Americas as colonies, although the name has been abolished, should prevail against the philanthropy, the liberality, and knowledge of the National Congress?

This would be to act in such a way that the blame must fall upon the nation, which, till now, has been imputed only to the Government.

Cadiz, 1st August, 1811.

(Signed) VICENTE MERALEO,
&c. &c. &c.

B. (2.)

REPRESENTATION ADDRESSED TO THE CORTES BY THE
AUDIENCIA OF MEXICO.—DATED 18TH NOVEMBER, 1813.

THIS *exposé*, which consists of 270 paragraphs, is one of the most valuable of the state papers which the assiduity of Don Carlos Bustamante has rescued from oblivion. It is too long, and contains too many details of merely local interest, to be

read with pleasure, in toto, by persons unacquainted with Mexico.

I have, therefore, preferred making a selection of the passages which throw most light upon the feelings of the country, and the effect produced by the introduction of the Constitution, to attempting a translation, which would have been too long to be inserted in the body of my work, and would hardly have been thought worthy of attention in the Appendix.

The Audiencia assigns as a reason for its interference:

Paragraph 3.—That the laws which recommended to the especial care of the Courts of Audience the preservation of their respective districts, have not been abolished by the Constitution; and that it is consequently the duty of the Tribunal to point out the effects with which the late change of institutions has been attended.—It then proceeds:—

8.—In these moments of calamity, the great Charter of the Spanish people, dear and respectable as it is to all its individuals, is not, and cannot be, carried into effect in New Spain.

9.—The article which concedes the liberty of the press, was only acted upon during two months, nor can it be so at present, without endangering the safety of the state.

2. The laws respecting elections of Ayuntamientos,—deputies, and members of Provincial Deputations, have likewise not been observed.

3. The regulations by which the security of the persons and goods of the citizens of towns is confided to the Alcaldes, and Municipal bodies, are also necessarily suspended.

10.—Such, Sire, have been in this country the consequences of the wisest Constitution of the world, and such it was to be foreseen that they would be.

11.—Your Majesty, in giving to Spain a Constitution, freed her from despotism and anarchy. Such was the object of the liberty of the press,—the elections, and other popular forms adopted in that Constitution; and this object was attained in the Peninsula, because the general desires of the people were in unison with those principles of justice which the Constitution sanctioned. Here, the result was exactly the reverse, because patriotism and public virtues were wanting; and because, if

the will of the people, corrupted as it now is, prevails, the Independence of the country will be established also, in favour of which the great majority of the natives is undoubtedly decided.

12.—This last assertion may, perhaps, require some proofs, but, unfortunately, it is but too easy to adduce them.

No rebellion can prosper without it be countenanced by public opinion;—on this account, the French made no progress in Spain; but here, without any other protection or assistance, the rebels have sustained themselves for three years against the heroic valour and fidelity of the troops of the country, against the forces which have been sent from Spain, and against the efforts of many loyal Americans, and of all the European residents.

13.—This fact alone proves that the general wish here is the same as that which has been manifested in various other parts of America. It is confirmed by the spontaneous breaking out of the Revolution in the different Provinces, without any sort of compulsion being necessary in order to induce them to declare against the government; (although force has been hitherto applied in vain, in order to oblige them to return to their obedience,) by the conspiracies and disturbances in the Capital; and by the result of the elections, in particular, which were celebrated by the rebels, (as well they might be,) since they themselves could not have selected persons more after their own hearts.

14.—The Audiencia does not deny that many Americans of all classes, besides the troops, have given proofs of exalted loyalty; and it admits that, in many instances, it was impossible for defenceless towns and villages to attempt any resistance against an armed banditti; but it is not the less true that the majority of the people, and almost all the towns, are in favour of the rebellion; and that whereas, in Spain, although some few traitors have sided with the French, not a single village has declared in their favour; here, on the contrary, although many individuals have embraced the just cause, Provinces, towns, and villages, have all shown a disinclination to support it.

18.—Your Majesty has heard that the rebellion by which this, and other countries of America, are devastated, “was

caused by Napoleon,—by the Council of Castile,—by the Junta of Seville, which, by means of its commissioners, threw all Mexico into confusion,—by the arrest of the Viceroy Iturrigaray,—by the fear of falling under the dominion of the French, or by the desire to continue subject to Spain." At other times, it has been said that the number of strangers admitted by Spain into her colonies has occasioned the loss of her sovereignty there; and that the improvement of the natives, has both taught them their rights, and made them impatient to recover them.—Others again have urged,—“the natural propensity of the Creoles to idle change;—their desire to obtain their share of honours, public employments, and full liberty,—their wish, in every thing, to vie with the Europeans,—the terrible inequality of their present lot,—the small proportion of American representatives,—the injustice with which the inhabitants have been treated, and their determination to put an end to a system of oppression, which began with the Conquest.”

19.—The result will have convinced your Majesty of the fallacy of these assertions, each of which was, usually, accompanied by the recommendation of some particular measure, which was to serve as a remedy for the evil. The remedy has been tried,—one concession after another has been made; but the evil remains, and will remain, exactly in *statu quo*.

20.—Some other cause must, therefore, be assigned for the calamities which afflict New Spain, and it is as easy to point it out, as it is to affirm that it is the only one:—a King, who, although himself a sage, thought that he might disregard the practice of every other nation, abandoned this province to its fate, by withdrawing the Colonial (Presidial) garrison. From that moment it might have been foreseen that it would aspire to Independence as soon as it felt its own strength.—Such has been always the desire of colonies situated at a distance from the centre of government:—they have invariably preferred their own advantage, to the laws of justice.

(It is unnecessary to follow the *exposé* through the following paragraphs, in which the Audiencia attempts to prove that a colony can *never* cancel its debt of gratitude to the Mother-country, and that in Mexico those with whom the first idea of

Independence originated, were mere adventurers, who embarked in the cause as the only mode of retrieving their ruined fortunes.)

24.—The invasion of the Peninsula, the abdication of the Sovereign, and the occupation of Madrid by foreign troops, offered some prospect of an approaching Independence, which could not but be flattering to a Viceroy, who had but little else to hope.

25.—It is impossible not to shed tears on reflecting that the exalted patriotism displayed throughout New Spain upon that occasion, should have been so soon directed into a different channel. The Spanish monarchy will never possess more loyal citizens than all its inhabitants then were;—they loved, they adored their King,—and the vehement effusion of their sentiments was the best proof of their sincerity.

26.—But fate decreed that, at that moment, a few restless spirits, (“*hombres discolos, o' preocupados,*”) should dream of Independence, (the very name and idea of which had been, till then, happily unknown to their countrymen,) and that their projects should be countenanced by a body, respectable in itself, amongst whose members many connived at proposals which could have no other object. The worst, too, was, that these schemes were, to a certain point, favoured by measures on the part of the Government, which, if they had not been cut short, would have been of themselves sufficient to revolutionise the country.

27.—Thus, the extraordinary pretensions of the Ayuntamiento of Mexico, with regard to the new appointment of Government officers, and the oaths to be taken by them, as well as the creation of Provisional Juntas in the capital, and in other parts of the kingdom,—pretensions favoured by the tortuous and inconsistent policy of the Viceroy,—had a direct tendency towards the establishment of the Independence.

28.—If your Majesty calls to mind the events which took place in this city between the 29th of July and the 15th of September of 1808, it will be evident how much was done, in so short a time, in order to separate it from the Mother-country. This Tribunal had the honour of informing the Regency, at the

time, of the reasons which induced it to oppose, at all hazards, the dangerous Juntas which were celebrated here on the 9th and 31st of August,—1st and 9th of September.

31.—It was in these days that a pamphlet was published by Fray Melchor de Talamantes (of Lima)—entitled “The National Congress of the Kingdom of New Spain,”—dedicated to the Ayuntamiento of Mexico, in which the Viceroy was solicited to assemble the Mexican Cortes, in spite of the opposition of the Audiencia, which might be neutralized by the opinion of the Ayuntamiento, and of twelve respectable lawyers.

33.—The project is avowed in the Insurgent paper, entitled, *El Ilustrador Nacional*, published in Sultepec, the 18th of April, 1812, in which, referring to the origin of the Civil War, it is said, “What could America do in order to check the progress of these evils, including the chance of seeing, by some intrigue or caprice of the Spanish Mandarins, this beautiful portion of the monarchy, subjected to the dominion of France?”—“To declare its Independence was its only resource; and to create a National Congress, wise, just, disinterested, and calculated to inspire the people with confidence in its measures:—this project was submitted to the Viceroy, Don José Iturrigaray, on conditions as reasonable, as they were advantageous to the Peninsula; but it was discovered by some evil-intentioned Gachupines,* who, in violation of all laws and justice, forestalled the measure, by seizing the person of the Viceroy, and imprisoning all those who had been privy to his plans.”

34.—It was on this account that Don Carlos Bustamante, editor of the *Juguetillo*, who, after publishing this seditious paper in the capital, while the liberty of the press was established, has now joined the Insurgents,—calls the night of the 15th September,—“*Noche infausta*,” “an unpropitious night!” and such it was to men like him, whose schemes of Independence it deranged.

35.—But these projects were soon revived under the government of a Viceroy, whose authority, although afterwards con-

* Malos, necios, y atolondrados, Gachupines. Evil-intentioned, ignorant, and perverse Gachupines.

firmed, was, at first, thought dubious:* advantage was taken of the inexperience of the Archbishop to induce him to prepare a vast force to resist Napoleon, as if it were possible for the armies of the tyrant to reach our coast, while Spain was in alliance with England. He was taught, too, to dread a design, on the part of the Europeans, to remove him, as they had done his predecessor; and to carry his suspicions so far that he planted cannons before the palace to defend himself against those who never dreamt of attacking him. Nor was this all: under the plea of taking precautions against the emissaries of France, the Viceroy's confidential advisers designated, under this odious name, all their own rivals, or opponents, marking out in particular a number of European Spaniards; and this conduct prepared the Indians, and mixed Castes, who had hitherto remained indifferent, to take an interest in the controversy, and to believe, one day, that the Gachupines were resolved to betray the kingdom to Napoleon. Thus was destroyed that moral force, which, since the discovery of these countries, had maintained their tranquillity; and with it was lost that, which it was most our interest to preserve. Information was received, both of the conspiracy of Valladolid, and of the machinations of Hidalgo himself, but no attention was paid to it; and people were thus taught, that, in Mexico, they might attempt every thing with impunity, since, whether they failed, or were successful, they were sure of pardon.

36.—The Audiencia succeeded to the Viceroyalty *ad interim*, and did, what in it lay, to remedy the evil; but its roots had already struck too deep: it was too late.

37.—Under these circumstances, the Viceroy appointed in 1810 arrived, and so opportunely that, but for him, all must have been lost. Hidalgo had already raised the standard of rebellion. This man, without honour or religious principle, had nevertheless sufficient knowledge of mankind to calculate not only upon the assistance of the troops whom he had seduced, but (as he himself said a little before,) upon the powerful

* The Archbishop to whom the reins of Government were confided after the arrest of Iturrigaray.

aid of the ambition, the vices, and the ignorance of his countrymen. His war-cry was the proscription of the Europeans, who had been lulled into security by habitual confidence, and still more by the testimony of their own consciences: he was joined instantly by a host of curates, friars, and lawyers, all men of desperate fortunes, and all determined to seek in the public ruin the impunity of their own crimes. The great mass too of Indians, and mixed castes, which had taken no part till then in the affairs of the state, was roused at once into open rebellion against the Government; stimulated by the desire of indulging their vicious passions, concealed by the plea that the Europeans, against whom their enmity was directed, were agents of Napoleon, as stated in Paragraph thirty-five. In consequence of this, Hidalgo had in a few days whole towns and provinces at his devotion, and advanced upon the Capital with an army infinitely more numerous than that by which it was defended.

38.—The prudence and firmness of the Viceroy saved the state. The rebels were repulsed at Las Cruces, and defeated at Aculco, by a General, whose consummate skill converted into invincible soldiers men, who, under any other direction but his, would have turned against their General and their country. The same General drove them from Guanaxuato, and destroyed at last Hidalgo's whole force at the Puente de Calderon, while their chief expiated his crimes by the death which he had so well deserved in the Northern Provinces.

39.—But still the rebellion continues, has continued, and will continue, with no other change than the mere chances of war; and even should the force of the Cura Morelos, which is now the only formidable one, be destroyed, yet the day is far distant when we can hope to see security and order restored.

40.—Many wonder at the ferocious spirit that characterized Hidalgo's rebellion, exemplified in the Alhondiga of Guanaxuato, and in the ravines of Valladolid, Guadalajara, Tehuacán, and Sultepec.

41.—But Hidalgo knew perfectly all the peculiarities of his situation, and turned them to account. Without the riches of the Europeans, he could not pay his own debts, much less undertake an expensive war: without these same riches as a bait,

he could not gratify that thirst for plunder which possessed the immense legions by which he was followed. Besides, it was as difficult to establish independence while the Europeans remained in power, as it was to prevent these vile and cruel traitors from giving loose to their rage against those who had from the first opposed its establishment.

42.—The flame which Hidalgo lighted in the little town of Dolores spread through the country with the rapidity of atmospheric pestilence. The clergy were the first to declare in favour of a liberty, unjust, premature, and the forerunner of a thousand calamities: they profaned the pulpit and the confessional by making them vehicles for disseminating doctrines subversive of all true religion and all submission to the constituted authorities. They even put themselves at the head of the rebellion, fancying that their sacred character would shield them from punishment, as, from the mistaken piety of our monarchs, has been but too often the case.

44.—Such were the circumstances under which our new political institutions were announced here, towards the establishment of which this tribunal has contributed by every means in its power. The result has proved how vain were the hopes that this change of system would produce any beneficial effect. Morelos, at the very moment of the publication of the Constitution, in return for this benefit, sacked the town of Orizava: every European who has since fallen into the hands of the rebels has been put to death, even at the very gates of the capital; nor has there been one example of a single individual belonging to the rebel armies having recognized your Majesty's authority, or laid down his arms out of respect for the Constitution. Yet they affirm in the twentieth Number of the *Correo Americano del sur*, of the 8th of July, 1813, that the Constitution has been violated; that it is for this that they are in arms; and that upon its strict observance depends the peace of America.

45.—But the effrontery with which they change their ground, in order to excuse their conduct, is scandalous.

46.—Your Majesty may judge of what they think of the Constitution by what they say of its authors.

47.—In the *Correo*, Number twenty-one, they affirm, "that

the Cortes of Cadiz are composed of men so impious and immoral, that the very natives of Geneva (aun los Ginebrinos) would be ashamed of owning them as associates. They have abolished a tribunal which will one day judge them, and they are preparing to give a death-blow to Religious Orders, and to the treasures of the Church, at the same time."

49.—In the *Correo*, Number twenty-four, of the fifth of August, they return to the charge, and say, that "the Government of Cadiz is a barbarous, factious, and impious Government, more the enemy of Ferdinand than the French themselves."

51.—Your Majesty must not think that these Proteuses think more highly of the Constitution than those by whom it was framed; they wish, indeed, as well they may, that it should be established in those towns which they do not occupy, because of the assistance which it affords them in their projects; but far from adopting or desiring it for themselves, one of their principal chiefs, José Osórno, stated in a proclamation of the 26th of last December, "that he and all his followers would perish, or succeed in giving to Mexico a constitution which should ensure the happiness of her sons."

55.—The rebels have never desired a constitution from Spain, although it came down from Heaven: as to Independence, they repeat the term because it was used by Hidalgo, whose disciples they are; but this only proves that some men, better informed than the rest, invoke it because it suits their views. They know the difficulty of establishing it, in despite of the most constant nation in the world: they know, too, that the heterogeneous classes of which the population of New Spain consists, could never form a regular government. Their own interest is their only motive, as was proved by Hidalgo, when he fled to the United States with six millions of dollars.

57.—Nor has the Constitution been productive of better effects in those provinces, which, being occupied by our troops, are unable to follow their own vehement desires in favour of Independence. To them it is an *Ægis*, beneath which they not only conceal the perversity of their own wishes, but turn against their country the remedies that were intended to heal its wounds.

72.—Thus, when notwithstanding the opinion expressed against the measure by the Bishops of Puebla, Valladolid, Guadalajara, Monterey, Merida, and Mexico, together with the Intendants of Mexico, Oaxaca, San Luis Potosi, Guanajuato, and Zacatecas, the liberty of the press was established; it left traces which more than justify the necessity of suspending it, in order to deprive the rebels of its support. In two months it completely perverted the public opinion, as it was foreseen that it must and would do.

74.—The military character of our chiefs was decried, and the Revolution indirectly defended by the use made of the name of Ferdinand, until the rebels threw off the mask, and declared in the letter addressed by the Revolutionary Junta to the *Cura Morelos*, "that Ferdinand was for them a supposititious being, whose name appeared to advantage in their projects, without any fear that he would ever claim the crown."

84.—The *Pensador*, equally bold and ignorant, ventured to assert "that the Viceroy had been here absolute sovereigns; that no civilized nation had ever been so ill governed as this; that despots and bad government were the real cause of the insurrection, and not the *Cura Hidalgo*; that the Spanish system had been a most pernicious one; that the door to preferment had been shut upon every native; and that an armistice ought to be concluded until the justice of their complaints could be inquired into."—Vide Nos. 5, 6.

(The *Audiencia* attempts to disprove the reality of these complaints by quoting the *Reales Cédulas* of the 12th March, 1697, the 21st February, 1725, and the 11th September, 1766; by which equality was conceded to the *Creoles* in all employments. It quotes likewise the order of the 23d August, 1796, respecting free trade; the encouragement given to silk manufactures, &c. and attributes to the natural indolence and imbecility of the natives the fact of their not having turned any of these beneficent provisions to account.)—Vide Paragraphs 84—122.

122.—Nor was the abuse of the liberty of the press confined to this. On the 25th of June, a decree had been published, directing military commandants to treat all ecclesiastics taken