

in arms, as they would the other Insurgents, without any regard to their sacred character.

123.—This decree was attacked by the clergy of Mexico, and by the author of the *Juguétillo* (No. 3.); and

129.—Public opinion was so completely corrupted by their artifices, that, in the mobs of the 29th and 30th of November, assembled under the plea of celebrating the election of the electors for the Constitutional Ayuntamiento of Mexico, there were Vivas in honour of the Creoles, of the Insurgents, and of Morelos; intermingled with cries of "Death to the Government, —to the King, —to Ferdinand VII." There were Vivas, too, for the authors of the *Pensador* and *Juguétillo*, and for the "Defender of the Mexican clergy." (Dr. Don Julio Garcia de Torres.)

136.—It thus became evident that no laws, however excellent in themselves, are applicable under all circumstances: and that the liberty of the press, which was intended to disseminate that general information which might have remedied the calamities of the country, only increased them by increasing the general corruption. The political writings of the day produced upon the natives the same effect that spirituous liquors cause amongst savages; nor could any restrictions or modifications prevent a law, most beneficent in itself, from being converted into an engine of destruction, by the protection which it afforded to those, whose only aim it was to prepare for a general explosion by inflaming the blackest passions of the multitude.

137.—Such was the unanimous opinion of the sixteen members of this court.

142.—In conformity to it the Viceroy suspended the liberty of the press:—a measure which was too unfavourable to the interests of the rebels, not to be received by them with loud disapprobation.

146.—The *Indulto*, granted almost by anticipation to traitors, has produced effects almost similar to the consequences of the liberty of the press.

147.—Even were the general opinion not what it is, men would find their interest to write seditious papers,—knowing that they will be well received, and better paid,—and to join the Insurgents afterwards, knowing that the *Indulto* will secure to

them the enjoyment of whatever they may plunder while amongst them.

152.—The *Consulado*, which comprehends the majority of European residents, demanded passports for all its members in the event of the liberty of the press being re-established.

154.—But if it be impossible to execute, at present, the article of the Constitution which relates to this point; it is still more so to carry into effect those respecting popular elections.—The experiment, nevertheless, was made. In a country where a hundred persons cannot meet without some disturbance, seven millions of men were called together, with all the air and outward pomp of absolute sovereignty, in virtue of a law which could never have been intended to apply to such extraordinary circumstances.

157-8.—In the elections for Mexico a thousand intrigues and informalities occurred, which ought to have invalidated the whole proceeding.

159.—The result, however, was, that not a single European, or an American distinguished by his patriotism,* was returned as elector. On the contrary, men were chosen who were well known for their attachment to the Independent cause;—men who had opposed all loan or donative to the Mother-country; men who had voted for the Independent Juntas in 1808, or signed the representation of the clergy alluded to in Par. 41.

160.—The rebels had good reason to celebrate these elections, as they did, with salvos of artillery, and *Te Deums*, for they proved, (as they have themselves said,) "that Mexico, and the whole kingdom, were in their favour, and that resistance would be no longer possible, since the power was in the hands of Creoles, who would force the *Audiencia* to be silent, or hang the *Oidores* and all the *Gachupines* together."

171.—The Viceroy's attempt to calm the agitation of the public by conciliatory measures proved utterly fruitless.

172.—The elections were just what was to be expected from the character of the electors. The two *Alcaldes*, the two *Syndics*, and sixteen *Regidores*, of whom the Ayuntamiento

* Patriotism is, of course, used by the *Audiencia* to express devotion to the cause of Spain; as *Patriotas* were Royalist volunteers.

of Mexico was composed, were all men either justly suspected, or notoriously addicted to the Independent cause, and even in actual correspondence with Insurgent chiefs.

174.—The result of the Parochial elections for the ultimate election of Deputies to the Cortes, was equally unfortunate. Out of 591 electors, every one was taken from the class of the disaffected.

176.—The Junta, which was composed, at last, of twenty-eight electors, (nineteen of the forty-one Partidos having sent no representatives,) contained only five Europeans, who came here to be the laughing-stock of the people: and of fourteen Deputies, and four Suplentes,—the Europeans and American patriots only obtained the sterile honour of a seat as Suplente.

181.—Such is the example held out to the other cities of this country, by the most excellent, noble, loyal and imperial city of Mexico!

182.—Between it, and the plan proposed in the name of the Insurgent Junta by one of its leaders, Dr. Cos, suggesting that the Europeans should resign the supreme authority, there is no other difference than that, what the rebels have merely established in theory, Mexico has put into practice. Nor can your Majesty entertain a doubt as to the persons to whom all Civil, Military, and Ecclesiastical employments would be confided, did it depend upon those, by whom the late elections have been made, to confer them.

183.—Not having been able as yet to attain that Independence for which they have so long sighed, (la suspirada Independencia,) they have shown the spirit by which they are animated, in excluding, by a species of Ostracism, from all elective charges, those patriotic citizens, who, if attention had been paid to the spirit of the Constitution, would have been more peculiarly called upon to fill them.

188.—The Constitution intended that the choice of the people in the elections should be determined by the love of their country.* In lieu of this, a love of Independence and

* I must again observe, that it is a body composed entirely of old Spaniards that writes, and consequently that the words "patriotism, and love of their country," mean love of the Peninsula, and not of Mexico.

anarchy has prevailed; and on this account the Ayuntamiento is composed of vile creatures, either positively committed in the rebellion, or at least, undistinguished by any pretensions to patriotism

193.—It is with deep concern that the undersigned American members of the tribunal observe, that out of 652 appointments made by the people in Mexico in different elections, not one has fallen upon an European!

194.—In like manner the European Oidores declare, that not one of the many Americans of known virtues and patriotism, who are the honour of this capital, was thought worthy of one of these appointments.

198.—The establishment of the Provincial Juntas only serves to impede the measures, which, in the present state of things, Government must often take; and, in common with all others, the election of the individuals who are to compose them, must be attended with the four following serious inconveniences:—First, The extreme difficulty of legally qualifying a real citizen.—Second, The more than probability that all Americans of real merit, and all Europeans, will be excluded.—Third, The well-founded fear that the choice of the people will fall upon men of suspicious character, or decided enemies to their country; and Fourth, The extreme and unavoidable danger of general meetings of the inhabitants.

214.—The change in the administration of justice has not been less disadvantageous. Since the establishment of the Jueces de Letras, in lieu of the old Alcaldes de Corte, y de Barrio,—all the impeachments on suspicion of treason, or disaffection, which the committee of public security so often brought before the Viceroy, or the criminal court, have ceased.

215.—This would be a happy event, if there were no delinquents; but, unfortunately, the activity of our magistrates has been paralyzed at the very moment when there are more traitors than ever. The sentinels in Mexico are fired at in the very centre of the town, nor can a soldier leave the gates without being lassoed.

232.—The sum of all that has been stated here is, that an error in policy, and the misfortunes of the Mother-country,

first caused the idea of Independence to be conceived here: That this idea began to develop itself in 1808, in the claim preferred by the Ayuntamiento of Mexico, and countenanced by certain individuals,—to exercise sovereign authority; That this claim was preferred, and could be preferred, with no other object,—as is confessed by the rebels in their official papers:—That the Europeans checked the progress of these machinations, by deposing the Viceroy, who protected them, from whence proceeded the infernal hatred conceived by the rebels against them,—a hatred, of which they have given evidence, by the murders, and other atrocities, committed in the very outset of the rebellion, and which admit of no other explanation. That the second great error, was the not sending out instantly a Viceroy of energy, activity, and experience; in lieu of which, a weak and unjust government was allowed to exhaust the remains of that moral force, which had, till then, maintained the tranquillity of the country; and thus to afford room for the revival of the former projects:—That if the wisdom of the first Regency gave to Mexico a Viceroy of a very different character, it was no longer time to prevent an explosion, although it rendered its consequences less fatal:—That, as a necessary consequence, the rebels were forced to seek impunity for their crimes in a Revolution, the cause of which has constantly been the ambition of the few, and the immorality of the many:—That the Clergy have turned against the State that propensity to disorder, which has always characterized these natives, and have done so with impunity:—That a rebellion, founded upon such principles, and favoured by such powerful assistance, could not fail to make great progress, and must continue to do so, until recourse is had to the only measures capable of correcting it. That generosity and mildness will rather increase than diminish the evil; because they will be attributed to fear, or to weakness, on which account permanent Indultos, and forgetfulness of offences, have rather fed than quenched the flame:—That the most liberal institutions are thrown away upon such men as these; and that, as a necessary consequence of the above, the sacred Constitution itself is so likewise, it not being possible to execute some of its articles, while others have been necessarily infringed.

234.—In the Capital itself, the Viceroy has been forced to take precautions against revolt, and to fortify himself against the public spirit of the day, which has not only caused insurrections, but may repeat them, and consequently renders the presence of a considerable number of troops indispensable.

237-8.—By leaving crime unpunished, all moral force is lost, and society thrown into a state of disorganization: The general wish of the country fomented, or openly protects the projects of the Independent party: The august assembly of the Cortes is not only not recognized by the rebels, but its most beneficent acts are turned into ridicule by the malevolent colouring which is given to them; while its views are defeated by others, who assist the schemes of the Insurgents, by an apparent submission to the decrees of the Congress, in as far as this can be reconciled with their common object. The old system is abolished; the new one not yet established; (en el aire): the Constitution, sometimes an object of ridicule, sometimes used as an instrument,—all elective employments, the prey of factious, ambitious, and faithless men;—the government without consideration, or even the necessary authority. Such is the state to which three years have reduced this lovely country, once the envy of the world.

239.—But what shall be the remedy for such transcendent evils? The rebels propose, as the only means of saving the country, those which will only serve to secure their triumph.

242.—The contempt with which all conciliatory measures have been received is the best proof of their inefficiency.

244.—The Audiencia will not omit to point out the only plan which it regards as likely to produce a radical cure.

245.—No doubt can be entertained as to the origin of the evil, which is, undoubtedly, a spirit of Independence now generalized throughout New Spain: This is the real cause of the discord and jealousy which prevail, fomented by the constant opposition of the loyal and patriotic Spanish residents to these ideas of Independence: The struggle would be at an end if they were capable of compromising with their loyalty and devotion to the cause of the Mother-country.

246.—They must, therefore, be supported by powers, of which, however extraordinary, the history of ancient and

modern nations, under critical circumstances, affords many examples.

249.—The wisdom of the august Congress must prepare the way for the happiness which it is desirous to bestow upon this people, by removing, with a strong arm, the obstacles which their perversity has, hitherto, opposed to its introduction.

251.—Besides supplying a physical force sufficient to replace the moral force which has been lost, under circumstances of such extreme difficulty and distress, it is indispensably necessary to suspend all measures likely to diminish the new impulse that must be given to the Government, and, amongst others, the principal, and most beneficent of all,—the Constitution itself.

253.—The disaffected here have converted this Constitution into a mere tool for their perfidious designs: We repeat, once more, that sentiments of public good have no sort of influence over these men;—that gratitude is unknown to them, and that the majority, without a single political idea, have lent themselves with pleasure, and even with fury, to any and every change that afforded them the prospect of indulging their natural propensity to plunder and vice. The direction of a machine, moved by such springs as these, can neither be doubted, nor resisted:—Every thing must be sacrificed, therefore, or the application of the machine, for a time, given up.

254.—Yes, Sire:—Let those men, who, without faith or country, maintain in secret the same treasonable principles as the rebels themselves, declaim against the proposal; let them continue, under the mask of patriotism, to combat with arms only the more dangerous because they are more polished, that authority which the rebels openly defy; let them protest an attachment which they do not feel to the new institutions, and invoke the Constitution in order the better to destroy it, and their country together; let them endeavour, in fine, to ruin this tribunal, by undermining the credit of its members; still the Audiencia, firm alike in its loyalty and its principles, must state, with all respect to your Majesty, that, it being impossible to carry the Constitution into effect, in the midst of a permanent conspiracy, which is sapping the very foundations of the State, it appears to them absolutely necessary to suspend it as long as such a state of revolution and disorder continues.

255.—The sacrifice will be momentary: the return, the salvation of the present, and the felicity of future generations.

262.—The contest which the Viceroy is forced to sustain, compels him to exercise absolute authority in many parts of the kingdom. To invest him with powers to do so legally *in all*, would at once enable him to act with proper decision, as circumstances might require, and put an end to all uncertainty and murmurs. This, and a recommendation to carry into execution, as soon as possible, the Constitution,—but simultaneously, and in all its parts,—would put an end to a political chaos, the confusion of which is infinitely worse than the want of any rule at all.

263.—In this case the just and prudent observance of the law, which authorizes the Viceroy “to banish from the dominions of Ultramar those whose residence there might be injurious either to the service of God, or to the public peace and tranquillity,”—would save those rivers of Spanish blood, which are now flowing throughout New Spain.

269.—There is certainly no other mode of preserving the State from its approaching ruin. Unfortunate indeed will be the country, and this tribunal, should it have failed, in the opinion of the Cortes, in establishing the necessity of the measures proposed upon solid grounds. The unavoidable abuse of a Constitution, perfect in itself, will hasten the progress of this country towards Independence, which is not only the object, but the decided will of the majority of the inhabitants; and it will be in vain to oppose to this furious torrent the wishes of the real patriots, since we have to deal with men who will only submit to positive physical superiority: in the mean time, one excess leads, by a necessary consequence, to others, and confusion is now nearly at its height.

270.—Such, Sire, is a true picture of the state of affairs in New Spain: the decision of your Majesty will determine whether it is, or is not, any longer to exist as a country.

(Signed)

Mexico, 18th, Nov. 1813.

Thomas Gonzalez Calderon, José Mexia, Miguel Bataller,
Manuel del Campo y Rivas, Juan Antonio de la Riva,

Miguel Modet, Pedro de la Puente, Miguel Bachiller, Felipe Martinez, Manuel Martinez Mansilla, Ambrosio Lagarzurrieta.

NOTE OF EDITOR.—(DON CARLOS BUSTAMANTE.)

The Audiencia lost by the establishment of the Spanish Constitution, which was sworn in Mexico, the 30th October, 1812, the most lucrative part of its former privileges: The commissions, Conservadurias de Mayorazgos, the Judgment of Natives, the Assessorships of the Mines and Post-office, the Management of the Marquisate of the Valle de Oaxaca, the Auditorships of War, &c. its direct influence over the Viceroys by means of the Acuerdo, and its right of deciding in cases of appeal upon government measures. Hence its detestation of a system which it attacked under the pretence of zeal for the public welfare.

Hence, too, its hostility to Iturrigaray, whom it deposed, ignominiously, and whose condemnation to a fine of 284,241 dollars, under a sentence of Residencia, it ultimately effected.

NOTE OF ENGLISH EDITOR.

Bustamante is undoubtedly right in his opinion of the motives by which the Audiencia was actuated; but, at the same time, it must be confessed that this Tribunal appears to have had a very clear perception of the real state of Mexico. Its arguments with regard to the inapplicability of the Constitution to a country in a state of revolution, are unanswerable: it conceded too much, or too little: Spain had no choice but to retain her power, if she could, by the means which had enabled her, during three centuries, to support it, and to modify abuses, the existence of which she could not deny, when submission was restored; or to resign her authority at once into the hands of those, who would no longer acknowledge it, and to endeavour to make the best bargain she could for the cession of rights, which she could hardly hope to retain. The error lies in having thought that the first of these alternatives could be adopted with any prospect of success; and this error is the more inexcusable on the part of the Audiencia, from the conviction which it expresses, and appears to feel throughout the

present Representation, that the sense of the majority of the nation was decidedly in favour of Independence. To conceive that, when once this idea had taken root, it could ever be eradicated,—to hope that in a country where it had spread in an instant from the highest to the lowest classes, “like atmospheric plague,” and where its growth was fostered not only by every principle of reason and justice, but by feelings of personal interest and private animosity, the spirit could be stifled or crushed, was the height of folly; and dearly has Spain expiated it by the loss of those advantages, which, until within the last year, it was still in her power to secure.

C.

CONFIDENTIAL LETTER OF THE VICEROY CALLEJA, ADDRESSED TO THE MINISTER OF WAR, BUT CONTAINING A PRIVATE REPORT UPON THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION, FOR THE INFORMATION OF HIS MAJESTY FERDINAND VII.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

By a private letter from Jalapa, I have received a manuscript copy of the Decree of our most beloved and desired Sovereign, dated Valencia, May 4th, 1814, by which his Majesty declares to be null the Constitution promulgated by the General and Extraordinary Cortes, and reassumes the exercise of that Sovereign power, of which the Congress had despoiled him.

My loyalty as a vassal,—my attachment to the King as a grateful subject,—and my conviction as a good Spaniard,—filled my heart, upon this occasion, with the purest satisfaction; and I instantly ordered the inclosed proclamation to be published, by which I announced to the kingdom at large the happy tidings, and swore, as first Chief of these dominions, in the name of the Sovereign of Spain, Don Ferdinand VII. my ready and sincere obedience to his Royal will.

(Precautions taken against the introduction of any Agents, or Decrees of the Cortes, &c.)

I regard it as a duty to lay before his Majesty a rapid sketch of the state of these countries, and of my own conduct since I

assumed the reins of Government on the 4th March, 1813; and I entreat your Excellency to allow me to do this through your Excellency, in order that his Majesty may be enabled to take at once those measures which are necessary for the salvation of his Majesty's dominions here, in which rebellion has increased fearfully, in consequence of the road opened by the Constitution for the execution of its criminal projects.

This Constitution was sworn, and in part established, when I took the command of the country:—nothing could be more discouraging than the aspect of affairs; for the rebels, flushed with the advantages which they had already obtained, threatened the Capital, and were actually in possession of Oaxaca,—Acapulco,—a great part of the Western coast,—the capital of Texas, through which they drew supplies from the North Americans,—in short, of the largest portion of New Spain, as well as of innumerable towns, Haciendas, Mines, and roads.

Under such circumstances my situation was most critical. Compelled to make head against the attacks of an enemy disseminated over eight hundred leagues of country, and protected by the great majority of its inhabitants, with a very small military force at my disposal, and without hopes of succour from the Peninsula; surrounded by concealed enemies, who, under the shelter of the new Institutions, aided, directed, and encouraged the rebels, from this, and all the other principal towns in the kingdom, without my being able to counteract them, on account of the Constitution, and the decrees of the Cortes, which tied my hands;—deprived, too, of the support and assistance, which I might have derived from the principal Corporations, all of which had been filled by the popular elections with men interested in the ruin of the Spanish Government in this hemisphere,—I suffered the most cruel mental anguish, and despaired, at times, of being able to preserve for our beloved Sovereign this precious part of the possessions of the crown.

In vain I represented to the Regency, by every possible opportunity, that Mexico would be irrecoverably lost, unless a different system were adopted, and the Constitution suspended; my complaints were neither attended to, nor answered, and I was only charged publicly to adhere strictly to the new prin-

ciples, which every day deprived me of the few means that I had left for curbing the Insurrection.

Happily, my military operations were so fortunate, that I succeeded in destroying the rebel Curate Morelos, whose success at one time seemed to menace the ruin of Spanish dominion here. I recovered Oaxaca, with the port and fortress of Acapulco, and succeeded in driving out of Texas the rebels, with their Anglo-American Allies; a number of the Insurgent chiefs were taken; some of their principal bands dispersed, whose vicinity to the Capital threatened us with a scarcity, by impeding the introduction of supplies; and the roads so far cleared, that but small escorts were required in order to keep up the communications with the Interior. If that with Vera Cruz be not yet established, it is principally the fault of the Governor of that district, who, notwithstanding my being responsible for the measures of the Government, has more than once alleged direct orders from the Regency as an excuse for disregarding mine, and thus deprived our operations of all unity of plan. This want of subordination in the local authorities has tended greatly to increase the general disorder, and to render fruitless, for want of co-operation, the prodigious efforts of the troops.

This, and other causes which I shall have the honour of pointing out to your Excellency as I proceed, have counterbalanced the decisive advantages which we have obtained in the field; and I am compelled to confess that, notwithstanding our victories, but little has been done against the spirit of the rebellion, the focus of which is in the great towns, and more particularly in this capital. On one side, the elections,—the fanatical elections,—destroyed, in a moment, the fruits of the labour, the efforts, the combinations of months;—and, on the other, the want of power to chastise those, who constantly corresponded with the rebels, and informed them of all the military preparations of the Government, prevented the execution of our plans. For your Excellency must take as the corner-stone of my whole argument the fact, that the great majority of the natives of this country is most decidedly in favour of the Insurrection, and of Independence; without their frequent invocation of the respectable name of our Sovereign, being any thing more than a

veil, with which they endeavour to conceal their criminal projects, as your Excellency may perceive by thousands of papers which have been taken from the Insurgents, some of the most essential of which I will forward by the first opportunity.

This fact being once admitted, nothing could be more favourable to the ideas of the disaffected than the Constitution, since, besides securing the impunity of the traitors, either by paralyzing the Viceroy, and preventing him from acting with energy and decision, or by taking advantage of the new judicial system, which affords but too many openings for criminals to elude the arm of the law, the elections have afforded them the means of throwing the whole power into the hands of the factious, and of reducing the Government to the circle of its immediate dependents, by depriving it of the confidence which it might have reposed in certain corporations, and compelling it rather to defend itself against their attacks, than to look to them for support. Such is the reason of the attachment which the Americans have displayed towards the new institutions: they have discovered that, under their safeguard, they advanced rapidly, and without any sort of risk, towards the great object of their wishes, the Independence of the country, and the proscription of all the Europeans, whom they detest.

Experience has convinced me of this truth. The Municipalities, the Provincial Deputations, and the Cortes themselves, in as far as the Provinces of Ultramar are concerned, are composed of nothing but Insurgents; and some of so decided and criminal a character, that, notwithstanding the restrictions imposed upon me by the decrees of the Cortes, I have been compelled to arrest them, even at the risk of exciting a popular disturbance, fomented by those in whose hands the power is now deposited. At this very moment, two of the most noted Insurgents are on their way to the Peninsula as Deputies to the Cortes, now happily abolished,—Don José Maria Alcalá, and the Licenciado Don Manuel Cortasar. I cannot describe the bitterness of spirit with which I have seen two such pernicious individuals set out to prescribe laws to our noble Spaniards, and to exercise in the capital their share of an authority, which they will only use in order to prepare, and accelerate the ruin of America. At any other time, the data now in my possession

would have authorized me to secure the persons of these men, and to proceed afterwards to adduce the proofs of their guilt: but as this was a necessary preliminary under the new system, I have been compelled to allow of the departure of criminals, who, under our old and more judicious order of things, would, certainly, not thus have triumphed over justice and the law.

Every measure which the Cortes have taken with regard to these countries, seems to have had no other object than to precipitate their ruin; and as the Insurgents here are in continual and close communication with their Deputies in the Peninsula, they receive information of every decree relative to America, and claim its immediate observance, in terms which have not even left me the option of suspending the execution of those which I regarded as most prejudicial.

In this singular, and most embarrassing situation, I had no means of saving my honour but by giving in my resignation, which I have frequently tendered: nor can I account for its not having been accepted, since I was not only known to be disaffected to the principles of the Constitution, but, in spite of express and repeated orders actually suspended, and refused to execute some of its provisions, which I saw must produce a positive dissolution of all government in this country.

Such was my conduct with regard to the liberty of the press, the appointment of the Jueces de Letras, the maintenance of a body destined to watch over the public security in the interior of the capital; and the declaration, that the authority of the Viceroy was superior to that of the Political Chiefs, and the Deputations of the several Provinces.

In the course of the two months, during which the liberty of the press was established under my immediate predecessor, it caused so general an irritation in the public mind, and produced such an extraordinary number of seditious, incendiary, and insulting papers, that an insurrection was on the point of breaking out in this Capital; the violence of the mob being first displayed on the celebration of the election of the new Municipality, which was, in fact, the first triumph of the rebels. On this occasion, the populace was infuriated by treasonable addresses, and led on by the example of a number of disaffected who mingled with the crowd. The streets were filled with bands

of men who, at nightfall, carried lighted torches. There were Vivas in favour of Morelos, Independence, and the new Electors, all Americans, all men whose fidelity was suspected, and many of them positive rebels! Death was denounced against all Europeans, and their Governments. The doors of the cathedral were forced, and the mob had even the insolence to present itself before the palace, and to demand the artillery. The liberty of the press was suppressed in consequence of this event; and I refused to re-establish it, notwithstanding a second order from the Regency, directing me to carry the Constitutional law into effect, in spite of what had taken place.

The appointment of Jueces de Letras was likewise carried into effect against the express stipulations of a law, which reserved this faculty to the Regency. Had I not done this, the administration of justice, in a town of 150,000 inhabitants, would have been entrusted to two Constitutional Alcaldes, Civilians, and notoriously addicted to the Independent party.—By a necessary consequence, crimes would have remained unpunished, and the good exposed to the risk of falling victims to a conspiracy; and although the measure was disapproved of by the Ayuntamiento, which made representations against it both here, and at the Court, I have supported it with firmness, and explained to the Regency the absolute necessity of its adoption.

In order to maintain tranquillity in this populous capital, and to prevent, more particularly, the secret communications which were kept up with the Insurgents, by watching over the conventicles and private meetings of concealed traitors, a tribunal of police was established, which, under the superintendence of one of the members of the Audiencia, took cognizance of all cases of this description. On the receipt of the new law for the regulation of tribunals, this establishment was done away with, and the disaffected were on the point of seeing themselves at liberty to pursue their schemes without let or hindrance, the whole police of the town being confided to the two Constitutional Alcaldes. In this dilemma, the impossibility of leaving such a field open to the machinations of the disaffected, induced me to conciliate obedience to the law, with a proper regard for the public security, by allowing all the old *employés* in the police to retain their situations, under the orders of a

person of distinction and confidence, who performed some of the duties of the situation as a commissioner, without any judicial authority.—His duties were to give passports to those who wished to leave the Capital,—to examine those who entered it,—to watch over clandestine Juntas, or meetings, and to arrest all suspicious persons, delivering them over to the competent judge within forty-eight hours after their detention, as provided by the law.—The Ayuntamiento could not brook a measure that threatened to derange those agreeable prospects, which the exclusive direction of the police opened to its bad faith;—and it took advantage of the letter of the Constitutional law, to protest, in a very high tone, against the new regulation,—not from any real zeal in support of the law, but because, by retaining in its own hands the police, and the investigation of crimes, in which not a few of its own members were implicated, it would have been easy for them to continue, without fear of interruption, their perfidious intrigues, and to prevent their friends and colleagues from being detected in similar crimes.—This measure I likewise sustained with equal firmness, and I represented to the Regency the impossibility of providing for the security and preservation of the country, while every day some new legal disqualification was added to those, which had already compelled me to abandon so many of those interesting and delicate points, for which I was nevertheless held responsible.

But the most serious and important point of all, was the establishment of the political superiority of the Viceroy throughout the kingdom, and the immediate dependence of the Provincial Deputations upon him. The most complete division and anarchy menaced these dominions, had I not fixed a central point in their common Chief; for without regarding the decrees of the Cortes respecting the powers of the Viceroy, every Political Chief believed himself endowed with independent powers in his province, and every Provincial Deputation, absolute in its own district, and without any obligation to contribute, by order of the Viceroy, towards the common support of the army. It was impossible in this way to attempt any farther resistance, or to prevent the provinces from falling into the hands of the Insurgents in detail.

The discussion began to grow warm, and it was insinuated that the Viceroy was nothing more than a mere Captain-General of a province, not entitled, as such, to dispose, in any way, of the revenues of the State, which belonged exclusively to the Real Hacienda; and this error, originating in our new laws, and fomented by the factious, to whom nothing could have been more advantageous than such a division of power, was about to precipitate us into an abyss of misfortunes. I had foreseen these evils, and the point to which the Provincial Juntas would carry their pretensions; but the scandalous occurrences which took place in Yucatan, where the Provincial Deputation, after disembarassing itself of the authority of the Captain-General, decreed, and actually carried into effect, a project of free trade, by throwing open all the ports to Foreigners, without taking into account its dependence, in all financial matters, upon this Viceroyalty,—confirmed my suspicions, and made me accelerate the declaration of the paramount authority of the Viceroy throughout the kingdom, and of the submission due to him by all the Deputations, supported by the opinion of a number of ministers, and lawyers, as will appear by the inclosed copy of the decree.

(Refusal of the Junta of Monterey, capital of New Leon, to acknowledge Don Joaquin Arredondo, as Military Commandant, and Gefe Politico, of the Internal Provinces, or to furnish him with necessary supplies.)

Such is the vacillating and depressed state to which I have seen myself reduced here:—without power, without authority, without representation, or dignity,—deprived of that assistance which the Audiencia has always afforded by its *Dictámenes*, and *Acuerdos*, to my predecessors;—subjected, in some measure, to the legal opinions of a Fiscal, and Auditor, and consequently unable to consult any one but them on the most critical occasions;—without a sufficient number of troops to extinguish the rebellion at once;—without money, or reliance upon the public corporations;—struggling, at the same time, with the armed bands of the rebels, and the machinations of secret traitors;—trying to restrain the insolent disobedience of the one, and the hardened fanaticism of the others; in the midst of a confusion of ideas with regard to the government, with

which the good and the bad were equally infected;—resisting the fury of that political mania, the contagion of which seemed to have spread to all classes, drawing alike the merchant, the artizan, the clergyman, and the husbandman, out of their proper spheres, and making them politicians, or rather political dreamers, (*febricitantes*;)—trying, in every way, to conciliate the reciprocal hatred of the Europeans and the Americans; and witnessing, every hour, the danger with which the country was threatened by the effects of an ill-timed liberty, and a monstrous rebellion;—I leave it to your Excellency to imagine what must have been the anguish which I have often endured.

Happily I now see some end to the evils which have afflicted us: all will cease as soon as His Majesty deigns to turn his eyes to this much wounded portion of his kingdom. My unshaken loyalty has long sighed for the day, which has at length arrived, and henceforward no one shall venture with impunity to refuse obedience, while I am at the head of this Government, to the orders of the Sovereign of Spain, Ferdinand the desired!

But the disaffected are all in favour of the Constitution; not that they ever really and sincerely intend to adopt it, or to submit to the Mother-country on any terms, but because it affords them the means of attaining what they desire without risk, and with more facility than they could expect.

On this account they will doubtless be active on the present occasion, in fomenting discord, and encouraging rebellion, under the mask of liberty and patriotism, or of hatred to despotism and tyranny; words, of which a use has been made, of late, too dangerous to be tolerated any longer.

Some even of the Europeans have wrong views upon this subject, and will not see the danger to which they expose themselves by lending their countenance to ideas which can only lead from disaffection to rebellion: and it is the more necessary on this account to ascertain the depth to which the roots of the new system have struck, and to take advantage of this critical moment, in order to fix for ever the authority of His Majesty in this country, by changing the alimentary system altogether, and employing tonics, and actual cautery, to exterminate the cancer, by which the patient is consumed.

The insurrection is so deeply impressed and rooted in the

heart of every American, that nothing but the most energetic measures, supported by an imposing force, can ever eradicate it; for it is to be observed, that even if the arms of the rebels prove unsuccessful, and their plots fruitless, still misery, and a growing consumption, will do that, which neither force nor intrigue may be able to effect.

It is to be hoped that with the troops which I command, the Insurgents will be beaten, as they have been till now, in whatever number they may present themselves; but it is no less certain that this is not sufficient to put an end to the rebellion, but rather tends to prolong its fatal effects.—It acts against us in two ways, by open force, and by increasing distress: the first will be always repelled, the second will reduce us gradually to death's door.

The military force now at my disposal is but just sufficient to garrison the capitals of the Provinces, and to cover the large towns: but, in the mean time, an infinity of smaller towns are left, unavoidably, at the mercy of the banditti: the roads are ours only as long as a division is passing over them; and the Insurgents, who are infinitely superior to us in number, are masters of the largest proportion of the cultivated lands: the consequence is that trade is at an end; agriculture languishes; the mines are abandoned; all our resources exhausted; the troops wearied out; the loyal discouraged; the rich in dismay; in short, misery increases daily, and the State is in danger.

As the armed bands of the rebels are constantly in motion, without any fixed place of residence, and are principally composed of men belonging to the Haciendas, the trapiches, and the mines, used to live in the open air, and on horseback, and accustomed to the transition from vicious indulgence, to frugality and want, they require no regular administration. Without plan or calculation they wander over the whole country, eating and drinking where they can, and robbing, plundering, and devastating all that falls in their way; now uniting in large masses, now dividing into insignificant parties, but always doing us incalculable mischief. It is the facility which this mode of life affords them for satisfying the wants of the moment, and consulting either the caprice of the hour, or the desire of vengeance, that endears to them this predatory exist-

ence: blood flows unceasingly: the war is perpetuated, and the fruit is never to be attained.

The continuation of such a contest is the worst evil that we can experience, and the effects of the ruin which it entails upon us will hardly be less felt in the Peninsula than here. The war, besides the fatal consequences with which it must always be attended, detains in this country the few Europeans who have any thing still to lose, and prevents them either from assisting the Government, or even subsisting, with comfort, themselves: the war dries up the very sources of our prosperity: it renders contributions a mere name, by destroying those branches of industry upon which they ought to be levied: it diminishes our population, and converts what still remains of it into robbers and assassins: the war teaches the insurgents, to our cost, the art of making it with success, and gives them but too good a knowledge of their advantages in point of number and resources.

The war strengthens and propagates the desire of Independence, holding out a constant hope of our destruction, a longing desire for which (I must again assure your Excellency) is general amongst all classes, and has penetrated into every corner of the kingdom.

The war affords the Insurgents an opportunity of knowing Foreign Powers, with whom they form connexions, and from whom they receive aid: the war, in fine, destroys, in detail, our little army, either by the fruitless fatigues of a campaign under the present system, or by exposing it to the influence of seduction, to which the apparent remoteness of our success gives but too much room, and the effects of which are felt even amongst the European soldiers, without its being possible for the Government either to replace them or the arms which they generally carry off.

The usual means of recruiting are useless amongst a people which detest the armies of the King; conscription is of no avail, on account of the want of order in the villages, and the opposition of the Ayuntamientos. Forced levies, which are sometimes attempted, only serve to swell the number of our regiments for the moment, and afterwards to strengthen the ranks of the enemy, while our small stock of military stores is

exhausted by the arms and uniforms, which our deserters are enabled, by the general assistance that they meet with, to carry over to the rebels:—For, as six millions of inhabitants, decided in the cause of Independence, have no need of previous consultation or agreement, each one acts, according to his means and opportunities, in favour of the project common to all:—The Judge, and his dependents, by concealing or conniving at crimes:—the Clergy, by advocating the justice of the cause in the confessional, and even in the pulpit itself:—the writers, by corrupting public opinion:—the women, by employing their attractions to seduce the royal troops, and even prostituting themselves to them in order to induce them to go over to the insurgents:—the Government officer, by revealing, and thus paralyzing the plans of his superiors:—the youth, by taking arms:—the old man, by giving intelligence, and forwarding correspondence:—the public Corporations, by giving an example of eternal differences with the Europeans, not one of whom they will admit as a colleague,—by refusing any sort of assistance to the Government,—and by representing its conduct, and that of its faithful agents, in the most odious light, in protests, for which malice always finds a specious pretext; while the edifice of the State is thus sapped by all, under the shelter of the liberal institutions of the day!

An association has subsisted in this Capital for more than three years, under the name of “the Guadalupes,” which corresponds with every part of the kingdom, and is composed of a number of men whose situation necessarily gives them a participation in the affairs of the Government. And yet it is by these men that the operations of the rebels have been directed, and that they have been encouraged and supported in their reverses.

From this club they received every species of information that could conduce either to their security, or to the success of their plans,—a diary of all that passed in the Capital,—statements of forces,—of money and stores issued by the Government,—accounts of its resources, wants, and necessities, and intelligence of every measure taken by the Viceroy, in order to meet the exigencies of the moment. Proofs of this treasonable correspondence have been acquired during the late severe

checks that the Insurgents have received, and many of the principal criminals of this faction have been discovered: I should have already purged the country of the most dangerous of these traitors,—and, by so doing, deranged the schemes of the disaffected,—intimidated secret enemies, and strengthened the hands of the Government, if I had been able to act with freedom or energy. But the necessity of conforming to the laws which the Constitution had established, in order not too openly to set at defiance the will of the Mother-country, communicated always in the august name of the King our Master, compelled me to trust to the slow, and, under present circumstances, insidious course of a judicial inquiry, confided often to judges but little less criminal than the accused themselves, without deriving from the measure any other fruit than a confirmation of my suspicions, that the Government was undermined, without any possibility of avoiding the explosion.

In such a situation as this, no resource remains but to reanimate the authority of the Government, and to make a last effort to conclude the war, by crushing the rebellion at once. The re-establishment of the old laws will no longer suffice: There was a time when they were sufficient to keep up the ancient illusions of these people with regard to their chiefs and magistrates, and to inspire them with a proper respect for their measures and decrees: But now,—decried, discredited, and even turned into ridicule, by the new system,—stigmatized as arbitrary and unjust,—attributed to an illegal origin, and held up to the scorn of the crowd,—they have lost their *prestige*, and even their respectability, and are no longer capable of reducing a people which has thrown off the yoke, or of communicating to them an impulse sufficiently powerful to compel them to return within the bounds of duty. When once this is effected, they may be governed again by the old Code, or by any other that his Majesty may think fit to adopt for his dominions of Ultramar.

But, at present, I see no other remedy for countries actually a prey to rebellion, than the establishment of martial law, until such time as the extermination of the disaffected, and